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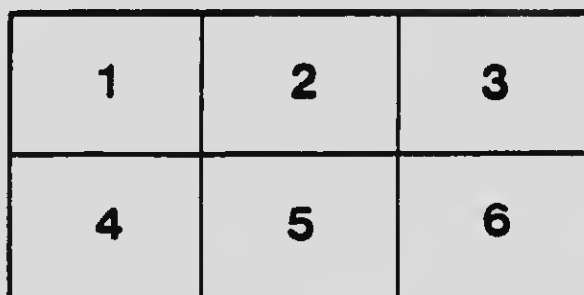
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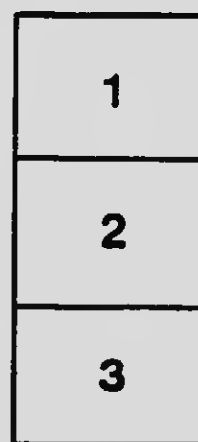
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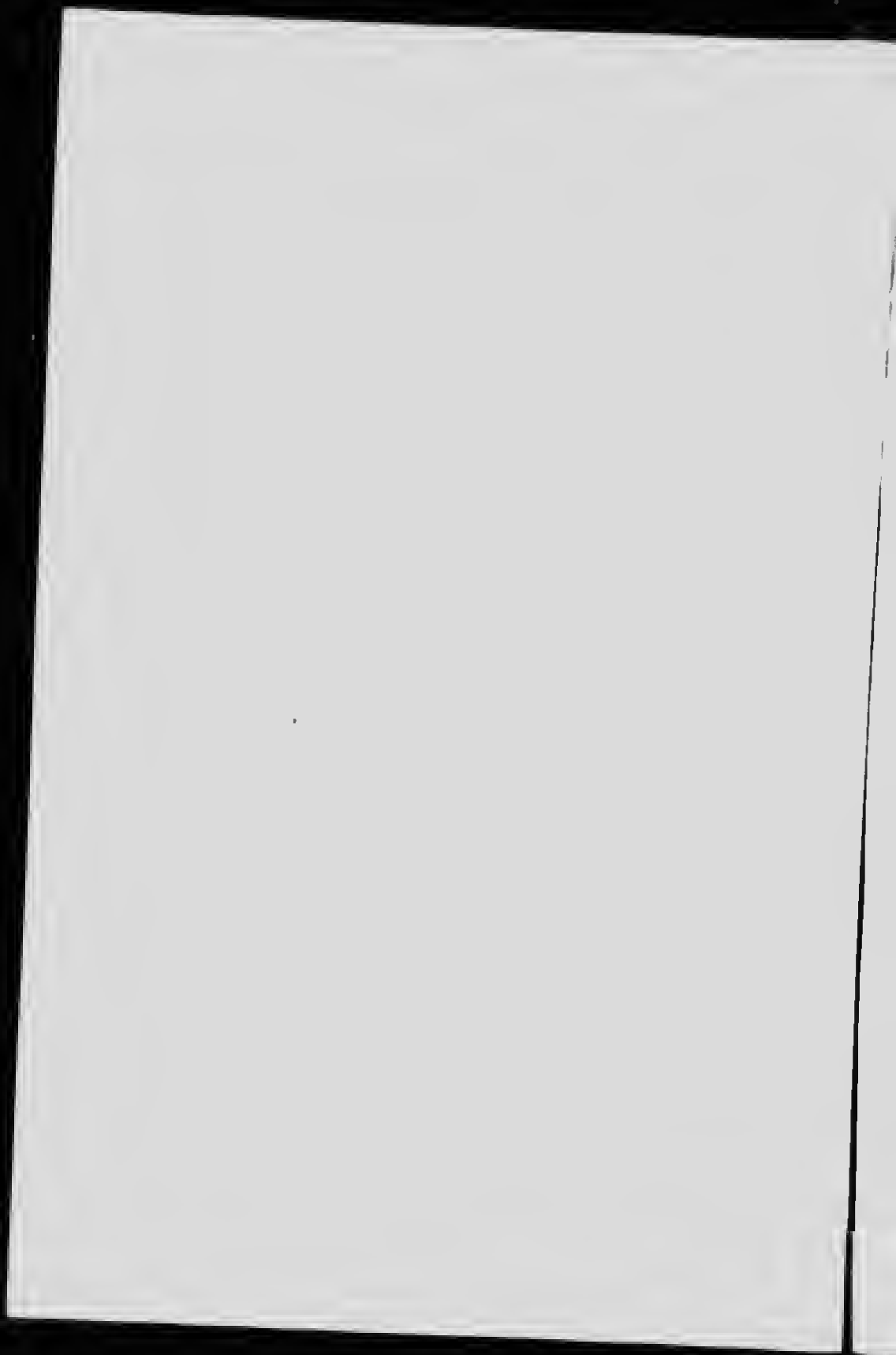
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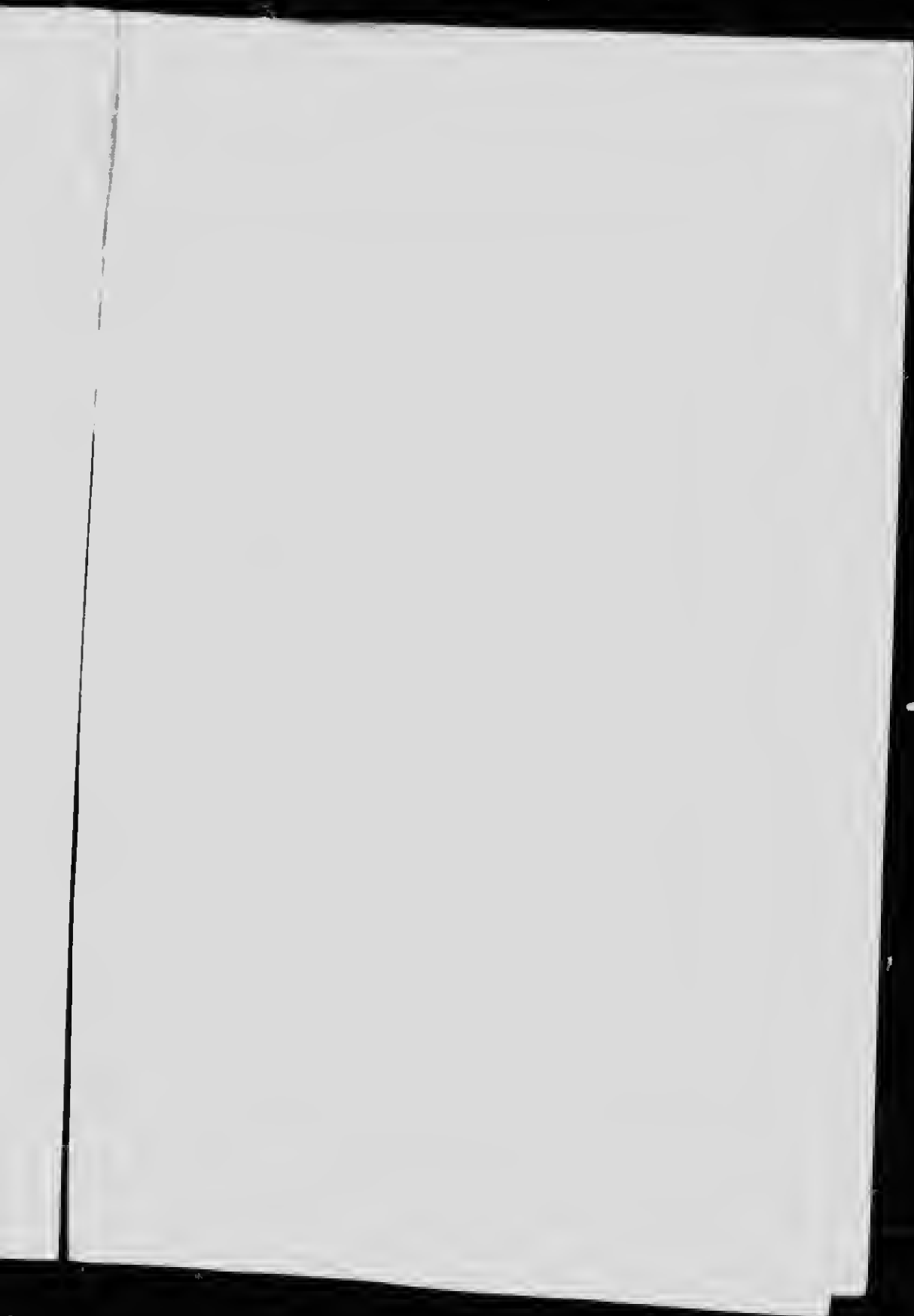
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A
SHORT HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN



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A SHORT HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN

ADAPTED FOR CANADIAN SCHOOLS

BY

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ILLUSTRATED BY DRAWINGS OF HISTORICAL DETAILS FROM AUTHENTIC
SOURCES, A SERIES OF REPRODUCTIONS IN MONOCHROME
OF FAMOUS HISTORICAL PAINTINGS, AND MANY
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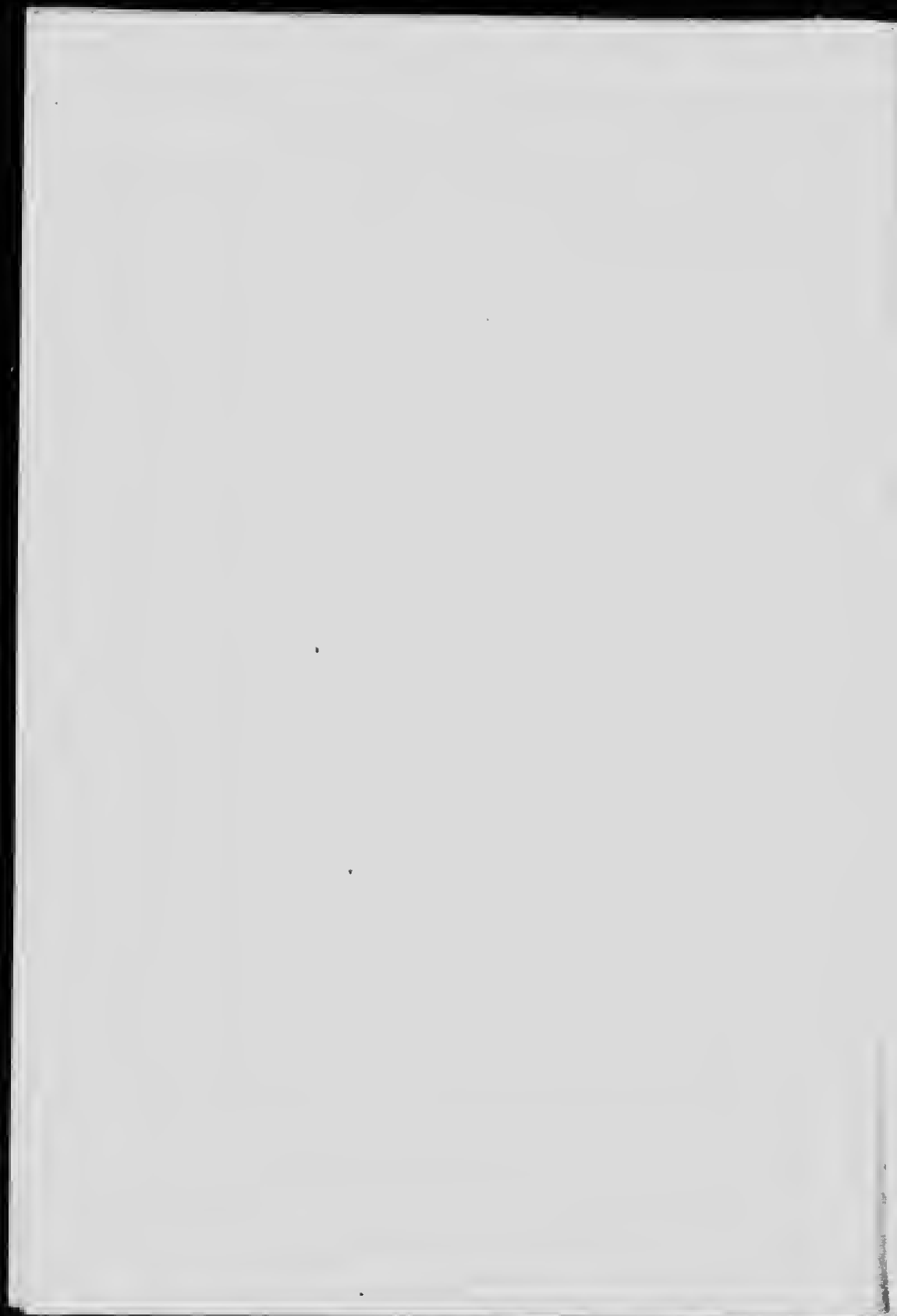
PREFACE

THE history of England offered in the following pages is taken, for the most part, from Warner's *Brief survey of British History* as adapted by Messrs. Blackie & Son for the seventh volume of Blackie's Complete History Readers. The general excellence of the narrative, phrased in a diction at once simple and elevated, makes it of especial value for school use.

The short sketch of Britain under the Romans has been added to the original text; so also have the sections "England since Gladstone" and "The Empire in Africa," by which the story of English history is brought down to the present year, 1909. The Lessons on Civics, designed in the first instance for pupils in English schools, have been entirely reconstructed. Under the heading, "Self-government and the Empire," they have been rewritten with a view to the needs of pupils in Canadian Schools.

C. E. FRYER.

MONTREAL, January, 1909.



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A SHORT HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

I.—RACES OF BRITAIN

If we glance at a map of Europe we shall see that Great Britain is an island, and that it is separated from the continent by two bodies of water: one, the North Sea or German Ocean; the other, the English Channel. These two bodies of water meet at a narrow passage, known as the Straits of Dover, lying between Dover on the coast of Kent, and Calais on the French shore. Between Calais and Dover the distance is not over twenty-one miles: indeed, so close do the two seem, that standing on the heights of Dover on a clear day, it is not difficult to discern across the water the outline of the French shore on the other side. Scientists tell us that at one time the island of Great Britain formed probably a part of the continent, but became separated by the gradual subsiding of the land which now forms the bed of the sea under the Straits of Dover. Such a phenomenon, if it occurred, took place ages before history begins. We know of Great Britain only as an island, the south-eastern shore lying within seeing distance of the continent and easily reached, even in small boats, from the other side.

If we turn now from a map of Europe to a map of the British Isles, we shall be able to form some idea of what Great Britain, or more particularly Eng-
Physical land, is like. Savage people, who live by
Features fishing and hunting, usually make their homes
of Britain. along the shore of the sea or along the banks of rivers and streams. Rivers were the earliest highways known to primitive man. England, it will be seen, is well supplied with these natural highways. From the eastern shore a large number of rivers lead into the interior of the island: rivers that wind their way at first through low marshy soil, but rise in the end through dense forests to the hilly country in which they have their source. Contrast this with the western shore: there, only one long river is to be found; the rest are small in comparison. None but small rivers, too, find their way to the south. England, taken as a whole then, has three very unequal river systems, the eastern system draining by far the larger half of the island. The land thus watered is remarkable for its fertility. By the time that our history commences much of the soil had been cleared and put to agricultural uses. In fact, the first people in Britain of whom there is any definite record pursued agriculture in addition to hunting and fishing.

The eastern and southern portion of England, the region of the river valleys, is sometimes level, sometimes undulating in character. But as we go west
Wales, Scot- towards Wales, or north, towards Scotland,
land and we find a continuous range of hills which
Ireland. form at once a sort of backbone to the island and a watershed for the different river systems. Parts of Wales and parts of Scotland are very mountainous. Ireland lies to the west of Wales, across St. George's Channel.

When we come to ask the question: Who were actually the earliest inhabitants of Britain? we have to confess that no clear answer can be given. We know that at some quite remote period the original inhabitants were driven to the western part of the island by the invasion of a people who crossed over from the continent. Traces of the latter survive to the present day among the Irish and the Highland Scotch. They are distinguished by their language, known as the Gaelic, which is a branch of the larger group of languages known as the Celtic. For convenience these first invaders may be called the Gaels. They did not remain undisturbed in their new home for another host of invaders crossed over from the continent and, in turn, drove them westward. The new invaders spoke also a Celtic language, and they called themselves Britons. They established themselves in the eastern half of the island, but remained in close communication with their kindred and their old home on the continent. Their kindred lived in Gaul (modern France) and could be reached easily by the short passage across the Straits of Dover.

**What People
First Lived
in Britain?**

Our earliest knowledge of the Britons after they left the continent comes from a few Greek travellers and writers. A Greek trading colony once flourished at Massilia, in Gaul, by the site of the present city of Marseilles, on the Mediterranean Sea. Greek travellers from Massilia penetrated the northern parts of Gaul (Latin Gallia) and one or two crossed the water to England (330 B.C.). The Greek merchants of Massilia hoped to be able to trade with Britain.

**The Greeks
and Britons.**

But the power of the Greeks in the Mediterranean was destined to be displaced by that of the Romans, who, after bringing the Mediterranean countries under their

sway, started to extend their frontier northward into Europe. A long series of wars brought the frontier of the Roman Empire to the Danube and the Rhine. In this movement of conquest one of the best known wars is that which Julius Caesar waged for the subjugation of Gaul, and it is in connection with this war that the Britons first saw a Roman army land upon their shores. Caesar found that the Britons were sending men and supplies to their kinsfolk across the channel, and he determined to stop this, even though it meant taking an army across the channel to Britain.

Caesar made two attempts to strike terror into the Britons: the first in the year 55, the second in the year 54 B.C. On the first occasion he took an army of ten thousand men in boats across the channel. The Britons opposed his landing with a spirited resistance. Showers of darts made it difficult for the Roman soldiers to gain the shore from their boats, and once on land they had to encounter the furious onset of the Britons, who used a war chariot with knives on the wheels, driving with these into the ranks of their enemies. Caesar saw that to gain his object a larger army would be necessary; he accordingly withdrew within a few weeks after landing. He returned to Britain the summer following with an army almost three times as large as the first. He succeeded in driving the Britons inland and in defeating the chief of a tribe, the Catuvallami (see map, p. 8), that held the other tribes of that part of the island in subjection. After 54 B.C. Caesar did not return to Britain, and for a hundred years or more no Roman army crossed the channel. The Britons remained unmolested. The only result of Caesar's two visits was

**Britain and
the Roman
Empire.**

**The
Invasions of
Julius Caesar.**

to make Roman merchants more interested in Britain, and in the traffic they could carry on with the natives.

But early in the first century of our era, one of the Roman emperors, Claudius, decided to begin the actual conquest of Britain, and to make it a part of the great Roman empire. The task was not an easy one, for the Britons defended their lands and homes with spirit and bravery. The year 43 A. D. saw the first Roman legion cross the channel and establish itself in the island. It did not gain much more than a foothold. Other legions followed, and led by the ablest Roman generals, began the gradual conquest of the natives. They spread their authority from the east to the west, and from the south to the north; but it was not till the year 84 A. D. that all of the present England and Wales fell completely under Roman sway. Into Scotland, north of the Clyde and the Forth, the Roman generals could not penetrate. Here the wild tribesmen, known as the Caledonians (see map, p. 8), not only held their own but kept up attacks upon the Britons who submitted peacefully to Roman rule. To hold these fier- warriors in check two long military walls were built. The more northerly stretched from the Clyde to the Forth, and was named after the Emperor Antoninus who completed it (see map, p. 8). The southern, named after the Emperor Hadrian, ran from the Solway to the Tyne. Remains of these long walls, and of other large stone structures erected by the Romans are to be seen at the present day.

The Romans remained in Britain and governed it until the year 410 A. D., that is, for more than three hundred and fifty years. While they remained, Britain was a Roman province, with a governor and an army of soldiers. The soldiers were

**Britain Part
of the Roman
Empire.**

**Roman
Governments
of Britain.**

distributed over the country in a series of military camps, and the camps were all connected by well-built military roads. A glance at the map (p. 8) will show where these camps were situated, and how the roads joining them spread like a network over the island. Towns grew up around the places where the soldiers were living, and some of these towns are flourishing cities of the present day, their names indicating their Roman origin. Such are: Lincoln, Colchester, Exeter, St. Albans, Chester, London and others (see map, p. 8). In these towns might have been found large stone buildings such as the Romans were used to in Italy. Here Roman civilization flourished; here, too, stood Christian churches, spreading Christianity among the native Britons, who slowly forsook the savage rites taught them by their own priests, the Druids. Londinium, the modern London, in the valley of the Thames, was the centre of commerce, and Eboracum, the modern York, the residence of the Roman governor.

As for the Britons, their position under the Romans was not fortunate. At first they struggled to keep their independence, and often broke out into insurrection against their foreign conquerors. In the year 61 A.D., while the Romans were still engaged in subduing the natives, a British queen, Boadicea by name, headed a revolt, and her followers sacked three towns and massacred, it is said, 70,000 Romans. The Romans avenged this outbreak with a fearful slaughter of Britons, and Boadicea only escaped death at the hands of her enemies by herself taking poison. But outbreaks of this kind were less frequent after the subjugation of the island was complete. In the end the Britons settled down quietly under their Roman conquerors and became peaceful subjects. They came under the influence of

**Decline of
the Britons.**

Roman civilization. But this was not altogether a benefit. The Romans forced the Britons to abandon their life of plunder and fighting. Thus they lost the art of war, and especially the art of self-defence. Within two generations after the conquest, scarcely any warriors were to be found among them. When savage tribes from the north of Hadrian's wall, or from Ireland, attacked the Britons, the Roman soldiers drove them off, so there was little need of the Britons to keep up the art of fighting.

Had the Romans continued to stay in the island the Britons might have had no cause to regret the loss of their warlike qualities. But the Roman empire, which at one time governed almost the whole civilized world, began, about the year 400, to show signs of going to pieces. Whole tribes and nations of German people were breaking across the frontier, along the Rhine and the Danube. The soldiers in Britain were needed on the continent. In the year 410 the Roman emperor withdrew them from the island, leaving the Britons unprotected. In vain the Britons implored the soldiers not to leave them. The emperor, to whom they sent an appeal, could give them no help. No Roman soldier could be spared. The Britons, left to themselves, could only await the onset of the hostile tribes from whom they had so long been protected by the Romans. They had now every reason to bemoan the loss of their ability to fight and to defend themselves.

After the Romans had remained in Britain for so long a period of time, it might be supposed that they would have left some traces of their occupation behind. For three hundred and fifty years the Romans had governed Britain. Think what three centuries and a half may mean! Yet in all that

**Romans
withdraw
from Britain.**

**Results of
Roman
Occupation.**



long epoch, very little that the Romans did has come down to us. Once in a while a farmer, ploughing his field, or workmen excavating for a building, will turn up a coin that dates back to Roman times. We still preserve the remains of Roman walls, and of a few stone buildings.

We still use parts of the old Roman roads that served as means of rapid communication between one military post and another. A few of the milestones that measured off the distance from camp to camp may yet be seen. But almost nothing else can we point to as evidence that Roman soldiers once ruled the island. Even the Christian religion, which the Britons had



Roman Milestone (erected by Hadrian)
now in Leicester Museum

embraced, was driven with them to the westward, to the mountains of Wales and the shores of Ireland, when the next invaders came from the continent; indeed, Christianity almost perished, save for a few Celtic monasteries that survived the Saxon conquest. Thus did Roman influence crumble away as soon as the Roman legions withdrew to the continent.

The Britons were not long left in peace. They were attacked by the Picts from beyond Hadrian's wall, and by the Scots, a people who came first from Ireland, but afterwards settled in the south-west of Scotland, giving their name to the

**Picts and
Scots.**

country. The unwirlike Britons, in order to drive them back, invited the help of warriors from the northern shores of Germany. This led to a new invasion, that of the Saxons, much more terrible than that of the Romans.

It is said that the first comers were commanded by two leaders, Hengist and Horsa. Horsa was killed in battle just after their arrival, but Hengist established himself in Kent. He was followed by other leaders and other bands, some being Jutes from Jutland or Denmark, others Saxons from the land by the mouth of the Elbe, and others

**The Saxon
Invasion, 449.**



Saxon Swords. From examples in the British Museum

Angles from Schleswig. But these were all similar in race and language; they spoke what has turned by degrees into our own tongue—English.

They were fierce warriors, and the Britons could not stand before them. They worshipped heathen gods; they hated and destroyed towns; they spared none, and took no captives. The Britons fled westwards before them, leaving behind little trace of their habits or their language. As each piece of the country was torn from them, it was formed into a new Saxon kingdom. The names of the shires tell us this: Essex, Sussex, Wessex are the settlements of the East, South, and West Saxons; Norfolk and Suffolk, of the North and South folk of the Angles; while Northumbria was the realm north of the Humber and Mercia the "march" or border country next to the Britons.

The first invaders had come in 449; it was not till

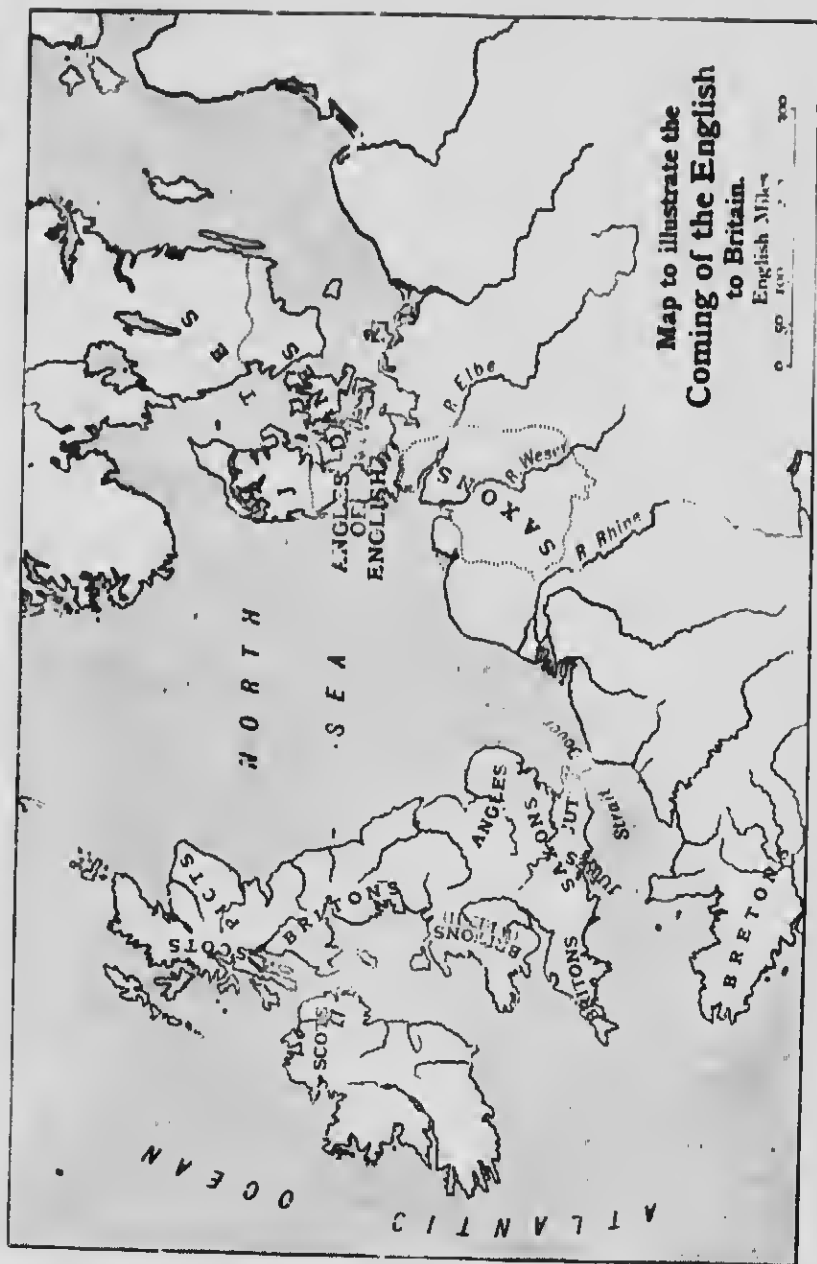
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Map to illustrate the
 Coming of the English
 to Britain.

English Miles
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120 years later that the Britons were driven completely to the west. A great victory at Dyrham, **Battles of Dyrham, 577, and Chester, 613.** in Gloucestershire, let Ceawlin, King of the West Saxons, reach the Severn; and another at Chester, some thirty years later, extended the power of Ethelfrith, King of Northumbria, to the western sea. Henceforward the Britons or Welsh ("foreigners"), as the invaders called them, were split into three separate parts, dwelling in Cornwall, Wales, and Strathclyde, the last being most of the western coast between the Ribble and the Clyde.

So far we have looked at the Saxons as a wild, warlike race; but these wild, warlike men are our own ancestors, and we must see more closely what we have got from them. One thing has been mentioned already—our language. But there is much more than that. These rude savages, when they landed under Hengist and Horsa at Ebbsfleet, brought with them the beginnings of most of the institutions under which the country is governed to-day.

The first thing to remark is that the Saxons were a people who thought much of freedom. **Freedom.** The power of a king or chief was very much limited; they said themselves, "the people had as many rights against him as he had against them".

Following on this we have their love for governing themselves by an assembly. It was an assembly of all the free men—the "folk moot"¹—that **Government by Assembly.** chose the king or leader. It was in the folk moot that all grave matters were discussed and decided; in this assembly we are told that "no man dictated; he might persuade, but he could not command". And the Saxons carried their love for assemblies further. Not only did they have "folk

¹ Moot means a meeting.

moots", which, when the first small kingdoms in England were changed into shires, became "shire moots", but they afterwards set up hundred moots and township moots for the smaller subdivisions called hundreds and townships. These assemblies not only decided local questions, but they formed courts of justice; so that we see here another mark of our national character, the love of managing our own law-courts. This is all something like the system of assemblies we now have—the District and County Councils, with the sovereign assembly of Parliament at the head.

We shall find the origin of Parliament also among the Saxons. As the kingdoms grew too large for all the freemen to assemble, the place of the folk moot was taken by the Assembly of the Wise **The Witan.** Men, or the Witan. In it sat the "aldermen", the rulers of the shires, and the "thegns" or chiefs of the king's body-guard, who were the nobles and great land-owners of the time; and in later days, when the Church was established in England, the archbishops and bishops sat there too. This body somewhat resembled our House of Lords; it differed indeed from Parliament, for there were no Commons to represent the people. But it wielded many of the powers which Parliament wields now. It made laws; it was consulted about affairs of state, on questions of peace and war, of treaties, of religion; it could elect a king, it could depose a king.

So when in later days we find Parliament refusing to allow Charles I to make laws and govern at his will, or interfering in questions of religion as it did in Henry VIII's days, or offering the crown of England as it offered it to William III, or deposing a king as it deposed Richard II, we may remember that it was only using powers which had belonged to its ancestor, the Saxon Witan.

II.—THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY

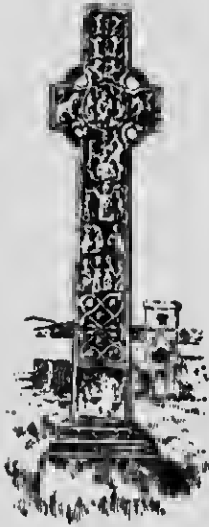
The Saxon invasion seemed a change for the worse. Under Roman rule the Britons had been united, civilized, and Christian. The Saxons divided the country afresh, and brought with them endless wars and violence; they allowed towns to go into decay; they were heathens, worshipping Woden and Thor. All that appears in their favour at first is that they were a more vigorous people than the Britons whose place they took. Under them Britain was for a time lost to Europe. It had been a prosperous Roman province, but ruin came over it. It returned to the dark and savage state from which the Romans had raised it. Rome, however, was to conquer it afresh; this time the conquest was not to be made by Roman legions for a Roman emperor, but by Roman missionaries for the Roman Church.

It happened that Ethelbert, King of Kent, married Bertha, a Christian princess from France. The Pope at this time, Gregory the Great, saw that this **The Mission of Augustine, 597.** offered a chance of converting the heathen Saxons. Every one knows the familiar story, how, passing through the slave-market at Rome, he had seen some fair-haired slaves standing there; he asked whence they came, and was told they were Angles —“Not Angles but Angels” was his answer. “And who is their king?” “Ælla”, was the reply. “Alleluia shall be sung in the realm of Ælla”, said Gregory. When he became Pope he made up his mind to keep the promise so quaintly uttered. So he sent Augustine and a band of forty missionaries to Britain. In 597 they landed at Ebbsfleet, the very place where Hengist and his Saxons had landed a hundred and fifty years before.

King Ethelbert was soon converted, and his subjects followed his example, so that Kent was the first Saxon kingdom to become Christian. Then, just as a Frankish princess had given the chance of sending a mission to Kent, so a Kentish princess, Ethelburga, who married Edwin, King of Northumbria, carried another missionary, Paulinus, to the north.

**Conversion
of England.**

The last great stand for heathenism was made by Penda, King of Mercia, but after thirteen years of fighting he was killed in battle, and soon after his death his subjects also became Christians.



St. Martin's Cross, Iona

Meanwhile the Roman monks were not the only missionaries at work. Britain and Ireland had been converted to Christianity in the Roman days, and now from the Celtic peoples came

**St. Aidan
and the
Scottish
Monks.**

a fresh stream of missionaries. St. Aidan, a Scot, came from the Abbey of Iona and set up a monastery at Lindisfarne. His aim was "to teach no other-wise than he and his followers lived", and the simple, godly habits of his monks showed everyone what Christians should be.

Unfortunately, though the Celtic and Roman missionaries were striving for the same good object, they could not quite agree. The Celtic Church did not acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman Church, and the two differed about some small points. One was the date on which Easter should fall. In 664 a Synod was held at Whitby to consider the matter. The Scottish bishop Colman supported the practice which his church had received from St. Columba, its

**Synod of
Whitby.**

founder; Wilfred, the abbot of Ripon, took the Roman side. Oswy, the king, asked Colman if the keys of heaven had been given to Columba, as they had been given to Peter. Colman replied, "No". "Then," said the king, "if Peter is the door-keeper I will never contradict him, lest when I come to the gates there should be none to open them"—and so he decided for the Roman practice. His decision was important. Had he decided the other way it would have cut Britain off from joining with the rest of Europe in matters of religion, and might have left us without the civilization and learning which, as we shall see, Rome gave us.

The Church was now one in practice and belief, but it was not united or organized. As the country was divided into several kingdoms men did not speak of one church, but of many. The work of uniting all churchmen under one church and one head was done by a Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus, who was chosen by the pope to be Archbishop of Canterbury. He divided the land into dioceses, gave each bishop his own district to manage, and held national synods in which all who came thought of themselves no longer as men of Northumbria, Kent, or Wessex, but as members of one united church.

If we look for the results of the conversion upon our country, the first is here. A united church gave the example for a united people; union under one archbishop accustomed men to think of union under one king; if they were alike in religion, they might well be alike in law and government. And we shall see that this soon came to pass; the old petty kingdoms died out or were absorbed, until one kingdom—that of Wessex—became the kingdom of England.

The Church offered an example of union; it also offered an example of peace. Among the Saxons men had been

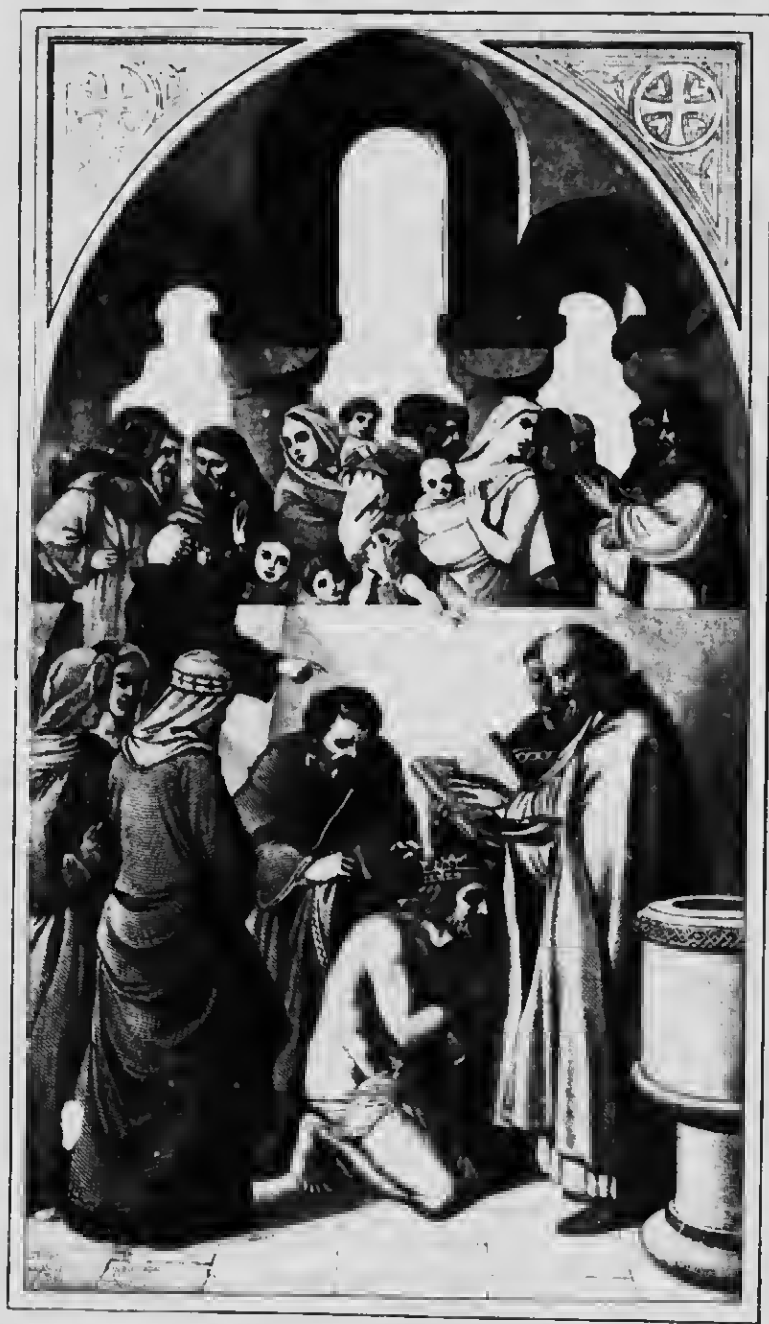
A United Church.

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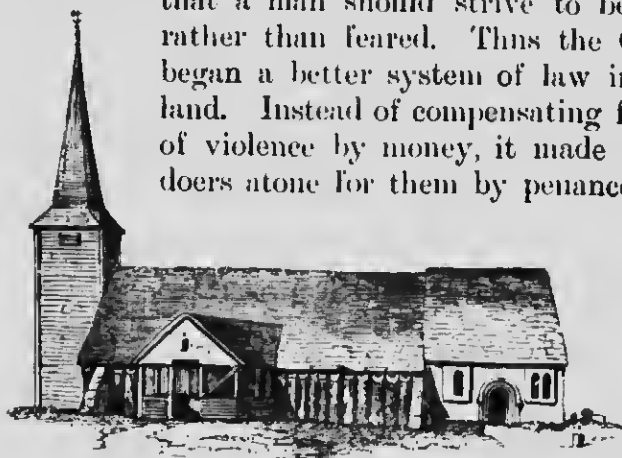
THE BAPTISM OF ETHELBERT KING OF KENT
BY ST. AUGUSTINE AT CANTERBURY, IN 597

From the Painting by W. Dyce, R. A., in the House of Lords



chiefly thought of for their valour. Theirs was the rule of might; little was thought of right. Even murder might be atoned for by payment of a fine. But the monks and parish priests lived peaceful lives: they taught that doing one's duty at home was better than seeking adventures abroad; that it was better to forgive an enemy than to overcome him; that a man should strive to be loved rather than feared. Thus the Church began a better system of law in England. Instead of compensating for acts of violence by money, it made wrong-doers atone for them by penance.

**Peace and
Morality.**



Old Wooden Church of Greenstead, Essex. Drawn 1748. The East end is an Anglo-Norman addition.

To the Church, too, we owe the beginnings of our learning. The Abbey of Whitby found shelter for a cowherd who had become a monk. This man was Caedmon, the first English poet. His great religious poem seemed to those of his time to be sent direct from heaven. Bede.—the ‘Venerable Bede’ is the respectful title that has been bestowed on him,—another monk, is a type of the great teachers whom the Church gave us. “My constant pleasure”, he says, “lay in learning, or teaching, or writing.” At his school of Jarrow six hundred monks learned from him. He was our first historian; and, indeed, it is he who tells

**Caedmon,
664; and
Bede, d. 753.**

us almost all we know of this time. More than this, he translated into English St. John's Gospel, devoting the last days of his life to the task. He was urged to rest from the work that was killing him, but he refused, saying, "I don't want my boys to read a lie, or to work to no purpose when I am gone". When the last chapter of the Gospel was finished the great scholar died.

Another, and a very different type, from among the men the Church gave us was Dunstan. He too was a monk, but while Bede was a scholar, Dunstan was not only a scholar but a statesman also. He was the adviser of two kings, and practically regent for a third; he went with the king on campaigns against the Danes; he kept the royal treasure. As in addition he was Archbishop of Canterbury, we can understand that he was the most powerful man in the kingdom. He was the first man to be great both as a cleric and as a statesman. But there were many who followed in his steps. In fact, until the reign of Henry VIII the greatest ministers of our kings were almost always clerics. They were far more able and enlightened than the ignorant warriors and nobles who formed the king's court, and they did a great work for England. As we shall see later, one of these church-statesmen, Stephen Langton, had much to do with obtaining for us our Magna Carta.

The Church, then, gave us the beginnings of our national unity; she did much to give us peace at home and a better sense of what was lawful and right; she gave us scholars, and she gave us statesmen.

III.—THE UNION OF ENGLAND UNDER THE KINGS OF WESSEX. ALFRED AND THE DANES.

Out of the number of little Saxon kingdoms which existed at first in England, it happened that now one and then another grew more powerful than its neighbours, and held a kind of sway over the rest. First of all Northumbria obtained sue' a position, and afterwards Mercia. When this was so, the King of Northumbria or Mercia was called a Bretwalda, or overlord. Thus King Edwin of Northumbria and King Offa of Mercia were called Bretwaldas. After the year 800, however, a new kingdom rose to the chief power. This was Wessex. Egbert, its king, first subdued Kent and Sussex, and thus made himself master of England south of the Thames; then he attacked the Mercians, and defeated and slew their king in battle, so the Mercians became his subjects. Soon afterwards Northumbria submitted to him also.

Rise of
Wessex.

Thus under Egbert England was united. With him begins the history of our kings, for with four exceptions¹ every king who has sat on the throne of England till the present day has had Egbert's blood in his veins. So the overlordship of Wessex is of far greater interest in our history than that of any other kingdom which came before it.

It is likely, however, that Wessex might have risen only to fall again, like Northumbria and Mercia, but for an event which forced the necessity of union upon all England. This event was the coming of the Danes.

The Danish invasion was much like the invasion of the Saxons themselves, and the new-conquers inflicted on

¹The exceptions are Canute, the two Harolds, and William the Conqueror.

the Saxons almost the same evils as the Saxons had inflicted on the Britons. At first the Danes were mere plunderers, landing from their ships, sneaking monasteries and burning towns. At the approach of an enemy they embarked again and made off with their spoil. By degrees they grew bolder; they came in greater numbers, and ventured farther inland: they even began to settle in the country, and so successful were they that by 869 they

Danish inroads begun, 787.



Danisa Chlule (keel), from tombstone in Iona

had subdued Northumbria and East Anglin, and seemed likely to become masters of the whole country. The kingdom of Wessex alone was left to resist them. Fortunately at this time there appeared a Saxon hero-king who was equal to the task.

This was Alfred, grandson of Egbert. Even before he became king, while yet a boy of eighteen, he had helped his brother in a year's hard warfare against the Danes. No fewer than six battles were fought, and it was not till the last that the men of Wessex were able to win a great victory at Ashdown. In this battle Alfred was held to have won the chief honours by his skill and bravery.

The Danes were driven back for the time, but they were not conquered. Early in Alfred's reign a great host of them under Guthrum poured into Wessex. They took London and Winchester, and defeated Alfred again and again, till he was forced to flee to a marshy spot in Somersetshire, called the isle of Athelney. But though all seemed lost, Alfred did not despair. He gathered

the men of Devon and Somerset, and, marching against Guthrum, defeated him at Ethandun, drove him to take refuge in his stockade at Chippenham, surrounded him there, and compelled him to submit by starving him out.

The treaty of Wedmore, which Alfred and Guthrum made, divided England into two parts by a line drawn, roughly speaking, from Chester to London.

South and west of this Alfred ruled; the north and east remained to Guthrum and the Danes. But Guthrum had to acknowledge Alfred

Treaty of
Wedmore, 878.



Alfred's Jewel, found near Athelney

The figure, perhaps St. Guthlac, is encased upon gold. The inscription is:
AELFRÆD ME GEAT GEWRICAN (Alfred had he wrought)

as lord, and to become a Christian; and as the Danes were not very different from the Saxons in race and speech, even the inhabitants of the Danelagh—the district in which the Danes held sway—were able again to enjoy peace. More than once in his reign Alfred had to take up arms afresh against hordes of invaders, but he always overcame them. A Norse poet sang—

“They got hard blows instead of shillings,
And the axe's weight instead of tribute”.

So they began to think that Alfred was best left alone.

Alfred showed that he was a bold warrior by overcoming the Danes; he also showed that he was a wise statesman by not trying to do too much. He saved Wessex; and though he had for a time to give up the north, and east, it was only for a time. His sons and grandsons were destined to recover all that had been lost. Had Alfred done no more than to save the English from being overthrown altogether, we should remember him as one of the greatest of our kings. But he did many other things besides overcoming the Danes.

As to-day we think of the British navy as one of the chief among our national glories, we should remember that we owe the beginnings of this navy to Alfred. Although the Saxons had been great sailors before they came to Britain, yet after they came they lost their love for the sea. But Alfred saw that the best way to keep off the Danes was by fighting them at sea, and so he built ships bigger and faster than the Danish ships, took into his service Frisian, Welsh, and even Danish sailors to teach his men, and at last was able to guard the shores of England from foreign invaders. He was the first to show what we all recognize now, that if Britain is supreme at sea she has little to fear.

Alfred deserves to be remembered for what he did to keep his realm safe; yet no less honour is due for what he did to make it well-governed. He set in order the laws, and took such good care that they should be kept, that in later days, when troubles came again, men longed for the "laws of King Alfred". He was a scholar, and wished to teach his people. He desired that every freeborn youth "should abide at his book till he can well understand English writing". In order that they should

Alfred a Statesman.

Alfred makes a Navy.

Alfred as a Lawgiver and a Teacher.

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have books to read, he himself translated books for them —books on religion, on geography, on history; and he caused to be written, and perhaps himself helped to write, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Thus, as Caedmon is the father of English poetry, Alfred is the father of English prose.

In 901 Alfred died, but his work did not die with him. His son, Edward the Elder, reconquered the Danelagh as far as the Humber. His grandsons restored the Saxon power over Northumbria, and even induced the Scots to accept the Saxon king as lord. Thus England was again united under a Saxon king. The Danes had been beaten: they had settled down quietly under Saxon rule; they had intermarried with the Saxons, had grown like them in speech, and were hardly to be told as a separate race. All seemed well. It was scarcely possible to imagine a better sign for the future than this, that Edred, the youngest of Alfred's three grandsons, was chosen king by a Witan in which Saxons, Welshmen, and Danes all sat peacefully side by side as members of one realm. But the Danish invasions were not yet over. Fresh troubles were not very far off.

IV.—THE FALL OF THE SAXONS. ENGLAND UNDER FOREIGN RULE. DANES AND NORMANS.

Alfred himself stands out as the towering landmark of the period we have followed. But his greatness is apt to mislead us. He does not stand alone. He is only one of a race of kings, all most capable rulers, who, were Alfred out of sight, might each deserve to be called a hero. It is not

The Great Saxon Kings.

too much to say, that for nearly a hundred and eighty years (470-678) every king save one that sat on the throne of Wessex deserved to be called a great man; and, in addition, during the last forty years these kings had the advice of the greatest Saxon statesman—Dunstan. This is the Golden Age of Saxon England; but the period which follows offers a sad contrast.

It opens ominously with murder. The young king Edward, riding past his stepmother's castle at Corfe, halted at the door and asked for a cup of wine. The treacherous queen brought it herself, and while the king was drinking it, made one of her men stab him in the back, that her own son Ethelred might get the throne. For eight-and-thirty years England was to regret that deed, for Ethelred's reign proved one of the worst in her history.

Ethelred's name of the Unready or Redeless—that is to say, "The Man of Ill-Counsel"—aptly describes him. He was selfish, idle, weak. He allowed his nobles to quarrel among themselves. The Danes saw the weakness of the realm and began their raids afresh. Ethelred was foolish enough to reverse the plan which Alfred had followed with such success. Instead of hard blows he gave them shillings, and tried to buy them off with the Danegeld, a tax which he made his luckless subjects pay. This only attracted fresh swarms of Danes. One band followed another, all clamouring for Danegeld.



Danish Soldier of the period, with two-edged sword. From Strutt

Ethelred,
978-1016.

Then Ethelred, having by his first act brought the Danes into England, made them lasting foes by his second. He had recourse to treachery. Suddenly, in a time of truce, he caused all the Danes on whom he could lay hands to be murdered. This "Massacre of St. Brice's Day" drew



Canute and his Queen at the Altar making a Donation to New Minster
From an illumination in the Registry of Hyde Abbey.

down on him the whole might of the Danish kingdom, for among the victims so foully slain were the sister of the Danish king Sweyn, and her husband.

Ethelred, like all weak kings, was a prey to bad favourites. The man he chose as his friend was **Edric**, a prince of traitors—Edric. Almost the first act of this friend was to betray his master by persuading

the Witan to offer the throne of England to the Danish king. London alone stoutly held out for Ethelred, till it heard that the miserable man had deserted his post and had fled to Normandy. The nation then made Edmund, his son, king. He was young and brave, as his name "Ironside" tells us, and might have driven out Canute, who led the Danes. Five battles he fought, and was successful in them all; but in the sixth, Edric, who had come over to his side, deserted him again on the battle-



Impressions from the Great Seal of Edward the Confessor
in the British Museum

field, and caused his defeat. Not content with that, a year later the traitor Edric got Edmund murdered, and in despair the nation chose the Dane Canute as their king.

Thus all Alfred's work was overthrown. Yet Canute, though a foreign conqueror, was a good king. He ruled sternly, but fairly; he gave England the peace which was sadly needed. He married Ethelred's widow, and so joined himself to the old royal family; he employed English and Danes alike; and he slew the treacherous Edric. He felt so certain of the loyalty of his new subjects that he was able to send home all his Danish army, save a small body-guard. This shows us that he was loved, just as the old story of his rebuke to the flattering courtiers who urged him to

Canute
the Dane,
1016-1035.

forbid the tide to come any farther, shows us that he was wise.

Neither of Canute's sons lived long, so that in 1042 the Witan had to choose a fresh king. The choice fell on Edward, second son of Ethelred the Unready.

Edward, the Confessor as he was called, though a pious, well-meaning man, was destined to bring England under another foreign power. He had been brought up in Normandy, and he was much fonder of Normans than of his own subjects.

He made a Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, and promoted others to be bishops and earls; worse than this, he had even given some sort of promise to William, the Duke of Normandy, that he would leave him the crown of England at his death. All this favouring of foreigners made Englishmen very angry.

When Edward died, leaving only a great-nephew of ten years old to follow him, the Witan, anxious for a strong ruler, and for one who would hate the Normans instead of favouring them, put Harold, son of the Saxon Earl Godwin, on the throne.

But William of Normandy, as we have seen, had already been aiming at the crown. And further, unluckily for Harold, it had happened that he had once been wrecked on the coast of Normandy and thrown into prison. Before the duke would let him go, he had made him swear that he would do his best to get William chosen king on Edward's death. William now declared that Harold was false to his oath, and made ready an army of Normans to invade England and dethrone him.

Even at this fatal moment, while William was preparing his fleet and mustering thousands of soldiers, not from Normandy alone but from all parts of France, England was not united. Harold's brother Tostig, whom he had driven into exile,

**Stamford
Bridge.**



Harold swearing on the Relics. From the Bayeux Tapestry

HAROLD SACRAMENTVM FECIT WILLELMO DVCI (Harold gave his oath to Duke William) He is represented as doing this by laying his hand upon a reliquary containing the bones of saints

suddenly landed in Northumbria, bringing with him the King of Norway and a host of Norse warriors. Harold

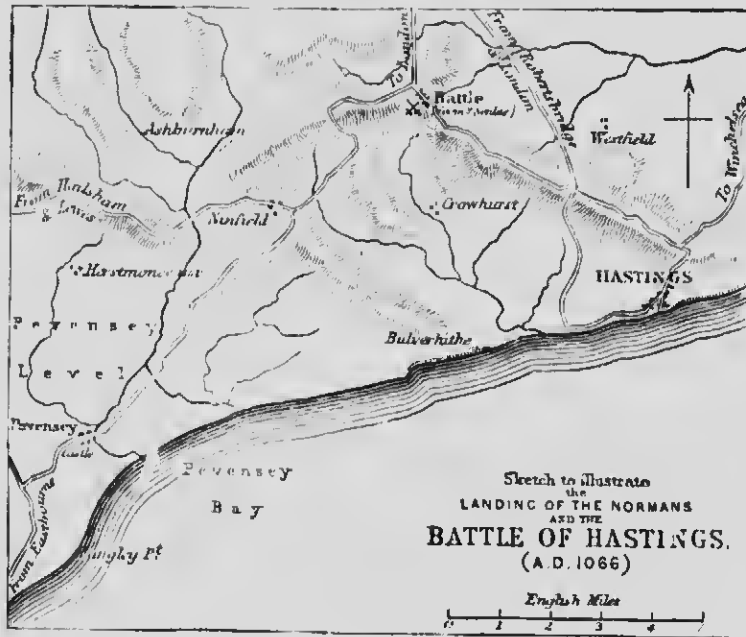
had to march north to fight them. He met them at Stamford Bridge and utterly defeated them. Tostig and the Norwegian king were both slain. The vast army which came in three hundred ships was so shattered that twenty-four were enough to carry it away.

It was a great victory, but it was Harold's last. While he was away the wind shifted from the north-west to the south, and Duke William was able to land with, it is said, a hundred thousand men at his back. "Had I been there," cried Harold, "they had never made good their landing." He hurried his army southward, but even now, with the enemy on English shore, Edwin and Morcar, Earls of Northumbria and Mercia, would not help him, but loitered behind till too late.

The battle that was to decide England's fate was fought near Hastings on the 14th October, 1066. Harold drew up his men on a hill, and strengthened his position with entrenchments. His soldiers fought on foot: his body-guard in the centre were armed mostly with two-handed axes or long swords, but on the wings he had some hastily-raised levies, some armed with clubs, some with spears, some with scythes. The duke had a splendid force of mail-clad cavalry and a number of archers.

The Normans began the attack, but neither the arrows nor the charges of horsemen could shake the English. Man after man of William's best knights went down under the English axes. The day wore on towards afternoon, and still Harold held his ground. Had he had with him the warriors who had fallen at Stamford Bridge, or even the lingering forces of Edwin and Morcar, he might have won. But suddenly some of his ill-trained levies ruined him. The duke pretended to be retreating. Many of the English left their position to pursue the foe whom they thought beaten. William

ordered his men to wheel about and charge. The English, caught in the open ground, were no match for the Norman cavalry, who cut them down with ease. Then William led his knights to a fresh charge on the body-guard who had stood firm by Harold. Although desperately outnumbered, these stood firm till Harold him-



self was mortally wounded by an arrow in the eye. Then at length the wall of shields was broken; the English guard were overpowered and slain where they stood; and as the sun was setting, Duke William found himself the victor.

Thus, twice in ninety years was England at a conqueror's feet. It was not for want of valour. None could be braver than Edmund Ironside or Harold. None could do more than give their lives for their country,

and the English army at Hastings poured out its blood like water for its king. It was not the open enemy that was to be feared, but the familiar friend; not the Dane or Norman, but the recreant Englishman. The falseness of Ethelred, the treachery of Edric, the rebellion of Tostig, the half-heartedness of Edwin and Morcar—these were the true causes of the Saxon downfall.

V.—NORMANS AND ENGLISH: FEUDALISM

After the battle of Hastings William marched slowly towards London. He might have expected that the country of Alfred and Edmund Ironside would not submit after one defeat only. But the English were still quarrelling among themselves. And so, though the Witan chose Edgar Atheling, the grandson of Edmund Ironside, to succeed Harold as king, yet in a short time they found it hopeless to resist further. An embassy, with Edgar himself at the head of it, came to William and offered him the crown. Thus William was able to say that he ruled, not as a conqueror, but as the lawful king, elected by the Witan.

This was a great advantage, but William was still in a very difficult position. He had two things to do: the first, to subdue the English thoroughly; the second, to keep his own Norman followers contented and obedient, to reward them, and yet not make them so strong that they could revolt against him. He had, in fact, to keep himself master of both Normans and English alike.

His first stroke was to declare that all those who had fought against him at Hastings were rebels, and that their estates were forfeited to him. Thus he became

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**KING ALFRED INCITING THE ANGLO-SAXONS
TO REPEL THE INVASION OF THE DANES, A.D. 876**
From the Picture by G. J. Watts, R.A., in the Houses of Parliament

master of almost all the land in the south of England; and when in later years the English in the north and west rebelled against him, he punished them by taking away their lands also. These vast estates he used to reward his Norman fol-
The Land of England.

lowers. Even when an Englishman's estates were not taken from him, he was obliged to pay a large fine, and to admit that the land was really the king's and not his own; that he was the king's tenant and vassal, and therefore bound to serve him.

Thus was set up in England what is called the "Feudal System". To understand this we must fix our eyes upon the land, for the land was the basis of it all. The king at the head was the owner of all the land. He granted large estates to his nobles and barons, who were called tenants-in-chief, and who were bound by these grants of land to fight for the king if he called on them to do so. The tenants-in-chief in their turn granted parts of their estates to their followers, who were also bound in their turn to obey the tenants-in-chief as their superiors. Below all classes of free tenants were a vast number of serfs who had very small holdings of land, some five, ten, twenty, or thirty acres, and who had in return for this to work upon their lord's land, and to cultivate it for him.

Feudal System.

Thus all men were divided into ranks. We may think of it all as a sort of pyramid; hosts of serfs at the bottom owing obedience to their lords who held the land; next a large number of minor tenants owing obedience to the tenants-in-chief; and then a small number of tenants-in-chief, the earls and barons, owing obedience to the one king at the top. It was the land which bound them all together. Everyone had rights or duties which depended on the way he was connected with the land. The king was the master of all because he was master of all the

land; the barons were his "vassals", subject to him, because they held his land; but they were lords over the serfs, because these did not hold land as freemen at all.

It is easy to see that the English came off badly in this arrangement. As the Norman friends of the king were put at the top, the English naturally sank to the bottom. Those who before the Conquest had been free, though they were owners of very small estates, were now reduced to being serfs, or, as they were sometimes called, villeins.



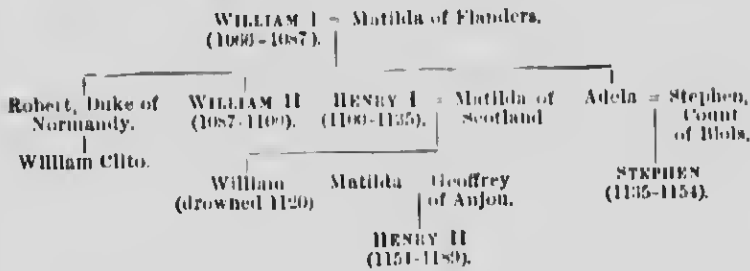
Serf or Theow. Cotton MS.
Cleopatra C. 8. 1

We must see what this meant for them. In the first place, they were no longer free. They were bound to the land and could not leave it. They were forced to work three or four days a week on their lord's estate, without being paid. They could not give their daughters in marriage without their lord's leave. Beyond all this, they were in his power, for

he could punish them almost as he chose by fining them, or causing them to be flogged, and they could not get any redress. This was made worse by the fact that their lords were almost always foreigners. The Normans despised the English. They called them "dogs of Saxons", and treated them worse than dogs. They did not understand the English tongue, and paid no attention to what the English said or felt. William might pretend that he had, after all, only taken the place of Harold on the English throne, but to the English he was indeed a conqueror, and a very hard conqueror as well.

¹ Sir R. B. Cotton was a famous book-lover of the time of James I. His collection of manuscripts is now in the British Museum.

THE ANGLO NORMAN KINGS



The English might think their new position a bad one, and so indeed it was, but it might have been worse; we shall see that it became so when the strong hand of William and his sons was removed. The fact was that William ruled sternly, but he ruled all alike. He had been himself a fendal vassal before he became a fendal king. As Duke of Normandy he had been so strong in his own dominions that he could disobey his superior, the King of France, altogether. He was not willing to let his barons be as troublesome to him in England as he himself had been to the King of France. So he did three very wise things.

First: He had to give his barons much land, but he gave them it in scattered estates, not all together. Thus, if a baron wished to rebel against the king, he could not collect his forces in one place; and he had always jealous neighbours round him, who would keep a watch on what he did.

Secondly: William assembled all his tenants at Salisbury, and made them swear that they would obey the king first and their lords after: thus, if some lord wished to lead an army of his followers against the king, they would reply that their first duty was to obey the king.

And thirdly: William caused a great inquiry to be made, in which was set down all the land of England

and who owned it, and what it was worth, so that he might know exactly what was due to him, and so that no one should be able to dispute over it. This inquiry was called the Domesday Survey, and it was so thorough, that it even tells us how many villeins, and oxen, and sheep, and pigs, and mills, and fish-ponds there were on every estate in England. Many people thought it was unworthy of a king to inquire into things like these. One writer says "it is shame to be telling of, but he did not think it shame to be doing it". William, however, did not feel any shame in finding out all about his kingdom, in order to rule it well.

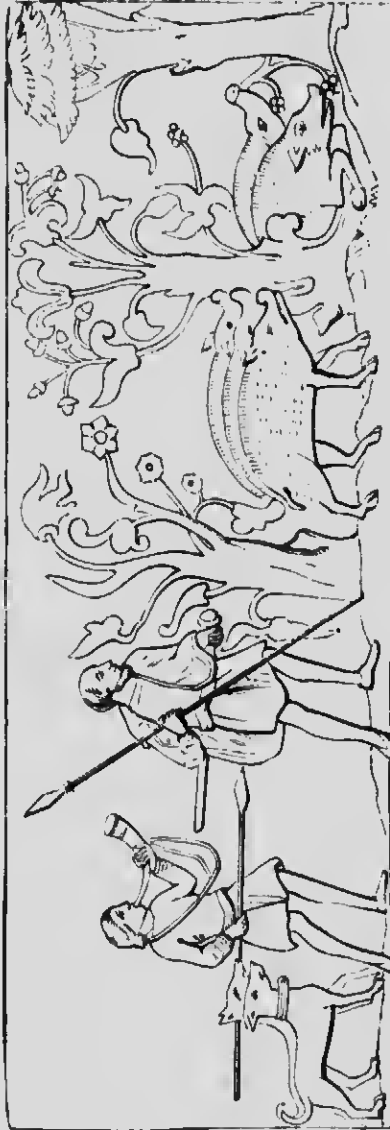
Yet with all the care he took William could not escape trouble. The English rebelled against him, his Norman barons rebelled against him, and even his eldest son allied himself with the King of France against him. So William spent much of his time in fighting, which was after all what he loved best. For kings and barons in those days thought that the chief business of life was fighting. They despised those who stayed peaceably at home. At last, as William was watching his men burn the French town of Mantes, the horse on which he was riding was frightened by a blazing beam which fell near it, and reared. The king was thrown so hard against the pommel of his saddle that he suffered injuries of which he died a few days after.

William II., who is called Rufus—the Red—from his appearance, was a stern, hard man like his father, but far less just. He made his chancellor, Ranulf Flambard, take much money from his people, who learnt to hate him and his chancellor: and indeed the next king put Ranulf Flambard to death. William Rufus quarrelled also with the Church. It happened that he fell ill, and as he thought he was dying,

**William II,
1087-1099.**

**William's
Troubles.**

he wished to try to atone for his sins; so he appointed Anselm to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, a see which he had been keeping vacant in order to get its revenues for himself. Anselm was a good, gentle monk, and to those who brought the news of his appointment he said, "Will you couple me, a poor weak old sheep, to that fierce young bull the King of England?" Yet when he was once made archbishop, he soon showed that he would not submit to the king when the king was acting wrongly. He refused to pay the king for giving him the archbishopric, and rebuked him for his ill deeds so sharply, that at last the king grew furious, and would have murdered him had he dared. So, having provoked his subjects and his barons and the Church by his severity and greediness after money, he was not regretted when he



Saxon Boar Hunt. From an 11th-century calendar (Strutt)

was killed by an arrow while hunting in the New Forest.

Henry I, who followed Rufus, was also a strong king, and not a merciful one. He kept his elder brother, Duke Robert of Normandy, in prison till he died.

Henry I,
1099-1135.

Once when he thought the men who coined his money were cheating him, he ordered the right hand of every one of them to be cut off. His barons rebelled against him, but he always overcame them. He kept such strict order in England that he was called the Lion of Justice. This alone would have made his English subjects like him, but they were still more pleased when he married Matilda of Scotland, who was descended from the old kings of Wessex. The Norman barons laughed at the king, who, they thought, was lowering himself by marrying a Saxon, one of the race they despised. They nicknamed the royal pair "Farmer Godric and his emmer Godgifu". But when a Norman king could marry a Saxon wife, it was clear that the two races would not remain separated much longer.

VI.—THE WORST EVILS OF FEUDALISM AND THE RESTORATION OF ORDER

In the last chapter we have seen England conquered, we might even say enslaved. It seems strange that after the first few years the English made no effort to get free. It was the Norman barons who made the rebellions. "But", we are tempted to ask ourselves, "if the people hated a king as they hated William Rufus, why did not they combine with the barons to drive him out?" It would have been easy, of course; why was it not done? The answer is,

England
subdued.

that Englishmen feared the Norman barons much more than they disliked the king. And they were right. Rufus might be bad, but a rule of the barons would be far worse.

Henry I's son had been drowned as he was trying to save his sister from off the wreck of the *White Ship*, which a drunken steersman had run on the Casquets. The king wished to secure the throne for his daughter Matilda, and during his lifetime had made his barons swear to be faithful to her. But Matilda had married Geoffrey of Anjou, who was hated as a foreigner. Besides, no one then thought a woman to be a fit person to rule the kingdom. Thus, when Henry died the barons made Stephen king.

Stephen was a grandson of William the Conqueror, so he had some claim. He was also, the chronicler tells us, "a mild man", so that it might be hoped that he would make a good king. But the throne was no place for a mild man at this time. What was wanted was a strong man who could keep order.

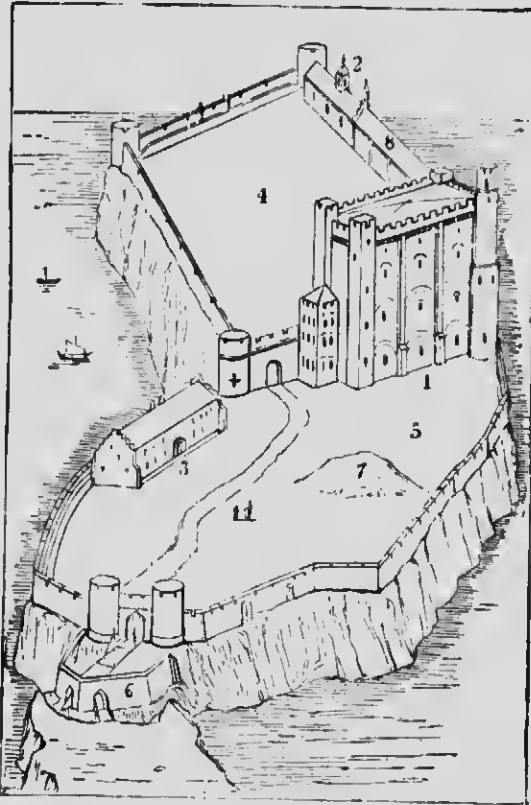
Stephen gained his crown by the help of the barons and the Church; but soon he fell out with both, and to add to his troubles Matilda landed with an army and laid claim to the kingdom. Then began a long civil war, which went on up and down the country, now one side winning, now the other. At one time Matilda's forces beat Stephen, and took him captive. So she for a time became ruler of England; but she was so haughty that her friends soon deserted her, and then the war began afresh. At another time, in the depth of winter, Stephen had Matilda closely besieged in Oxford. She only escaped by dressing herself all in white, slipping out at night by a postern-gate, crossing the Thames on the ice, and fleeing across the snow. Then she gathered fresh forces and fought again.

The fact was that the war went on because the barons had no wish to stop it. When there was a dispute about the succession the king was sure to be weak, and the barons could do as they pleased. Thus, in Stephen's reign England learnt what it really meant when the country was left to the mercy of the feudal barons. The chronicler of the time describes what they did. "They built castles, and filled them with devils and evil men. They hanged up men by the feet, and smoked them with foul smoke. Some were hanged up by their thumbs, others by the head, and burning things were hung on to their feet. They put knotted strings about their heads, and writhed them till they went into the brain. They put men into prisons where adders and snakes and toads were crawling, and so tormented them. Some they put into a chest, short and narrow and not deep, that had sharp stones within, and forced men therein, so that they broke all their bones." When Stephen brought over foreigners from abroad to fight for him, these behaved even worse, sacking, burning, spoiling wherever they went. "Men said that Christ and his saints slept." The poor were reduced to misery; many of them whose huts had been burnt died of cold and hunger in the fields. It was no wonder that the nineteen years of Stephen's reign were known as the "nineteen long winters".

Henry II, Matilda's son, who succeeded Stephen, had no light task to restore order. The first thing to be done was to tame the barons. In their castles they had been able to defy their enemies; Henry had their castles pulled down. Since they had held their own law-courts, it had often been impossible for the king's subjects to get justice; Henry limited these courts, and enforced the system of his grandfather Henry I, who had sent his own travelling

**Henry II,
1154-1189,
restores
order.**

justices on circuit round the country to bring all under the king's law, in the same way as the justices go round now to the Assizes. Henry II also began the use of a



Norman Castle. From a drawing in Grose's Military Antiquities

1. The Donjon-keep. 2, Chapel. 3, Stables. 4, Inner Baillium. 5, Outer Baillium. 6, Barbican. 7, Mount, supposed to be the court-hill or tribunal, and also the place where justice was executed. 8, Soldiers' Lodgings.

jury—that is to say, a body of men who were to say whether in their opinion a man was guilty of a charge brought against him. He drove out the cruel foreign soldiers who had tortured and plundered the people.

He took back by force all the crown lands which the weak and foolish King Stephen had parted with.

Henry was determined to be master in his own kingdom; and his people backed him up, because they saw that many masters, such as the barons, were far harder to serve than one king. But there was another body

**Power of
the Church.**

besides the barons which was growing much too powerful for the king's liking. This was the Church. It was the Church, led by Stephen's brother, Henry of Winchester, that had put Stephen on the throne. When Stephen quarrelled with the Church, it was mainly by its influence that he had been dethroned, and Matilda made Lady of England in his place. It was the Church, again, that had brought about the treaty which ended the war, and had given the throne to Henry II.

Besides this there was another thing which displeased the king. William the Conqueror had given leave for churchmen to be tried in the Church's own courts under the law of the Church.

**Churchmen and
the Law.**

This meant that there were two systems of law in the country—the king's law and the Church's law, and they were very different. For example, a layman who committed a murder was hanged, but if a cleric committed a murder, all that could be done to him was to shut him up in a monastery, for the Church's courts had no power to give sentence of death; and men said that the Church courts often let off offenders very lightly. We might think that clerical murderers were rare, but the king's justices complained that since Henry's accession more than a hundred murderers had escaped justice on the ground that they were clerics. The truth was, that the term cleric included not only parish priests and monks, but all who were engaged in any way in the service of the Church; and some of these led evil lives.

To bring the Church more under his power, Henry made his chancellor, Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Becket and the king had been great friends. We are told "they would play together like boys of one age", and Henry no doubt thought that a careless courtier, as Becket seemed, who wore gay clothes and hunted and jested, would be ready to do what his king wished in Church matters.



Consecration of Becket as Archbishop. From Royal MS. 2. B. 7. The Royal manuscripts, now in the British Museum, were collected by our kings from Richard II to George II.

The king was mistaken. As soon as Becket was made archbishop he changed his life altogether: he became solemn and pious. Instead of aiding the king he opposed him. His action seems cantankerous, but it was not so in reality. He feared that if clerics were put under the power of the ordinary law, they would lose much of their influence with the people. To do what Henry asked was in fact to weaken the power of the Church, and this as a churchman Becket honestly

felt that he could not do. Accordingly when the king desired to have the clergy tried in the royal courts, Becket refused to agree. Henry flew into a rage, and drove Becket out of the kingdom.

For six years the quarrel continued. Then it was agreed that Becket might return if he would let bygones be bygones. But Becket did not keep to this; he began to interfere in what had been done in his absence. Henry was a very passionate man, who, when he was angry, would even fling himself down on the floor, and bite the rushes which were then used instead of carpets. On hearing what Becket had done, he cried out furiously, "Are there none of the cowards eating my bread who will rid me of this turbulent priest?" Four knights

Becket who had heard him set off for Canterbury,
Murdered, followed Becket into the cathedral, and hewed
1170. him down with their swords as he stood by the steps of the altar.

Everyone was horrified at such a wicked murder, and thought that Henry was responsible for it. Becket was regarded as a martyr and a saint, and pilgrims went to his tomb, believing that miraculous cures were wrought there. Even Henry, proud king as he was, went to the tomb, and bared his back to be scourged by the monks as a sign that he repented. But the evil effects of his own passionate words and his followers' barbarous action did not end here. The king had to give up his attempt to bring the clergy under the ordinary law; and three hundred years passed before clergy were made liable to be tried for crimes, and punished for them, in the same way as ordinary men.

What we have to notice in the reign of Henry II is the restoration of order in the country. The king strove to make all persons subject to the crown; to make the law supreme over all—powerful nobles and

churhmen alike. In his first object he was successful, in the second he failed. But he failed, not because what he was attempting was unwise or unjust, but because he



Canterbury Pilgrims. From Lydgate's Tale of Thebes. Royal MS. 18 D II

was put in the wrong by the foolish violence of those who thought they were helping him.

VII.—ENGLISH KINGS ABROAD RICHARD THE CRUSADER

Henry II was a great restorer of law and order in England; we think of him as the strong king who saved his people from the harsh rule of feudal barons. But to men of his own day, that was very far from being the most remarkable thing about him. To them he was a great king, who owned wider dominions than ever a king of England had ruled before. The greater part of

Henry II's
Foreign
Dominions.

Wales obeyed him; and one of Henry's barons named Strongbow had crossed into Ireland, and had made most of the Irish chieftains submit to him, so that Henry ruled over the Pale, the district round Dublin, and was in name king of the rest of Ireland too. Then he was successful in his wars against the Scots. His soldiers had captured the Scottish king, William the Lion, at Alnwick, and Henry did not allow him to go till he had done homage for his dominions; that was intended to show that the Scotch king held his kingdom as a grant from Henry. Thus Henry might claim to be lord also over Scotland. But beyond all this he ruled over more of France than the French king himself; he was master of the whole of the west coast of France, from the English Channel to the Pyrenees.

We noticed the marriage of Henry I with a Saxon princess as a sign that Saxons and Normans were beginning to think of themselves, not as two separate races, but one people. In Henry's II's reign the union became more complete. The two languages were mingling into one. From the mixture of Norman-French and the Saxon speech we get our own tongue. It is curious to think that, just at this time when the races were uniting to form England, our kings were growing more and more foreign, and more and more occupied with affairs outside England.

This seems all the more strange, because Henry's son, Richard I, is often taken as the type of a Briton. His very name—the "Lion-heart"—makes us think of the British Lion. His strength, his daring against odds, his rough good-nature, his love of adventure, all are marks of what we are proud of in Britons to-day. And yet this typical king is, in a way, more of a foreigner than any other king who has ruled over us. Out of his reign of ten years he only spent

Richard I,
1189-1199.



seven months in England. Yet, even if Englishmen did not see much of their king, he showed the world outside what an English king could do, and he made the name of our nation renowned among all the best warriors of Europe.

As soon as he came to the throne he made up his mind to join the great army of Crusaders that had set out to deliver the Holy City, Jerusalem, from the Saracens. To get money to pay his men he let off William the Lion from the duty of giving the homage which Henry II had won. We shall see by and by how important this became. But for the present Richard was ready to sell anything. He even said in joke: "I would have sold London itself if I could have found a rich enough buyer".

When Richard reached the Holy Land he found the Crusaders doing very badly. They were trying to take Acre, but were making no headway with the siege. With Richard once on the spot all was changed. The Lion-heart soon showed that he deserved his name. He was always foremost in the attack, risking his life like a common soldier, but fighting with ten times the vigour. In three weeks Acre was taken. Duke Leopold of Austria planted his banner on the walls of it as if he had taken it himself. Richard was not the man to allow the glory to be stolen from him. He ordered the German banner to be cast into a ditch, and put his own in its place. But this act offended Leopold very much, and Richard had to pay for it later.

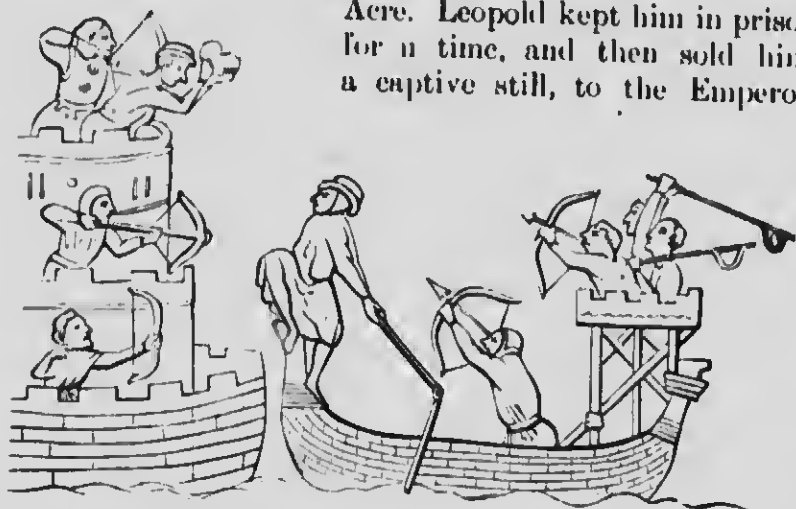
In the meantime, however, all the Crusaders followed him as the best leader, and he defeated the Saracen hosts in two great battles. Yet he never captured Jerusalem, because the French king went home with his men, and left Richard with too small an army to do anything. He got within sight of the Holy City, but he

could not bear to look at it. "My eyes", he cried, "shall never behold it, if my arm may not reconquer it". With that he turned back.

Then, hearing that his brother John was plotting to take the throne of England from him, he started homewards. His ship, however, was wrecked, and he was cast ashore in the domain of the very Duke of Austria whose flag he had insulted at

**Richard's
Captivity.**

Acre. Leopold kept him in prison for a time, and then sold him, a captive still, to the Emperor,



Ships of the Time, showing the use of bow, cross-bow, sling, and flail. From the Cambridge manuscript of the *Greater Chronicles of Matthew Paris*, historian and monk (d. 1259).

Henry VI. It was said that his prison was discovered by a minstrel named Blondel, who passed outside singing a song of Richard's own, and Richard answered by singing the song again.

After some delay the king was ransomed, and returned to England. There he found that John had been asserting that he was dead, and was trying to make himself king in his place. But everyone hated John, who was mean and cunning and cruel; and they were delighted to welcome Richard again. Richard was too good-natured

to punish John. He despised him too much to be afraid of him.

Richard's death was much like his life. No sooner was he home than he began a war with the King of France, who was trying to get for himself the districts in France which belonged to the English crown. At last, while besieging the castle of Chaluz, Richard was struck by an arrow in the neck. The archer who shot it was brought before the dying king. Richard bade his officers send him away unharmed. It is sad to think that they did not obey the orders, but had the unlucky man flayed alive.

Richard was succeeded by his brother John, who was a very different kind of man. He could not keep his possessions in France, as Richard had done, by dint of hard fighting. He was too lazy and careless. Besides, he was so treacherous that all disliked him, and few cared to fight for him. He captured and put to death his boy nephew Arthur, a deed which made every one shrink from him. So Philip the French king, had little difficulty in reconquering all John's land in France except a small piece in the south, and thus John's nickname of "Lackland", given him by his father years before, doubly fitted him.

John's failure to keep his French possessions had great results in the history of our kingdom. So long as our kings were rulers over half of France as well as over England, they were inclined to pay little attention to English affairs; yet when these dominions oversea were lost, the king had to become an English king in reality as well as in name, and do what his subjects wanted. We shall see in the next chapter that the people of England made John, who was the worst king England has ever known, give them something which has been of more importance than anything else in the whole of our history.

John,
1199-1216.

VIII.—MAGNA CARTA: AND THE MAKINGS OF PARLIAMENT

John, now forced to stay at home in England, soon disgusted everyone by his behaviour. First of all he wanted to appoint a friend of his as Archbishop of Canterbury. But Pope Innocent III thought John's friend unworthy and chose Stephen Langton. John flew into a furious rage and swore he

John and
the Pope.



Gentlemen of the time of John. From an enameled cup, presented by King John to the town of Lynn

would never receive Langton. Innocent, however, would not give way either, and first he excommunicated John, and then put the realm under an interdict: that is to say, he forbade all services; the churches were closed; even the dead could not be buried in consecrated ground. Then, as John was still obstinate, the Pope invited the King of France to send over an army to put him off the throne. At last John gave way. In sign that he sub-

mitted he even gave up his crown to Pandulf, the Pope's legate, and received it back from him as a gift from the Pope. Every Englishman was ashamed of a king who could demean himself in this way.

John continued to govern so badly that something had to be done. Accordingly Stephen Langton and the barons held a great meeting, to which they invited representatives from every shire to come and declare their grievances against the king, and consider what should be done to restrain him. John tried to collect forces, but he could do nothing. He had not to resist the barons alone: he had to meet the clergy, the knights, and the citizens of the towns as well. Indeed, everyone was united against him, and he had to give way.

**Magna Carta,
1215.**

He met the barons at Runnimele, and there he signed Magna Carta, the greatest charter of English liberties.

We must notice particularly two things to which the king bound himself.

(1) He was to take no tax except by common consent of the realm; and this consent was to be given in the Great Council, to which not only the greater barons and churchmen were to be summoned, but all those who held land from the king.

(2) No one was to be imprisoned or punished except after trial by his equals; and the charter adds, "to none will we sell, to none will we deny right or justice".

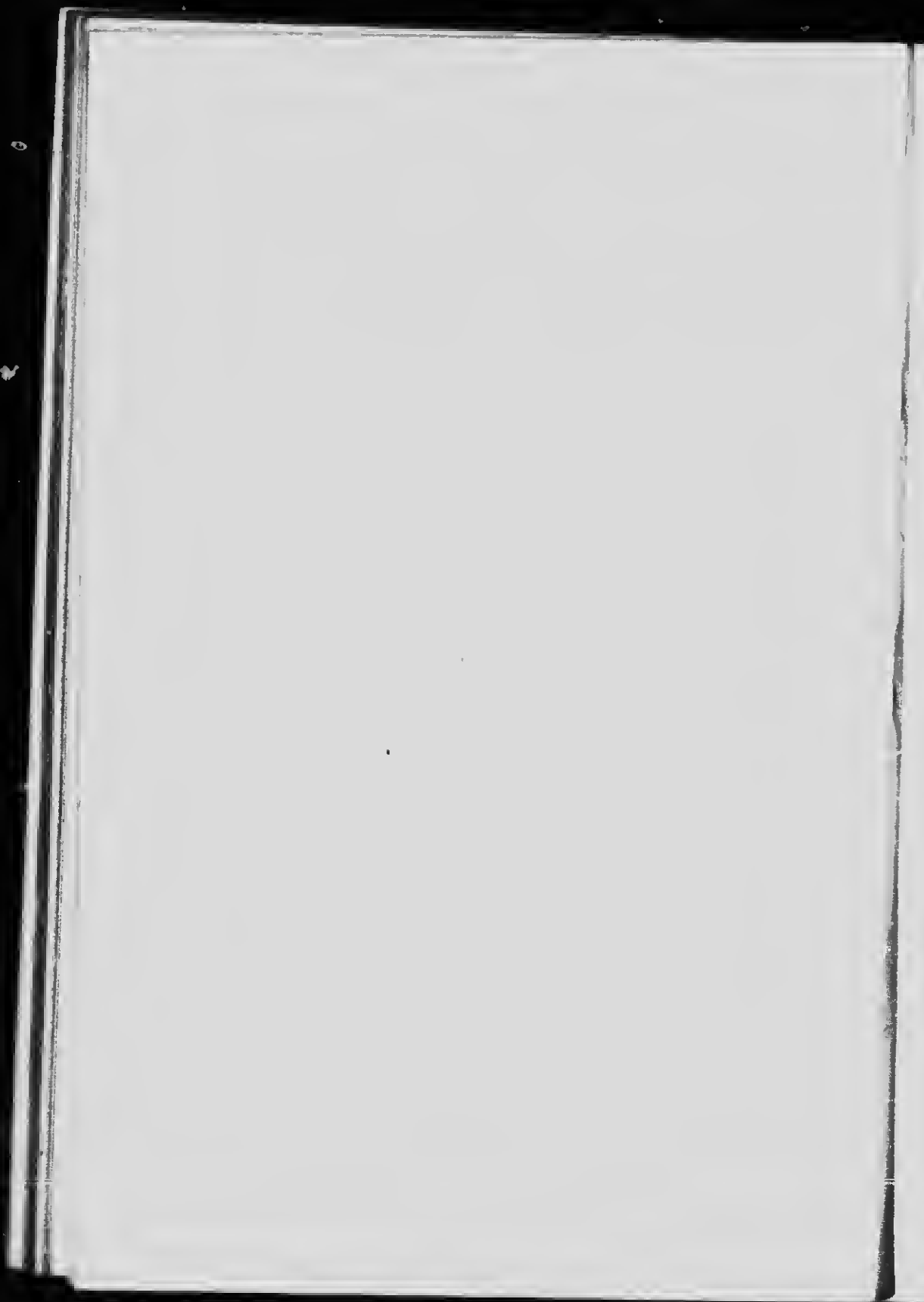
These safeguard two most important English rights: first, that the king may not take money, unless Parliament grants it to him; and secondly, that no man is to be punished without a trial, and that trial must be before a jury.

John signed the charter and promised to obey it; he gave his promise because at the time there was nothing else for him to do; and he gave it willingly, because



**RICHARD COEUR DE LION FORGIVING BERTRAND DE GURDUN
WHO HAD ATTEMPTED HIS LIFE. 1199**

From the Picture by John Cross, in the Houses of Parliament



from the first he had not the slightest intention of keeping it. He got the Pope to say that he was not bound by his oath, one of those pieces of papal interference that made Englishmen dislike the Pope. In less than a year he and the barons were again at war. The barons even invited the French king's son into England to fight against John,

**The Struggle
over the
Charter.**



Great Seal of John, appended to Magna Carta. In British Museum

and they offered him the crown, but the struggle was stopped for the time by John's sudden death.

The new king, Henry III, was a boy of nine years old, so until he grew up the barons in the Great Council were able to govern as they wished. But when Henry became a man, he took the reins of power into his own hands. In many ways he was very different from John. Instead of being clever and cunning and treacherous, he was weak and foolish. But he was like him in ruling badly. He trusted much to foreign favourites, and he spent a great deal of money

Henry III,
1216-1272.

in giving large sums to the Pope for things that could do no possible good to England. So by degrees men began to think that he too must be forced to govern better.

The leader of the party who wanted reform was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who had married the king's sister. Henry at first liked him. He had sent him to govern Guienne, the one province of France that still belonged to the English crown. Simon was a good soldier and he had ruled it well, but Henry grew tired of him, and very meanly left Simon to pay from his own pocket the money which he had spent in the king's service.

Thus Earl Simon came home in disgust, and put himself at the head of the barons. They assembled in a Great Council, or, as we may now call it, a Parliament, for the word is first used in Henry III's reign, and arranged that all that the king did was to be overlooked by a committee of barons. The king promised to keep these "Provisions of Oxford" as they were called, but he was as false as John. He too got the Pope to declare him quit of his oath, and so nothing was left for Simon and his party but to go to war. Each side gathered forces, and they met at Lewes. The king's army was bigger, but he lost the day because his son Edward pursued after some fugitives too far.

When he returned Simon had won the battle. Both Henry and Edward were made captive.

Simon had no wish to seize the throne for himself; he only wanted to have the kingdom well governed, so he called a Parliament. It is this Parliament which gives Simon a title to be remembered for ever as one of the makers of the English constitution.

Hitherto the assembly which had helped the king to govern England had consisted of barons and churchmen.



Sea Fight in the 13th Century, showing boats being grappled together. The bowman is discharging a bottle of quicklime to blind the enemy. Matthew Paris, Bennett Coll. C. V. XVI.

But Simon was not content with this; he summoned as well two knights from each shire, and two citizens from each city. Here for the first time we have the appear-

ance in Parliament of the men who now compose the House of Commons. Simon may be called the founder of this House.

Simon governed well, but he could not prevent the barons who should have supported him from growing jealous of his power. So after two years the king's party raised a fresh army led by Prince Edward. Simon was surrounded at Evesham and killed, fighting bravely in the midst of his followers.

He had set a good example. He had summoned the first Parliament, which contained, as our parliaments do to-day, lords, county members, and borough members. But Simon was in a sense a rebel. It might be that no king would care to imitate what he had done; in this case nothing might have come of his experiment.

Curiously enough the man who followed Simon's example, and made his new scheme the regular rule for governing England, was the very one whom Simon regarded as his most bitter foe. The same Prince Edward, who had overthrown Simon at Evesham, adopted his measure when he became King Edward I. In 1295 he caused to be summoned a Parliament like Simon's Parliament, including knights of the shire and citizens from the towns; and by doing so he settled for the future the question of who should sit in Parliament. From this time onward no one would think that a Parliament was properly formed unless it included these representatives of the people. Thus Edward's Parliament of 1295 is always called the "Model Parliament", as it gave an example to all others to copy.

Of course Parliament of those days differed much from the Parliaments we know. It was one house, not two, for until Edward III's reign both lords and

**Battle of
Evesham:
Death of
Simon.**

**Edward I,
1272-1307, and
the Model
Parliament.**

commons sat together. Now the commons are much the more powerful, but then the lords held the chief power. Now the monarch chooses his chief minister from among the members of Parliament; then he might choose any man. Now Parliament meets every year, then it met less often. But these are small differences. In nature Parliament of to-day is as it was then; it refuses to allow the king to take taxes, or to make laws without its consent; and on occasions we may find it putting out very great power. It could dethrone kings who governed badly. For instance, it assisted to depose Edward I's own son, Edward II; and, eighty years later, it put Richard II off the throne, and made Henry IV of Lancaster king in his place. We cannot, indeed, say that it ruled England all the time, or that it undertook all branches of government as it does now; but whenever there was need to control a king, or to get rid of him, men looked to Parliament to perform the duty.

Powers of
Parliament in
the Fourteenth
Century.

IX.—THE BEGINNINGS OF SCOTLAND

Since it is during the reign of Edward I that the affairs of England and Scotland become seriously entangled, it is convenient at this point to turn back and see what the kingdom of Scotland was, and how it had been formed. We shall have to notice: (1) how the various kingdoms had come under one rule; (2) how the English language had spread in Scotland; and (3) in what way the kings of England had regarded it as a kingdom in some sense subject to them.



Four separate districts have gone to make up Scotland as it is now: the land of the Picts, which lay north of the Forth and Clyde, except Argyleshire; the kingdom of the Scots (originally an Irish people) in Argyleshire; the kingdom called Strathclyde, which stretched originally from the Clyde to the Ribble, inhabited by Britons—of this, however, only the northern part came into Scotch hands; and last, the district called Lothian, inhabited by Angles. This included the east coast of Britain

from the Forth to the Tees, but here, as in the case of Strathelyde, the southern part has fallen to England and not to Scotland.

Union began with Kenneth MacAlpin, King of the Scots, who made himself ruler over the Picts also. This joined the two Celtic peoples, and though Kenneth's power was certainly very slight in the far north, and only reached in the south to the Forth and Clyde, we have here the beginnings of Scotland, or Alban as it was called then. The next step on the part of the kings of Scotland was to spread their authority over the kingdom of Strathelyde. These Strathelyde Britons were, however, also attacked by the English in the south. Hence English and Scots came into conflict, each claiming to be rulers over Strathelyde. At last Edmund of Wessex found it wiser to make friends with the Scots than to wage war against them as well as against the Danes, so he made an alliance with Malcolm I, and gave up to him Strathelyde. It was not very clear that it had ever been his to give, for the English authority had never been firmly established there; but in any case the northern part of Strathelyde was joined to the Scottish dominions, and by 1018 the King of Scotland was also king there.

The last region to be added to the others was Lothian. Lothian was at first part of the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria. Then it passed into Danish hands. When Alfred's grandsons again subdued the Danish power in the north it was doubtful to whom it should belong, for the King of Scotland had by this time seized Edinburgh and was laying claim to the country round it. Dunstan, who was minister to King Edgar, saw that it would be very hard for his master to hold a province so far

Kenneth
MacAlpin,
843.

Lothian.

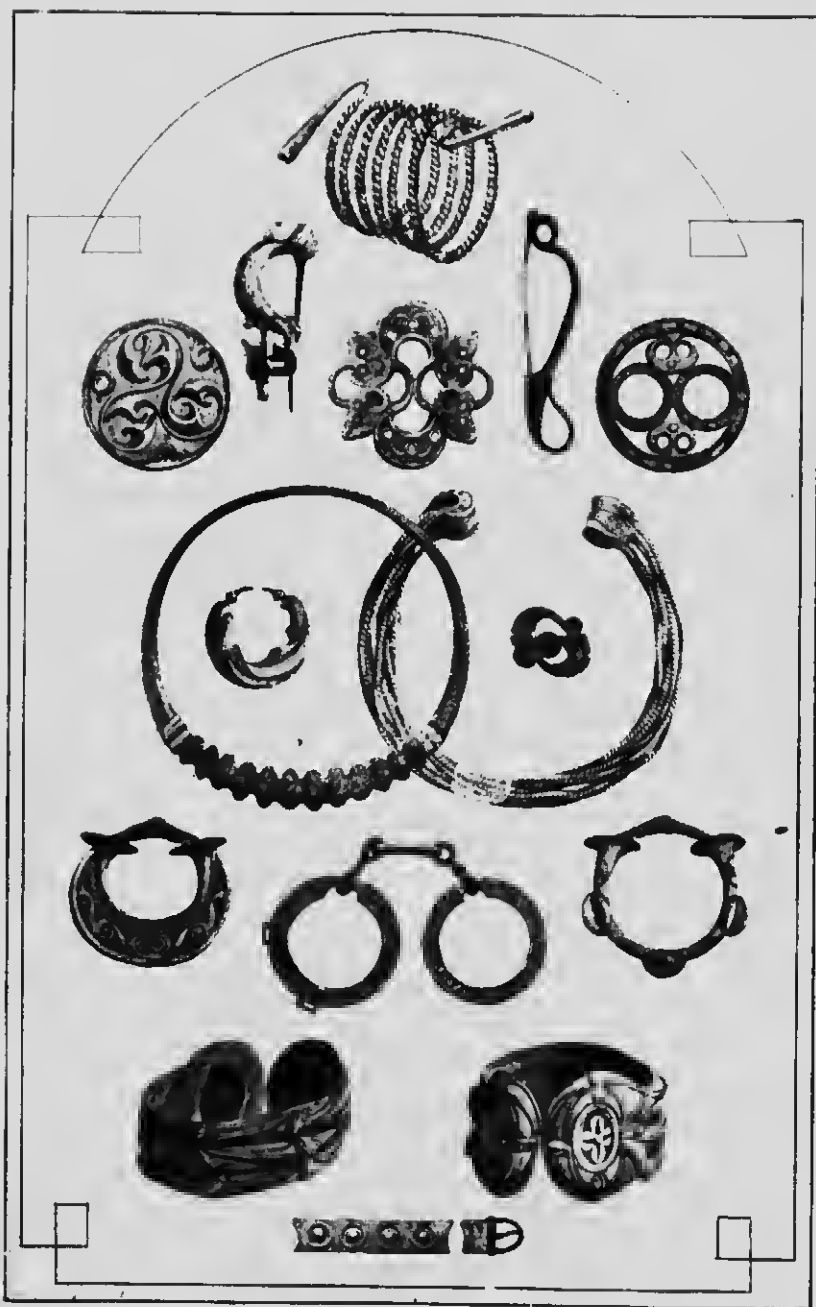
north, and by his advice Edgar gave Lothian to Kenneth II. This was much like the gift of Strathclyde. Lothian had once been under English power: it was English in speech, and the city of Edinburgh got its name from a long-dead Northumbrian king by name Edwin. But it had passed from Saxon hands, and Edgar's "gift" was practically a surrender of what would be a great trouble to keep. Some fifty years later Lothian was again ceded to Malcolm II by an Earl of Northumbria after a great battle won by Malcolm at Carham in 1018, so that henceforward Lothian clearly formed part of Scotland. It is worth note that this was the same year which saw the death of the last king of Strathclyde.

Lothian was the last possession to be gained; it was also much the most valuable. It was more fertile, it was more civilized, and it was Saxon in law and speech. We must now notice how this speech spread over all Scotland save the Highlands, and how after Scotland had subdued Lothian, Lothian in its turn subdued Scotland.

This is best seen in the main events of the reign of Malcolm III (Canmore), the son of that Duncan who was murdered by Macbeth; the story is familiar to us from Shakespeare's play. Malcolm had spent fourteen years in England, and knew English speech as well as he did his own; and he married Margaret, sister of that Edgar Atheling whom the Witan chose as King of England after Harold's death at Hastings. Margaret was a very remarkable woman. She was learned and pious, and her husband loved her much and followed her advice in many things. As was natural, she wished to see things done as she had seen them in England. Thus she persuaded the Scottish Church to fall in with the

Spread of English Speech.
Malcolm Canmore, 1057-1093, and Margaret.





CELTIC RELICS

PERSONAL ORNAMENTS ETC., OF GOLD AND BRONZE

customs of the Roman Catholic Church, just as the English Church had done at the Synod of Whitby, four hundred years before; and in whatever she did she spread English customs and English speech.

This was not liked by the Celts, and after Malcolm's death the Celtic party set up Donald Bane, a Celt, as king, drove out the English-speaking officials, and tried to return to the old ways. For a English Speech and Custom.s. time it seemed likely that Scotland might be divided into two—a Celtic-speaking kingdom north of the Forth, and an English-speaking kingdom south of it; but at last Edgar, son of Malcolm Canmore, overcame Donald Bane and his Celtic party. The army with which it was done, however, was largely aided by Normans, who came from Rufus' dominions in search of adventures and estates. When the war was over they remained in the Lowlands, and thus, in addition to its Saxon blood, the south of Scotland has a mixture of Norman blood and Norman names. Many of Bruce's supporters were Norman in race, as their names show. Lindsay, Ramsey, Wishart, Maxwell, Umfraville, are all Norman names. Indeed, Bruce himself bore a Norman name.

Thus the marriage of Malcolm with Margaret led to the supremacy of the English-speaking race in Scotland over the Celtic. But it had other results too. Malcolm, as a relative of the old kings of England, had become an enemy of William the Conqueror. Hence we have a fresh reason for wars between England and Scotland. Indeed, it was while invading England that Malcolm was slain. His youngest son, David, patched up these quarrels for a time, since it was his sister Matilda who married Henry I. But David, although King of Scotland, was also a Norman baron. He held two earldoms in England. He was the first man to take the oath to

put Henry I's daughter, Matilda, on the throne. Consequently we find him taking part in the wars of Stephen's reign. Like many others, he could not resist the temptation of fishing for himself in troubled waters.

And though he was defeated in the **Battle of the Standard, 1138.** of the Standard, where the English stood firm round the great chariot that bore the banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon, and threw off the wildest charges of the Scots, yet David managed to get Stephen to give him Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmorland.

Henry II, however, looked on this just as he looked on the rest of Stephen's actions, and he did not intend to be bound by it. He made Malcolm IV, David's successor, restore the four counties, and when **Treaty of Falaise, 1174.** he captured William the Lion, compelled him to do homage for his kingdom. Richard I, as has been related, sold William his homage back again.

Thus the whole relation between the two countries was in a tangle. The English kings had tried to make out some claim to be lords over the kings of Scotland. They could point to gifts of territory and to acts of homage. On the other hand, the kings of Scotland could say that these gifts really implied nothing; that the homage was for English earldoms which they held, and not for their Scotch dominions; and that if any homage was due for Scotland itself, Richard's bargain had cancelled it. Yet so far there was no national enmity between the two. They did not glory in being different races. They fought indeed at times, now one side winning, and now the other. Yet even at the Battle of the Standard David of Scotland fought under the flag of the Dragon, the same sign as that which King Alfred had used, while a Robert Bruce, an ancestor

of the Scottish patriot king, was in the English ranks. Scotland had not yet begun to think of England as a tyrant, nor did England look on Scotland as a rebel. This more bitter feeling was to spring from the doings of Edward I, to which we must next turn.

X.—AN EARLY GREAT BRITAIN AND ITS FAILURE

We have seen Edward I give England a Parliament in which all classes were represented—a Parliament that carried out the idea of a united English nation. But Edward was not content with this. He aimed at something much wider—a united British race.

His first effort was to join Wales to England. Piece by piece that country had been subdued, until the dominions left to the Prince of Wales included only the mountainous north-west corner of the country. **Edward I and Wales.** Llewelyn, who was ruler there, refused to submit to the king. Edward led an army into Wales, and Llewelyn retired with his ~~forces~~ into the Snowdon range, feeling sure that the king could not follow him. Edward was much too wise to try. Instead of wasting his men among steep rocks he blocked up all the passes, brought up a fleet to guard the coast, and starved Llewelyn out.

Llewelyn submitted, but he could not keep his word. Three years later he and his brother David raised a fresh rebellion. This failed also: the Prince himself was killed in a single combat with one of Edward's followers; David was captured and put to death by the king as a traitor. The whole country came into Edward's hands, and he showed that he meant to keep it by bestowing on his

son the title of the Prince of Wales, a title ever since given to the eldest son of English monarchs.

Edward now turned to Scotland, and Scottish affairs at this time gave him an excellent chance. Since the reign of John the two kingdoms had been fairly good friends. The last two Scottish kings, Alexander II and Alexander III, had both married English princesses, and now, on the sudden death of Alexander III, his granddaughter Margaret, daughter of the King of Norway, was left heir to the throne. Edward's plan was to unite the two kingdoms by a marriage between this Maid of Norway and his own son Edward, Prince of Wales.

No one can deny that the plan was good, always provided that it was to be wisely carried out. That the union of the two kingdoms has been of benefit to both is undoubted, and it is fair to think that it would have been as useful in 1286 as it proved to be in 1707; that it might well have been brought about by a royal marriage is obvious, for that, we know, is the way by which it was brought about in 1603. People felt this at the time, for the Scottish Estates wrote to Edward, "we on our part heartily consent to the alliance, not doubting that you will agree to reasonable conditions". Edward was very reasonable. In the Treaty of Brigham, which arranged the matter, it was laid down that Scotland was to retain her laws, rights, and liberties, and to remain a separate kingdom. Edward did not, it is plain, look for an immediate or complete union. The union of the crowns would be a good beginning, the rest would follow in course of time. Again we may notice that this was what actually did happen much later.

**Death of
the Maid
of Norway.**

Unluckily all depended on the Maid of Norway, and she fell ill on the voyage from her father's country to Scotland, and had to be landed

in Orkney, where she soon died. Thus Edward's scheme failed, and what was far worse, Scotland was left without an heir to the throne.

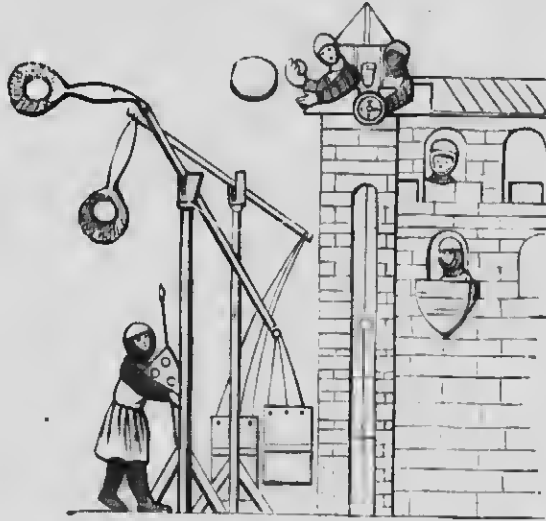
Edward would have acted most wisely if he had recognized that the great chance had gone, and if he had given up any idea of further interference in Scotland. But he saw that his plan was still as good, though it was no longer so easy to carry out. And he was encouraged to go on, since the Scottish barons begged him to act as umpire between the rival claimants to the throne.

Englishmen are too ready to look solely at Edward's object, and to forget his unwise and afterwards violent methods; Scots sometimes only see the latter and accuse the king of deliberate treachery in all he did. Edward thought of the old English claims over Scotland in the narrow spirit of a lawyer. The Scots urged that these had been sold. But questions of this kind cannot be decided in legal documents, or haggled over as if they were merchandise. Edward had determined to be lord over Britain, cost what it might. Scotland was equally determined to be free. Thus if we argue about oaths and rights we are wasting our breath. Edward may have broken oaths, but Robert Bruce did the same. English troops harried and burnt, but Scottish troops were no whit behind them. We must judge men in times like these by what they felt to be their duty to their country, as things came before them, and not by what they had sworn.

When the Scottish barons met Edward at Norham there were ten candidates. Edward required them all to acknowledge him as lord paramount of Scotland, which they did. A court of eighty Scots and twenty-four Englishmen tried the question. John Balliol and Robert Bruce had the best titles. Balliol was chosen and placed on the throne.

Choice of
Balliol.

The reign of John Balliol is always regarded as a disgrace alike to king and nation, but it is hard to see that Balliol could have done better. Edward took care, before he set him on the throne, to make him swear to be obedient to him. But the Scottish nation had not the



Engine for throwing Stones, used at the Siege of Berwick. Royal MS. 16. G. VI

slightest intention of allowing him to be obedient. So a quarrel at once broke out. *Balliol's Difficulties.* A Scottish noble appealed to Edward against one of Balliol's decisions. Edward bade the Scottish king come to England to have the case decided there. It was clear that, if he refused, Edward would dethrone him; but if he obeyed, his own people would cast him out.

He refused to obey Edward, and Edward marched into Scotland with an army to subdue one whom he looked on as a rebel. He stormed Berwick, where the inhabitants were brutally massacred by his soldiers; he defeated a Scotch army at Dunbar, the Scots rushing

down to attack what they thought to be a retreating force and being themselves routed, and soon overran the whole country. Balliol was deposed, and Edward took Scotland for himself, setting up Warenne, Cressingham, and Ormesby as regents. Scotland as an independent kingdom seemed to have come to an end.

XI.—THE STORY OF SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE WALLACE AND ROBERT BRUCE

No one had liked Balliol from the first. Yet when a king of England showed that he meant to conquer Scotland and make it part of his kingdom by force, the whole of Scotland determined to resist. Hitherto Edward had had, in the main, to deal with the Scottish barons: they, as we have seen, were largely Norman in blood. Now he had to encounter something quite different, the Scottish people in arms against him.

The hero round whom a national spirit gathered was Sir William Wallace. Wallace, in a street brawl in the town of Lanark, had slain an English sheriff and had taken to the hills. He was joined by all to whom the English invaders were hateful, and soon found himself at the head of a considerable force. He advanced to meet the English near Stirling. Cressingham, who despised his enemy, tried to cross the Forth over a bridge so narrow that only two horsemen could ride abreast on it. Wallace attacked him when a third of his force was across, and routed him. Cressingham himself fell in the battle and his army scattered. All the fortresses fell, and the invaders were driven from Scotland. Wallace followed up this blow by leading an army into England and razing the northern counties.

Wallace and
the Battle of
Stirling, 1297.

Edward was not the man to put up with this. He made up his mind to go to Scotland in person and crush Wallace. This did not seem easy. Wallace retreated, and Edward could not hear where the Scottish army lay. In the meanwhile he found it hard to feed his men, since the country had been laid waste around him. At last Wallace's situation was betrayed to

him by two discontented Scottish nobles. Edward instantly set out by night, and came on Wallace near Falkirk before he had time to retire. Two charges of the English knights were beaten off by the Scottish pikemen, but then Edward brought his archers into action. The Scots were shot down without being able to reply, and at last a third and final charge broke the Scottish array. It is said that at least 15,000 Scots fell.

**Battle of
Falkirk, 1298.**

For seven years Edward strove to complete his conquest. He led army after army into the country, but so long as Wallace was at large the resistance went on. At length, in 1305, Wallace was betrayed by some of his followers to Sir John Menteith, who was acting as Edward's sheriff in Dumbarton, and by him handed over to Edward. Menteith is generally called a traitor for this, and as a Scot he acted treacherously to his country. Still, he had taken Edward's side, was Edward's officer, and in capturing Wallace was so far doing his duty to the master he had chosen. Wallace was taken to England,

**Capture and
Death of
Wallace.**

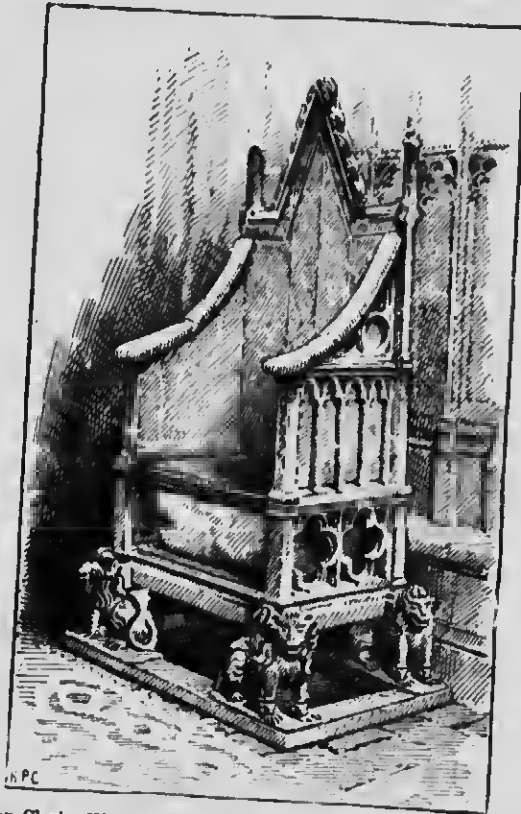
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Plate Armour, time of Edward I
From Stoke D'Abernon Church, Surrey.

and tried as a traitor to King Edward. He denied that he could be a traitor, since he had never sworn to obey Edward. But the king had him condemned. He was hanged, and his body, cut in four pieces, was fixed on



Coronation Chair, Westminster Abbey, containing the Stone of Destiny
taken from Scone by Edward

the gates of Newcastle, Berwick, Stirling, and Perth. Edward meant to warn the Scots against further risings, but he made a great mistake. His cruel treatment of Wallace only made the Scots hate him the more.

With Wallace dead, Edward might think that Scotland was subdued. In a year the Scots had found a

fresh leader. Robert Bruce, the grandson of him who had been Balliol's rival, started up in Wallace's place.

Robert Bruce. Edward was thunderstruck to learn that Bruce had murdered Comyn, one of his regents, in the church at Dumfries, and had been crowned at Scone.

Although Bruce was a king, he was a king without a kingdom or an army. His few followers were scattered in the battle of Methven, and Bruce had to flee to the Highlands. Even his countrymen sought his blood; the Lord of Lorn, a relation of Comyn, desired to avenge his murdered kinsman. Bruce, however, had great personal strength and good friends, chief of whom was Sir James Douglas, "the good Lord James". Still, so desperate were his fortunes that he had for a time to take refuge in the lonely island of Rathlin, near the Irish coast.

After a while he landed in Ayrshire, and fought numbers of small battles with the English forces. Often

Bruce returns to Scotland. he was nearly captured or killed, but this continuous warfare taught his men to become good soldiers. One stroke of fortune

befell Bruce, and that was the death of his old enemy, Edward I, while marching northward to invade Scotland again. Even had Edward lived he could not have won in the end. He might have beaten Bruce, but he could not have conquered the Scottish nation and kept it down by force of arms. His plans, good as they were, had completely failed. He had wished to unite Scotland and England; all he had done was to divide them more deeply than they had ever been divided before.

When the old "Hammer of the Scots" was gone, Bruce soon found his son, Edward II, to be a feeble foe. His armies were badly led, his plans badly made. One by one the castles in Scotland were wrested from English

hands. Douglas surprised Roxburgh; Randolph captured Edinburgh by sending a daring body of men to climb the castle rock; Binning seized Linlithgow by driving a wagon of hay under the gateway, so that the portcullis could not be let down. By degrees Bruce became master



of the whole land. In 1310 the Scottish Estates met at Dundee, and declared that Bruce was their lawful sovereign; they would fight for him and none other.

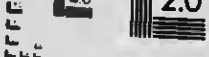
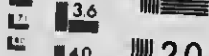
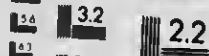
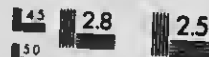
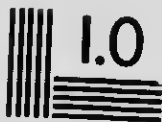
Stirling Castle alone held out. In 1314 Edward II led a huge army northward to relieve it. Bruce with far smaller forces determined to give battle. It was daring, for the English were two to one, but Bruce's men were now fine soldiers,

**Battle of
Bannockburn,
1314.**



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confident and experienced. The armies met at Bannockburn. Bruce had guarded his flank by digging pitfalls to check the charge of the English knights, while the marshy ground by the burn side also served to protect him. Edward II threw away every advantage that his numbers gave him. He allowed his archers to be driven off by a charge of Scottish horse; he sent his knights to charge full on the Scottish pikes. He was fighting against men who were determined to conquer or die; men who were burning to set their country free, who were fighting to protect their homes, their wives and children, and to pay back the terrible wrongs they had suffered. The Scottish pikemen stood like rocks in a storm, casting back the charges of English knights time after time; now seeming overwhelmed, then appearing again unbroken. The English attack was beginning to waver, and the Scots themselves advanced crying, "On them, on them; they fail", when a body of Scottish camp-followers were seen pouring down from the Gillies Hill. They seemed to be a fresh Scottish force, arriving to support their comrades. The English broke and fled in terrible confusion: in the rout 30,000 men were killed.

Bannockburn decided the question once for all. England could not conquer Scotland. But Edward II, too feeble to conduct a war properly, was too obstinate to yield. Through his reign the war went on. It was now the turn of the Scots. Bruce led his armies over the border, and pillaged the north of England. Edward could do little to check him. Indeed he could not keep his own barons in order; it was vain for him to hope to subdue the Scots.

Tired of him and his favourites, the English barons rebelled; Parliament declared him deposed, and Edward III was put on the throne. He began to make war

against the Scots with vigour, but he could gain no advantage over the invading Scottish army. He encamped opposite it, but its position was so strong, that he dared not attack, and he himself



Edward III. From the Painted Chamber, Westminster

The *fleur de lys*, or lily, embroidered on the surcoat along with the English lion, indicates his claim to the French crown.

Edward III. was nearly slain. James Douglas led a night raid into the English camp, and actually got as far as the royal tent before he was driven back. Then the Scotch retreated in the night, leaving their camp-fires burning, so that the English did not perceive their going, and Edward was left with no enemy to fight.

He saw that it was useless to go on. In 1328 peace was made between the **Peace, 1328.** two nations, in which Bruce was recognized as lawful King of Scotland, and the King of England gave up all his claims. Scotland had triumphed.

Robert Bruce's reign ended in 1329. For Scotland it was a memorable

reign. Before its close he had obtained a mastery over all his foes at home and abroad. He had established the alliance between Scotland and France which was to lead to so much. He had freed Scotland from the foreign invader. He had united it as it had never been united

before. All alike were ready to obey him. The barons, Norman in descent and hitherto half-Norman in feeling, had become good Scotsmen, and good patriots. In the fire of national trouble there had been welded a nation, firm, self-reliant, confident, proud of its race and of its king.

XII.—THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. THE WORTH OF THE ENGLISH ARCHER

The Hundred Years' War is the name given to the long struggle between England and France, from 1338 to 1453—roughly speaking, a hundred years. War indeed did not go on all the time. There were truces now and again. But, speaking generally, for a hundred years England and France were enemies. In following this long period of history, which covers the reign of five English kings, we shall find it convenient to fix in our minds some landmarks.

The war may be divided into two periods of great success and two periods of failure. The first period of success lies in the early part of Edward III's reign. We have the battles of Crecy and Poitiers, and the Treaty of Bretigny, in which the French king admits the English claim to the south-west of France; this is followed by a time of failure in the latter part of Edward III's reign and that of Richard II. The second period of success begins with Henry V. He outdoes the glory of Crecy and Poitiers by his victory of Agincourt; he marries the King of France's daughter and is called his heir; his infant son, Henry VI, is crowned King of France. But then comes the second period of failure. By degrees all was lost that had been won, till in 1453 nothing was left to England save Calais.

Edward III and Henry V are both victorious in their battles: they both claim the title of King of France, though neither had any right to it; they both rule large possessions in France; in both cases these dominions are at last recaptured by the French.

Our first task is to see why the English win the great battles. It seems very strange, that at Crecy the French were four to one, at Poitiers seven to one, at Agincourt five to one, and yet they were hopelessly beaten in all three battles. Let us look more closely at the story of these battles.

Crecy was fought in 1346. Edward III was retreating towards Calais after an unsuccessful march on Paris. He was caught up by the French, who numbered 70,000 men to his 20,000. He drew up his army with the archers in front and his knights, dismounted, behind. The shower of arrows first destroyed the crossbowmen in the French force; no wonder, for the English archer could shoot six arrows to his opponent's one. We are told "they shot fast and so thick that it seemed as if it were snowing". Then the French knights charged, but men and horse went down under the English arrows so fast that only a very few reached the English line, and they were easily beaten off. And when this had gone on for most of the day the rear of the French army fled. Edward III, who commanded the English reserve, had not struck a blow.

The hero of Poitiers was the Black Prince. He had been raiding in France, but found his return cut off by 40,000 French soldiers under King John. He had only 7000 men with him, 3000 of whom were archers. He drew up his small force behind a hedge and awaited the French onset. This time most of the French attacked on foot, but met no better success than at Crecy. The archers kept up a steady discharge;

the French ranks were broken ere they reached the hedge; they came on bravely, but the English slew each man as he came through a gap. One division of the French army retreating threw the next into disorder. Meanwhile the arrows poured down like hail, and the English bowmen, who drew their bowstrings to their ears, sent their shafts with force enough to pierce any but the best armour. At the end of the day the Black Prince led his own men to charge the last division of the French army in front, while a small body of horse was sent round to take it in the rear. The French gave way in all directions; the French king himself was captured; and the English, with a loss of 300 men, found they had killed and captured almost as many Frenchmen as there were men in their own army.

The story of Agincourt begins like that of Crecy. Henry V was making for Calais. The French barred his way. 6000 Englishmen, worn out by long marches, had to face 30,000 of the best knights in France. Henry placed some of his archers in front, and sent others to line the woods which covered the flanks of his small force on either side. The French had to advance across a muddy ploughland a mile in length. So heavy were the men in armour, and so sticky the mud, that as a body they never reached the English at all. A few managed to crawl up, but the great mass stuck, a splendid mark for the English archers. When it had been well riddled, the English charged. Being lightly armed and without armour, they could move freely where the enemy could not; and thus first the French vanguard, and then the main line, were overthrown and butchered, the dead actually lying two or three deep. The third division of the French army fled, though it alone far outnumbered Henry's entire force, being too terrified to stand an attack.

Agincourt,
1415.

One fact stands out in all the battles. The English archers decided them. Not only could they shoot farther and faster than any crossbowmen, or French archers, but when properly backed they could stop heavy cavalry. The day of the knights in armour was over. Their charges, hitherto thought irresistible, could be broken by archers and steady infantry. The best missile weapons won. The same fact has been shown over and over again in the history of war. Just as the longbow beat the crossbow, so the musket has beaten the bow, the rifle has replaced the smooth-bore, the breech-loader has triumphed over the muzzle-loader, and the magazine-rifle and the Maxim gun now hold the field, with increased range and rapidity of fire.

Yet although the English could beat the French in pitched battles, they were not numerous enough to hold the country. They could overrun it; the Duke of Lancaster could march across the south of France, and none dared meet him in battle. Yet when the French remained in their walled towns they were safe. In days when artillery was scarcely used, and was very cumbersome and short in range, sieges were long affairs, needing many men and costing many lives.

The English Archers.



Archer of 15th Century. From Royal MSS. 14. E. IV.

Reasons for English Failure.

Thus when the French had learned wisdom, when they risked no pitched battles, but fought behind walls; when they kept up a continual warfare of small parties, the English power drooped. Bit by bit Bertrand du Guesclin regained all that had been lost. When Edward III died the English possessions had dwindled down to Bordeaux, a strip of Gascony, and Calais; in Richard II's reign the French even invaded England. They plundered the



Ancient War Engines: siege-tower, drawbridge, and ram for the attack; noose, wool-sack, heavy-beam, and timber-shield for the defence.

Isle of Wight, and for a time a French force was encamped in Sussex.

Henry V, we have seen, was more startlingly successful than Edward III at his best, for his son was proclaimed King of France at Paris. Still, he had a much easier task. The French king, Charles VI, was little better than a madman. France itself was not united; it

The Alliance of England and Burgundy. was divided up into two great parties, the Burgundians, headed by their duke, and the Orleanists or Armagnacs. So fierce were these factions against each other that they even



descended to murder. First a Duke of Orleans and then a Duke of Burgundy, were treacherously slain by the other side. In the end the Burgundians, sooner than see the Armagnacs triumph, allied themselves with Henry V. Thus it is not England alone fighting against France. It is England, in alliance with one half of France, fighting against the other.

Henry V's success, then, depended much on the Burgundian alliance. He was strong because France was divided. But this could not last. Nothing, in fact, unites a country so speedily as foreign invasion. We have seen this already in Scotland. We may observe it again in France. By degrees Burgundians and Armagnacs came to see that they were both Frenchmen, to whom England was a deadly foe.

The task of rousing the French spirit fell to Jeanne Darc, commonly called in England Joan of Arc. She was a simple peasant girl, who believed that she was sent by Heaven to drive the English from France. Dressed as a soldier, she led the French soldiers to the attack. She entered Orleans, and drove off the English who were besieging it; then she won battle after battle. The English declared that they could not beat her. This was true, for she was backed by France growing united again. Even after Joan had been taken prisoner, and cruelly burned as a witch by the English, things went from bad to worse with our armies. Soon the Burgundians abandoned the English alliance, and then English power in France vanished for the last time. It is interesting for our purpose to notice that the first in the long series of English defeats, that of Beaugé, was mainly won for the French by a body of Scots. Here was one result of that alliance which lasted so long between England's two enemies. Pope Martin V, hearing of the share of the Scots in the

victory, observed, "Truly the Scots are a cure for the English".

The Hundred Years' War practically brings to an end English efforts to gain territory on the Continent. That object abandoned, we shall see England turn to a new plan, namely, that of spreading her power at sea and in the New World. Before, however, she had the opportunity to do this, she had to pass through a period of trouble at home, which was something like the trouble that she had profited by in France. She was torn to pieces by terrible wars for the crown. Fortunately no foreign invader came to England to make matters worse.

XIII.—THE BLACK DEATH AND THE SERFS

We have seen that the Norman Conquest left the class who cultivated the land in the position of serfs. They were bound to the land, and had to give their lord so



Ploughman and Plough. From a manuscript of *Piers Plowman*

many days' work each week, and certain extra days' work at the busy seasons of hay-making, harvest, and ploughing. As time went on, however, many of the

serfs had come to an arrangement with their lords to pay money instead of service; for example, if a man's labour was reckoned at a penny a day, he would pay threepence a week if he had owed three days' work, and further pennies for extra days. The plan was convenient for both parties: the serf got more time to work on his own plot of land; the lord got money with which he could hire labourers, and was saved the trouble of continually striving to compel unwilling or lazy serfs to perform their services.

Commutation of Service.

This plan of "commuting" services for money was spreading gradually over the country, but it was not complete, when it was interrupted by a disaster.

The Black Death.

This was the Black Death, a fearful plague which ravaged our island from 1347 to 1350. At least one-third of the whole population perished. It is literally true that often the living could scarce bury the dead; for example, more than one case occurred where all the inhabitants of a monastery were cut off, or every member of a large family died, so that there was none left to inherit the land.

We have especially to look at the effects of this in the rural districts. It is plain that labour would become very hard to get; and, further, since at the height of the plague men were so terrified that they left the harvest to rot ungathered in the fields, corn became scarce. This caused a rise in prices; and as prices rose, and labourers were few, we should be prepared to find a rise in wages also. In fact, this is what happened. Wages rose sharply.

This hit the land-owners hard. To begin with, many of their tenants were dead, some without leaving heirs; and so they lost the payments for commuted service which these had owed. Further, what had paid for a day's labour before the

Difficulties of the Lords.

Black Death would no longer pay it after the rise in wages. It was a common complaint that whereas a woman's labour had cost $\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day, now it cost $2d.$ or $3d.$ Hence ruin stared the lord in the face if he had to receive at the old rates and pay at the new ones.

Something clearly had to be done; and as the land-owners were strong in Parliament, we shall find their policy in tracing what Parliament did. The first idea was to check this rise in wages, which seemed to them ruinous. No injustice was intended, because Parliament meant to check the rise in prices also; if prices remained the same, it was argued, there was no need for wages to rise. It seems very strange to us to think of Parliament meddling in such matters at all, but there was nothing strange to men of the day. Every trade had its craft gild, which fixed the price at which its wares should be sold. Parliament was only attempting to do for the country what the craft gilds did in the towns.

The task, however, was too big. Parliament made a series of laws called the Statutes of Labourers, by which all labourers were ordered to take the old rate of wages, under pain of imprisonment, branding with a hot iron, slavery, and even death. **Statutes of Labourers.** But even these ferocious penalties could not make men obey the laws. The rise in prices went on; men could not live on the old wages; and yet lords could not afford to leave their estates uncultivated. Thus many lords were tempted to break the very laws that were intended to protect them, by offering the higher wages which Parliament had forbidden.

The policy of trying to put the clock back failed; it was bound to fail. Yet a party of the land-owners, untaught by their first failure, tried to go still further back. Wages, they felt, were at the root of the trouble; but there had been a **Revival of Serfdom.**

time when no wages were paid or needed,—when the land was cultivated by serfs. Why not revive this? It seemed easy; all that was needed was to refuse the commutation payments, and make the serfs work without pay once more.

This policy was worse than the other. Men who have partly gained freedom will not consent to lose what they have won. Soon all the peasants were enraged with their lords. A poll-tax which pressed far more on the poor than it did on the rich caused their smouldering discontent to break into flame. In 1381 risings broke out in East Anglia and in all the counties near London. The Kentish peasants, with Wat Tyler as leader reached London. Richard II met them boldly at Smithfield. There was need of courage, for the city was in the hands of the mob: and the day before, rioters, pouring into the Tower of London, had murdered the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Treasurer who had proposed the hateful poll-tax. As Wat Tyler approached, the Mayor of London, thinking he meant to insult and perhaps attack the king, cut him down. The mob were bending their bows to fire on the royal party, when Richard rode forward and cried to them, "I will be your leader", and by fair words and promises got them to disperse quietly. These promises were not kept. The rioters, by burning manor-houses to destroy the records of the serfdom, and hanging lawyers as being the persons who made these deeds, made it impossible to treat them mildly. So the king employed force, and put down the Peasant Revolt with great severity.

Thus injustice had led to violence, as it often does, and neither party had gained. In few cases were the lords able to make their serfs work without pay; on the other hand, many rioters were hanged, and the rebels did not get the abolition of serfdom which they had demanded.

Since labour could not be obtained at the old rates, nor services re-exacted without danger of violence and murder, it was necessary to pay the new rates, or to do with less labour. Some lords granted land on lease to tenants for a rent, giving them stock as well as land. Thus the tenant had to find the labour; the lord was free of the difficulty. Here we

Land Let
on Lease.



Husbandman and Country Woman of 15th Century. From Royal MSS.
18. D. VII and 20. C. VII.

have the beginnings of the modern farmer, a person who stands between the labourer and the land-owner. Others, however, met the difficulty in another way. **Sheep-farming.** There was a great demand at the time for wool, and English wool was then the best that could be had. So, many lords started sheep-farming instead of arable farming. It paid better, because less labour was needed. Many labourers were required for a large arable farm; but when it was laid down in grass one or two shepherds could tend all the sheep on it.

Thus sheep-farming led to many men being out of employment; and as under the old system the serfs' small patches of land were often mixed up with the wide farms of the land-owner, now the latter came to wish to evict the serfs and take their land for sheep-farms. He enclosed also the waste or common land on which the serfs had pastured their cattle, and this, too, made it hard for the serfs to keep their holdings. Thus the land-owners who had at first struggled to keep their serfs, ended by trying to drive them off altogether. No doubt great misery was often caused by this depopulation. Something of the same kind has been seen almost in our own day in the Highlands, where the crofters have been turned out to give place to sheep-farms and deer-forests. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Parliament tried to stop this process of enclosure for sheep-farms, but without much result.

Thus in the end the effects of the Black Death caused serfdom to disappear. By the time of Elizabeth it was at an end. But it was not that the peasants obtained freedom by their revolt. Upon the whole, the revolt only made their chains tighter. Yet by degrees the labour of serfs came to be no longer required; and lords granted freedom easily since serfdom was no longer worth keeping.

XIV.—WYCLIF AND THE LOLLARDS

More than a hundred years before Martin Luther began his dispute with the Roman Catholic Church which ended in the Reformation, England had seen a churchman start on a very similar career. The story of John Wyclif and his followers the Lollards, shows clearly that many in

England were dissatisfied with the authority of the Pope long before the time came when the nation broke away from the Roman authority, and the Church in England became National and Protestant.

The interference of the Pope in English affairs, even when this interference was only in affairs of the Church, had often caused resentment. In Edward III's reign this feeling of dislike became very strong. Men saw a great deal of money being sent to Rome as taxes, and they did not think it right that they should pay it; they saw, too, a great many foreigners holding rich livings, deaneries, and high posts in the Church, and they would have preferred that Englishmen should have these posts. They saw a few churchmen, each holding many livings, and perhaps never going near some of them, and they contrasted the fine clothes and crowds of servants of these men with the poverty of the parish priests. It seemed to them that these rich churchmen neglected their duty, and thought more of the good things of this world than it was right for them to do. "God", they said, "gave his people to be pastured, not to be shaven and shorn". And so the idea got about that some change and reform were needed. We must not think that all, or even the greater part of the churchmen in England were negligent or careless; there were many then, as there have always been, bent on doing their duty to the utmost. Unfortunately it was not for the most part these men who were placed in high positions.

Besides the ordinary clergy there was in England a large number of friars. These were quite different from the monks who stayed in their monasteries. The friars, who mostly belonged either to the Dominican or the Franciscan order, went among the people. St. Dominic, who founded the first order,

**Dislike of
the Pope's
Interference.**

The Friars.

had sent his friars to preach and to convert those who believed wrongly, or were careless about religion. St. Francis bade his order show by the example of a pure and simple life, and charitable acts, what the followers of Christ should do. Both Black and Grey Friars, as they were called from their dresses, were to copy the poverty of our Lord, and to live and teach amongst the poor.



(1) Dominican and (2) Franciscan Friar

They were not allowed at first to have any property at all.

These orders began well, and when they first came to England, in the reign of Henry III, they did a great deal of good. But unfortunately they did not keep to their simplicity and their vows of poverty. They grew rich, and they grew learned; and they deserted the habitations of the poor, going instead among the rich, or to the universities, where they became great scholars and teachers, but not teachers of what they had first been sent to teach, namely, the simple message of Christ.

And those who remained scattered over the country were disliked because they were obedient only to the Pope: they were not obliged to obey English bishops, and they often interfered with the parish priests.

All these things helped to rouse a feeling of hostility to the clergy, and especially to the Pope; and to make things worse, the Popes themselves at this time had fallen on evil days. First of all, they had been unwise enough to leave Rome (1309) and live at Avignon in France, and so they fell much into the power of the kings of France. Englishmen at this time hated France, with whom they were carrying on a prolonged war, and were consequently disposed to dislike Popes whom they regarded as French. Then in 1378 began the Great Schism, when there was one Pope at Rome and another at Avignon, each claiming to be Christ's vicar on earth. This division went on for forty years, and while some people obeyed the Popes at Avignon and others the Popes at Rome, many were inclined to reject both. So that altogether the authority of the Popes became for the time much less convincing than it had been.

John Wyclif, who became the leader of the attack on the faults of the clergy, was a Yorkshireman who had gone to Oxford, where he had become master of Balliol College. Being a scholar, he was able to compare the past with the present. The faults of the Church, he said, came in the main from its pursuit of wealth and power: if it had remained true to the poverty and simplicity of the apostles none of the abuses would have occurred. Thus he found nothing in the Bible to justify the payments made to the Pope, called annates and first-fruits, or to excuse the holding of more than one benefice at once (pluralities), or to defend the easy and careless lives which were led alike by many

The Popes
in France;
the Schism.

Wyclif.

churchmen and many friars. Wyclif was at first helped by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who wished to drive the clerics out from the council of King Edward III. Thus when Wyclif was summoned to St. Paul's to be tried for what he had written, the duke stood
 1377. beside him to defend him; when Courtenay, Bishop of London, declared that Wyclif was little better than a heretic, the duke threatened to drag Courtenay from the church by the hair of his head. A riot began; the citizens of London rushed in to defend their bishop; and Wyclif nearly lost his life

Brawling and abuse was not the way to mend matters. Wyclif himself took no part in it. His next steps were more practical. He founded an order of poor preachers, "the Simple Priests", to spread his ideas among the people. He also directly appealed to the people himself by his tracts, which he wrote, not in Latin, the language hitherto used for all religious discussion, but in homely, plain, forcible English, which all could understand. We shall find Luther also giving up the priestly Latin in favour of his native German when he too begins his quarrel with the Pope. And finally, Wyclif also anticipated Luther's work by translating the
 Translation of the Bible. Bible from the Latin into English, so that it should no longer be the property of scholars, but open to all to read for themselves, or aloud to their friends who were too ignorant to read.

For a time Wyclif's followers, the Lollards, increased fast in numbers. It was said that if you saw five men talking together, three were Lollards. But in the later years of Richard II the Church began to take vigorous measures to root out their heresy. And when Henry IV, who owed his position on the throne partly to the support of the Church, became king, the persecution grew fierce.

Thus the beginning of Henry's reign is marked by a statute "for the burning of Heretics", and directly after a Lollard named William Sawtre was sent to the stake. In Henry V's reign the Lollards were still numerous enough to threaten a rebellion. They were protected and encouraged by Sir John Oldcastle, a brave soldier who had fought well in Henry IV's wars against the Welsh. He was arrested and sentenced to be burnt, but he escaped. A plot was formed for a great mass of Lollards to meet in St. Giles's fields, and to seize the king. The plot was discovered, and the king, by closing the gates of London and sending a body of horse to the meeting-place, prevented an outbreak. Oldcastle was at last recaptured, and burnt as a heretic. After this we hear little more of the Lollards, although in a few villages Lollardy lingered on till the time of the Reformation.

The movement was on the whole a failure, because the Lollards had nothing definite to propose. They were united in complaining about the wealth and luxury of great churchmen, but in little else. Some followed Wyclif's later opinions, and became actually heretics; that is to say, they denied some of the teachings of the Church, and wanted a reform in doctrine. But the people at large had not the least wish for this; they regarded it as going much too far. In two points, however, Wyclif's life is memorable. He gave us our first Bible in English, and he also taught the right of all, clergy and laity alike, to form their ideas of conduct on what they found in the Bible, without being obliged to follow blindly what they were told to believe.

XV.—THE WARS OF THE ROSES

We have already seen the evils of a dispute over the rightful heir to the throne in Scotland, and in France.

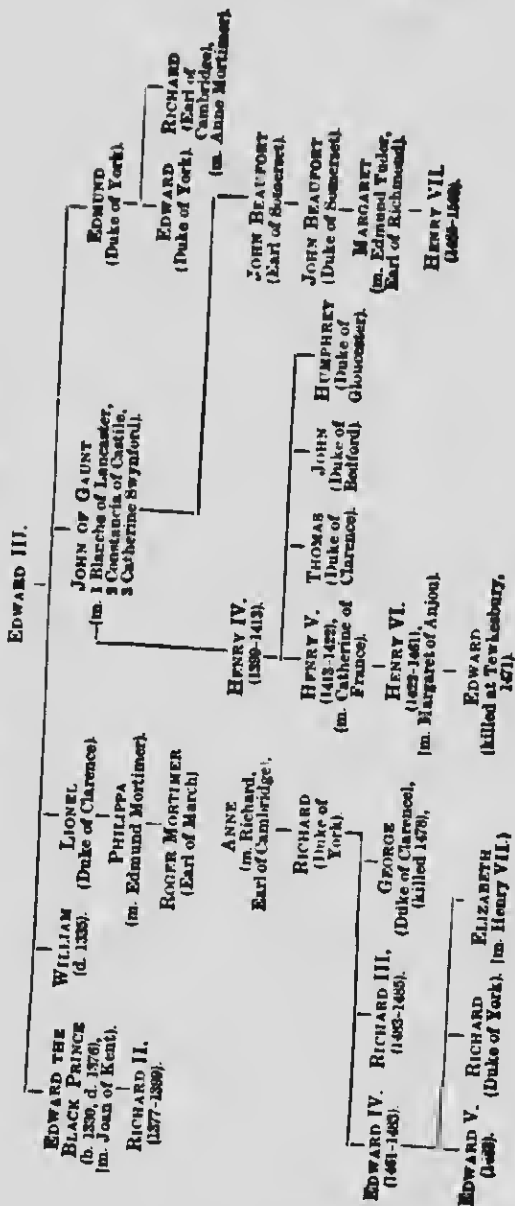
**Disputes about
the Succession;
Lancaster and
York.**

We have now to observe them in England. Edward III's eldest son, the Black Prince, died before his father, but he left a son who became Richard II. Richard II had no children; he made many enemies, and his cousin, Henry of Lancaster, deposed him and became king as Henry IV. Unfortunately there were other cousins descended also from Edward III, and representing the lines of Clarence and York. Since Clarence was of an older line than Lancaster, there was always a doubt if the house of Lancaster had the best right to the crown. And at last a York married a Clarence, and the child of that marriage, Richard of York, began the Wars of the Roses to turn the Lancaster king, Henry VI, off the throne.

Had Henry VI been as strong a king as his father Henry V, or his grandfather Henry IV, he would have had little to fear. England had chosen him as king; the Parliament had accepted him; and it has always been held that Parliament could make whom it pleased king, without paying attention to the claims of birth. For instance, the house of Hanover, to which our king belongs, was put on the throne by Parliament. But Henry VI, though very good and pious, was weak; and in his later years he went mad. During all his reign, too, everything went wrong at home and abroad. Many people, therefore, thought that it would be better to have a strong man like Richard of York as king.

It is needless for us to follow the course of the Wars of the Roses. A few main points are all we require.

TABLE SHOWING DESCENDANTS OF EDWARD III



After five years of civil war Henry VI was deposed, and Edward IV, the head of the Yorkists, was made king in his place. Edward had great difficulty in keeping the throne; indeed, he was once driven from the kingdom and Henry VI set up again. But Edward got back his power by hard fighting. His son, Edward V, a boy of thirteen, was deposed and murdered by his uncle, Richard



Costumes of the 15th Century. From Royal MSS. 15. D. III.

of Gloucester, who made himself Richard III. After a reign of two years he was killed in battle, and the Lancastrian line was restored by Henry Tudor, Henry VII. He wisely married the heiress of the house of York, and so brought the struggle to an end (1485).

What we have to remark is, not the changes of kings, but the effect of the rivalry between the Red Rose of Lancaster and the White Rose of York upon England. To begin with, we have forty years of civil war, from the battle of St. Alban's to the battle of Bosworth in which Richard III

**Forty Years
of Civil War.**



was killed. During this time, scarcely anyone cared for the law. The House of Commons was too weak to make men obey it; the Lords were all fighting on one side or the other. Thus we have some of the ill days of King Stephen over again. The barons kept armies of their own consisting of retainers, as their men were called, who wore the crest of their lord and fought for him. Thus Warwick's men all wore the crest of the bear and the ragged staff, Holland's men the cresset, and Montagu's the dun bull. It is easy to understand that nobles with armies at their back did not care for the law. If a jury gave a verdict against them, the jurors were set on and beaten, perhaps even murdered. If a noble had a grudge against anyone, he would lead his men to besiege and plunder his enemy's house. In fact, throughout all England Might became Right.

There were worse features in the Wars of the Roses than the disregard of law. We are accustomed to think of Britons fighting honestly, that is to say, choosing a side and sticking to it; and we expect that whatever happens they will give quarter to those who surrender, and will not kill their prisoners. Unfortunately, neither of these beliefs is true of the Wars of the Roses. Never, indeed, was there more treachery and more cruelty towards prisoners.

What, for example, could be more treacherous than the conduct of Lord Grey de Ruthyn at Northampton, when, instead of defending the Lancastrian lines, he and his men assisted the Yorkists to mount over the rampart raised to keep them out? Warwick the Kingmaker fought first for the Yorkists, and was at last killed while fighting for the Lancastrians at Barnet. The battle of Bosworth was decided by Stanley's troops deserting Richard III and going over to the Lancastrian side in the midst of the battle. And what can

exceed the treachery of Edward IV's brother, George of Clarence, that prince who we are told came to his end by being drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine? He betrayed his brother to Warwick, then betrayed Warwick to his brother. Rightly does Shakespeare call him—

"False, fleeting, perjured Clarence".

The war, too, is thick with examples of cruelty.

Every battle was followed by executions

of the prisoners. **Executions of Prisoners.**

Tiptoft, the

Yorkist Earl of Worcester, a man of scholarship and refinement, to whom one might imagine brutality to be odious, yet earned the nickname of the Great Butcher of England by the joy he took in having his captured foes executed. When at last he himself was beheaded England rejoiced. When the Lancastrians won Wakefield fight, Clifford and the queen, Margaret of Anjou, who led them, caused the head of Richard of York, who had fallen in the battle, to



A Jester, 15th Century. Harleian MSS 2897, in the British Museum. (Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, statesman, 1661-1724.)

be cut off and placed on the gates of York, crowned with a paper crown, in mockery of his claims to the throne. After the second battle of St. Alban's two Yorkist prisoners were brought before Henry VI's young son, Edward, then seven years old. The queen, his mother,

bade him choose what death they should die. The boy answered, "Let them have their heads taken off". A few years later this same bloodthirsty child was stabbed at Tewkesbury, while fleeing, by Richard of Gloucester.

This man sums up all that is worst in the age. He has gone down to all time as the ruthless Richard Crookback, who murdered the young princes in the Tower. They were his brother Edward IV's children; they had been placed in his care; but they stood between him and the throne, and that was enough. They were both strangled at his orders by two ruffians employed by Sir James Tyrrell.

If Richard Crookback—Richard III of England—is the worst of the Yorkists, he is matched in savagery by a woman, the Lancastrian queen, Margaret of Anjou. Her deeds at Wakefield and St. Alban's have been already told. She was not an Englishwoman; we may be glad of it. It is true that she was brave and vigorous. She has sometimes won sympathy as the injured queen fighting for her husband, and as the mother who, when fleeing from a battle with her son, saved him from a marauder by saying boldly, "This is the son of your king"; but sympathy is wasted on her. She was as fierce as any lawless baron, and in treachery to the nation she outdid them all. It was she who urged the French in time of peace, and when her own husband was on the throne, to attack, burn, and plunder the town of Sandwich, which she knew would be undefended, because she thought that the disaster would make people blame the Duke of York, who was regent.

One other person remains for us to notice—Richard Neville, the great Earl of Warwick and Salisbury. No noble had ever been so powerful as he; none has ever been so powerful again. His lands lay in almost every shire in

**Margaret
of Anjou.**

**Warwick the
Kingmaker.**

England. In the Midlands and in Wales whole counties regarded him as more their master than they did the king. He had many castles, and hosts of retainers. He it was who put Edward IV on the throne: when in later



Armour of 15th Century. From the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick.

years Edward offended him, Warwick drove him from the kingdom, allied himself with the Lancastrians, and restored King Henry VI. Thus he got the title of the "Kingmaker", for it seemed that he could make and unmake kings by his word. Edward IV was never secure on his throne till he had beaten his former friend at Barnet, where Warwick was too much encumbered by his heavy armour to escape, and was cut down in the pursuit.

It was then the great barons who made the wars. They also suffered in them.

When the Wars of the Roses came to

Destruction of the Baronage.

an end, there were only a few barons left. They had perished in battle or under the head-

man's axe; and many had left no heirs. At first the people of England as a mass cared little for either Lancaster or York. By degrees they came to hate both alike, and they determined to put a stop to such struggles for ever. The only cure, they saw, was the old cure, namely, to make the king so strong that no barons could stand against him. Hence we shall find the Tudor kings, who begin with Henry VII, very

powerful and stern rulers. They are sometimes called despots, by which we mean kings who do what they please without consulting Parliament. It is true that the Tudors were despots; but they were so, because the nation made them so. England had no wish to have the Wars of the Roses over again.

XVI.—THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.
FIRST PERIOD: ENGLAND CASTS OFF
THE POWER OF THE POPE.

Henry VII ruled from 1485 till 1509. Much of his time was spent in crushing the last embers of the Wars of the Roses. Thus he refused to allow the nobles to keep retainers who wore their lord's livery and fought for him as soldiers. To strengthen his position he collected a great hoard of money. He also tried to make himself more powerful by marrying his children to foreign princes and princesses. He gave his daughter to be the wife of James IV of Scotland: we shall see the result of this by and by. He also married his son Arthur to a Spanish princess, Catharine of Aragon, and on the early death of that prince, married Catharine to his second son Henry. This also was one of the most important marriages ever made by English kings.

The first part of his son Henry VIII's reign was occupied with foreign politics. We need not try to follow all that Henry did, but we must remember the chief outlines, for foreign politics led to the most memorable event of the reign, the Reformation.

There were two great rivals in Europe at this time,



THE SONS OF EDWARD IV PARTED FROM THEIR MOTHER
BY RICHARD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, JUNE 1483

From the Painting by N. Grosse, Paris

the King of France and the King of Spain. The latter, Charles V, was, however, much more than King of Spain as we know it. He was ruler over the Low Countries (Holland and Belgium), and of part of Italy. He had also been elected emperor, that is to say, he was lord of Germany; and besides this, he was master of the riches of the New World, in consequence of the discoveries of Christopher Columbus, who had been employed by the Spanish government, and had sailed across the Atlantic to America in 1492. Between these two rivals Henry VIII steered a middle course. His great minister, Cardinal Wolsey, thought that England could reap most advantage by making the rivals bid against each other for the aid of England. The result, however, was that both came to distrust and despise England. And so Wolsey, who hoped to be made Pope, and trusted to the King of Spain to help him, found that Charles V preferred to help someone who was a more faithful friend. Twice Wolsey was disappointed in his ambitions.

**Rivalry of
France and
Spain; Wolsey.**

Meanwhile Henry had grown tired of his Spanish wife. She had borne him a daughter, but no son, and Henry wanted a male heir to the throne. Besides, he had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn. It was therefore proposed that the Pope be asked to declare that Henry's marriage to his brother's wife had been no real marriage. The king entrusted the business to Wolsey, who was at first not unwilling to do the King of Spain an ill turn, and did not expect to have much trouble in the matter.

Catharine.

However, the unexpected came to pass. The Pope, Clement VII, did not wish to offend Wolsey and Henry VIII, and he feared offending Charles V of Spain a great deal more. Charles V was Queen Catharine's nephew: he did not intend to see her

marriage declared void. And as he had a big army in Italy, the Pope did what Charles ordered instead of obliging Henry VIII. Henry VIII was a headstrong man who could not bear to be thwarted. So he threw Wolsey into disgrace for his failure, and quarrelled with the Pope.

Now it happened that at this time it was easy to find grounds for a quarrel. Religion had become too largely a matter of forms and ceremonies
Martin Luther. merely. Even in the highest places in the Church there were some who led evil lives, and had no real faith in what they taught. Many faithful sons of the Church thought that these things should not be, and a German friar named Martin Luther was led to believe a complete change was needed. In 1517 he "protested" against certain practices of the Church, and his followers, the first Protestants, converted a great part of Germany to agree with them and to cast off the authority of Rome, which meant casting themselves out of the Church.

It would have been simple, then, for Henry to side with Luther and become a Protestant. But this was not what Henry wished. The Pope, he argued, refused to meet his wishes in the matter of the marriage. Very good, he would break free from the Pope; he would get permission in his own courts; but he had no desire to change his beliefs as the Protestants were doing. He intended to believe what he had always believed, but he would not be controlled by the Pope.

In this England was ready to follow him. Wyclif and the Lollards had felt the same more than a hundred years before, and the feeling of
Henry casts off the Power of the Pope. hostility had grown stronger with time. Consequently, the Parliament which met in 1529, and is generally called the Reformation Par-

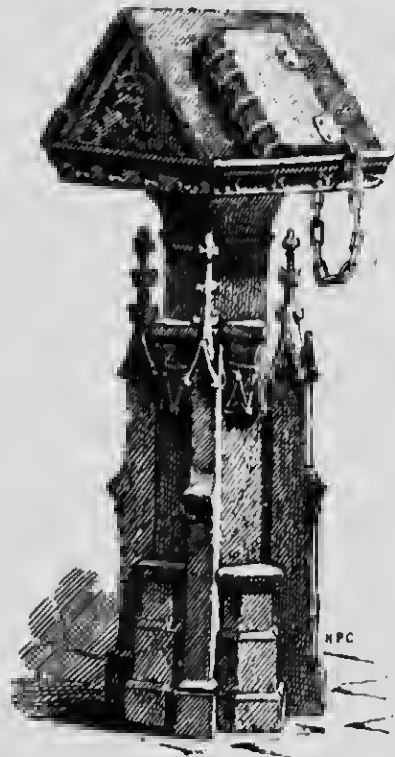
liament, eagerly backed up Henry in his schemes. First, it declared that all appeals to Rome, and appointments made by the Pope, were illegal; then it ordered that no payments should be made to the Pope; and finally, it passed the Act of Supremacy, which said that Henry was the head of the Church in England. The link that had bound England to Rome ever since the Synod of Whitby—nearly nine hundred years before—was broken.

Thus Henry became neither a Roman Catholic nor a Protestant. No one could call him the first, for he had defied the Pope, and he beheaded as traitors those Catholics who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, and acknowledge him as Head of the Church. It was for this reason that Sir Thomas More, the most learned man in England, was put to death. He was really no traitor, but he could not honestly say that he thought Henry VIII was right. On the other hand, none could imagine Henry to be a Protestant, for he held to all the Roman Catholic doctrines, and commanded his subjects to believe them also, on pain of death. Protestants who wished to follow Martin Luther and reject some of the old beliefs were burned as heretics. Strange as Henry's position may seem, most of his subjects agreed with him.

Two other events in the course of the Reformation are particularly noteworthy. The first is the dissolution of the monasteries. Monks were hateful to Henry, since they were not under the control of English bishops, but obeyed their own abbots, who were in their turn only obedient to the Pope. The monasteries were very rich, and their wealth tempted the king. Finally, the monks were often lazy and sometimes ill-behaved; so that when the king caused an inquiry to be held,

**The Monasteries
and their Land.**

enough stories against them were collected to justify their being suppressed. Accordingly, in 1535 the smaller monasteries were broken up, and four years later the



Chained Bible in the Church of St. Crux, York.

richer ones suffered the same fate. The king got an immense amount of property by this. Some he kept for himself, but much he gave to his nobles. This made the nobles support the Reformation, for they saw that if England were ever to return to the Roman Catholic Church, they would have to give up the monastic lands. But the poor suffered; the monasteries had been very charitable to them, and now many could hardly obtain bread. In consequence, we find that Henry VIII and his successors had a great deal of trouble with beggars.

The other event that was of importance was a fresh translation of the Bible.

This was mainly the work of Miles Coverdale. Thomas Cromwell, the king's chief minister, and Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, persuaded the king to allow it. First of all copies were placed in the churches, and afterwards anyone was allowed to keep a Bible in his home. Further, owing to the invention of printing, Bibles became cheaper, and so most men who could read

**Translation
of the Bible.**

were able to have one, a thing which was not possible in the old days when all books were in manuscript, that is to say, copied out by hand. The result of this was a steady increase in the Protestant party. Luther had taught men to look to the Bible and not to the Pope as the source of what was right to believe. As the Bible began to be read by the people themselves, a growing number of them desired not only to set aside the Pope, but also the beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church.

Henry's reign was a time of great violence. We have seen how he treated Catholics who denied his supremacy, and Protestants who would not believe what he ordered. His ministers found him a dangerous man to serve. Wolsey was disgraced, and died of a broken heart. Thomas Cromwell, who succeeded Wolsey, was beheaded. Henry married six wives; two he divorced, and two were put to death on the scaffold. Nor was his reign free from rebellion. There was a rising in the north of those who disliked Henry's changes in religion, led by Robert Aske and the abbots of the great Yorkshire monasteries; but Henry had the leaders of this "Pilgrimage of Grace", as it was called, arrested and brought to the block. He had begun his reign as a most popular king; towards the end of it he was dreaded. Yet Englishmen went on supporting him because, although he was severe, yet upon the whole he knew what England wanted, and did it.

*Violence of
the Time.*

XVII.—THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.
SECOND PERIOD. ENGLAND BE-
COMES PROTESTANT.

Henry VIII had left three children: Mary, daughter of his first queen, Catharine of Aragon; Elizabeth, daughter of his second queen, Anne Boleyn; and Edward, son of his third queen, Jane Seymour. Although the youngest, the son would in any case have been put before the daughters; further, Parliament had given to Henry the power of arranging the succession as he pleased, and he left the throne to Edward.

Edward VI being only nine years old, the kingdom had to be directed by a regent. This office was placed in the hands of the Duke of Somerset, an ambitious, clever man, but rash and hasty.

Edward VI.
1547-1553.

Urged on by Cranmer, he went further than Henry VIII had done in religious matters. He did away with the mass, the Roman Catholic form of service, and issued a new service in English. He also gave orders that the images and pictures in the churches should be removed. This was done in a very unseemly way. Some of the men charged to carry out this duty paraded the country, dressed as mock priests in priestly garments, revelling and rioting, and casting the images and pictures into bonfires, with every sign of contempt. Devout men who had been accustomed to look on these images while engaged in their prayers, and who had been used since their childhood to think of them as holy, were much pained by behaviour which seemed to them impious. Out-of-the-way country districts were still on the whole Catholic in feeling, and did not favour the ideas of the Reformers, as did London and the large towns. There was a serious rebellion in Devonshire and

another in Norfolk, which were only put down by hard fighting.

Thus Somerset grew unpopular; men blamed him for what he had done, and also for many things for which he was not responsible.

His place was taken by Northumberland, who was a selfish man, only interested in maintaining his own power. He caused Somerset to be executed; and he carried the Reformation still further, because he thought that the Reformers were the only people who would support him.

Northumberland and Lady Jane Grey.



Costumes, time of Edward VI. From contemporary portraits

One thing was clear. If Edward VI were to die, Mary, who was a Catholic, would at once depose Northumberland; and Edward VI was a very weakly boy. In a last hope of preserving his power, Northumberland caused his own son to marry Lady Jane Grey, who was a Protestant and had a claim to the throne. When, however, Edward VI did die, no one would acknowledge

Lady Jane as queen. Mary was chosen, and she punished Northumberland by putting him to death, and soon afterwards caused both Lady Jane and her husband to be beheaded.

Mary was a Catholic, as her mother had been, she was also half a Spaniard. All her ideas turned to Catholicism and to Spain. She wished to restore the old religion, and she resolved to marry her cousin, Philip II, King of Spain.

Mary and Spain.

This was disastrous for England. It was bad enough for the country to submit to the rule of a foreign king. It was far worse to be ruled according to Spanish ideas, for Spain was the country of the Inquisition, that hateful secret court which dealt with heresy. Everything about the Inquisition was detestable to English minds. It tried men in secret, whereas Englishmen had been used to open trials. The accused had no chance of hearing the accusation against him, or of meeting the witnesses face to face; he might be cruelly tortured, he might be imprisoned for years without trial, and at the end, if found guilty, he would be burned. A great burning of heretics was called by the Spaniards an auto-da-fé, an "act of faith". None could think of an Inquisition in England without shuddering. Everyone dreaded what the half-Spanish Mary, impelled by her Spanish husband, might do.

Mary soon showed that there was good reason to fear her. In February, 1555, Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, was burned at the stake as a heretic. From that time onward till the end of Mary's reign, about ten persons were burned every month: the total mounts up to nearly three hundred. Even the Archbishop Crammer was not spared. Every effort was made to lead him to declare himself a Roman Catholic: he was kept long in prison; he was sentenced

Mary's Persecution.



From the Picture in the Houses of Parliament

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to death, and then told that his life would be spared if he recanted: he was taken to witness the last agonies of his brother-Protestants being burned alive. In a moment of weakness he gave in; he signed a declaration that he had returned to the Roman Catholic faith. But the weakness passed, and when in spite of it he was burned, he thrust into the flames the erring right hand with which he had signed the cowardly document, that it might first be consumed.

Three other bishops perished in the same way. As a whole, however, the persecution fell upon the poorer classes. Unknown men went peacefully to the most horrible of deaths sooner than deny what they believed, or save themselves by a lie. The sight of this simple faith, which was not to be overcome even by the flames, did more to make men admire the Reformers, and seek to imitate them, than all Mary's cruelties could do towards terrifying them to be Roman Catholics.

Effect of the Persecution.

Englishmen had entered on Mary's reign still undecided, they came out of it convinced. They would have no more of the Pope, nor more of Spanish burnings. Elizabeth, the new queen, was of the same mind. She put an end to the fires in Smithfield, she refused obedience to the Pope. The mass was abolished, and the service-book in English restored. She made no attempt to find out what men believed, or to punish them for it. All she required was that they should worship peaceably, should go to church, and should acknowledge her as head of the National Church.

England becomes Protestant under Elizabeth, 1558-1603.

Thus after thirty years of struggle the Church of England finally won her freedom from the Roman see. But the end of religious troubles was not reached. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign Roman Catholics

were persecuted, not so much because of their religion as because their obedience to the Pope made them rebels to the queen. There was, moreover, a party in England who thought it was wrong for Elizabeth to be head of the Church; they did not believe that the Church required any head on earth. We shall see that this small party of Puritans by degrees grew powerful, and eventually threw the whole of Great Britain into confusion.

**Growth of a
Puritan Party.**

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by degrees grew powerful, and eventually threw the whole of Great Britain into confusion.

XVIII.—THE UNLUCKY HOUSE OF STUART

Soon after Robert Bruce's death all that he had won came near to being lost. His son David II was but four years old when he became king. Edward Balliol revived his father's claims. He was aided by a number of English barons, who were striving to regain the lands in Scotland which they had held for a time, and had lost on the fall of the English power. The Scottish regent, Mar, was surprised and routed at Dupplin, and the next year Edward III, who, seeing the chance of doing Scotland an injury, had taken up Balliol's cause, defeated the Scots at Halidon Hill, and overran the whole country. David had to be sent for safety to France.

**Dupplin, 1332;
Halidon Hill,
1333.**

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taken up Balliol's cause, defeated the Scots at Halidon Hill, and overran the whole country. David had to be sent for safety to France.

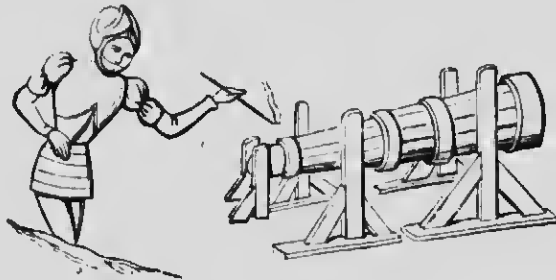
Edward III had done as much as his grandfather, but he could do no more. He could defeat the Scots in battle; the English archers proved as fatal to Scottish men-at-arms as they were to the French; but he could not conquer the country. Besides, he soon had, as we have seen, a French war on his hands; and by degrees Scotland slipped from his grasp. The castles were recaptured, and David returned to his kingdom.

One curse of Scotland—foreign invasion—was for the time stayed. Unluckily another soon appeared—quarrels at home. For the next two hundred years it seems as if nothing but the presence of **The Scottish Nobles.** the hated English invader could unite Scotland, and keep king and nobles from flying at each other's throats. No two men had distinguished themselves more against the English than Douglas the Knight of Liddesdale, and Ramsay of Dalwolsy. They were comrades in arms, champions of the same cause. Yet no sooner was David II restored to his throne than Douglas, jealous of an office given to Ramsay, treacherously seized his friend and sent him to starve to death in the dungeon of Hermitage Castle. The name Douglas, so gloriously borne by the Good Lord James, was to have an evil sound thenceforward in Scottish history; formidable indeed to foes, but equally dangerous to the peace of Scotland.

David died childless, and so the Bruce line came to an end. A grandson of King Robert's on the mother's side was given the crown. This was Robert Stuart, Robert II (1371).

The House of Stuart may well be termed "The Unlucky House". Six kings, descended from Robert II, 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 Stuarts.** 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. It is a series of disasters unparalleled in history. Yet, unlucky as the kings were, their country

was even more so. Year after year and reign after reign, war follows rebellion and rebellion follows war, in dreary succession. 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.



Bombard. From a manuscript of Froissart in the Royal Library, Paris.

Robert III had been ruled by his brother Robert, Duke of Albany. It was Albany and the Earl of Douglas who were concerned in the murder by starvation of the king's elder son. Robert III, 1390-1406, and James I, 1406-1437. When the younger son, James I, was released from his captivity in England, his first step was to take vengeance on the Albanys. The old duke was dead, but the king had his successor, Duke Murdoch, and his two sons, executed. Severity was necessary: it was well-deserved. Unhappily a stern king was certain to raise up against himself enemies who hated justice and order. Sir Robert Graham formed a plot against the king's life. Late at night a sudden tramp of armed men was heard in the Abbey of the Black Friars at Perth, where the king was staying. James, fearing the worst, tore up the planks of the floor and took refuge in a

vault below, while Catherine Douglas, one of the queen's women, tried to secure the door by thrusting her arm across as a bolt. It was all in vain. A woman's slender arm was no bar to bloody-minded villains. The king's hiding-place was discovered. Graham leapt down and murdered him.

The heir to the throne was a boy of six. A regency was necessary, and this, as usual, gave an opening to rebellions and feuds. The great **James II.** House of Douglas did not lose the opportunity. **1437 1460.** James II's reign was one long struggle with this lawless family.

The Douglasses were, in fact, as dangerous to the House of Stuart in Scotland as the Kingmaker had been in England to Henry VI and Edward **The House of Douglas.** IV. William Douglas used to march at the head of an army against those who offended him: he had them put to death without trial; he burned their castles and seized their lands. Ferocious as the Douglasses were, the king was as merciless. One Earl of Douglas and his brother were invited to a friendly banquet in Edinburgh Castle, and there seized and beheaded. Crichton the chancellor was responsible for that deed; but the king soon copied it, stabbing another Douglas earl at Stirling with his own hand. For three years all Scotland was fighting either for James Stuart or James Douglas. It was only by acting on Archbishop Kennedy's advice—to deal with his enemies as a man would deal with a sheaf of arrows, breaking them singly, since they were too strong when bound together—that James II triumphed. Bribery, promises of pardon or advancement, treachery, robbed Douglas of many of his followers. **Arkinholme, 1455.** His army was routed by the Scots at Arkinholme. Douglas fled into England, where he re-

mained for twenty years. When he at last came back to Scotland, the king had him placed as a monk in the convent of Lindores, where he died. With him fell for ever the power of the elder line, the "Black" Douglas.

Boys, Homes, Hepburns, and Angus the "Red" Douglas, a younger branch, were even more fatal to James III than the Black Douglas had been to his father. James III was weak and timid. He made favourites of men of low

James III,
1460-1488.

origin, especially Robert Cochran, an architect, whom he raised to be Earl of Mar. His turbulent nobles could not endure this upstart's exaltation over them. Cochran was hanged from the Bridge of Lauder by Archibald Bell-the-Cat, Earl of Angus. Six years later Angus, aided by Homes and Hepburns, raised an army captured the king's son at Sirling, and made him march with them against his father. They met the king at Sanchie Burn. James III, fleeing from the field, was thrown from his horse, and carried, stunned and bleeding, into Beaton's Mill. Feebly he asked for a priest. A man calling himself such was brought in; bending over the king on pretence of hearing his confession he stabbed him to the heart.

With James IV domestic disorder for a time died down. The king was strong, kept good order, and enforced the law. Yet it was his ill-fate to plunge afresh into war with England, and bring on his country the greatest defeat in her history.

James IV,
1488-1513.

Perhaps the most miserable thing about the battle of Flodden, in which James flung away his own life and the lives of most of the Scottish nobility, is its utter purposelessness. Ill-feeling began with a border quarrel, which might perfectly well have been patched up. But James IV was headstrong and pugnacious, bent on winning renown in war. He

Flodden,
1513.

gathered the finest army Scotland had ever mustered, and invaded England. Surrey encountered him not far from the junction of the Tweed and the Till. The fate of the battle was at first doubtful. The Highlanders on the Scottish right were swept away by the English archers, but on the other wing Home with the borderers rudely shook the English right, and threw it into confusion. Home failed to follow up his advantage: his border-lances turned to what was to them the most attractive part of any battle — plundering. On the other hand, Stanley kept his men in hand, and charged the Scottish centre in flank and rear. Closed in on every side, the Scots fought till night, with brilliant but useless courage against English lance, bill, and bow. James IV himself was killed in the midst of his nobility. There was hardly a house in Scotland that had not to mourn the loss of its best and bravest.

This disaster did not end at Flodden; it brought in its train another minority, and a fresh outburst of violence at home. Queen Margaret, the young king's mother, the Duke of Albany, and Angus James V,
1513-1542. the Red Douglas all quarrelled over the regency. A fearful picture of the time is given us by the fierce affray in the High Street of Edinburgh between the Douglases and the Hamiltons. The latter were routed, and their hurried flight gave the name "Cleanse the Causeway" to the affray.

Two attempts were made by Lennox and Buccleuch to release the king from the claws of Angus; both ended in defeat; in the last Lennox lost his life. At length the king fled by night from Falkland, and took refuge in Stirling Castle. The nobles, who had grown to hate the domineering sway of the Red Douglas as they had hated the Black, gathered in his support, and Angus was driven into exile.

James V, now grown to manhood, had a good idea of the duties of a king. He marched through the borders, and hanged the notorious border thief Johnny Armstrong, along with others of less renown; he reduced the Highland chiefs to some sort of obedience, he instituted the College of Justice, and encouraged arts and sciences; he also strove to find out about his people by going amongst them in disguise, and helping to do justice for those who were wronged. All this held out bright prospects for the future.

It was but a lull in the storm. Clouds soon gathered again: the waves of the Reformation began to trouble Scottish waters. Henry VIII wished his nephew James to copy his example in casting off obedience to the Pope. James would not do so. Gradually ill-feeling between the sovereigns ripened. War was declared in 1542, but James V had not even the advantages of his father. His nobles would not stand by him, because he had shorn away some of their privileges. The army which he gathered at Fala Muir mutinously refused to follow him into England. A second force of ten thousand borderers crossed the Esk, but, half-hearted and distrustful of their commander, Oliver Sinclair, they fled like sheep before four hundred English horsemen.

Flodden was more disastrous, but there at any rate cowardice played no part. The

Rout of the Solway, 1542. Rout of the Solway was utterly disgraceful to king and nation alike. It was a crushing blow to James V. A few days afterwards he died of grief and humiliation. He was only thirty-one years of age.

This long period (1329-1542) which we have passed in review is a gloomy one. Hopes appear, only to be disappointed. The curse of Scotland at this time was the power of the unruly nobles. A country distracted with enemies abroad and rebels at home could make

no real progress. Since neither life nor property was secure, few would settle down to trade or commerce. Even agriculture was slovenly and backward. All that flourished was war, with its handmaid, plunder. In forays, cattle-lifting, hackmilit, and such like arts, Scots were proficient. Thus while England was growing rich under the influence of law and order, Scotland remained poor, rude, and but half-civilized.

XIX.—MARY STUART AND THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

When James V lay dying of a broken heart, news was brought to him that his queen had given birth to a daughter. James groaned; he had hoped for a son to continue the direct line of his house, and now this last hope was taken away. "It came with a lass, and it will go with a lass", were his sad words. Soon after he died, leaving the little princess of a few days old as his successor. This princess was **Mary Queen of Scots.**

The position reminds us of a similar state of affairs more than two hundred and fifty years before, when the Maid of Norway was left heiress to the Scottish crown. Once again English policy turned to the idea of a marriage. Henry VIII wished to marry his son, Edward VI, to Mary, and after his death Somerset the Protector held to the same plan. Yet both of them tried to gain their object in the most foolish way possible, namely, by violence. Henry sent a force which landed at Leith and burned Edinburgh, but the Scots took their revenge by utterly overthrowing another army of the English at Ancrum

**English
Marriage
Schemes.**

Moor. Somerset was as unwise as his master. He sent an army under Lord Grey to invade Scotland. Grey met the Scottish forces at Pinkie, and in spite of the heroic resistance of the Scottish pikemen, at last defeated them by his superiority in firearms. The Scots were furious. Huntly well expressed the feelings of the nation when he told Somerset "he had no objection to the match, but to the manner of the wooing". Mary was sent for safety to France, where she afterwards married Francis, son of the French king.

Before this, however, the Reformation in Scotland had begun. As in England, the printing of Bibles increased the number of those who began to think that both the government and the teaching of the Church was wrong. The Scottish Parliament gave all men leave to study the Scriptures in their own tongue; in consequence, we are told that "the Bible might be seen lying on almost every gentleman's table, the New Testament was carried about in many men's hands".

Cardinal Beaton, the head of the Church party, decided to make an example. He chose George Wishart, who had made himself known by his fearless preaching against the Church. First a priest tried to murder Wishart, but the preacher snatched from him the dagger hidden under his gown. Soon after Wishart was arrested, and condemned to be burned as a heretic. Cardinal Beaton looked on from a window in his castle of St. Andrews while the deed was done.

Wishart's friends determined on revenge. They stole into the castle, stabbed Beaton, and hanged his body from the very window at which he had gloated over Wishart's death. Then they defended the castle against the regent's forces, and some time passed before they were overcome. Most of them were

**Murder of
Cardinal
Beaton.**

punished by being sent to the French galleys. There was, however, one amongst them, who, while tugging at his oar as a galley-slave, never lost the hope that he might be permitted to return to his country and carry on the work of the Reformation in the spirit of his dead friend Wishart. This was John Knox. It was not till some years later, however, that he was released.

Meantime the cause of Protestantism in Scotland was in grave danger. Mary of Guise, Mary Stuart's mother, became regent. She was a Roman Catholic and a Frenchwoman, and as just at this time Queen Mary married the Dauphin Francis, the whole power of France was placed at her service to crush the Reformers. Although at first she promised to be lenient, she was an enemy not less dangerous because she did not at once show her hostility. In a letter from Geneva Knox stirred up the Reformers to resist her, and in consequence certain nobles, Gleneairn, Argyle, Morton, and others, formed an association to lead the Protestant party. The first act of these Lords of the Congregation, as they were called, was to demand that worship should be conducted in English, and that anyone might exhort and pray in his own house as he pleased.

The year 1558 saw the prospects of the Reformers brighten. Elizabeth succeeded her sister, and England finally was separated from Rome; but far more important than this was the return of Knox. Men's epitaphs are often misleading, but the words on Knox's tomb tell us the naked truth about him, and reveal the secret of his power—"Here lies one who never feared the face of man". One who knew him bears the same testimony: "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".

Mary of Guise.

Return of Knox.

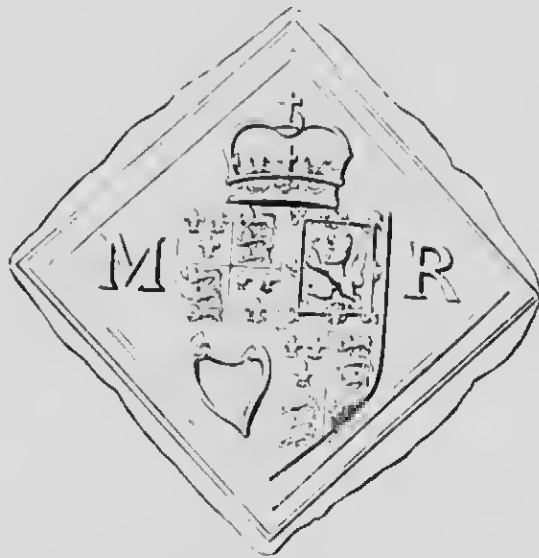
Soon after his return Knox preached a vehement sermon at Perth against idolatry. Some of his hearers suited their actions to what they took to be Knox's teaching. They threw down the images in the cathedral, and destroyed the pictures and the stained windows. The spirit spread from Perth to St. Andrews, Dundee, Linlithgow, Edinburgh, and all over the country. The greatest ruin fell on the monasteries. "Burn the nests and the rooks will fly", cried Knox. The monks were scattered, their churches and buildings unroofed, their lands taken by the nobles. We may regret the wanton destruction of cathedrals, abbeys, and churches, which has left Scotland so bare of fine buildings, but we need not be surprised at it. "Revolutions", it has been said, "are not made with rose-water"; and the Reformers wished to efface everything that might connect men's minds with the religion which they hated.

Nothing was left to the Regent but to use force. She obtained troops from France: the Lords of the Congregation gathered an army and besieged the French at Leith. At this critical moment, when it was not clear to which side victory would incline, help came from England. Elizabeth hated Knox for a book he had written against women-rulers, but she feared the danger of Scotland falling into French hands still more. She resolved to aid the Lords of the Congregation, so she sent a fleet into the Firth of Forth, and cut off the French supplies.

This ended the contest. The Regent Mary of Guise died, and by the Treaty of Leith the French troops were to leave Scotland. Power was thus left in the hands of the Reformers, and so Scotland became avowedly Protestant.

Thus when, after her French husband's death, Mary Stuart came back to Scotland, her position was one of great difficulty. She was Catholic, but her people were

Protestant; she was fond of France, but her people had grown to hate the French; she was the next heir to the English throne, but Elizabeth would not admit her claim. These things were all **Mary in Scotland, 1561.** She was beautiful, and could persuade men to do what she wanted; and she was clever.



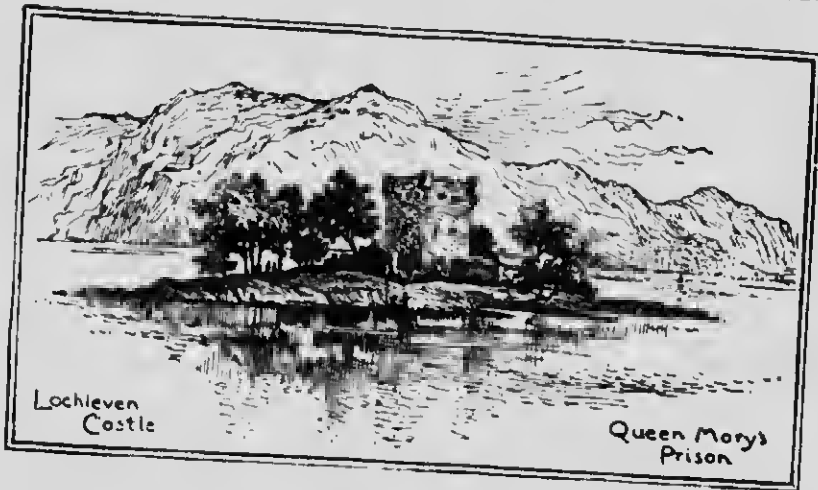
Royal Arms of England assumed by Mary of Scotland From a seal in the Royal Collection of France

It was not long before Mary showed this. In spite of Elizabeth's opposition she made up her mind to marry her cousin, Lord Darnley. Unluckily Darnley was not the right husband for Mary. The two soon quarrelled. Darnley was angry because Mary would not let him be called king; and he was jealous of an Italian musician, David Rizzio, whom Mary employed **Murder of Rizzio.** Although a Catholic, he joined with the Protestant nobles to plot Rizzio's murder.

One evening he came to Holyrood in company with Ruthven, Morton, Lindsay, and others. Darnley went first into the queen's room, where she was sitting with Rizzio. He pretended he had come on a friendly visit, and put his arm round the queen's waist. Suddenly she was alarmed to see Ruthven clad in complete armour, ghastly pale of face, stalk into the room. Rizzio read his fate at a glance. He clung to the queen's skirts and cried for mercy, but he was in hands which knew no mercy. He was dragged into the next room and murdered.

If Darnley could be treacherous and merciless, there were others in Scotland who could match him. James, **Bothwell** Earl of Bothwell, imagined that he would **murders** 'please the queen if he put Darnley out of the **Darnley.** way. It is not clear that Mary knew of his intention, but what happened afterwards seems to show that Mary would not have felt any very strong disapproval if she had known. The facts were these: Darnley, who had been ill, was lodged at Kirk o' Field to recover. On Sunday, Feb. 9th, 1567, Mary visited him there: in the evening she returned to Holyrood, where she danced at a ball with Bothwell. As the dawn broke next morning, Edinburgh learnt with horror that Kirk o' Field had been blown into the air with powder, and Darnley murdered. Bothwell had planned the deed; he had even ridden straight from the ball at Holyrood to see it done.

None doubted that Bothwell was guilty; most believed that the queen knew of his design. It was impossible to bring the murderer to trial, as he filled Edinburgh with his followers, and his accuser feared **Mary marries** for his life to appear. Bothwell's next act **Bothwell.** was to carry Mary with him to Dnnbar. As if to leave nothing undone that could shock or



disgust her people, within three months of Darnley's murder Mary married the murderer.

This was beyond endurance. The nobles gathered an army, and met Bothwell's men at **Carberry**. It could scarcely be called a battle. Bothwell's followers deserted him in scores. Bothwell himself had to flee for his life; he left Scotland, and at last was taken to Denmark, where he died in a Danish prison. Mary herself was shut up in Lochleven Castle. As the castle lay on an islet in the midst of the loch, it was thought that she could not escape. Her son James was declared king; Moray, who was Mary's half-brother, and had been her best minister, was made regent.

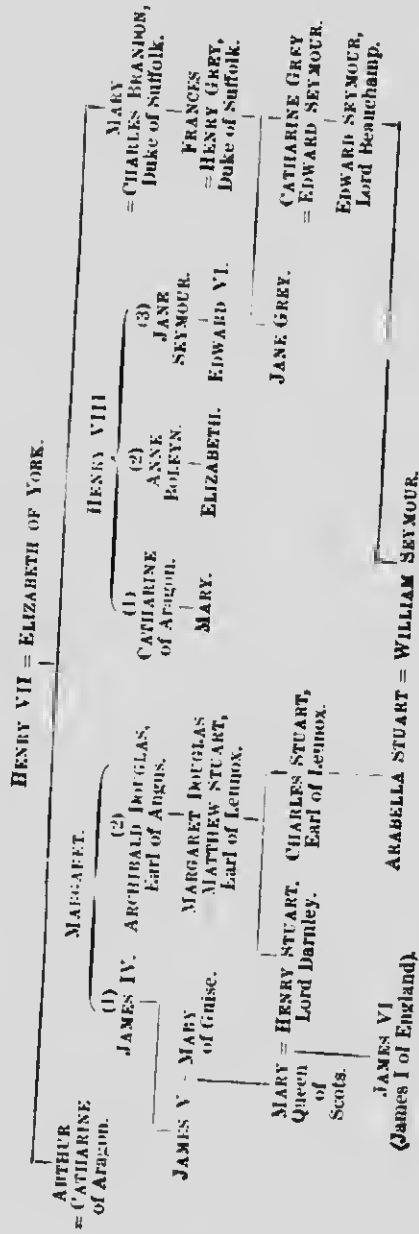
Yet Mary still had friends. She contrived to escape in disguise, and joined her adherents, the Hamiltons. Moray saw there was no time to lose. Although he had but few soldiers, he advanced against the Hamiltons, met them at **Langside**, and routed them. Mary rode southward from the field, utterly desperate. In a last hope she resolved to throw herself on Elizabeth for help.

XX—ROYAL MARRIAGES

We have already followed the important effects of one royal marriage—we have seen how Henry VIII married Catharine of Aragon, grew tired of her, and in order to obtain the divorce which he wanted had quarrelled with the Pope and King of Spain, and had ended by breaking with the Roman Catholic Church altogether. But this is only one of a series of royal marriages which at this time influenced not only England and Scotland at home, but affected their dealings with the rest of Europe. There are several others; and we cannot hope to understand the history of England at this time, unless we grasp the importance of these marriages.

To do this we must put modern ideas quite out of our head. We do not pay much attention to the marriages of the royal family now. For instance, the king's nephew is German Emperor, but we do not find on that account any close alliance between Great Britain and Germany. We do not dream of his attempting, should other heirs fail, to unite the two kingdoms. But it was very different in the sixteenth century. Countries were then regarded as the *property* of their sovereigns. Should the ruler of Spain marry the ruler of England, it was thought that the two countries would naturally be united in policy; should there be an heir to such a marriage, he would naturally rule both countries. And besides this, it was felt that he would do his best to compel his dominions to hold the same religion as he held himself. So that on the result of a royal marriage there often hung not only the policy of a nation in its dealings with other nations, but also its religion and institutions; nay, even its separate existence as a nation might be in danger.

THE TUDOR LINE



Under these circumstances, it is easy to see that royal marriages concerned England and Scotland very closely indeed. And it happened, by a curious chance, that just at this time, when both peoples were more interested in the question of their religion than anything else, their religion was apparently at the merey of a marriage. For in England two queens, Mary and Elizabeth, came one after the other; and at the same time the ruler of Scotland was also a queen, Mary Queen of Scots, who was the next heir to the throne of England. Thus both nations followed with strained attention the marriage proposals for these queens.

Mary of England, herself a Roman Catholic, the child of a Catholic mother, married her cousin, Philip II of Spain, a ruler who is known in Europe as the greatest persecutor of Protestantism who has ever lived. It is worth notice that the bitterness of Mary's persecution in England did not begin until after her marriage. Englishmen did not in those days think persecution wrong, but they did not give themselves gladly to the task of burning heretics; that was a Spanish habit partly inherited by Mary from her Spanish mother. Had Mary and Philip had a child he would have united England to Spain, and might have gone on with the cruelties of his father and mother to the Protestants. But fortunately no child came. Thus England was saved from falling into the clutches of Spain; for the next heir was Elizabeth, and she was a Protestant.

Yet it seemed as if the evil day was after all only put off. We had exchanged a Catholic queen for a Protestant. But a queen was always dangerous: Elizabeth would be sought in marriage too: it was not likely that so great a prize, the Queen of England, would lack offers. In fact she was

**Mary Tudor
Marries Philip II
of Spain.**

**Marriage
Proposals for
Elizabeth.**

besieged with offers, both from France and Spain. Even Philip II, in his anxiety to add England to his dominions, thought of marrying Elizabeth, though she was his late wife's half-sister, and though such a marriage was absolutely forbidden by his church. But Elizabeth, though she liked admiration and attention, had no real wish to marry. To marry, she saw, would be to fall into the hands of a foreign prince. England, she declared, was her husband, and she remained a virgin queen.

This was satisfactory for the time, but gave at first little hope for the future. For if Elizabeth were to leave no heir, then Mary Queen of Scots *Difficulties of the Succession.* would succeed her, and she too was a Roman Catholic, and more than that, a woman who, by her marriage, would entangle England with some other state. And Mary, unlike Elizabeth, had no aversion to marriage. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign Mary was wife to Francis II, the French king, also a Roman Catholic. It seemed as if England had escaped Spain only to fall into the jaws of France.

Here again fortune fought for us. There was no child of this marriage either; and Francis II died while still a young man, after only a few months of rule. Thus no heir was left to unite the crowns of Scotland and France, with the probability of some day adding to them that of England; and Mary Queen of Scots was more or less cut off from her alliance with France that might have proved so dangerous. She married, as we have seen, a second, and even a third time; first her cousin, Lord Darnley, and afterwards the Earl of Bothwell. But these were not dangerous royal marriages, for they did not give foreign states any claims over England or Scotland.

Now it is time to recall to our memories who Mary Queen of Scots herself was. She too was the descendant

of one of these royal marriages so important in this age. She was the grandchild of James IV of Scotland and Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII of England. This was her claim to the English throne. And by her second husband, Darnley, she had a son James. If this son were to live he would unite the thrones of England and Scotland. Little objection could be found to a union of this sort: it was the union of two kingdoms in the same island, with people of the same race, language and interests similar, and, above all, both in the main Protestant. One thing indeed looked bad. James Stuart was likely to be of his mother's religion, a Roman Catholic.

This difficulty, however, vanished with the others. When after Mary's defeat at Langside she took refuge in England, Elizabeth kept her a prisoner there. It was natural that her Catholic friends should make plots on her behalf, all the more that they were stirred up by the Spaniards to do so. First came an insurrection in the north of England, led by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland. Then at intervals of a few years came Ridolfi's plot, Throgmorton's plot, and finally Babington's plot, all with the same object, namely, to murder Elizabeth and put Mary on the throne. As Elizabeth found Mary a continual source of danger, we need not be surprised that she at last caused her to be beheaded. Such an act may perhaps be excused, but it cannot be commended. Mary had come to her for assistance: instead of getting it, she had been kept a prisoner nineteen years. Mary no doubt had plotted; but Elizabeth had done nothing to win the slightest gratitude from her, nor had she left her any hope of escaping, except by plots.

The result of Mary's long imprisonment and death had been to leave her son James, King of Scotland

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From the Picture in the Houses of Parliament



and next heir to the throne of England, in the hands of her enemies in Scotland, who brought him up as a Presbyterian. We shall see that he did not keep to this church, but he always remained a Protestant, and as such England was ready to welcome him as king. Thus, when Elizabeth died the two crowns were united in one person. The two nations so long apparently hopeless enemies, became reconciled, and James VI of Scotland became James I of England.

**James VI
a Protestant.**

**Union of
the Crowns.**

XXI.—ELIZABETH AND THE ARMADA

There was nothing in Mary Tudor's reign that made Englishmen feel more shame than the loss of Calais. It had been in English hands since the days of Edward I; it seemed disgraceful to lose it. But in truth Calais was no longer of any use. The old policy of trying to conquer territory from the King of France was dead and gone. Even the enmity was gone too. Englishmen no longer hated France, but Spain. And Spain being strong at sea and in the New World, England had to look to her fleets. Since we had to fight against a maritime and colonial power, we became maritime and colonial ourselves in doing it.

Although in name Elizabeth did not go to war with Spain till 1587, yet in reality all her reign was one long war. The war differed from any war England had fought before, since it went on, far from Europe, in the Spanish main, and on American shores.

The Adventurers. It was not called war; neither Queen nor Parliament admitted its existence. It was the work of the Adventurers—merchants and nobles who

sent out ships to the Spanish main, ready to trade or plunder as might be most convenient. The Adventurers were not indeed strait-laced. Hawkins, for example, thought nothing of taking slaves from Africa to the Spanish settlements, and compelling the Spaniards, by force of arms, to buy them. But still the slave-trader



Sir Francis Drake. After a picture in the collection of the Marquis of Lothian

Hawkins and the buccaneers were the forerunners of the makers of our empire. They went where gain drew them, reckless of danger; and where they went British power followed.

Francis Drake stands as an example of all that was best in the Adventurers. He feared no odds against him; he it was who led seventy desperate Englishmen to attack the fortified Spanish town of Nombre de Dios in Central America—the Treasure

House of the World as it was called, since the Spaniards sent thither all the silver they collected—and took it; he, again, crossed the isthmus of Panama, and surprised trains of mules laden with Spanish silver; he, too, was the first Englishman to sail into the Pacific. The Spaniards had thought themselves safe there. Drake came down on them like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, sacked the towns of Lima and Callao, captured a great galleon laden with treasure, and then continued his daring voyage round the world. He came back to England after four years with more treasure than ever had been brought before. It was vain for Philip the Spanish king to complain to Elizabeth that Drake was a pirate. Elizabeth might promise redress, but she never gave it. On the contrary, she accepted a share in Drake's plunder.

For many years the King of Spain did not do anything open against Elizabeth. He encouraged those who wished to murder her, but to take an open part against her would have thrown England on the side of his rival France. But when Mary Queen of Scots died she left her claims on the throne of England to the King of Spain. Philip therefore declared war; it was decided to send a huge fleet, the "Invincible Armada", to England, and conquer it once and for all.

The Armada set sail in 1588. That it had not started the year before was due to Drake, who had sailed into Cadiz harbour and set on fire all the ships laden with stores which had been collected there. He called his exploit "singeing the King of Spain's beard". Great as was the damage he did, it was repaired by the industry of the Spaniards. All was carefully arranged: the Duke of Medina-Sidonia was placed in command; the Armada was to sail up the Channel and pick up the Spanish army from Flanders. Then it was thought that to land it in England and conquer Elizabeth would be child's

**The
Armada,
1588.**

play. The Spanish troops were the best in Europe; and no Spaniard dreamed that English ships could resist the Armada. Philip trusted also that the English Catholics would fight for him instead of for their Protestant queen.

Never did man make a more gigantic mistake. Catholics and Protestants alike thronged to the army which Elizabeth collected in Tilbury. Elizabeth knew her people. "Let tyrants fear!" **Preparations in England.** said she; "I am come amongst you to lay down my life for my God and for my kingdom and for my people. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Spain or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm." Good as the Spanish troops were, it may well be doubted if they would have found England so easy a prey as they expected.

They were not destined to have the chance of trying. England had another line of defence, her right arm, her navy. The Armada had to reckon with that first.

When the news was brought to Plymouth that the Armada had been sighted, in mighty array, stretching over seven miles of sea, the English commanders were ready, but there was no **The Struggle in the Channel.** haste or confusion. Drake, engaged at the time in a game of bowls on the Hoe at Plymouth, cried, "Let us finish this first; time enough to beat the Spaniards afterwards". When the English ships got to sea, they hung on the heels of the Spaniards on their leisurely way up the Channel. They were more than a match for their big opponents; they could sail faster and manœuvre better; they were much better shots, for in truth the Spaniards fired so high that most of their powder was wasted.

For a week the two fleets battled; a week of such

anxiety was never known in England before or since. It was clear that the Armada could not beat the English; but could Howard and the captains under him beat the Armada? Some Spanish ships had been sunk, yet the Armada was still a mighty fleet when it reached Calais. So far it was successful.

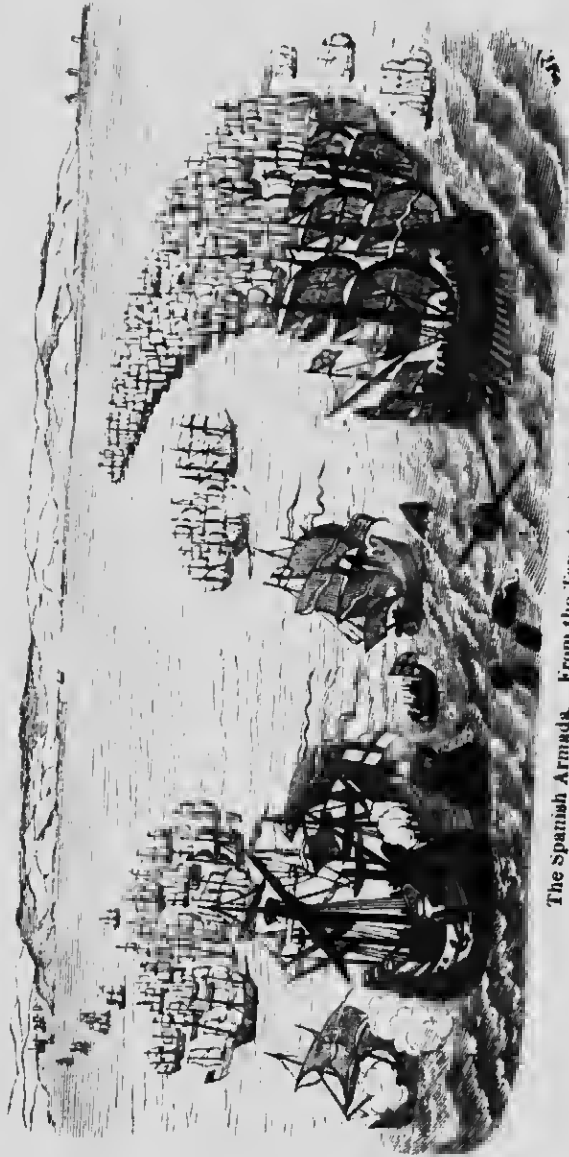
**The Armada
at Calais.**

Here, however, the plan broke down. Parma and the Spanish troops were being kept close prisoners, blockaded by the Dutch ships. Without an army Philip's invasion was impossible.

Yet Howard saw that the Spaniards could not be left to rest at Calais. Parma might come overland and join them. Accordingly fire-ships were got ready, smeared with tar and loaded with gunpowder, and at nightfall set drifting into Calais harbour. As, flaming and exploding, they drew near the Spaniards, the Armada was thrown into confusion and stood out to sea. Wind and waves rose, driving the Spaniards first towards the Dutch coast and then northwards. Drake followed them far up into the North Sea; he would have gone farther, but powder was running short on his ships. Still his part was done: storms did the rest. Ship after ship of the Armada was cast ashore on the Scottish and Irish coasts. The mighty fleet that had numbered 150 vessels when it left Spain, returned with 54 battered hulks.

**The end of
the Armada.**

The victory was striking and complete. It saved England from all fear of invasion. But it did much more than that; it determined the future of England. Our interests were no longer bounded by our own isle. Even before the Armada Englishmen had planned settlements in America. It was left, indeed, to the next reign to establish them. Henceforward, however, English interests were on the ocean and abroad. We shall see



The Spanish Armada. From the Tapestry in the House of Lords

England, after overcoming Spain at sea, master in turn
Holland and France. Our seamen have read Europe

many lessons on the value of sea-power. No more effective one was ever given than that afforded by the story of the Armada.

XXII.—THE STUARTS AND THEIR DIFFICULTIES

With the reign of James I we enter on a new period. Hitherto interest has centred round the king, or round the Church, or round the nobles, or in war. **James I, 1603-1625; Parliament.** Now a new matter eclipses all the others. Everyone's eyes are fixed upon Parliament. Parliament displays quite new vigour. Under the Lancastrian kings it had been too weak to keep the nobles in order; under the Tudors it was too anxious for a strong king to care to oppose him. But in the time of the Stuarts we see Parliament engage in struggles with the king, and come out in the end the victor. We are, indeed, at the beginning of the modern system, by which it is no longer the crown that rules, but Parliament.

It was natural, then, that the Stuarts, who expected to rule as the Tudors had done—that is to say, despotically, without consulting Parliament—should find themselves in difficulties. **Quarrels between the Stuarts and Parliament.** James I disagreed with his Parliament. His son, Charles I, quarrelled with them even more, and at last actual war began. Three main grounds of quarrel may be distinguished: (1) over religion at home; (2) over religious matters abroad; (3) over the right of the king to take money and govern without Parliament.

1. James had been brought up in Scotland as a Presbyterian, but he changed over to the Church of England. He was not, however, a bigot by nature. What he

wanted was that men should, as far as possible, agree to accept him as head of the Church. This claim was disagreeable to the Catholics, who regarded the Pope as the head of the Church, and also to **Religion at Home.** the English Puritans and the Scottish Presbyterians, who thought the Church should govern itself. All chance of liberty of worship for Catholics was soon put out of the question by the violence of a few murderous traitors. Catesby, Percy, Sir Everard Digby, and some others formed an atrocious plot to blow up king, Lords, and Commons assembled in Parliament; to this they added a wild scheme of raising a rebellion, seizing James's daughter Elizabeth, bringing her up as a Catholic, and placing her on the throne. The secret leaked out; the cellars below Parliament were searched, and Guy Fawkes was found in the midst of the powder barrels. The leaders of the plot were either shot down or executed. For the whole Roman Catholic party the result was disastrous. During long years afterwards everyone regarded them with cruel suspicion.

The Puritans also came to dislike the king more and more. At the beginning of the reign they presented a great petition against certain ceremonies **The Puritans.** of the Church; they did not wish to use a ring in marriage, or the sign of the cross in baptism. But the king did not yield. He fell much into the hands of the bishops, for he claimed to rule by divine right, and it was the clergy and the bishops who were the most thorough-going supporters of this claim. Hence James's saying, "No bishop no king". It is easy to see that this attitude was much disliked among his Scottish subjects, who hated bishops. Indeed James's Scottish bishops had very little power, and received very little obedience.

2. James managed to offend the religious feelings of a

large number of his subjects as much by his foreign policy as by his acts at home. He wished to be a great peace-maker in Europe; with this object he strove hard to arrange a marriage between his son Charles and the Infanta, the Princess of Spain. James's subjects hated Spain. They were much more ready to fight her than to make an alliance. They remembered the days of Mary Tudor and they hated the idea of another Spanish match. The marriage, indeed, fell through, and instead Charles married Henrietta Maria, sister of the French king. She, too, was disliked, because she was a Roman Catholic; it was feared that she might convert her husband, or at any rate bring him to favour English Roman Catholics. This belief, although not true, did much to make Charles's subjects distrust him. And even when James and Charles did act, as the nation wished to see them act, on the Protestant side, they were very unsuccessful. James's daughter Elizabeth married the leader of the German Protestants, Frederick the Elector Palatine; but Frederick was turned out of his dominions by the Spaniards, and James could not recover them for him, either by treaty or by fighting. And Charles sent a fleet under Buckingham to help the French Protestants at La Rochelle against the King of France, but it was beaten off, and returned in disgrace.

3. The most bitter quarrels, however, were with Parliament. James held that kings reigned by divine right; their power was given them from on high; they were "the Lord's anointed", and resistance to them was sinful. Thus James, and Charles after him, thought it to be beneath their dignity to defer to Parliament. Yet according to the constitution Parliament alone had the power of granting money, and without money a king was in a sorry position. Both James

and Charles tried to override Parliament by the use of the king's power—what was called the "Royal Prerogative". Unluckily for them, the Puritan and Presbyterian party was strong in Parliament, and these, already angered by James's fondness for bishops and his hanker-



Ornamented House, time of James I, at one time standing in Little Moorfields
From a sketch

ings after a Roman Catholic marriage for his son, were by no means inclined to give way about money.

In the struggles between James and Charles and their Parliaments two main points may be remarked: (1) Parliament was resolved to prevent the king from raising money on his own authority; (2) it strove also to make his ministers responsible for what they did.

**Question
of Supplies.**

Thus in James's reign the Commons objected to the grants of monopolies, by which some friend of the king was given the sole right of selling an article, and could in consequence put a high price on it. In Charles's reign they went further. Instead of giving the king certain taxes for life, they only gave them for two years; and when Charles tried to collect them without leave, they made him accept the Petition of Right, which declared that to take taxes except by leave of Parliament was illegal, and that no one should be imprisoned without trial by command of the king. Thus the two most important clauses of Magna Carta were solemnly repeated.

Petition of Right, 1628.

Again, Parliament attacked the king's ministers. The Lord Chancellor Bacon was impeached for taking bribes; the Earl of Middlesex was impeached for misusing public money; the Duke of Buckingham was impeached for failing in the war against Spain. This "impeaching" was a system whereby the Commons accused a man before the Lords as judges. In those days it was the only way to get rid of a king's minister who was disliked. Never before had Parliament interfered so much with the king's ministers.

Impeachment of Ministers.

In the first four years of his reign Charles had three Parliaments, and quarrelled with them all. Then he decided to do without Parliament, and for eleven years no Parliament met. Charles's ministers ruled the country for him. Strafford was sent to Ireland, where he drilled an Irish army, and persuaded the Irish Parliament to vote the king money. Lawyers, such as Noy and Finch, set to work to revive old practices by which the king could get money without asking Parliament for it. For example, they advised

The Eleven Years' Tyranny, 1629-1640.

Men called it the Eleven Years' Tyranny.

him to collect "ship-money", a tax which had fallen on sea-coast counties to provide a fleet in time of war. Charles imposed it in time of peace on inland counties. A squire named John Hampden refused to pay it, saying it was illegal since Parliament had not voted it. The case was tried, but the judges were afraid of the king, for he could remove them from their posts if he was displeased with them, so they decided against Hampden. The Court of Star Chamber inflicted heavy fines on all who wrote or spoke against the king; the High Commission Court dealt in the same way with the Puritans. Men were tried before these courts without a jury, and were often condemned to have their ears cropped or to be cruelly flogged. Archbishop Laud ruled the Church, and tried to establish the worship of the Church of England all over Charles's dominions.

This, however, proved fatal to Charles's plan of absolute rule. With the very strictest care it was only just possible for him to get money enough to carry on the government in time of peace. If a war was to break out, it was clear that he would be forced to call a Parliament to vote money for it. We shall see that Laud's action did provoke a war, and with that war the Eleven Years' Tyranny came to an end.

XXIII.—WAR BETWEEN KING AND PARLIAMENT

In spite of James's efforts to set up bishops in Scotland, the Scottish Church had practically done as it pleased. It was governed by an assembly; it did not keep the feasts of the English Church such as Easter and Christmas; and its ministers prayed as they chose

instead of using the service-book. Charles, egged on by Land, made up his mind to reduce the Presbyterians to obedience. He caused a service-book to be prepared, and bade the Scottish ministers to use it.

What happened is well known. Everyone remembers Jenny Geddes, who cried out in the Church of St. Giles at Edinburgh, "Wilt thou say mass at my lug!" and flung a stool at the clergyman's head. It was a homely act, but it marked the beginning of the downfall of a king. Resistance spread fast in Scotland. Bodies of men called the "Tables" were organized to consider what course to take. Henderson and Johnston of Warriston drew up the Covenant by which the oath was taken to defend the Scottish form of worship. Speedily it became clear that Scotland was in revolt. If Charles was to regain his power it must be by war.

War then became inevitable; but Charles was from the first doomed to failure. Yet failure meant another Parliament; the meeting of another Parliament meant the downfall of Charles's absolute government. All fell out as his wisest ministers had foreseen; Charles had no regular troops and no officers, while Alexander Leslie could muster 16,000 Scots, many of whom were tried soldiers. In the first campaign Charles dared not strike a blow; in the second his raw levies fled before the Scottish Covenanters at Newburn. The Scots marched into Yorkshire, and Charles had to beg for a truce. The Scottish victory in this "Bishops' war" was the first step in the final triumph of Parliament over the king.

In 1640 Charles called two Parliaments. The first, the "Short" Parliament, was fairly friendly to him, but

Charles's Service-book in Scotland.

The Bishops' War, 1639-1640.

he was unwise enough to dismiss it. The second, which was not finally dissolved for nineteen years, and thus gained the name of the "Long" Parliament, was the body that was destined to see him dethroned and beheaded. **The Long Parliament.**

No such violent ideas entered the heads of the members at first. Led by Pym and Hampden, they were bent on reform; they intended to make Charles rule according to the law. Therefore they swept away the Star Chamber and the High Commission Court; they passed a bill that Parliament was to meet every three years; they declared all the king's plans for raising money without leave of Parliament illegal. Of one man only they determined to make an example. This was Charles's chief minister, Strafford. To find ground for condemning him was not easy. At last it was shown that he had said to Charles, "Your majesty has an army in Ireland which you may employ here to reduce *this kingdom*". Strafford urged that *this kingdom* referred to rebellious Scotland. His enemies took it to mean England, and Strafford was voted to be a traitor, and executed. It is hard to say that the act was just, but Parliament felt that he was too dangerous to be allowed to live.

The king's illegal powers had been destroyed. He had promised to amend. Moderate men thought enough had been done; they were not inclined to press him too hard. But Charles was, through- **Arrest of the five Members.** out all his life, his own worst enemy. Just when he was beginning to be trusted, he showed that he was quite unworthy of trust. Followed by a band of armed attendants he went down to the House of Commons to arrest by force Pym, Hampden, and three others, who were the chief leaders against him. He failed; the members had had timely warning. As he

said himself, "the birds had flown". But this could lead but to one thing—war between King and Parliament. Promises were useless, the matter had to be fought out.

The Civil war falls into three periods. In the first the king had the upper hand. His followers, the Cavaliers, were naturally better soldiers, more used to horses and arms, than were the citizens who made up the Parliamentary armies, nicknamed the Roundheads from their habit of wearing their hair cut short. Charles, too, had a dashing cavalry leader, his nephew Prince Rupert, whose charges bore down his opponents' ranks. The Parliament fought hard, but steadily lost ground. Once the king drew quite close to London, but he did not dare to attack in force. None the less he seemed to be on the point of triumphing.

Pym saw that help must be got from somewhere, so he made an alliance with Scotland. The Parliament signed the Solemn League and Covenant, promising to establish Presbyterianism in England, and the Scots were to send an army to help against Charles. The alliance was easy to make, for most of the Parliamentary party at the time favoured the Presbyterian system. This "throwing of the Scotch sword into the balance" turned the scale against Charles. His generals, Rupert and Newcastle, were utterly beaten at Marston Moor. All the north was lost to the king.

Marston Moor, however, was not so much a triumph for the Scots, who did not do a great deal towards the victory, as for an English Roundhead named Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell had raised a regiment of his own. He saw that only discipline and zeal could beat the loyalty of

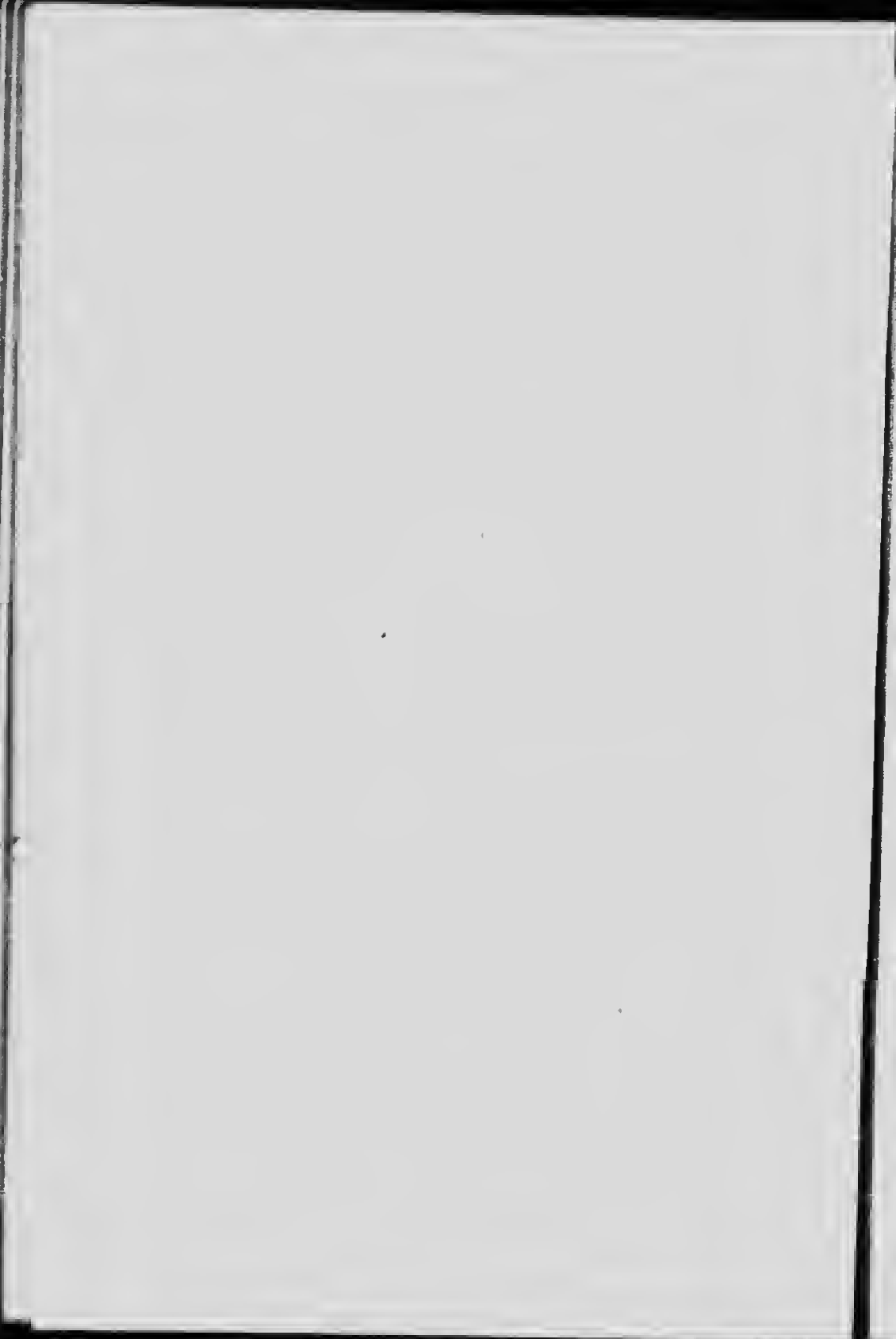
**War: Royalists
at first successful.**

**Help from
the Scots.**

**Cromwell and
the Ironsides.**



THE OPENING SCENE OF THE GREAT CIVIL WAR
CHARLES I ERECTING HIS STANDARD AT NOTTINGHAM, AUGUST 25TH, 1642
From the Fresco by C. W. COCKERILL in the Peers' Hall, or, Houses of Parliament





the Cavaliers. His troopers were well-drilled, terrible fighters, who earned for themselves the name of Cromwell's Ironsides. They were godly men also, who thought themselves to be a chosen people fighting the Lord's battles against the Cavaliers, whom they called the Philistines. Cromwell was not a Presbyterian, but an Independent. He thought all should be allowed to worship as they pleased; consequently all the sects looked up to him as their leader. Further, since Pym and Hampden, the first great leaders, were both dead, Cromwell had no rival. When by the Self-denying Ordinance Parliament voted that its members were no longer to hold posts in the army, a special exception was made in favour of Cromwell. Thus he was bound to become the most powerful man in the realm, for he was the one link between Parliament and the army. And when in 1645 Parliament gave him the task of forming a New Model army, he included many of his friends, the Independents, in it. All the officers were Independents. Thus the New Model became the army of the sects, a church in arms. Cromwell was not a man for half-measures like the early Parliamentary leaders. "If I met the king in battle," he said, "I would fire my pistol at him as I would at any other man." His army met the king at Naseby, and routed him so completely that Charles had scarcely a regiment left. [1645.]

One last flicker of hope remained for the king. He was beaten in England; but in Scotland Montrose, marching from the Highlands, had overthrown every force the Covenanters could bring against him. In one year he won five victories; there was nothing to prevent him from marching into England. His Highlanders, however, scattered; they could not stand a long campaign. Thus deprived of half his

army, Montrose was surprised on a misty morning by David Leslie at Philiphaugh, and routed.

Charles, being now without supporters, surrendered to the Scots at Newark. But he could not grant what they wanted, namely, the establishment of Presbyterianism, and he annoyed them by his shuffling, so they gave him up to Parliament. Parliament in return promised to discharge the Scottish arrears of pay.

**Charles
Surrenders.**

Charles was not sorry to be free from the Scots. He knew that between the Independent Army and the Presbyterian Parliament there was no love lost. He thought that by playing off one against the other he might get back his power. Unluckily he only made each party distrust him more and more, and to make matters worse war broke out again. There was a rising of Royalists in Kent and Essex, while Hamilton, with a body of Scots who dreaded the power of Cromwell and the Army, invaded Lancashire. Cromwell marched north and defeated Hamilton at Preston. But this fresh outburst of war made the Ironsides think that there could be no peace while the king was alive, and the army came back to London, resolved to call "that man of blood, Charles Stuart," to account.

**2nd Civil
War.**

It is important to notice that the final measure, the execution of the king, was the work of the Independent party, the Army, headed by Cromwell. Parliament would not agree to bring the king to trial till Cromwell sent down a file of musketeers to the House and turned out the moderate Presbyterian members. The court that tried Charles was made up chiefly of Independents. The great mass of Englishmen was opposed to his execution. Scotland, as we shall see, was driven into war by it. The king's dignified

**Death of
the King,
1649.**

behaviour on the scaffold made many men think him a martyr. But for the time the Army was supreme. There was none left who could resist it.

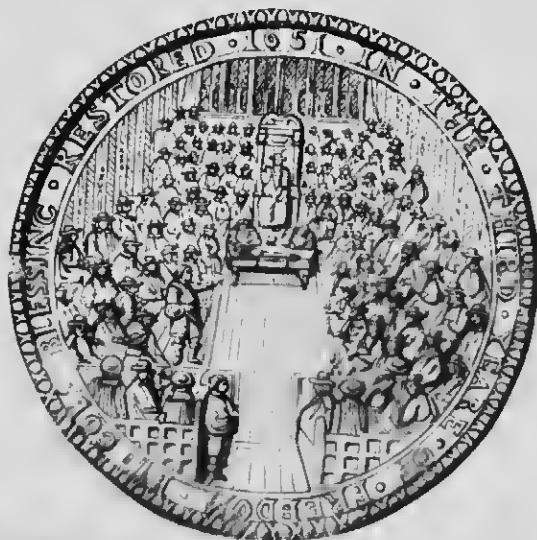
XXIV.—BRITAIN GOVERNED BY AN ARMY

So far from making things more simple, Charles I's execution only led to more confusion. Many Englishmen thought the execution little better than a murder, but Parliament and the Army had seemed to agree about it, and for the moment nothing could be done against them. Yet while in England the office of king was abolished, and a Commonwealth set up in its place, both Scotland and Ireland recognized the king's son as King Charles II, and were ready to fight for him. Hence, for the present, Parliament had to support the Army, in order that it might subdue its enemies.

The turn of Ireland came first. Cromwell went over with his Ironsides. The Irish troops held the town of Drogheda against him. The town was stormed, and Cromwell bade his men give no quarter. All the defenders were massacred. This violent and ruthless act so terrified the Irish that after it little resistance was made. Charles II's general and soldiers were driven from the country. The Irish Parliament was abolished, and instead Irish members were to be sent to Westminster.

Scotland, however, cost Cromwell more trouble. There two parties were trying to come to an agreement with Charles II. The Presbyterian party was willing to have him back if he would take the Covenant. Montrose offered to restore him

the kingdom, by the aid of a Highland army, without any conditions. Charles tried Montrose first. But when Montrose landed in Scotland and began to gather the clansmen he was defeated and captured. No one could forgive him for the cruelty which his Highlanders had shown in his former rising, so he was put to death.



The Great Seal of the Commonwealth, *as used by the House of Commons of the time.*
From a fine cast in the British Museum

Charles then fell back on the Covenanters, headed by Argyll. He came to Scotland and took the Covenant. Cromwell at once made ready an army to invade Scotland, but David Leslie, who commanded the Scots, was every whit as able a soldier as Cromwell. He laid waste the country north of Berwick through which Cromwell would have to march, and retired to a strong position near Edinburgh. Cromwell tried to tempt him from it, but in vain. At last, wearied out by want of food and long marching, the Ironsides fell back to Dunbar. Leslie

Charles II and
the Covenanters;
Dunbar, 1650.

followed, drew up his army on Doon Hill overhanging the Dunbar Road, and seized the defile at Cockburnspath, which cut off Cromwell's retreat. Cromwell appeared to be in a trap. It was hopeless to attack the Scots on Doon Hill, since they numbered two to one. It seemed that he ~~must~~ surrender, or retreat into his ships. Suddenly the Scots threw away the victory that was almost won. Fearing that Cromwell was embarking his men, and would so slip through his fingers, Leslie ordered an attack. Cromwell saw the mistake. "The Lord hath delivered them into my hands," he cried. The Ironsides fell on the Scottish right wing, and rolled it back in confusion on the centre; soon Leslie's whole force gave way. In the pursuit the Scottish army was almost destroyed.

All Scotland south of the Forth fell into Cromwell's hands as the fruit of his victory. Leslie, however, gathered another force, and entrenched himself near Stirling. Cromwell crossed the Firth of Forth and began to ravage Fife. This left the road to England open, and Charles promptly took it. At the head of 18,000 men he marched south. The Ironsides were soon at his heels. He was headed off from the London road, and at last brought to bay at Worcester. The battle which followed Cromwell called his "crowning mercy". Charles's men were scattered; the king himself had to flee for his life; for six weeks he wandered about in hourly peril. At last he escaped to France.

Meanwhile with the last Scottish army thrown away in England, Monk, whom Cromwell had left to command in his place, had an easy task. The country was subdued, even the Highlands were pacified. The Scottish Parliament was done away with, though it was restored at the Restoration.

Battle of Worcester, 1651.

Abolition of Scottish Parliament.

Cromwell and his army of Independents seemed invincible. They had conquered the Royalists, Presbyterian Scotland, and Catholic Ireland. They had laid low a king and two Parliaments. Now we shall see them continue their work by subduing the English Parliament also.

Part of the work indeed had been done already, when



Puritan Costumes. From prints of 1645 and 1649, and the first edition of *Hudibras*

Colonel Pride, by Cromwell's orders, had "purged" Parliament of the ninety leading Presbyterians who opposed the king's trial. But even the "Rump", as the remaining members were contemptuously called, fell to quarrelling with the Army. Cromwell wished them to dissolve and call a new Parliament; they refused, unless it was laid down that they were all to have seats in the new Parliament; they also urged that the Army should be disbanded. At last Cromwell lost patience. He went down to the House himself, banged his fist on the table, and bawled out, "Get you gone! Give place to honest men."

**The "Rump"
Dissolved by
the Army.**

His soldiers poured in and turned out the members by force.

This was one way of settling the question, but it was not the right way. King had gone and House of Lords had gone; the House of Commons was the last relic of legal government left. Now that had gone too, destroyed by military violence. Many people had despised the "Rump", but they did not approve of this way of getting rid of it. Consequently, none of Cromwell's later schemes for new Parliaments were ever successful. He tried first

Failure of Cromwell's Parliaments.

an assembly of "faithful persons, fearing God and hating covetousness", recommended by ministers throughout the country. These were called in mockery "Barebone's Parliament", from the name of one of the members, "Praise-God" Barbon. This assembly soon resigned its power to its maker, Cromwell. Thrice again, under different arrangements, Parliaments were called, but with none of them could Cromwell get on. Having destroyed the proper Parliament, it was impossible to get sham ones to work satisfactorily.

Thus the government fell into the hands of Cromwell; he had a Council of State to help him, and one of his constitutions had given him the title of Protector, but his real power rested on the Army.

Cromwell a Despot.

He could not afford to quarrel with it, and thus he refused to take the title of king, because the Army hated the idea of a king. The result was that Cromwell, having taken arms for a Parliament against a despotic king, became himself in the end more despotic than ever Charles I had been. He ruled without Parliament; he took taxes without Parliament; his major-generals, who governed various parts of Britain, were more absolute than Strafford himself at the height of his power.

England had become a military state. It had overthrown Ireland and Scotland. It made war on the Dutch Republic. Blake and Monk, both by profession soldiers, soon proved themselves excellent sailors. The Dutch fleets were defeated, and the Dutch forced to beg for peace. Cromwell wished to put himself at the head of a great League of Protestants in Europe, and he allied himself with France, because France though Catholic was a bitter enemy of Spain. English fleets took Jamaica, and captured Spanish treasure-galleons as they had done in Elizabeth's reign. Cromwell's death, however, put an end to these ambitious schemes.

**England a
Power in
Europe.**

He left his power to his son Richard, but Richard was not a soldier, and the Army would not obey him. In a short time it appeared that the Army would obey no one; the "Rump" was recalled, and again expelled. Everyone hated the Army, but no one could suggest a means of getting rid of it.

**Death of Crom-
well; Disunion
in the Army.**

Fortunately the Army was not united. Monk marched southwards from Scotland with his men; Lambert at the head of another section of Ironsides tried to stand against him and failed. Monk reached London, and to everyone's joy declared for a free Parliament. This meant the recall of Charles II, for all alike, Cavaliers and Parliamentarians, had grown united in their hatred of the Army, and were ready to welcome back a lawful king. The Convention Parliament, which Monk caused to be summoned, immediately invited the king back. On his way towards London he passed at Blackheath the real masters of England, a sullen and mutinous mass of soldiery; but they could find no leader; their day was past.

**Monk and the
Restoration.**

XXV.—FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION

To understand the reigns of Charles I's two sons, Charles II and James II, we must bear in mind the following main facts:—

1. Both kings are Roman Catholics: Charles a secret Catholic and James an open one. Each tries to get liberty of worship for the Catholics, and if possible to restore Roman Catholicism in England.

2. The great majority of Englishmen are members of the National Church. Those who still cling to the Presbyterian form of Church government, together with the Independents and other small sects, begin to be known as "Dissenters". They are not allowed to meet for public worship, and are otherwise hardly dealt with by Parliament. To gain their support by offering them toleration is a principal object of both kings.

3. All Europe feels itself in danger from the growing power of France under Louis XIV. The leader of the Grand Alliance against France is Charles II's nephew, William of Orange, who wishes to get Britain on his side. On the other hand, Louis XIV tries to get Britain as his ally, or, if he cannot manage that, to keep Britain so distracted with quarrels at home that it cannot interfere against him. Further, it is easy for Louis XIV to exercise influence with our kings, because both Charles and James are his cousins.

4. Parliament begins by supporting the king; but, as he favours the Catholics, it turns against him. It would like to see him fight for William of Orange against France, but does not dare to trust him with a standing army. Everyone remembered what Cromwell's army had done.

5. The Church supports the Crown more steadily than Parliament. It fears the Puritan party, and therefore teaches that resistance to a king is sinful. Not till James II makes an open attack on Protestantism does the Church waver in its friendship for the Royal power. We may now go on to remark some of the chief events



London Bridge before the Great Fire, as seen from the Tower of St. Mary Overies, Southwark. From Hollar's engraving. 1649.

in the course of this second struggle between Crown and Parliament, which ended, as the first had done, in the overthrow of a king.

Charles II was wiser than his father. At bottom he was resolved to do nothing that should, to use his own words, "make him go on his travels again". He was also in a stronger position, because Parliament, in the first enthusiasm of the Restoration, had voted him a revenue for life. Indeed

Charles II,
1660-1685.

the Parliament that was elected in 1661 was so warmly Royalist that it was called the "Cavalier" Parliament. Charles knew that he would never get another which would be so friendly, so he kept it sitting for eighteen years, and by bribing some members and making friends of others, could generally make it do what he wished. Thus, whereas up to 1640 men had grumbled because Parliaments sat too little, now they complained that the same Parliament sat too long.

Charles's first minister was Clarendon, a strong friend of the Church of England. He persecuted the Dissenters; he made laws against conventicles, and forbade those who would not conform, and the deprived Puritan clergy, to hold any office, to teach, or to come within five miles of a town. The end of his ministry was disastrous. First came the Great Plague in London. So fast did the people die that huge plague pits had to be dug to bury the dead in, hundreds together. All who could, fled from London, grass grew in the streets, rows of houses were shut up, and the red cross marked on the doors showed that the plague was within them. In the next year came the Great Fire, which burned St. Paul's, eighty-eight churches, and two-thirds of London.

Perhaps even worse was the day when, for the only time in the history of England, the roar of enemy's cannon was heard in the city. England had been more than matched in hard-fought fights at sea, and her treasury was exhausted. A Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames, burnt the shipping at Chatham, and, had it dared, might have bombarded the capital. Never since has our naval renown been so low. The Dutch admiral hoisted a broom at his mast-head to signify that he had swept the English fleet from the sea.

Clarendon was disgraced. Charles's new ministry was called the Cabal, a term which denotes an inner council of ministers. The two chief men in it were Roman Catholics. Here we have a step onward in Charles's plot to restore Catholicism. He made the Treaty of Dover with Louis XIV, by which Louis promised money and an army. Then Charles issued a Declaration of Indulgence, which did away with

The Cabal and the Declaration of Indulgence.



Costumes, time of Charles II, from portraits, prints, and tapestries of the time

the penal laws against both Catholics and Dissenters. He hoped that the latter would be so pleased to get freedom of worship that they would not mind the same relief being given to the Roman Catholics.

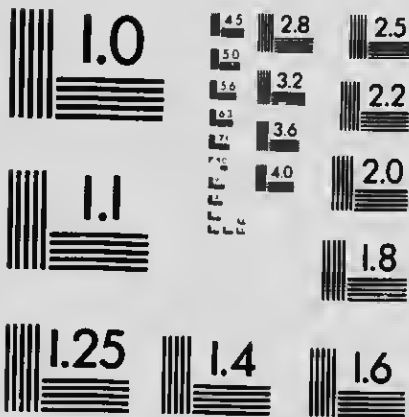
Charles was wrong; the Dissenters did not love the Church of England, but they feared Catholics much more. The Declaration united all Protestants against the king. Parliament declared it to be grossly illegal, since it was a law made without their consent. To lull the storm Charles withdrew the Declaration.

Still Parliament and the Protestants were not satisfied.



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They passed the Test Act, by which everyone holding office under the Crown was to take the sacrament according to the rites of the English Church. They pressed on a marriage between Charles's niece Mary and William of Orange.

Charles agreed to this to stay the hostile feeling against the Catholics, but in vain. Suddenly an idea sprang up that the Catholics were actually plotting against English liberty and the Church. A wretch named Titus Oates swore that he had found out such a plot. He told his story to a London magistrate, and soon after the magistrate's dead body was found in a ditch. Everyone believed he had been murdered by the Catholics. Men thought the days of the Gunpowder Plot were coming again. Oates's lies were taken as proof against any Catholic. Other informers rivalled him in inventing stories. No jury would accept a Catholic's evidence; in the eyes of men of that time every Jesuit was an open traitor, every Catholic a conspirator in disguise. Many innocent men were put to death. Even the House of Lords condemned Lord Stafford, old, respected, and absolutely guiltless, and had him executed.

Nothing would satisfy the Whig or "country" party in their panic. Urged on by Shaftesbury, they tried to exclude James from succeeding to the crown. But here Charles checkmated them. He dissolved Parliament, so that the Exclusion Bill could not be passed, and for the rest of his reign ruled without a Parliament, getting money from Louis XIV. Most men were tired of the violence of the Whigs, who seemed ready to renew the civil war, and were not sorry when the king drove Shaftesbury from the kingdom, and punished many of his most reckless followers.

The Test Act.

The "Popish Plot".

Failure of the Exclusion Bill.

Thus Charles II had neither failed altogether nor had he been altogether successful. He had indeed staved off the attack on his brother, but he had not obtained liberties for Catholics. He had tried, and when he saw it was hopeless he had wisely drawn back. He was not a man to push things to extremes.

James II was more headstrong than his brother. He was openly a Catholic. He meant to rule as an absolute king, and have his own way in **James II, 1685-1689.** matters of religion.

An event in the beginning of his reign might have warned him of his danger. The Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II, landed in Dorsetshire, and put himself at the head of **Monmouth Rebellion.** a Protestant rebellion. Numbers of western peasants joined him. He planned a night attack on the Royalist forces sent against him. To reach them he had to march over a portion of Sedgemoor, which is cut by deep ditches. Three of these were safely crossed, but just as he neared the Royalists, a fourth ditch, of which he did not know, was found yawning in front of his men. In the confusion a pistol went off. The Royal troops were roused, and poured a fire into their helpless encampment. Monmouth's men fought bravely, but as many were only armed with scythes and pikes, they could do little. The artillery and cavalry were brought up to complete the rout. Monmouth was captured soon after, and beheaded.

A terrible vengeance was taken on his followers. Five judges were sent into the west, headed by Jeffreys. Jeffreys was brutal and overbearing. He acted more like an executioner than a judge. **The Bloody Assize.** He abused and insulted all the prisoners, and bullied juries into condemning them. More than 300 rebels were hanged, 800 more transported to the West

Indies, and large numbers flogged, imprisoned, and fined. One poor woman named Alice Lisle was beheaded merely because two rebels had taken shelter in her house. Rightly was the name "the Bloody Assize" given to this circuit.

Encouraged by the ease with which Monmouth had been overcome, James went on his way. He began to collect a standing army, mainly composed of Irish Catholics, who were hated in England. Not content with this, James even made the Church hostile by thrusting Catholic priests

**Trial of the
Seven Bishops.**



Medal Struck in honour of the Petitioning Bishops. From a specimen in the British Museum.

into college offices at Oxford, and he imitated Charles by issuing a second Declaration of Indulgence, and ordering the clergy to read it from their pulpits. When seven bishops petitioned against this, James had them brought to trial for libel, and strove in every way to get them condemned. But though the judges had been appointed by the king, and though the jury felt that they would in all likelihood be punished if they said "Not guilty", yet it was impossible to say that the bishops had committed any crime. So, to the great joy of England, they were acquitted.

The one thing that had made men bear with James so far was that he had no son, and his heiress, Mary.

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THE CROWN OFFERED TO WILLIAM AND MARY
BY THE LORDS AND COMMONS AT WHITEHALL, FEBRUARY 12TH, 1689.
Engraved by J. M. W. P. A. 1689.

was a Protestant, and married to the Protestant champion in Europe, William of Orange. It was thought that when James died all would be right again. Just at this time, however, James had a son. Men saw that this son would be bred a Catholic like his father, and that the only way to get rid of them was to turn James off the throne.

Thus an invitation was sent by many of the chief nobles to William of Orange, asking him to come to England. He was only too glad. He landed with an army in Devonshire. It soon became clear, not only that he would win, but that he would win without fighting a battle. James's ministers, generals, and soldiers deserted him wholesale. At last William drew near London. James was at one time in his hands, but William did not wish to keep him a prisoner; on the contrary, he desired to be rid of him, he made it easy for him to escape, and James fled to France. Then a Parliament was summoned which declared William and Mary King and Queen of England, and the Scottish Parliament did the same thing.

**Landing of the
Prince of
Orange.**

XXVI.—WILLIAM III IN BRITAIN

Nothing shows more clearly how completely James II had lost the affection of his English subjects than the ease with which William overthrew him. The Cavalier party in England, that had fought four bloody campaigns for his father, let James go without a blow on his behalf. In Scotland and Ireland, however, there was more resistance.

The persecution of Nonconformists had fallen with special bitterness on the Scottish Covenanters. Charles

**William and
Mary,
1689-1702.**

had set up bishops again, had turned the Presbyterian ministers out of their churches, and had employed soldiers to punish all those who attended conventicles, as the open-air meetings were called in which the Covenanters gathered to worship in the way of their fathers. Men, and even women, had been imprisoned and shot down; others, who were rash enough to rebel, were brought before the Council, tortured with the thumb-screw and the boot, and at last hanged. Cruelty only led to violence. Sharpe, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, was murdered before his daughter's eyes by a party of desperate men. A rebellion had followed in the west. The Covenanters had beaten off the royal horse at Drumellog, but had been scattered themselves at Bothwell Bridge. None of the king's officers had been so stern towards the rebels, and none in consequence was so bitterly detested by them, as John Graham of Claverhouse, who was created Viscount Dundee.

It was to Dundee that James gave over his power in Scotland. Dundee saw that in the Lowlands nothing could be done for the house of Stuart, but, **Dundee slain at Killiecrankie, 1689.** since William was known to be friendly to Argyll, he thought that the other Highlanders, who hated his clan, the Campbells, would rise for King James. He soon was at the head of an army of clansmen. He fell on the Williamite leader, Maekay, at the head of the Pass of Killiecrankie. Maekay's men fired a volley, which failed to check the charge of the Highlanders. While they were fumbling with their clumsy bayonets, which then fitted into the barrel of the musket, the enemy was upon them. Horse and foot were swept away together: Maekay's force seemed annihilated. Yet in the moment of victory James's cause was lost. Claverhouse — at whom the Covenanters had so often

fired silver bullets, muttering prayers that the precious metal would overcome the powers of darkness which they believed to watch over him — lay dying, shot through the breast. Their leader gone, the strength of the Highlanders passed away: the army that had routed Mackay was driven off from Dunkeld by a handful of western Cameronians, and soon after dispersed.

Trouble was over for the time. Unfortunately the deep-seated cause of it, the hatred between the Campbells and the Macdonalds, was only made more bitter by the treacherous massacre of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, the work of Campbells from Argyll's own regiment. It is said that William did not know what was intended, but Dalrymple's order "it will be a proper vindication of justice to extirpate that set of thieves" bears William's own signature, so the king cannot be pronounced guiltless of what was done.

**Massacre of
Glencoe.**

The Highlands took up the Jacobite cause because the Campbells were Williamite. In Ireland the motive was different. The Irish Catholics fought for a king of their own religion because they hoped to make him restore to them all the land that had been forfeited for rebellion and given to Protestant settlers. At first all Ireland was in James's hands, save only the towns of Londonderry and Enniskillen, in which the Protestants, many of them Scottish Presbyterians, held out stoutly. Londonderry was besieged for 105 days; the defenders were reduced to gnaw hides to keep life in their bodies; a dog's paw was sold for 5s. At length William's ships broke through the boom placed to block the river Foyle, and relieved the town. In the next year William took over an army, and beat James at the battle of the Boyne. James's troops were mostly

**Jacobites in
Ireland.**

**Siege of London-
derry, 1689, and
Battle of the
Boyne, 1690.**

Irish, who then were far from showing the bravery they have shown since. It was said that "their usual way of fighting was to discharge their pieces once, and then to run away, bawling 'Quarter!' and 'Murder!'" James, however, was not much braver. After the battle he was the first to reach Dublin. He told Lady Tyreconnel, "Your countrymen have run away," and received the stinging answer, "If they have, Sire, your Majesty seems to have won the race". Although James himself gave up in despair, and went to France, the Irish continued to resist, fighting far more stoutly than they had done at the Boyne.

The last struggle was at Limerick, where a treaty was made by which William was accepted as king. It was further agreed that the Catholics should enjoy the same liberties as in the reign of Charles II, but this part of the treaty was not kept. The Irish Parliament insisted on persecuting the Catholics, and by doing so increased the national hatred to the English rule. In fact the hostility caused by the breach of this treaty has lasted to our own day.

William was now master of all James's dominions. He used his power wisely and moderately. He would not punish men for their opinions, or for what they had done for James. On one occasion he was given a list of those who were plotting against him. He put it in the fire without reading it. Britain indeed might be thankful for so generous-minded a king.

The overthrow of James settled the question between King and Parliament for ever. All the claims of Parliament were summed up in the Bill of Rights, which pronounced it illegal for the king to "dispense with" or set aside the laws, to levy money, or to keep a standing army in time of peace, without leave of Parliament. Further, it was declared

Treaty of Limerick, 1691.

Supremacy of Parliament.

that Parliament was to be freely elected, and should have liberty to debate about anything it pleased; and, finally, that no Catholic could be king. Henceforward power was in the hands of Parliament. Although William wished to take his ministers from both the Tory and Whig parties, yet in a short time it was recognized that those ministers should have the power whose followers were in a majority in the Commons. Thus we have the beginnings of our modern system of party government; but, as we shall see, a long time was to pass before the system was perfected.

XXVII.—WAR WITH FRANCE. MARLBOROUGH

The accession of William III was followed at once by a war with France, which lasted eight years. Nor does this war stand alone; it is the forerunner of many others. Indeed, if we take a **Beginning of a New Hundred Years' War with France, 1689-1815.** general view of the 126 years that lie between the accession of William and the battle of Waterloo we shall find that war goes on almost exactly half the time. There are seven wars which, when added together, take up rather more than sixty years. In the eighteenth century war with France is almost the rule. But if, instead of going 126 years onward from 1688, we look back over the same length of time—that is to say, roughly speaking, to the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, we find quite a different state of affairs. War with France is the exception; in the earlier period there are only two wars with France, lasting three years. It seems very curious that for a century and a quarter we have only three years of war with

France, and then for the next century and a quarter we have sixty years of fighting. Why was this so? Why did the wars begin with William III?

The lapse of time enables us to give an answer to the first question, which would hardly have been accepted in William or Anne's day, and yet **The War Colonial in Character.** was true. England was entering upon a second Hundred Years' War with France, not this time for territory in France, but for colonial power. The question really was whether the New World and India should fall into French or British hands. But this only came in sight by degrees: it is hardly visible in William's day; it is not conspicuous in Anne's reign; but fifty years later, when a war between Britain and France led to fighting all over the world, it is obvious.

The fact is that William and his English subjects were both at war with France, but for different reasons.

Growing Power of France. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that William's whole life is summed up in enmity to France. France was the leader of the Catholic opposition to Protestantism; she was threatening all Europe by her growing power; especially was she dangerous to William's native country, Holland. She had become, as it were, a bully, to whom might alone is right. And just at this time a fresh danger appeared. It seemed likely that France would be united with Spain, for Louis's grandson was heir to the Spanish throne. Such a union might give France all the wide Spanish possessions in the New World, and it would upset the balance of power in Europe altogether. William, therefore, set himself to check Louis XIV by a Grand Alliance; when Britain came under his sway he included Britain, as a matter of course, among the allies. It was, in fact, a master stroke of his policy, for in the previous reigns it had

seemed likely that the Catholic Stuarts would take the side of their Catholic cousin, Louis XIV.

Englishmen, however, did not take so wide a view. They made war against France because France helped James II. Louis had received him, had given him a palace and large sums of money, had called him King of



Dutch guards of William III. From a print by L. Scherm

England, and had sent his troops to fight on his behalf in Ireland. Britain, therefore, fought against Louis as a Jacobite, not against Louis as a danger to Europe.

This comes out clearly in William's war. It was not very popular, and it was not successful enough to excite enthusiasm. William was always being defeated. It was true that he had generally fewer men, and that he was clever enough to prevent the French generals from

**William's War
Unpopular.**

gaining much by their victories. Yet it was hard to feel proud of a war in which all that could be said was that William had done his best, and that the defeats had not turned out so disastrous as had been expected. In reality it was a great achievement for William to hold his ground at all. But this was not understood; so when Louis made peace at Ryswick, and admitted William's title to be King of England, his British subjects were satisfied that enough had been done. That they had no wish to carry on an eternal war with Louis was shown by the next step which Parliament took: it began to reduce the army, and sent away William's Dutch guards.

After the Treaty of Ryswick the great powers had agreed upon an elaborate division of the Spanish dominions, by which the French claimant was to get little. Within three years Louis **Louis Breaks his Promises.** broke through the treaty, and accepted the whole inheritance of Spain for his grandson. William saw there was more urgent need for war than ever before. Parliament, however, would not listen to him. Had Louis been prudent it is likely that Britain would have remained neutral. But Louis took a false step. James II died, and Louis recognized his son as James III, King of England.

This piece of impudent interference set everyone against him. On all sides war was demanded: it was necessary to avenge the insult, to teach Louis that he could not by his word make or unmake British kings. Thus the war which began in Anne's reign was very different from that of William. It was popular instead of unpopular; and beyond this, it was brilliantly successful instead of being dubious and indecisive; William never won a pitched battle against the French; Marlborough never lost one.

GENEALOGY OF THE STUARTS

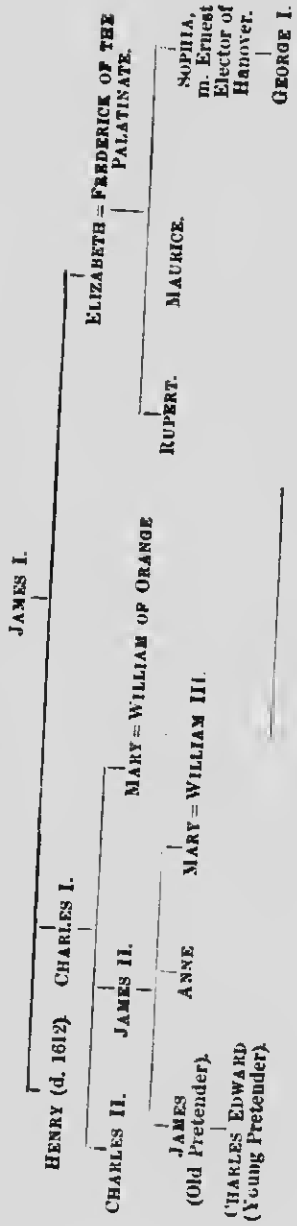
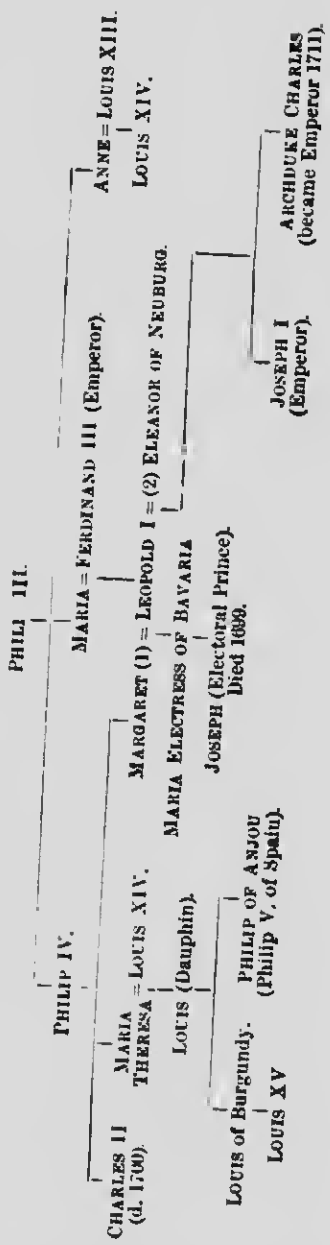


TABLE TO EXPLAIN THE SPANISH SUCCESSION



Much has been written against Marlborough, and with justice. He was greedy for money; he had played the traitor over and over again; he betrayed James II, who had been a good friend to him; he plotted to betray William III; he

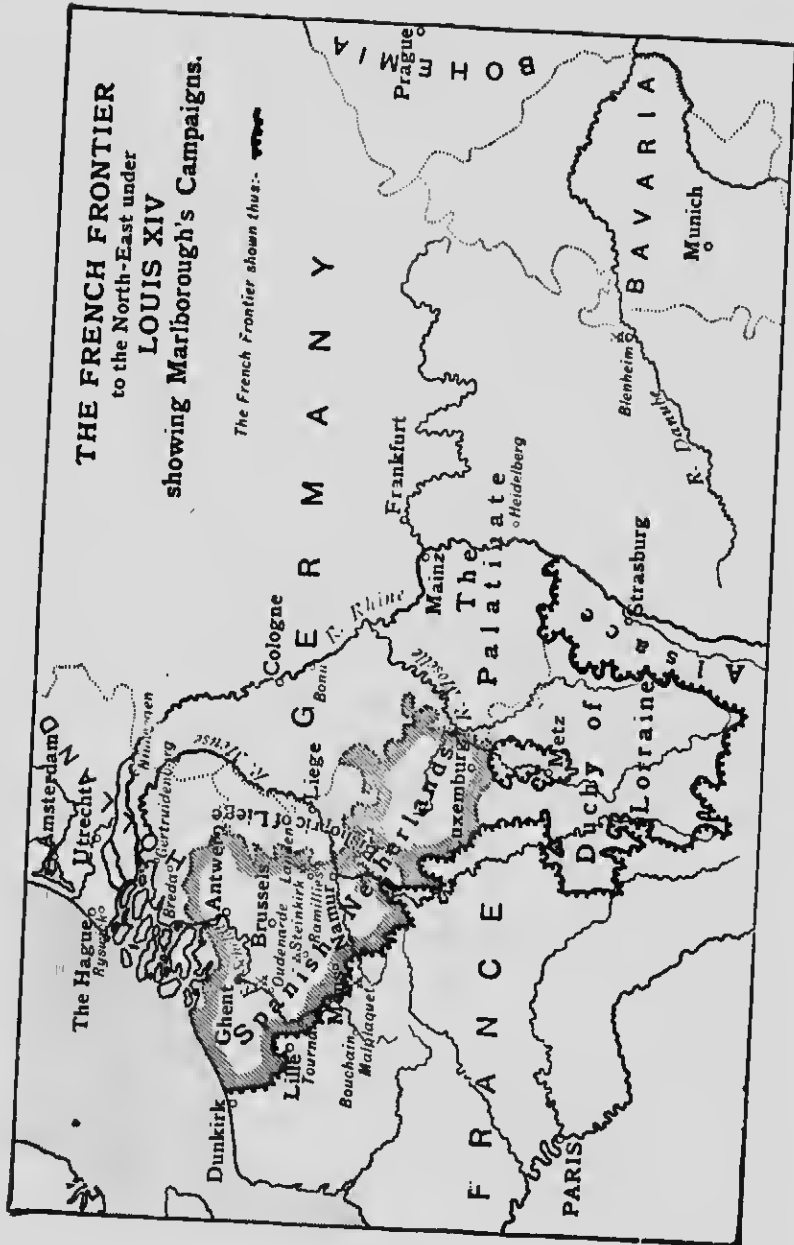


The Duke of Marlborough. After sir G. Kneller

even kept up a correspondence with the Old Pretender while he was commander-in-chief of Anne's armies. One of the blackest deeds in the whole of our history stands against his name. Talmash was sent by William to surprise Brest. Marlborough was jealous of Talmash, and wished him to fail, so he was mean enough to let the French know of the intended attack. They received the English with a tremendous fire, and Talmash was killed.

THE FRENCH FRONTIER
to the North-East under
LOUIS XIV
showing Marlborough's Campaigns.

The French Frontier shown thus: 



Yet although Marlborough had some detestable points in his character, he was an admirable general. He was always good.-tempered, and thus was able to manage the numerous allies, Dutch and Germans, who formed part of his army. He was cool, brave, wary, resolute. None knew better than he how to arrange his forces for an attack, or how to wield them in battle itself.

Marlborough's first great battle showed what a keen eye for war he possessed. He was commanding the English forces in the Low Countries; he was to protect Holland from a French invasion.

Battle of Blenheim, 1704. But Marlborough knew that the right way to protect it was not by waiting in his lines till the French attacked him; the true course was to strike a great blow at the French wherever a chance appeared. In 1704 a French army was pushed forward down the valley of the Danube, threatening Vienna. Marlborough saw that by marching southward at once he could come down on the French flank, and force it to give up the attack on Vienna. But the march was long: it had to be done speedily and quietly, so as not to give the French warning of what was intended. The Dutch, too, were much alarmed lest they should be attacked by the French while Marlborough was away. Marlborough overcame all these difficulties. He met the French under Tallard at Blenheim, on the banks of the Danube. The battle was long doubtful, until a great charge of the English cavalry, led by Marlborough himself, at last broke the French centre. The French army was cut in two, and the right wing hemmed in with the Danube at its back, was forced to surrender.

Europe could scarcely believe that the French troops, so long believed invincible, had been routed in this way.

It seemed to be an accident. But in the course of the next five years Marlborough showed that it was no accident. He beat the French in three great battles in the Low Countries—Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Mulplaquet. He took all the French fortresses; he even made ready to invade France itself.

Meanwhile, however, England was growing tired of the war. Marlborough had at first been supported by the queen, since Marlborough's wife was the queen's closest friend. But the duchess had a violent, domineering temper, and by degrees Anne took a dislike to her. She made friends instead with a Mrs. Masham, who was in the hands of the Tory party, and the Tory party were anxious for peace. At length Marlborough was recalled, and peace was made at Utrecht. The French king ^{Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.} promised to leave off supporting the Pretender, and Britain gained Gibraltar, Minorca, Nova Scotia, and St. Kitts, and also the right of shipping slaves to the Spanish colonies.

We remember that the war was begun to keep Louis's grandson, Philip, off the throne of Spain; this object was not attained. Philip became king there as Philip V. But Britain had ceased to care about this. Her real aims were now plainly colonial and commercial. We can see this by the gains which she took under the treaty: two ports in the Mediterranean, two colonies in the New World, and a trading privilege that brought much wealth.

XXVIII.—THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

Ever since James VI of Scotland had become James I of England, it was only too plain that great difficulties might arise from the fact that England and Scotland were very loosely joined. Hitherto the two kingdoms had agreed in the main to accept the same sovereign, although, as we have seen, Scotland at one time set up Charles II, while England had a Commonwealth. Both had agreed to obey William and Mary, and after them Anne. Beyond this, agreement ended. The English Parliament chose, as the next heir after Anne, the Electress Sophia, a Protestant, and a granddaughter of James I. It was not, however, certain that the Scots would accept her. Supposing they were to choose someone else, the kingdoms would be again divided.

In the beginning of Anne's reign it seemed quite possible that Scotland would insist on breaking up the union of the crowns. The whole nation was in a discontented state. The Jacobites hoped to put James II's son, the Old Pretender, on the throne; the Presbyterians feared that the queen might be tempted to overthrow the establishment of the Presbyterian Church which William III had promised to maintain; and everyone was furious about the failure of the Darien Scheme.

This Darien Scheme was the invention of a Scot named William Paterson. He had been the founder of the Bank of England. In 1695 he came forward with a proposal that the Scots should form a trading company like the English East India Company, which had been so successful, and plant

England and Scotland.

Discontent in Scotland.

The Darien Scheme.

a colony on the Isthmus of Darien. He hoped that by taking up a position there, where only a narrow strip of land separates the Atlantic from the Pacific, the colony would attract traders from all quarters and soon grow wealthy. He spoke of a fertile soil, and held out hopes of great riches, both from commerce and the search for gold; soon all Scotland grew red-hot over his plan. Everyone who had money hastened to take shares in the company. It is said that nearly one-half of the wealth in the country was invested in it. In 1698 five ships set sail from Leith carrying 1200 colonists, all sure that they were setting out to make their fortunes.

Their hopes were doomed to bitter disappointment. When the colonists got to Darien, they found the climate fearfully unhealthy. No white man could live there in safety. And besides, both ^{English} and ^{Spanish} England and Spain were hostile to them. ^{Jealousy.} The English were jealous for their own trade. They wished to keep all commerce with English colonies in English hands; if anyone else was prosperous they thought it was at England's expense; they strove more anxiously to destroy a rival's trade than to extend their own. So orders were sent to the English colonial governors to refuse even food to the Darien colonists. The Spaniards claimed that the Isthmus of Darien was Spanish territory, and sent soldiers to eject the Scots. Thus all the Scottish plans came to nothing; the first colonists were starved out, and a second expedition, after gallantly defeating one force of Spaniards, had to surrender to superior numbers. The luckless New St. Andrews, which the colonists had built, was abandoned to moulder into decay, a collection of ruined and fire-scorched huts, a burying-ground of innumerable Scottish hopes. Only a few survivors, broken by fever and

famine, returned home. All the money was lost. Hundreds of families were ruined.

The plan was no doubt rash, but the jealousy of the English government and merchants took away whatever chance it had. It is little wonder that the Scots were furious. That the Spaniards should behave as foes they could understand; but that Englishmen should refuse bread to starving colonists, who were under the same king and spoke the same tongue was inhuman. So when Anne begged the Scottish Parliament to settle who should succeed to the throne after her, the Scottish Parliament replied by passing the **Act of Security**, which laid down that no king of England was to be chosen to rule in Scotland unless he would guarantee that for the future Scotsmen should have the same liberties to trade as Englishmen enjoyed.

This caused much anger in England. An act was passed that if the succession was not speedily settled Scotsmen were to be treated as foreigners, that no Scottish goods were to be admitted into England, and that Carlisle, Newcastle, Berwick, and Hull were to be fortified. Troops gathered in the north. It seemed as if war might break out, and Bannockburn and Flodden be fought over again.

Happily there were wise heads on each side, and they kept cool. Anne's adviser, Godolphin, was ready to give way over the questions of commerce if Scotland would consent to a union. Accordingly an equal number of English and Scottish commissioners were appointed, and in less than four months they came to terms. Of these the chief were:—

1. That for the future the two countries were to form one realm, Great Britain, with one Parliament sitting at Westminster, and containing forty-five Scottish mem-



From the statue by Rysbrack at Blenheim House



bers in the Commons and sixteen Scottish peers in the Lords.

2. That the Scottish Presbyterian Church and the system of Scottish law were to remain intact.

3. That Scotsmen were to have the same liberties to trade within England, and with English colonies and foreign nations, as Englishmen had.

4. That a sum of money should be paid over to Scotland to be applied to pay off the Scottish National Debt, and to relieve those who had lost by the Darien disaster.

It was doubtful for some time whether these terms would be accepted by the Scots. Parliament was on the whole friendly, but the people hated the idea of a union. They thought that their nation was selling itself, and that, whatever England might promise, the Scottish Church and institutions would be in danger. Lord Belhaven bewailed, in a mournful speech, what he took to be the ruin of Scotland. The Duke of Hamilton and the Jacobites threatened a rising; Edinburgh was in an uproar: the Cameronians of the West were ready to take arms at the call of their ministers. Still, Parliament went steadily on, and at length the treaty was passed.

On May 1st, 1707, the Union took place. All the prophecies of evil turned out to be false. The best answer to Lord Belhaven's gloomy forebodings was that made by Lord Marchmont, *Effects of the Union.* "I awoke, and behold it was a dream". Nowadays no one doubts that the Union was wise. It found Scotland a poor country; it has made it a rich one. Scottish enterprise has rivalled that of the sister kingdom; her trade and industry have grown gigantic; her manufactures are found all over the world. Thanks to the excellent system of national education, in which,

at the time of the Union, Scotland was far in advance of England, Scotsmen were well able to use the chances that were given them. There is, however, much more than a mere gain in wealth. If before the Union each kingdom had reason to be proud of its national histories, they can now glory every whit as much in the later history of the joint realm of Great Britain. Each had found no other a sturdy foe; since they have agreed to take the same side for ever, both have been the gainers, and the valour displayed at Stirling, Falkirk, Bannockburn, Flodden, has been more happily employed shoulder to shoulder in the Peninsula, at Waterloo, in the Crimea, in India, in South Africa, for the building up of our great empire.

XXIX.—THE "FIFTEEN" AND THE "FORTY-FIVE".

In spite of the Act of Settlement which had declared the House of Hanover to be heirs to the throne, the last few months of Anne's reign were months of great excitement and uncertainty. *George I,* 1714-1727. Bolingbroke was at the head of affairs; he was known to have plotted deeply with the Jacobites and to favour the Pretender. But Anne died before his schemes were ready, and George I became king without resistance.

The Jacobites were bitterly disappointed. Anne they had accepted since she was a Stuart, but George I had very little Stuart blood in him, and indeed was so much a foreigner that he could scarcely speak English. They began at once to meditate rebellion.

The Highlands was clearly the most promising place to begin. Thither the Earl of Mar went, and under

pretence of a grand hunting-party, assembled the chiefs of most of the clans and appointed a day for gathering. Mar found the Highlanders as ready as ever to fight, but he himself was no general. He occupied Perth, but he lay there for months doing nothing, instead of falling on the royal army under Argyll, which was far smaller than his. The only move he made was to send a division of Highlanders

*The
"Fifteen",
1715.*



Edinburgh Castle at the Period. From an old print

under MacIntosh across the Forth. These threatened Edinburgh, but failed to take it. Then they marched southward and joined a small body of rebels raised by Fors'er on the border, and Kenmure from Dumfriesshire. After much doubt this handful, numbering at most 3000 men, some even without swords, resolved to invade England. They met with no support. No one would join a cause that looked so hopeless. They reached Preston, but were there surrounded by the king's forces under Carpenter and Willis. With the courage of despair they beat off the first

**Rising in
England.**

attack, but as the town was burning around them they were driven to surrender.

This was an utter failure, but it becomes almost glorious when we compare it with the contemptible doings of Mar. With 10,000 men, a far larger force than ever Montrose handled, he at last made up his mind to move against Argyll. The armies met at Sheriffmuir. Seeing that Mar had three to one, and further, that his Highlanders were better for a charge than even regular soldiers of the day, Argyll should have been swept away with ease. The Highlanders outflanked his left wing, broke it and chased it off the field; but on the right Argyll's men stood firm, while a small body of horse, crossing a marsh which was hard frozen, charged the Camerons and Stewarts on the flank and overthrew them. The battle now was in a curious state: each right wing was victorious. Mar's men, however, did not risk another attack, and the battle was left drawn. Still, all the fruits of victory were with Argyll. Nothing but success could have saved Mar, and with everything in his favour he had failed. Well might a clansman say as he watched the undecided fight, "O for one hour of Dundee!"

The cause was lost. At the moment when it had become hopeless, the Pretender, James Edward, reached Scotland. It was mere mockery for him to call himself King James III. Mar's army was melting away daily, while King George's troops were being reinforced. Nothing was left for James but to leave the country again without striking a blow. Mar went with him, deserting his army. If he had not done so, his army would speedily have deserted him.

"The 'Fifteen", as this rising was called, was a model

of hopeless mismanagement. No one had any plans; no one seems ever to have really believed that it would succeed. Alone among Highland rebellions it has nothing notable about it. The Highlanders could generally be trusted to win a battle, to do some valiant deed; but



the wavering of the leaders must have been shared by the clansmen. The muddle at Sheriffmuir was a fit ending to the whole enterprise.

Thirty years were to pass before the Jacobites made another serious attempt. In these years the Hanoverian kings had strengthened their hold on the nation. Men were much less inclined to upset a government that

had lasted thirty years than one that was new on the throne. Sir Robert Walpole had given the country years of good and peaceful rule. He had pleased the Scots by bestowing the chief offices in Scotland on Scotsmen. The dislike of the Union was passing away, as its benefits became more apparent. Further, Marshal Wade, who had been sent to command in Scotland after the "Fifteen", had done much to quiet the Highlands by capturing arms, building forts, and making good roads through the mountains. Yet, in spite of all this, when the "Forty-five" came, it was far more serious than the "Fifteen", for the reason that it had a real leader.

One thing that had added to the hopelessness of Mar's rising was that Britain and France were at peace, and thus the Old Pretender could not get any help from the French power. In 1739, however, England went to war with Spain, and as Spain and France were allied, this soon led to a war with France. Thus the Pretender's son, Charles Edward,—the Young Pretender, as the Hanoverians called him, Bonnie Prince Charlie of the Highlands,—was encouraged to try once again to set up the House of Stuart. As it turned out he got no real aid from France; but he expected it, and this hope first led him to seek the Scottish shore.

Prince Charles was young, pleasant in manner, good-looking, and energetic—a very different man from his father. Although the Highland chiefs were not at first willing to rise for him, they could not resist the prince's prayers. Cameron of Lochiel did not wish to join; he would not listen to any arguments. "Then," said Charles, "let Lochiel, whom my father esteemed the best friend of our family, remain at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince." "Not so," answered

Lochiel, "I will go with you, and so shall everyone with whom I have influence."

Soon a large body of clansmen assembled, devoted to the young prince, who marched on foot as one of themselves. Sir John Cope started northward, intending to attack them, but finding the Highlanders holding the difficult pass of Corryarriek, went on his way towards Inverness. Charles promptly turned southwards. As he drew near Edinburgh the greatest alarm was felt in the town. There were no troops save two regiments of dragoons, so a body of volunteers was hastily enlisted; but when a march against the Highlanders was proposed, the volunteers deserted by the score, flinging away their arms and darting down the wynds to escape. When the West Port was reached only forty-five men were still with the colours. These firmly refused to take one step outside the walls. As for the two dragoon regiments, they bolted without returning a shot, and began a mad flight which ended at North Berwick. The city itself was taken by a handful of fifty Camerons, who rushed in at the Netherbow as a coach was coming out.

Early
successes.



Prince Charles Edward, in the costume he wore at his Receptions at Holyrood. From a miniature.

Meanwhile Cope had brought his men back by sea to

Dunbar, and was preparing an attack on the capital. Charles marched out to meet him. For the whole of one day the armies lay face to face at Prestonpans, separated by a morass which neither could cross in the face of the enemy. At nightfall, however, Prince Charles heard of a path by which he could lead his men round Cope's left. Silently in the darkness the Highlanders filed off. In the misty day-

**Rout of
Prestonpans.** break they burst on Cope's forces, who had scarcely time to form a fresh front to meet them. It was Killiecrankie over again. The Highland claymores could not be resisted. The battle did not last ten minutes. The dragoons at once broke and fled in panic. Of the infantry hardly two hundred escaped. The rest were killed or taken prisoners.

So far Prince Charles had prospered. The next step was more doubtful. He made up his mind to march into England. Here, however, the weakness of a Highland army became clear. Nothing was easier than to lead Highland troops to victory; nothing more difficult than to keep them together for a campaign. In this Montrose had failed, and Dundee's men had dispersed after one check. It was not likely that Charles would be more successful.

For a long time luck seemed with him. He entered England, took Carlisle, marched south through Lancashire, and even got so far as Derby. There, little more than a hundred miles from London, his officers forced him to turn back. Their little force of 5000

**Retreat
from Derby.** men was being hemmed in between the Duke of Cumberland and Marshal Wade, each with a larger army. Scarcely an English recruit had joined them. The Highlanders fell back, beating off an attack of Cumberland's horse at Clifton, near Penrith. Since this, no fight has been fought on English soil.

Charles's chance, poor though it was, ended when he turned back at Derby; once again, however, he was to be mocked by fortune. He routed General **Falkirk.** Hawley's force at Falkirk, but was unable to turn the victory to account. He retired northwards, Cumberland, at the head of the royal forces, leisurely following.

Culloden Moor, some five miles from Inverness, was to

Charles. P.



Prince Charles's Autograph and Signet-Ring

The autograph, from a letter, dated Edinburgh, 21st October (o.s.), 1745.
The signet-ring is preserved at Cluny Castle.

see the Stuarts strike their last blow. In the hope of repeating the surprise of Prestonpans, Lord **Culloden.** George Murray was sent to lead a night attack on Cumberland's camp. The troops marched slowly dawn was approaching when no more than two-thirds of the way had been travelled. Weary and hungry, the Highlanders had to march back to Culloden. By mid-day Cumberland was upon them with double their numbers. The clans on the right and in the centre, galled by a cannonade which they could not return, charged wildly on the royal forces. They received a volley at close quarters, but managed to break the first line. The second line gave them another volley, and

turned them. Meanwhile, on the left, the Macdonalds, angered that the place of honour on the right had not been given to them, hung back. The battle was lost. The Highlanders fled. Cumberland's horse pursued the fugitives for miles, cutting down stragglers.

We need not dwell on the romantic story of Prince Charles's escape, nor on the brutal conduct of the royal forces towards the Highlanders, which earned for Cumberland the title of the Butcher. What we have to notice is the effect of the "'Fifteen" and the "'Forty-five". The double failure meant the extinction of the Jacobite cause. Nothing came out so clearly in the march to Derby as the fact that the great mass of the people of England did not want the Stuarts back. Many indeed had been ready to drink "to the king over the water"; very few were willing to risk anything by fighting for him. The downfall of the Jacobite cause had also an important effect on British party politics. Throughout the reigns of George I and George II the Whigs remained in power, because all Tories were distrusted; they were suspected of being Jacobites, disloyal to the house of Hanover. The next reign, however, saw this altered. George III took the Tories into favour, and kept them in their turn as his ministers for the greater part of his long reign.

Perhaps an even more important effect of the "'Forty-five" was felt in the Highlands. Hitherto the Highlands had been scarcely a part of Great Britain. Neither Scottish law nor the English tongue was known there. The country was ruled by chiefs who had, like the old feudal nobles, absolute power even of life and death over their followers. No stranger could travel there in safety. The very name of Highlander, the sight of the tartan, the sound of the pipes, were terrible to a Lowlander: they suggested

Destruction of the Jacobite Cause.

Pacification of the Highlands.

robbery and murder. After the rebellion the Government strove to put an end to the authority of the chiefs over their clans. Their powers of judging their clansmen were taken away. The wearing of the tartan was forbidden. The Highlands came under the same law as the rest of Scotland. Finally, William Pitt hit on the happy idea of using Highland valour against the nation's enemies. He raised Highland regiments from the clans, set their chiefs to command them, and these soon became as valuable to George III as they had been dangerous to George II. Thus by degrees the Highlands became civilized; robbery and cattle-lifting ceased; Highlander and Lowlander lived quietly side by side; and Scotland was given a peace and a unity which she had never before enjoyed.

XXX.—THE GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

WILLIAM PITT, THE GREAT COMMONER

The middle of the eighteenth century was filled by three great wars, in which Britain took part. These are the wars of the Austrian Succession (1739-1748), the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), and the American War (1775-1783). On the other side there fought in the first war France, Spain, Prussia, Bavaria; in the second, France, Spain, Austria, Russia, Saxony; in the third, France, Spain, Holland, and our revolted American colonies. This variety of enemies seems to point to Britain's being unusually quarrelsome. What is the cause of this combativeness?

The answer is given by two facts. In the first place, the kings of Britain were also rulers of Hanover, and this possession entangled us in every war that went on

**Wars of the
Eighteenth
Century.**

in Germany. But the second is more important. We notice that France and Spain fought against us in all the wars. Here is the true explanation. Britain was really carrying on the long struggle with France which had begun with William III, the object of which was colonial. Spain was also a great colonial power, and became involved since she was the ally of France, having a king of the same Bourbon family. The other powers were drawn in also as allies of France, which was engaged in great schemes of conquest in Europe. Thus Britain, to aid her plans of mastering the French in America and India, joined in against France in the European wars.

Thus, in following the story of the growth of the British empire during this time, we may neglect what happens on the Continent, in order to fix our eyes on what takes place at sea, or in America, or in India. These, and not the battle-fields of Germany, are the real scenes of British interests. When in the Seven Years' War an English statesman sent money to our ally, Frederick of Prussia, saying, "I will conquer America in Germany", he meant that he would keep France's hands so full with wars in Europe that she would not have men or ships to be able to resist British troops in the New World or the Indies. This far-seeing man was William Pitt, the elder. Since his as the master-hand that did most at this time to make British policy colonial, and so to build up the British empire, it is well to see something of the man himself before we try to understand his work.

William Pitt first made a name for himself by his attacks on Walpole; but as he also took every chance of speaking against Hanover and the king's fondness for that country, King George II hated him, and for a long time refused to

**Struggle
against
France.**

The Colonies.

**Pitt, the
"Great
Commoner".**

have him as a minister. Pitt did not care. His first duty was to the people, not to the crown. The king dismissed him from office, but the country was determined to have him back again. They were right. "No one ever", it was said, "entered Pitt's room who did not come out of it a braver man." He was made Secretary of State in 1757, when the Seven Years' War was going



William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham. From a picture by R. Brumpton

against us everywhere. "I know I can save the country," he said proudly, "and no one else can." Pitt had a wonderful power of choosing the best admirals and generals; he saw at once what men were fit for; he never allowed rank or age to influence him; all he looked at was merit. Almost in an instant failure was changed into success. In 1757 Lord Chesterfield wrote: "I am sure that we are undone, both at home and abroad. We are no longer a nation"; but in 1759, so fast did the victories come one

after another, that men called it "the Wonderful Year", and Horace Walpole declared that it was needful to ask each day what the latest victory was, for fear of missing one. Pitt's administration only lasted four years, but no other has ever been so glorious. Everywhere men crowded to see the "Great Commoner", as he was called, and wondered at the stern face and haughty look of the man who had raised Britain to such greatness.

Remembering, then, that it was to Pitt that we mainly owe the determination to get the better of France in the task of making our empire, we may turn to see how the task was carried out. We shall have to see what was done (1) in India, (2) in America, and (3) at sea.

I.—THE WINNING OF OUR INDIAN EMPIRE

Our empire in India, like most of our possessions abroad, was founded by the enterprise of merchants. In Elizabeth's reign a charter had been granted **The East India Company.** to the East India Company, giving it the sole right to trade to India. It had sent ships, built trading-stations called factories, and obtained leave from native rulers to traffic in their dominions; it had had many quarrels with Dutch traders and French traders, who also were building factories and striving to get all the trade into their own hands; but for the first hundred years of its existence it had no wish to acquire territory. No one dreamed of conquering India as a whole.

About this time, however, a great discovery was made. It was that natives, if trained on European methods and led by European officers, made excellent soldiers. A Frenchman named Dupleix was the first to turn this to good account. He raised a large force of "Sepoys", as these native soldiers

were called, took Madras from the British, and threatened to drive us from Southern India. Besides this, he turned his arms against native princes, deposing those who



The Original East India House. From a drawing by Vertue

favoured the British and putting friends of his own in their places.

Using Sepoys, however, was a game that two could play at. There was an Englishman in India who soon showed that he could beat Dupleix with his own weapons. This was a clerk in the Company's service named Robert Clive. With a handful of 500 men he marched upon the town of Arcot.

Clive at Arcot.

The defenders fled at the sight of his troops. He fortified himself there, and was at once besieged by a force of 10,000 men. For fifty days his little force held out against every assault. So devoted were Clive's Sepoys to their British leader that when food ran short they offered to give their share of rice to the Europeans, saying that the water in which it was boiled would be



Robert, Lord Clive. From the picture by Dance

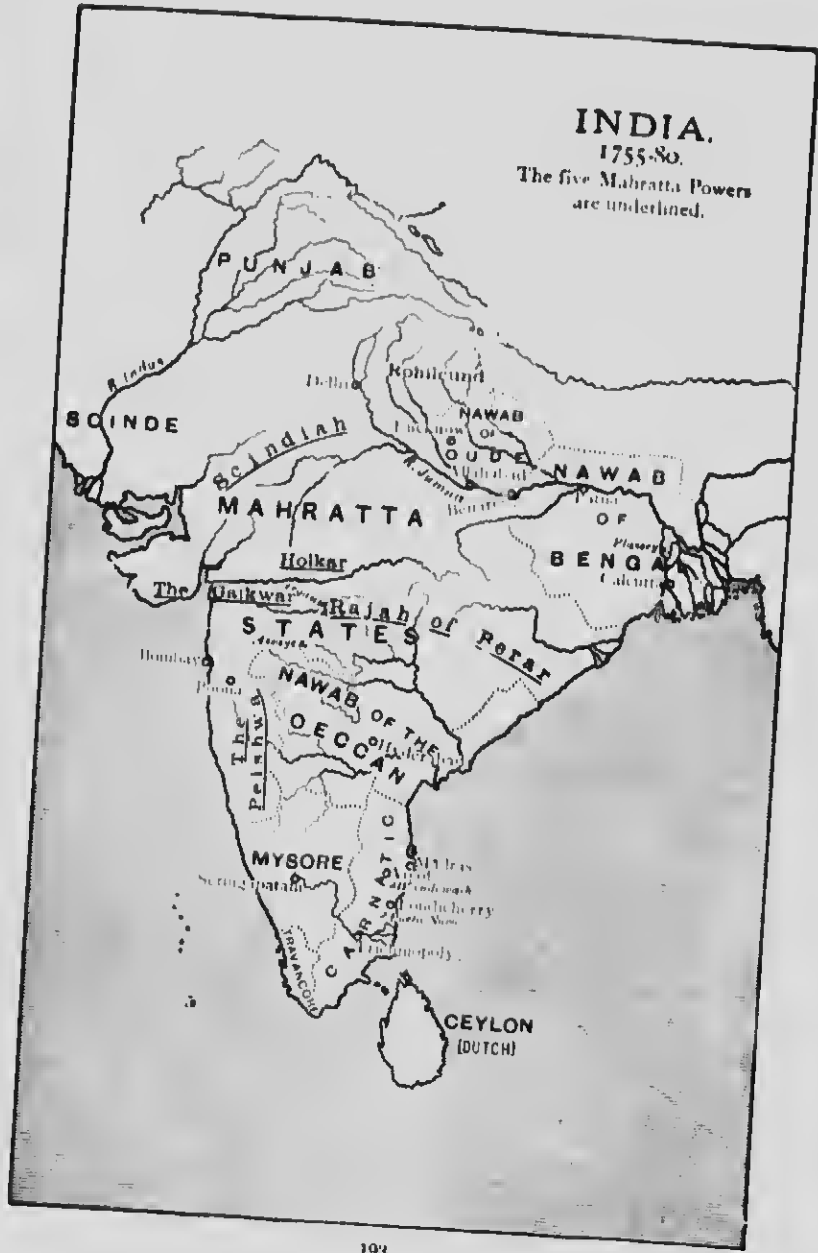
enough for themselves. At last the besieging army retired in despair. This defence of Arcot saved the British power in the south of India.

New work was soon ready for Clive's hand. The Nabob of Bengal, Surajah Dowlah, had marched on Calcutta, taken prisoner all the Europeans, and thrust them into the dungeon since called the Black Hole of Calcutta. One hundred and forty-six were put in; but so fearful was the heat in the tiny space, and so terrible the struggle to get water from the guards at the window,

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that next morning twenty-three only came out alive. Retribution came swiftly. Clive marched **Battle of Plassey, 1757.** against Surajah Dowlah, and met him at Plassey. It was another example of how formidable Europeans and Sepoys could be to an untrained Asiatic host. The Nabob's men were 40,000 to Clive's 3000, but they were utterly beaten. The Nabob was dethroned, and a friend of the Company put in his place.

Clive did much for India besides winning battles; he prevented the Company's officials trading for themselves and taking bribes; he introduced a purer **Clive's Work.** system of administration, under which the natives of India have by degrees come to recognize that a Briton's word is as good as anyone else's oath. But what is most remarkable about him is that he started the Company on the policy of interfering among native princes in order to acquire territory.

In the ranks of Clive's army at Plassey had been one who was to carry Clive's policy much further. This was Warren Hastings. In 1773 the British **Warren Hastings.** Government began to think that our settlement in India, which had led to so much fighting between us and the French, ought to be under the control of Parliament. So they appointed Warren Hastings to be the first governor-general. Hastings extended the authority of the Company in all directions. He waged war on the Mahrattas; he had a long struggle with Hyder Ali, who was threatening to destroy British power in the south, and at last overcame him. Even in the time of the disastrous American War, when Britain could send him no aid, he held his own stoutly against the French. He was not always scrupulous in the way he obtained money, and for this he was impeached when he came home. But after a trial, in which most of the great orators of the day spoke against him, he was acquitted.

The period of Clive and Hastings, then, saw the real establishment of British power in India. Before them, the Company was a body of traders, afraid of the native princes, bent on pleasing them in order to get liberties of trade, jealous of their rivals, the French. After them, the power of the French had fallen in the dust, and the Company was now as powerful as any native ruler, with as wide territories, as large a revenue, and a better army. It was obvious that what had been done in Bengal and the Carnatic could be done again all over India. One by one native rulers would fall before the Company, and it by degrees would become master of the whole. This is what actually came to pass.

**Great Power of
the Company.**

II.—THE RISE AND FALL OF OUR FIRST AMERICAN COLONIES

The story of the beginning of our American colonies is like that of our Indian empire in one respect, namely, that the work was at first almost entirely that of private persons, or trading companies acting under a charter from the crown. In all else it is different. India was thickly peopled, and divided up under powerful native princes; the climate is unsuited to Europeans; European children cannot live there. In America, on the other hand, there were few inhabitants, the Redskins; these were savages, and although cruel and bloodthirsty they were not difficult to drive out; the climate was temperate and suited to white men. But everything had to be begun from the beginning. Land had to be cleared and cultivated, houses built, roads made, and settlers tempted over from the Old World.

The British colonies in America had been settled at different times with different objects. Virginia was the oldest, Georgia the youngest. The New England States

America.

had been peopled by Puritans, the first founders of the colony, "the Pilgrim Fathers", having left England in

**Foundations of
the Colonies.**

James I's day in order to find a home where they could worship as they pleased.

Indeed religious troubles had much to do with the foundations of the colonies. Maryland had given a shelter to Catholics, Pennsylvania was a refuge for the Quakers. All these were under governors appointed by the crown, but as a rule the British Government interfered with them very little.

Thus in George II's reign the eastern coast of what is now the United States was occupied by a set of British possessions. Westwards they were limited by the Alleghany Mountains; in the north the French held Canada.

**Rivalry of
Britain and
France in
America.**

Far away in the south was another French post at the mouth of the Mississippi. A grave question now arose: to which power was the interior of the continent to fall? The French began to build forts on the head-waters of the river Ohio, intending to shut in the British and claim the west for themselves. A British expedition was sent to take these forts, but, falling into an ambush, was routed near Fort Duquesne by the French and their Indian allies. This was in 1755.

One very striking thing about this battle, as well as the defence of Arcot (1751), is that it took place at a time when Britain and France were at peace with each other. Nothing shows more clearly the uneasing rivalry in colonial matters that was going on between the two nations. Peace only existed in Europe. In India and America the struggle went on steadily.

Pitt saw that a blow must be struck. He chose James Wolfe to strike it. Although Wolfe was but thirty-three, he had been nineteen years in the army, and had won the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In 1758 he aided



General Amherst to take Louisburg from the French, strongly fortified as it was. The next year he sailed up the St. Lawrence to attack Quebec. The town lies between the rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles. Precipices rise from the river banks to the Heights of Abraham behind it. A French general, Montcalm, was there to defend it with a large force. **Wolfe takes Quebec, 1759.** Men said Wolfe was mad to attack it. "I wish he would bite some of the other generals, then," said old George II, who understood Wolfe's courage.

For three months Wolfe could do nothing. At last, embarking his men in boats, he brought them under cover of night to where the precipices of the Heights of Abraham frown over the river. He had heard of a narrow dangerous path. Silently the men climbed it in the darkness. When day broke, Wolfe's army was drawn up for battle on the open ground at the top. Montcalm led out the French to drive Wolfe back into



Old View of Quebec and the Heights of Abraham

the river, but his men could not resist the charge of the British. In the moment of victory Wolfe himself was struck by three balls. He lived long enough to hear that the French were beaten. "God be praised!" he cried; "I shall die happy." Quebec surrendered. All Canada was taken from the French, and by the treaty of Paris in 1763 passed into British hands.

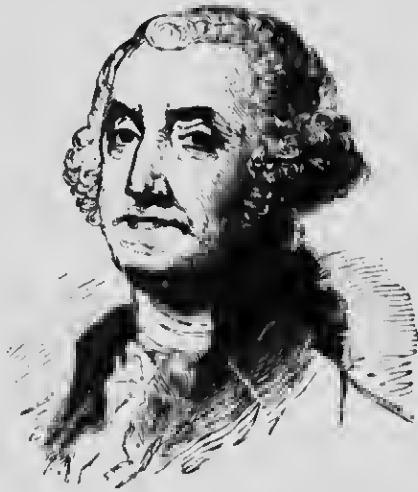
British power was now supreme in America; the next war, however, was to see most of it disappear. So long as the French held Canada our American colonists feared

them too much to wish to cast off British rule; for to rebel against Britain would have meant falling into the hands of France. This check being removed, the colonists grew dissatisfied. They complained that Britain hampered their trade. This was true, for British commercial policy at this time thought it right to destroy any trade in the colonies which might rival a home industry. Thus

**Colonial
Discontent.**

the colonists were not allowed to manufacture iron goods—nails, knives, and such like—for fear they might injure British ironworkers; they might not make beaver hats, but had to send the beaver to England to be made up, and then had to buy British-made hats. Even colonial produce, such as sugar and tobacco, had to be sent straight to Britain, in order that the merchants at home might be able to buy cheap. These rules were part of what was called the Mercantile System, by which everything was to be sacrificed to keep British merchants and manufacturers prosperous.

The colonists thus felt that Britain gave them little, and took a great deal. So when the Stamp Act laid a new tax on the colonies, men grew very angry. No one would use British goods: ships which brought British tea were boarded, and the tea-chests emptied into Boston harbour; and soon after, a party of British troops was fired on.



General Washington. From the portrait by Stuart, in the Boston Athenæum

**Proposals to tax
the Colonies,
1765 and 1767.**

The war of American Independence lasted seven years. The British generals were bad: the troops that were sent from home were mostly Hessians hired from Germany; the country was so vast that as soon as rebellion seemed crushed in one place it burst out afresh in another. At first the British won most of the battles, though they had to fight hard for them; but the colonists were determined not to give in, and they had a general, George Washington, who, even when his men were short of arms and powder, shoeless and half-starving, yet managed always to make head against the British.

Help came to him against Britain from an old British foe. France saw a chance to revenge herself for the loss of Canada; she took the side of the colonists. Cornwallis, the British general, had entrenched himself at Yorktown, trusting to get supplies by sea; but a French fleet appeared, drove off the English ships, and blockaded Cornwallis. Washington closed in round him on land. Cornwallis had at last to yield. This was a death-blow to British power. Soon after we were compelled to acknowledge the United States to be independent.

So went our first great colony. After the first bitterness of defeat was over, men took it surprisingly calmly. They thought it was natural; "colonies", it was said, "were like pears; they would fall when they were ripe". But we shall find that this view has proved false. Our American colonies were lost because they were governed on a bad principle; but we have learned by experience to manage colonies on a better plan, and now our colonies are more firmly joined to their mother-country than they have ever been.

III.—BRITISH POWER AT SEA

If now we turn to what was done at sea during these three wars, we find a mixture of success and failure. Many brilliant things were done. In 1740 Anson started with a squadron to attack the Spanish possessions in the Pacific. He imitated Drake's great exploits, attacking and plundering towns, seizing Spanish treasure-ships, and returned home after four years' absence, bringing with him a million and a quarter in treasure. Anson.

In 1759 Hawke won perhaps the most daring battle ever fought by a British commander. The French fleet had drawn in for shelter into Quiberon Bay, on the western coast of France. The bay is full of rocks and shoals; a wild November gale was blowing; to add to other difficulties night had fallen. Hawke dashed in among the Frenchmen, and made short work of them. Most were taken, burnt, or driven on shore. Hawke lost only forty men. Our fleet gave another proof of its importance on the outbreak of war with Spain in 1762. Manila and Havana were immediately taken from the Spaniards and the Plate fleet captured, one ship carrying treasure worth £800,000. Quiberon Bay, 1759.

On the other hand, there are some failures to set against these exploits. There were many indecisive actions; one in 1744 led to a number of accusations between the officers in command, and a court-martial in which the admiral was dismissed from the service. A worse thing yet was to come. At the beginning of the Seven Years' War, Admiral Byng, being sent to relieve Minorca, met a French fleet stronger than his own. He fought it in a very half-hearted way, and retreated. Minorca was lost, and Byng was brought to trial for misconduct, and shot. In the war of Ameri- Byng, 1757.

can Independence we have already seen how de Grasse's fleet cut off Cornwallis, and caused his surrender at Yorktown.

For the greater part of that war, indeed, the British navy was not at its best. The French took many of our West Indian islands; for three years Gibraltar was besieged, and though Governor Elliott's defence of it never wavered, though he drove off every attack by showering red-hot shot on the enemy's ships and setting them on fire, yet the mere fact that French and Spanish fleets should be able to engage in such a siege almost uninterrupted, seems discreditable to the British navy. Clearly it had not the command of the sea which we expect it to have nowadays.

One fact may well serve as a lesson—that the war in which our sea-power wavers is the only war that turns out disastrous. France had much improved her navy, while ours had been allowed to stand still; the result was that, fighting with fleets superior in numbers, in tonnage, and in guns, our admirals often failed to do anything decisive.

At last, however, when Britain was in the depths of despair, when America was gone, and when most of our West Indian colonies had been taken, a man was found to finish the war with a victory. Rodney met the French fleet off Dominica, and shattered it; the French admiral, de Grasse, was captured on his own flagship, which was reckoned to be the finest ship afloat.

This battle enabled us to make a much better peace than we should otherwise have done, but it has another and a much greater importance. The naval battles of the day had been indecisive, because the idea had been to lay the British ships

**Defence of
Gibraltar,
1779-1782.**

**Rodney's Victory
of 12th April, 1782.**

**Breaking
the Line.**

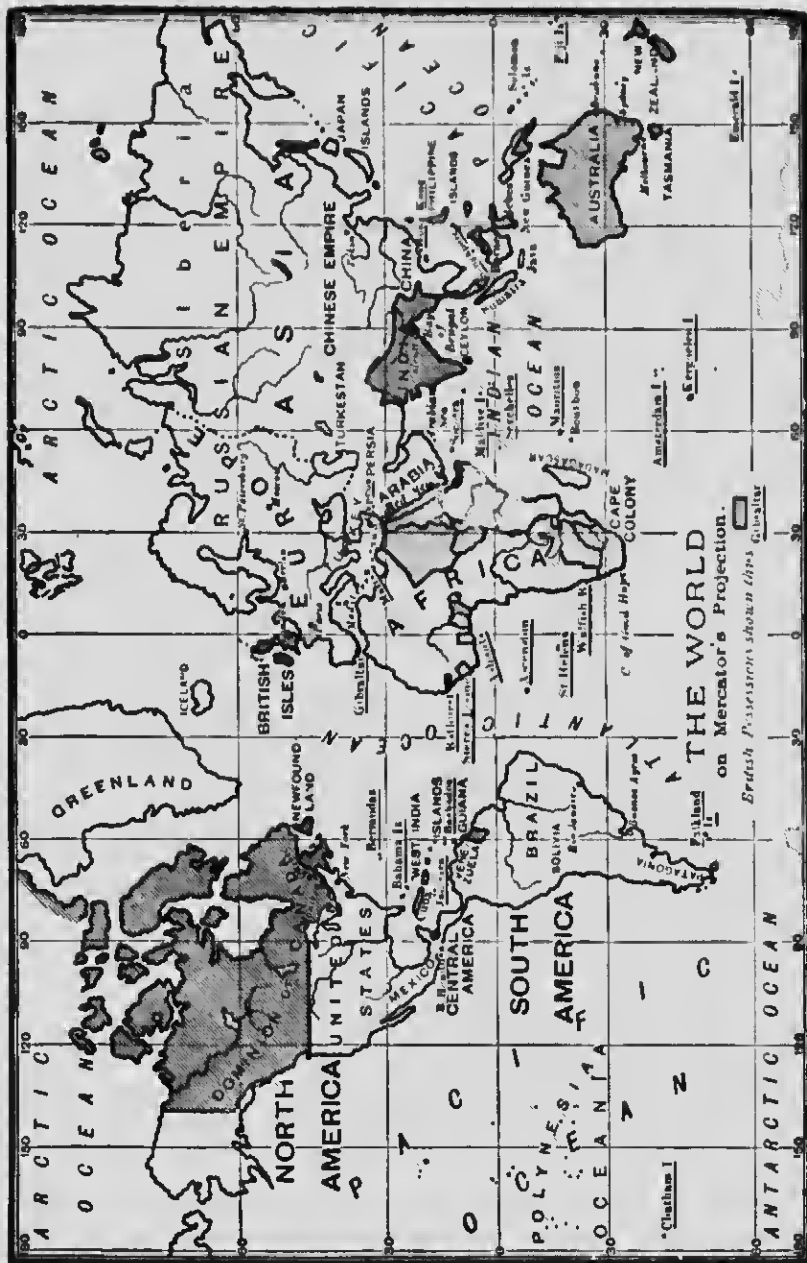
alongside the French *in line*. What usually happened was this. As the British fleet filed by the French, each vessel received the fire of every French vessel in turn, and generally got its rigging cut up. When at last the two fleets were in position, van to van, centre to centre, rear to rear, and the British admiral was hoping for a



Admiral Rodney. From a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds

good battle of hard pounding, the French fleet would draw off. The British ships, with rigging cut about, could not pursue. Thus battles were indecisive. The British would boast that the French had run; the French, that the British were too much crippled to follow.

Rodney, however, adopted a different plan. He broke through the French line, and laid all his ships on both sides of the rear of the French fleet, thus getting it



between two fires, while the French van had no enemy to attack. Thus his battle was decisive, for a number of French ships were overpowered before their comrades could come to their assistance. It gave our admirals what they had long desired—a chance of making the slippery Frenchman stay and fight it out to the end—and in a real battle the British fleets always triumphed. This plan of attacking in column and breaking the enemy's line was to lead to great results in the next war. It was employed by Nelson at Trafalgar.

One other naval exploit remains to be noticed, the more striking since at the time people thought little or nothing of it. The same year which saw the beginning of Lord North's government that **Australia, 1770.** was destined to lose us our American colonies, saw Captain Cook take possession of Australia and New Zealand in the name of King George. No one then understood the value of Cook's discovery; no one imagined that on the shores of the great southern island there would arise cities rivalling those of America; no one dreamed of the gold of Victoria and West Australia, or the sheep-runs of New South Wales; no one realized that a fresh continent had been secured for the British race. These things were hidden in the future. Yet thus, while one dominion was being lost, another was silently and almost imperceptibly added to replace it.

XXXI.—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

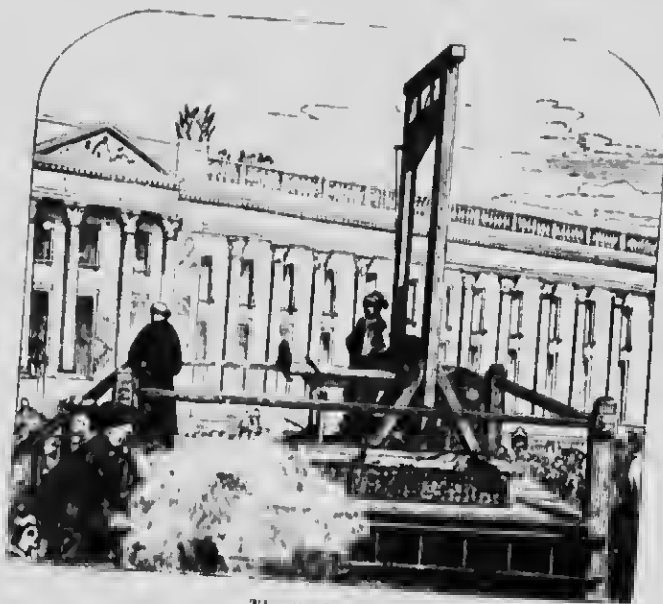
With two short intervals Britain was continuously at war with France from 1793 to 1815, and this war ended the prolonged struggle that had begun under William III and Marlborough, and had gone on with

little cessation all through the eighteenth century. It was by far the greatest of Britain's **Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1793-1815.** Alike by sea and land Britain made war on a larger scale than she had ever done before, with more ships and more men. It cost far more than any previous war; for not only had Britain to pay for her own vast fleet and the armies that drove the French out of Spain and finally conquered Napoleon at Waterloo, but she also gave enormous sums to her allies who were struggling against Napoleon on the Continent. Thus, in the twenty-two years of the war the **National Debt.** increased to almost four times its previous amount, and at the end stood at the gigantic figure of nine hundred million pounds. But if much was spent in lives and money, much was gained. Although Napoleon and his victorious armies successively entered every capital on the Continent except Constantinople, Britain alone defied him. And when the end of the war came it found Britain strained by the great efforts she had made, but not exhausted; unconquered and unconquerable; firmly established as the mistress of the sea and the one great colonial power.

In the course of the war five periods deserve special notice. These are: (1) the events of the years 1797 and 1798; (2) the battle of Trafalgar in 1805; (3) the British invasion of Spain; (4) Napoleon's expedition to Russia in 1812; (5) the battle of Waterloo in 1815. Of these the first two are naval events; the last three military.

1. Britain began the war with France partly from commercial reasons, partly because her ally, **Causes of the War.** Holland, was attacked, and partly out of disgust at the violence of the Jacobin or extreme French revolutionary party. This feeling was soon

deepened when the Jacobins caused their king, Louis XVI, and his wife, Marie Antoinette, to be put to death by the guillotine. But the French, though attacked on all sides, showed extraordinary vigour in driving out their enemies. They won battle after battle; they compelled Prussia and Austria to beg for peace; they had



The Guillotine

even made Spain and Holland join with them and give them the assistance of their fleets; and in 1797 Britain alone was left still fighting.

The year was a very black one, for in the spring of it our navy, on which we relied, melted. First at Spithead and then the Nore, the fleets lay idle, the sailors declaring they would fight no more till their grievances were redressed. It is true that two months earlier Admiral Jervis, with fourteen ships of the line, had shattered a combined French and

**Mutiny of
the Navy**

Spanish fleet of twenty-seven vessels. But France had another maritime ally, Holland. The Dutch fleet had been held blockaded by Admiral Duncan. But when our fleets mutinied it did not seem that this blockade could be maintained. The Dutch might break out, join the French, seize the Channel, and a French army might be landed in England.

Duncan managed to deceive the Dutch. He kept a frigate or two cruising in sight of land, making signals as if to a blockading fleet outside. The Dutch did not know that the blockading fleet was not there—that it really was lying mutinous and idle. But time was gained. The sailors' demands for better pay, better food, and better treatment were granted. The fleet again put to sea before the slow Dutch made a move. When they came out Duncan defeated them at Camperdown.

**Camperdown,
1797.**

Jervis's second in command at St. Vincent was the son of a Norfolk clergyman, Horatio Nelson. He was to show that he could do greater things yet for Britain. His chance soon came. In 1798 Napoleon Bonaparte was sent with a French expedition to Egypt. The French fleet got safely to Egypt, but Nelson found it lying in Aboukir Bay, in a place where the French admiral judged that he could not be attacked with any chance of success, since he had placed his ships so near to a shoal that it seemed impossible for the British ships to get between him and the land. To Nelson, at the head of a fleet, nothing was impossible.

**Battle of the
Nile, 1798.**

By a magnificent piece of seamanship some of the British ships rounded the extremity of the French line, while the rest anchored on the other side, placing the French between two fires. In the evening the fight began. It raged all night. In the middle of the darkness the French flagship *L'Orient*



**THE BATTLE OF THE NILE
ON THE NIGHT OF AUGUST 1817.**

From the Picture by George Ar. del. A. R. A., in the gallery at Greenwich Hospital.

1875

burst into flames, and eventually blew up with all hands. When morning came all the French fleet save four had been taken or sunk. The French power in the Mediterranean was broken.

2. Trafalgar relieved us from a danger nearer home.



Horatio, Viscount Nelson. From the portrait by L. F. Abbot.

When, after a year of uneasy peace, war broke out again in 1803, Napoleon gathered an army of 130,000 men at Boulogne, ready to invade England. Hosts of flat-bottomed boats were prepared to carry them across, and the troops were so constantly drilled at embarking that the task was only an affair of minutes. "Let us", said Napoleon, "but be masters of the Straits for six hours, and we shall be masters of the world." But those six hours' mastery he was never to gain.

**Napoleon's
Plan for
Invasion.**

France was not without ships; indeed, could she only mass her own with those of her ally, Spain, she would have had a formidable fleet; but the ships lay blockaded in many separate harbours—Toulon, Rochefort, Brest, Ferrol, Cadiz. Napoleon formed an ingenious plan. His admiral, Villeneuve, was to dash out of Toulon the first time a storm drove off the British blockading fleet, and sail for the West Indies. Nelson would be sure to follow. Villeneuve, however, was not to fight him; he was to give him the slip, hasten back across the Atlantic, set free the imprisoned French ships at Brest, and thus, with a united fleet, hurry to Boulogne and give Napoleon the command of the Channel. The first part of the plan succeeded. Villeneuve avoided Nelson, and, leaving him in the West Indies, returned to Europe. But on his way he had to fight a British fleet under Calder, and though he was not seriously defeated, he turned aside and put into Cadiz, where he was at once blockaded. Napoleon's chance of invading England was gone.

Nelson took care that he never had another. On the 21st of October, 1805, he met the allied French and Spanish fleet off Cape Trafalgar. As the British fleet drifted slowly down in two columns against the allied line, Nelson made that famous signal that will **Trafalgar, 1805.** always be remembered by all English-speaking races: "England expects that every man will do his duty"—and nobly every man did it. The enemy's fleet was destroyed, but the victory was won at the cost of Nelson's life. He was struck on the quarter-deck of his flagship, the *Victory*, by a musket-ball from the French ship, the *Redoubtable*, and died soon after. But his work was done. Never again during the war was the British command of the sea in danger; never again were we threatened with the horrors of a foreign invasion.



Arthur Wellesley, first Duke of Wellington

3. While our sailors had been winning so much renown, our soldiers had done very little. They did not lack bravery, but they were badly led, or else sent to places where they could do no good. Their turn came when Wellington (Sir Arthur Wellesley, as he then was) went to command the British army in Portugal.

He defeated one French marshal after another. He constructed the lines of Torres Vedras, a fortified camp from which French armies far larger than his could not expel him. Step by step he drove the French through Spain towards their own frontier. He showed that British soldiers, when well led, were better than any soldiers in the world, and that even the French, so long victorious, could not resist the men who advanced to storm the steep and shot-swept breaches in the great fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo with *unloaded* muskets. Picton's order had been, "No powder. We'll do this thing with cold iron." It was done.

In the course of five campaigns Wellington cleared Spain, and in the spring of 1814 Britain was in turn invading France.

4. The war in Spain, which Napoleon called "the Spanish ulcer", to such an extent did it eat away his power, was not the only disaster he had met. In 1812 he had led half a million of soldiers—his Grand Army—into Russia. The Russians retired before him, and he reached Moscow. There, to his surprise, the Russians did not ask for peace. He was forced to retreat over the same country which his army had laid waste in his advance. His men could find neither food nor shelter. The Russians followed on his traces, and gave his men no rest. The Cossack horsemen cut off the stragglers. Then came on the winter, with snow and bitter frosts, more deadly than Russian cannon, sharper and more pitiless than Cossack lances. The wretched French froze to death round their very camp-fires. Napoleon's veterans were gone; and after another year's fighting in Germany he was driven by combined Russian, Austrian, and Prussian forces to retreat into France, and at last had to give up his throne.



Napoleon

5. He was sent to Elba, a small island in the Mediterranean, but early in 1815 he escaped to France. The army joined him again, and it was felt that such an enemy to the peace of Europe must be crushed, and this time for ever. England was nearest at hand, and Wellington was the man to do it. He was sent with an army into Belgium. Wellington had the aid of a Prussian army under Blücher. Napoleon's plan was to thrust

The "Hundred Days".
Waterloo.

his force between the British and the Prussians, and defeat each in turn. He began well by beating Blücher at Ligny, and advanced to attack Wellington. The two great generals had never met before. On the 18th of June, 1815, the armies were face to face at Waterloo, the French superior in numbers, while Wellington had among his army many Belgian troops, on whom he could not rely. But he had promised Blücher to stand fast at Waterloo, while Blücher had sworn to come there to help him, and both generals were men of their word. All day the British troops stood steady under the rush of cavalry and the storm of French shot and shell—"the thin red line" that could not be broken. Charge after charge was beaten off, and still the French swarmed to the attack. In the afternoon the thunder of the Prussian guns was heard coming up on the left. Wellington gave the word to his own troops to advance in their turn, and the French were overthrown. Napoleon was conquered at last.

It has been said that "at Waterloo Britain fought for victory; at Trafalgar for existence". The fruits of these battles are what we now enjoy: a land secure from invasion; a supremacy at sea; great wealth drawn from a world-wide commerce; and a colonial empire which no other power can rival.

XXXII.—THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Perhaps the greatest feature in British history during the eighteenth century is one which is often passed over very lightly. We think a great deal of **Britain's Wealth.** Wolfe's conquest of Quebec, and of Clive's deeds in India. These, indeed, meant the expansion of our empire abroad. But we must not lose

sight of the sources of our power at home. The most astonishing mark of our history in the eighteenth century is the way in which Britain was able to pour out money. She did indeed saddle herself with a heavy load of debt—a load which would have crippled any other nation. Yet at the end of the century, when Napoleon had to be fought, the country was able to find still more money, not merely enough to pay our own large navy and army, but enough to keep Austrians, Prussians, and Russians in the field against him as well.

The secret of this is that during the eighteenth century Britain became the workshop of the world. We grew rich by our trade and industry. Napoleon was right when he saw that if he could cripple our trade he might conquer us. But our trade was too vast to be crushed by even Napoleon's resources.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Britain was still chiefly an agricultural country. Her iron trade languished because men had not learned to use coal to work it, and the supply of charcoal from the forests was running short. The linen business was small, chiefly centred in Scotland and the north of Ireland. No true cottous were made, because British spinners could not spin a cotton yarn strong enough for use as warp. The woollen trade was old and fairly vigorous, though it was somewhat held back by the fact that it took several spinners to make enough yarn to keep one weaver at work. But the mechanism used in the trade had made little progress. The hand-wheel and the hand-loom had been in use for a long time without any improvement.

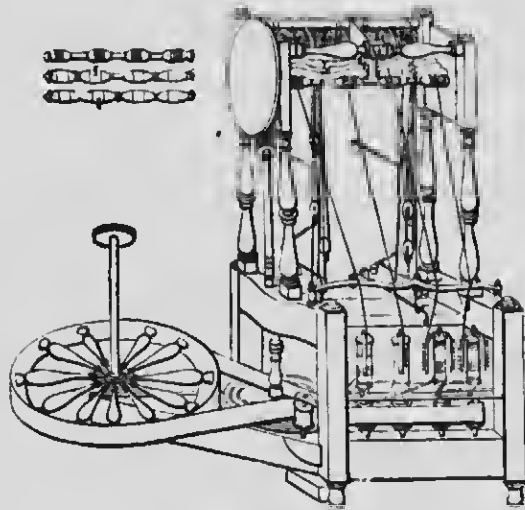
Curiously enough, the first in the long string of inventions came, not in the lagging branch of spinning, but in weaving. This was Kay's invention of the flying shuttle, by which the weaver was spared the need of

passing the shuttle from one hand to another through the warp. By the new plan he could work twice as fast and weave cloth of double width. Hitherto one man could only weave cloth as wide as the space occupied by his outstretched arms.

**The Invention;
the Flying
Shuttle, 1733.**

This put the spinners even further behind. Soon, however, they made up the lost ground. Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny, Arkwright the water-frame, and Crompton combined the principle of these two machines in the "mule".

**Spinning,
1764-1772.** There soon was an abundance of yarn, and Ark-



Arkwright's Spinning-jenny

wright's cotton-yarn was strong enough for use as warp. This began our gigantic cotton industry. Cheshire and Lancashire were soon busy with cotton-mills. In a short time cotton employed more people than its old rival, wool.

Machines had been made to spin: could they

be made to weave? This question was soon answered by a clergyman named Cartwright, who made the first power-loom. It was very clumsy, but he and others soon made improvements. By the beginning of last century the power-loom was fast driving the hand-loom out of the field.

The Power-loom.

Invention followed invention; it is impossible to notice them all. We may remark two more: the first, the process of bleaching by chlorine perfected by a Scotsman, Tennant, which reduced the time required for bleaching from many weeks to a few days; the second, that of colour-printing on calico by a revolving cylinder instead of a small hand block, an improvement which enabled one man to do the work of twenty. Inventions of this nature made it easy to turn out goods much faster and cheaper than before.

**Bleaching and
Colour-printing.**

**Victory of
Machinery over
Hand Work.**

Further, though most of these inventions were first made in cotton, they could be modified for use with wool and linen. Thus at the beginning of last century all the textile trades had been invaded by machinery. The hand-workers were beaten both in quality and in speed.

It was not only in weaving and spinning that inventions came. Just at the same time iron-masters learnt to use coal instead of charecoal for smelting. This sent our iron industry up with a leap. Later, an iron-master named Cort invented the puddling process, by which malleable iron could be made with coal. He also was the first to use rollers instead of the hammer for shaping his iron and squeezing out impurities. These inventions made us the great iron-working country of the world. If we look at other industries we find the same progress. Those were the days of Wedgwood, the great potter, who did so much for the Staffordshire potteries; they were the days also of Brindley, who by his canals made it easy to send goods about Britain cheaply and quickly, instead of by the old expensive and slow method of road-wagons and pack-horses.

Iron.

The latter half of the eighteenth century begins the era of machinery. Machinery, however, called for power.

Water-power was good where it could be had; but in our coal-fields lay vast stores of power, unused till the genius of a Scottish mechanic, James Watt, improved the steam-engine into being the ready servant of all manufacture. Industries which had settled on the banks of streams began to draw in to where coal was ready to hand. Factory villages speedily became factory towns, where a crowded population gathered round forests of tall chimneys. Thus grew Glasgow, Dundee, Liverpool, Manchester, Preston, Leeds, Bradford, and a host of others, soon leaving behind the old county towns.

Watt and the Steam-engine, 1763.

This meant wealth for the manufacturers, and power for Britain, but it did not mean happiness for the workers. In the old days woollen weaving and spinning

Decay of By-industries.

had been "by-industries" spread all over the country. Many cottages had a loom where the labourer worked when the long winter nights forbade him to work in the fields. There was scarcely a home without the spinning-wheel, at which the women of the house earned a steady sum each week. The new machinery silenced loom and wheel alike, and those who had eked out their earnings from the land by the aid of spinning and weaving were reduced to great poverty and misery. Many went into the new factory towns.

Here, though they got work, they got it under bad conditions. In the old days they could work when they pleased and leave off when they pleased.

The Factory System.

But in the factory all worked alike. No hours are too long for the giant Steam, and many masters overworked their people to keep up with their machinery. This was very hard on the numerous children employed. They often began at five in the morning, and worked till seven, eight, or even nine at

night. There were no regular hours for meals; food was eaten in the mill, often covered with dust. The rooms were low and ill ventilated. Children were sometimes cruelly punished by the overseers—nay, even by their own parents—if they failed to fulfil their tasks. Machinery was unfenced, and accidents were hideously common when the children toiled so early and so late that they dropped to sleep over their work.

Britain's wealth was being bought too dear, if this was to continue. Women who were all day in the mill could not be good mothers. Children who had no time for play or for education were growing up ignorant, weakly, deformed, with no taste for anything healthy. They had indeed been "through the



Lord Shaftesbury. From a portrait by Sir W. C. Ross, R.A.

mill", with terrible consequences. So an agitation was started to shorten the hours for women and children.

The remedy was long in coming. Devoted men, Oastler, Fielden, Lord Shaftesbury, laboured away to persuade Parliament, but it was slow work.

By degrees right conquered. Act after act was passed shortening hours, granting a Saturday half-holiday, now in one trade, now in another.

The Factory Acts.

It was not, however, till 1847 that the working day was fixed as it now stands.

The Factory Acts are a striking example of good legislation. They have not injured our industries; they have saved our artisan class. The best proof of how necessary they are is that they have since been extended to embrace almost every trade.

If we sum up the results of the industrial revolution, they are these:—It made Britain rich, and therefore powerful; it made most of our large towns; it created the artisan class, which, though at first very hardly treated by the new conditions of labour, has now, under State protection, become the most numerous and energetic portion of the community. In addition to this, the industrial revolution curiously shifted the balance of population and wealth in England. Before it came, the South was rich, cultured, populous; the North backward and ignorant. Now the North is vigorous and active; the South has remained agricultural, and inclines to be stagnant. Sussex and Norfolk, once the homes of the iron trade and a busy woollen trade, are to-day sparsely peopled. Their industries have left them, to go in search of northern coal. Lancashire, once almost the poorest county in England, has become the richest.

XXXIII.—CROWN AND PARLIAMENT

THE REFORM BILL

We have seen that the "Glorious Revolution" of 1689, which turned James II from the throne, settled for ever the question between King and Parliament which should be master. Henceforward no king could hope to resist Parliament. Yet another hundred and fifty years were

to pass before it could be said with truth that Parliament alone ruled. For the kings, having failed in one plan, turned to another. Instead of ruling in defiance of Parliament, they began to rule Parliament itself; they obtained so much influence over ministers, members, and electors, that during the eighteenth century Parliament generally did what the king wanted.

Influence of the Crown over Parliament.

We can perceive this more plainly by an example or two. Even as early as Anne's reign it becomes clear. Anne was at first in the hands of the Duchess of Marlborough. The duchess and her husband wanted the war to go on, and so did the Whig party. Therefore the duchess persuaded Anne to favour Whig ministers. At length Anne grew tired of the duchess and took a new favourite, Mrs. Masham. Mrs. Masham was a Tory, and so Anne turned gradually towards the Tories, who wanted to bring the war to an end. At last Tory ministers came in, and Marlborough was dismissed. It is true that the country approved of what the queen did, but had the queen not wished for a change, she could have kept Marlborough in power.

Again, George I favoured the Whigs, and his son George II did the same, because both feared that the Tories were hankering to have the Stuarts back. Accordingly the Whigs came into power with George I, and stayed in for about fifty years. It is true that the kings were not responsible for this Whig monopoly of office. Neither George I nor George II took much interest in party questions. The great Whig families in England were at that time able by bribery and influence to keep Parliament full of Whigs. Being in office, the Whigs could, and did, use their power and patronage to keep themselves in office by favouring their supporters and making friends of

The Whig Houses.

those who were wavering. Yet we shall see that the king's power was strong enough to break down the power of the Whig families when it was used against them.

George III had been brought up to dislike the Whigs. His mother was never tired of saying to him in his boyhood, "George, be a king". He had learnt to think of the Whigs as the great foes of the royal power, so he favoured the Tories from the first. At first he found Parliament in the hands of the Whig houses. He tried a Tory minister, but the Commons and the Lords both contained a majority of Whigs. By degrees, however, the Tories, with the king's support, grew stronger: first he was able to put in power those Whigs whom he least disliked; finally, in 1783 he overthrew the great Whig coalition which was headed by Fox, and made a young man of twenty-four, William Pitt, son of the Great Commoner, prime minister.

Henceforward for fifty years there were practically none but Tory ministries. Pitt himself was prime minister for nineteen years (1783-1801 and 1804-1806), Lord Liverpool for fifteen years (1812-1827). In fact power, which in the early part of the eighteenth century had seemed to belong entirely to the Whigs, appears in the latter part to be the absolute property of the Tories.

The fact was that the king had found out means to get a party of men in the Commons who would support whomsoever he wished. There were many ways of using this royal influence. Pensions and honours were freely given to members and their friends; promotion in the army and navy went by royal favour; a friendly word from the king would secure the votes of those who liked to be thought intimate at court. Thus the name of the "King's Friends"



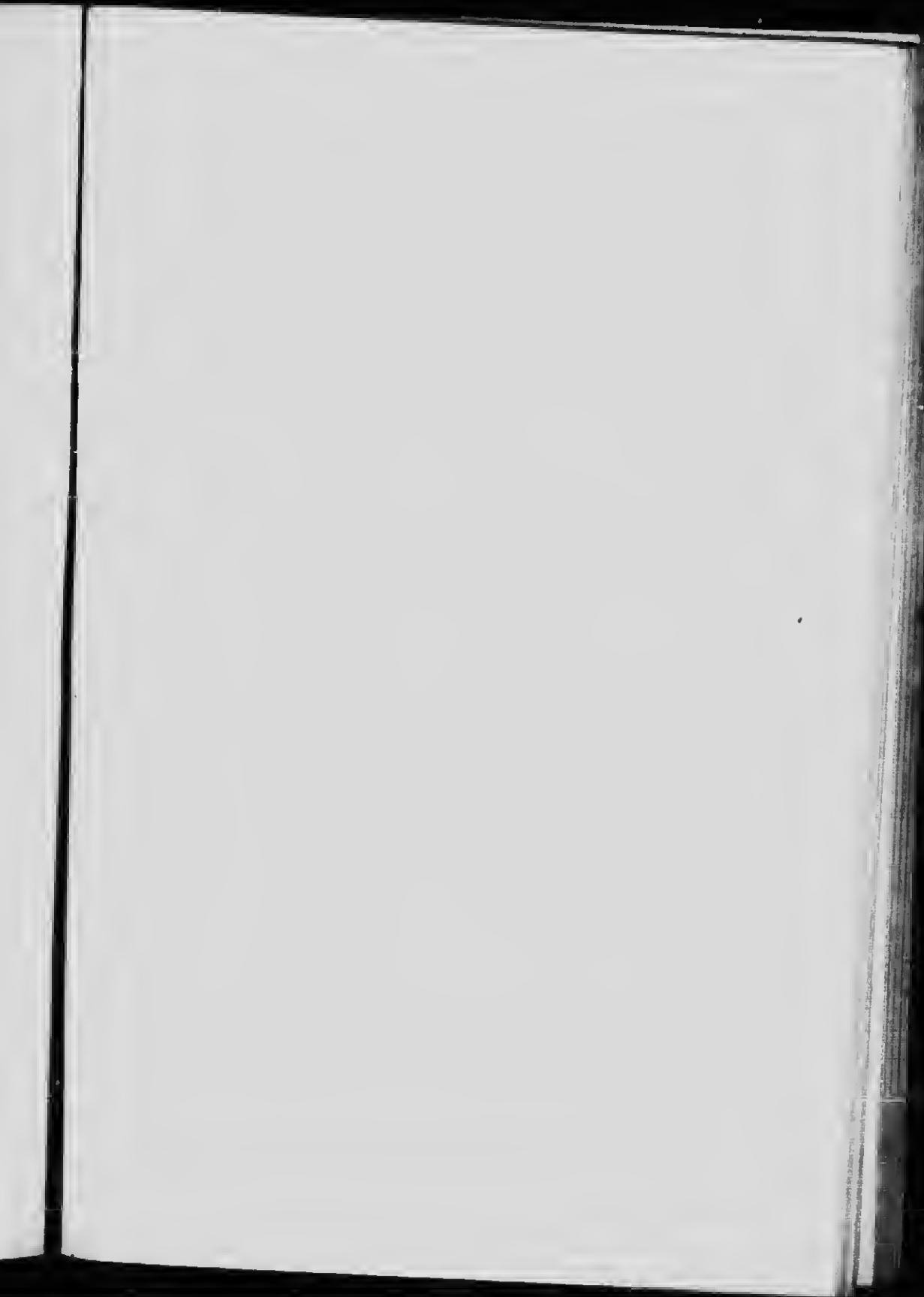
William Pitt. From a portrait by J. Hoppner, R.A.

was openly bestowed on a large party in the Commons. In the Lords things were even more simple, for the king could make whom he pleased a lord. Thus the House of Lords, Whig under the first two Georges, became strongly Tory under the third George. On one occasion, in order to defeat Fox's India Bill, the king made Lord Temple show to each peer a card on which he had written the message that "whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as an enemy", and as a result the bill was thrown out.

The growth of this royal power by which Parliament was moulded to the king's wishes was plainly seen, and the Whig party did its best to check it. Bills were passed to diminish the king's patronage; and the Commons voted, "that the power of the Crown has increased, and ought to be diminished". This was an excellent piece of advice, but it was not clear how it could be carried out.

By degrees men came to see that the reason why Parliament had thus fallen into the hands of the king was that the House of Commons did not really represent the nation. Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, and many of the big towns had no members, while little boroughs, where there was only a handful of voters, returned two. Gattton with seven electors sent up two members. Ludgershall had one elector: he proposed himself, voted for himself, and sat in Parliament as a representative of himself. Old Sarum was no longer even a village; there were absolutely no inhabitants, yet members sat for it. Even in the large towns and counties that had members, it was often the case that very few persons had the right to vote as electors. There were only thirty-three voters in Edinburgh, and the same number in Glasgow. "Pocket-boroughs", as they were called, enabled a rich patron to return many members at his wish. One duke returned eleven members, another nine, and of course in these small places everyone expected to be bribed before he would vote. When Sheridan was returned for Stafford, an item in his election expenses ran thus, "Paid 250 burgesses £3 each".

This plainly called for reform. We may wonder that reform did not come sooner, but during the long war against Napoleon men were too much interested in that to care about altering things at home.





From the Portrait by Winterhalter
in the Throne Room, Windsor Castle

And what had been done in France made the Tory party nervous. They spoke of the reformers in Britain as if they were persons who wanted to make a revolution, to destroy the throne and turn Britain into a republic. Thus the wild things that had been done in the name of liberty in France, the execution of the king and queen,



Lord John Russell

the murders of nobles, and the confiscation of property, had the result of putting off reform in Britain for nearly forty years.

When King George III died, however, the question could not be put off any longer. The Whigs at last got a majority in the Commons. Lord Grey became prime minister, and Lord John Russell brought in the Reform Bill to take away the right of returning members from

the pocket-boroughs, and give the seats to the counties and large towns. Then began a desperate struggle; the bill was thrown out on the third reading, and Parliament dissolved. The country, however, was bent on reform, and the Whigs came back again with a huge majority—over a hundred. The Reform Bill passed the Commons in spite of all the Tories could do to delay it.

The fate of the bill now hung on the Lords, and the Lords rejected it. This nearly caused a rebellion. There were riots in many towns. The Dukes of Nottingham and Rutland had made themselves prominent by their opposition to the bill; Nottingham Castle was burnt to the ground and Belvoir Castle attacked by a furious mob. Men collected arms, and spoke of marching on London; and in the capital itself shops were closed, church bells tolled in mourning, and a run was made on the Bank of England. When the king appeared in public he was hooted. At length he agreed to make enough Whig peers to get a majority in the Lords. The mere threat, however, was enough; the Lords gave way, and the bill became law.

Besides taking members from the rotten boroughs and giving them to the large towns and counties, the Reform Bill set up a uniform franchise. Hitherto almost every borough had had its own rules about who was to vote; now all were made alike—in the towns, occupiers of premises of £10 yearly value, and in the country, holders and occupiers of property of the same value, if they held a lease of sixty years: those who paid £50 annually in rent also got votes. Thus the lower classes got no votes: they were only given to shopkeepers, the richer artisans, farmers, and yeomen. Since this time the franchise has twice been lowered, once in 1867, when household suffrage was given in the towns, and again in 1884, when this

was extended to the counties. The result of this has been to give votes to artisans and farm-labourers, so that Britain has become in reality democratic, that is to say, a country where the people have the main power.

Of these three Reform Bills the first was by far the most important, since it put an end once for all to the influence of the crown and of the House of Lords over the House of Commons. It was no longer possible to bribe the large new constituencies, or to influence the members they chose. Ever since Queen Victoria came to the throne the monarch has ruled as a constitutional sovereign, that is to say, has followed the advice of ministers, and ministers have been the leaders of the winning side in the Commons. So Parliament is supreme, not the crown. People who did not clearly foresee what would happen, thought that after the Reform Bill the Whigs, or Liberals, would remain in power for another long period, say thirty or forty years, just as the Tories had remained before; but this turned out a complete mistake. Since it has become easy to consult the country by a general election, it is now more frequently consulted; and now neither political party is likely to be able to keep its opponents out of office for any very long period of time.

XXXIV.—THE CORN-LAWS

The period from 1825 to 1850 is sometimes called the Epoch of Reform. We have already seen one great reforming measure—the Reform Bill—which made Parliament really represent the nation. Epoch of Reform. But there were many other measures of a similar kind. There were the Factory Acts, which have been already mentioned, and there was a reform in the Criminal Law, which had been extraordinarily severe.

Men might be hanged for all sorts of offences; between 1810 and 1845 no less than 1400 persons were executed for crimes which are no longer punishable with death. Thanks to Samuel Romilly, Mackintosh, and Sir Robert Peel, the Criminal Law was altered, and the death sentence was reserved for murder and treason.

Another reform was made in the Poor-law. During the distress of the long war, kind-hearted men who saw how dear bread was and how badly the farm-labourers were paid, had taken to helping them with allowances from the rates. This was well-meant, but perfectly disastrous, because it lowered wages and encouraged the lazy to become paupers. They were kept fairly comfortable, while industrious men who were too proud and too honest to ask for help, had to pay a share of the high rates on which the lazy and shiftless were supported. The New Poor-law stopped this wholesale giving of outdoor relief, and made paupers go into workhouses: as they did not like this, they were more ready to work hard for themselves.

Another great injustice was set right by putting an end to the oaths and laws which had prevented Catholics from sitting in Parliament. This was especially unjust to Ireland, where the greater number of the people were Catholic. Ever since its conquest by William III, Ireland had groaned under the corrupt government of the few families that controlled its parliament. The Roman Catholics, who formed four-fifths of the population, were excluded from all share in the government, and the peasantry were in a state of grinding poverty. At last, in 1798, a rebellion broke out, and was only put down after great excesses had been committed on both sides.

In 1800 Pitt succeeded in bringing about the union of

the Irish Parliament with that of Great Britain, and at the same time removed many of the restrictions which had crippled Irish trade. **The Union, 1800.** But unfortunately he failed when he tried to complete his scheme by granting equal rights to the Roman Catholics.



Sir Robert Peel. From a portrait by Sir T. Lawrence.

In 1828 a great Irish patriot named O'Connell was elected member for Clare; he was not allowed to sit in Parliament. Ireland seemed on the verge of civil war. Peel and Wellington, who were at the head of the Government, saw that though they did not themselves approve of Catholic Emancipation, they must yield, or run the risk of another

Catholic Emancipation, 1829.

Irish rebellion. They wisely gave way; and now no one would dream of excluding a man from Parliament because of his religion.

The slave-trade, too, was abolished in 1807, and, later, slavery itself was put an end to in British dominions (1834).

These were all great reforms; two of them we have seen joined with the name of Peel; but this statesman **Peel.** was destined to carry a greater reform still, namely the abolition of the Corn-laws and the establishment of Free-trade.

We have already seen something of the old mercantile system. Put shortly, the central idea was to protect **Mercantile System.** British industries: it was thought that thus the country would be prosperous, and if we were to export a great deal more than we imported we should gain much money and so grow rich. Further, it was held that Britain ought to grow enough corn to feed her own people. So with the idea of encouraging the home corn-grower, taxes were laid on foreign corn.

For a time the system worked well enough: under it Britain did become a busy manufacturing country. But the growth of industry led to a growth of population; when small villages suddenly grew into big towns, it was impossible to grow enough corn at a moderately cheap rate to feed the new population.

In 1776 Adam Smith published a great book called the *Wealth of Nations*, to prove that all these long-accepted plans were useless. He preached **Adam Smith and Free-trade.** the doctrine of Free-trade. If trade is made free, he urged, each trade will naturally go the way that is best; and what is best for the one, is best also for the mass. Therefore, he said, let us abolish all restrictions and duties which hamper trade.

Adam Smith soon had many followers. The younger Pitt abolished a great many duties and simplified others. It was indeed high time, for our customs duties had grown so complex that scarcely anyone understood them all. The same article often paid many different duties; to bring a pound of nutmegs into the country nine duties had to be paid. Huskisson followed in Pitt's footsteps. He altered the Navigation Acts, which had prevented goods coming to Britain in foreign ships; he reduced the duties on wool, on silk, on timber, and numerous other things. Shipbuilders, manufacturers, spinners, weavers, cried out that they would be ruined. Much to their surprise they all became a great deal more prosperous and busy. The fact was, that so long as we would not take goods from abroad, foreigners could not buy much from us, because it was difficult to pay in money. Directly, however, that France, for example, was free to send us wines, vinegar, silks, and lace, they could be exchanged for British iron, cottons, and woollens. That many of the duties were absolutely useless was further shown by the fact that they actually brought in less money than was spent in collecting them. So by degrees restrictions on manufactures were abolished.

Huskisson,
1823.

This, however, was only half-way towards Free-trade. There were still the Corn-laws, which, it was said, were for the good of the British farmer. When it was proposed to abolish these and import corn into the country free of duty, all who held land or worked on it cried out in indignation that if this were done they would be ruined.

The Corn-
laws.

It was easy to show that the Corn-laws made bread dearer than it need have been; that in times of scarcity artisans were starving because the law forbade cheap corn to be brought from abroad. But there was more

than this. The Corn-laws were not doing any good to either farmers or farm-labourers. The price of corn was high, certainly; but the higher it went, the higher went the rent, so that the landlord was really the only one to benefit. Thus the Corn-laws taxed the food of the poor, and filled the pockets of the rich.

The man who made this clear to the nation was Richard Cobden.

Cobden. He went up and down the country speaking and arguing; he found a helper in John Bright; he started the Anti-Corn-law League to spread his ideas. Everywhere he strove to make the electors choose only those who were ready to vote against the Corn-laws.



Richard Cobden, M.P.

Cobden's work, however, was but half done. The Free-traders in the Commons indeed were growing in numbers, and the Whig party favoured them; **The Irish Famine.** but the Tories were in power with Peel at their head, and Peel was believed to have given his pledge to stand by the Corn-laws. Suddenly the potato-rot began in Ireland; the chief article of food for a whole people failed; if the Irish were to be saved from starvation corn must be sent thither, and

to get the corn it would be necessary to admit foreign corn free of duty. Here was the Free-traders' chance. "Famine," said John Bright, "against which we had warred, joined us." Peel saw that the ports must be opened to let in corn from abroad; and he saw further that it would be impossible ever to close them again. His followers would not listen to him. They decided against free corn, and Peel resigned.

However, Lord John Russell could not form a Whig Ministry, and Peel had to come back. The sight was a strange one—a Tory minister, supported by the Whigs and a few of his own friends, and opposed by the party that had placed him in power, proposed the very measure he had been relied on to reject. Yet, amid the most bitter attacks, the most galling charges of desertion and treachery, Peel held on his way, and the duty on corn was repealed. From that time till now the importation of food-stuffs has gone on in ever-increasing quantity, and it has thus been possible to maintain in comfort an ever-increasing population.

Repeal of
the Corn-laws,
1846.

XXXV.—CRIMEAN WAR. INDIAN MUTINY

With Free-trade came a period of great industrial prosperity in Britain. After the Great Exhibition in 1851, to which masses of foreigners came to see British goods and to exhibit their own, a number of people began to think that European wars were at an end, and that, for the future, states would content themselves with friendly rivalry in trade and commerce. This was an unduly hopeful view. The course of the next ten years was to see Britain engaged in two great struggles.



We have followed British ambition in many fields: till the end of the fifteenth century in France; in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries mainly in America; now principally in the East. As our Indian empire has grown we have come to rule more Mohammedans, and to be more concerned in Eastern affairs, than any other state in the world. Our most dangerous rival has of late been Russia. Thus it was part of our policy to guard against Russia getting Constantinople; to protect our Indian frontier from Russian attack; and lately to check Russian power in China. Fifty years ago, it seemed likely that Russia might overthrow Turkey completely, so Britain and France joined together to aid the Turks. To cripple the power of Russia in the Black Sea it was resolved to attack the fortress of Sevastopol. A British and French army was landed and won the battle of the Alma, and had the allies pushed on at once they might have taken Sevastopol with a rush. The generals, however, were over-cautious. They marched round to the southern side of the city, and began a regular siege. This was likely to be a long business.

Rivalry with
Russia in
the East.

The Crimean
War,
1854-56.

The Russians soon showed that they did not mean to leave the allies to conduct the ~~siege~~ quietly. First they made an attack on Balaclava, the port where all the British stores lay. The British were outnumbered, but two famous cavalry charges saved the day. The Heavies rode at an immense mass of Russian cavalry uphill, fought their way through them, and broke them. The Light Brigade, mistaking an order, charged the Russian guns. Tennyson tells us how—

The Balaclava
Charges.

“Storm'd at by shot and shell,
Boldly they rode and well,

Into the jaws of Death,
 Into the mouth of Hell
 Rode the Six Hundred.

Flash'd all their sabres bare,
 Flash'd as they turn'd in air
 Sabring the gunners there,
 Charging an army, while
 All the world wonder'd:
 Plunged in the battery smoke
 Eight through the line they broke.

Then they rode back, but not—
 Not the Six Hundred."

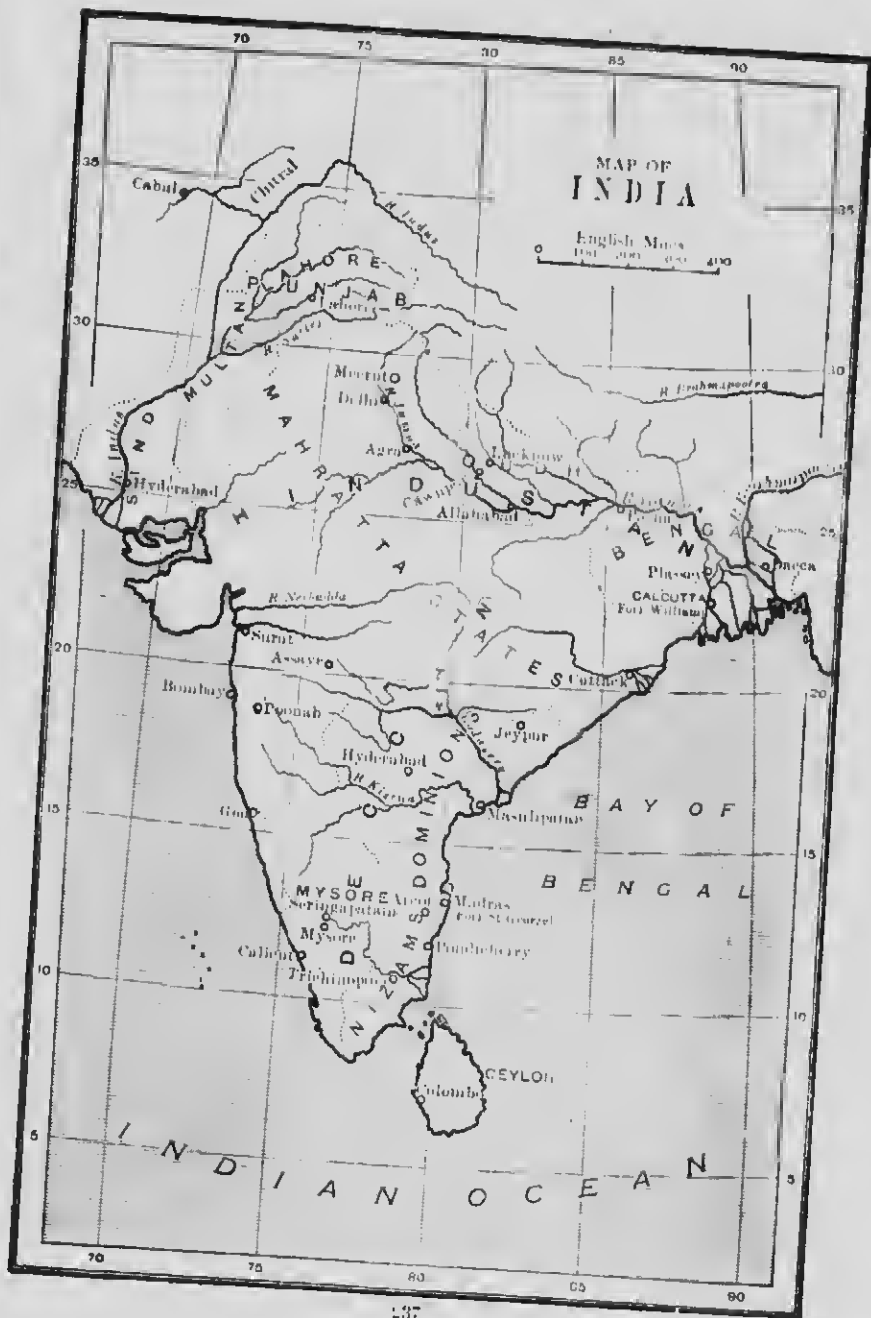
If Balaclava should be ever remembered to the honour of our cavalry, Inkerman was as glorious for our infantry. In the gray dawn of a November morning the Russians flung 40,000 men on the British lines. Our troops were surprised. The Russians were five to one, and made sure of victory, but they did not know that the British soldier cared nothing for odds. Wherever the Russians appeared they were met with the bayonet; a British company would charge a regiment; a regiment break a Russian column. Desperate hand-to-hand fighting at last won the day, and hurled the Russians back into Sevastopol.

Inkerman,
1854.

At last the British and French lines drew closer to Sevastopol. The fire of the Russian guns was beaten down. The French made an assault, and took the great fort called the Malakhoff. After this the Russians could not hold the town, and it fell. Peace was made in 1856.

In a year we were again engaged in war—this time in India. Since the days of Warren Hastings, the East India Company had steadily extended its power. One native prince after another had seen his dominions taken by the Company; those who remained thought their turn would come next. Thus they were

India.



ready to rebel, when an accident made rebellion easy. The Sepoys were given a new rifle, and the cartridges for it had to be greased. The story went about that the grease was made of pigs' fat and cows' fat. To a Moham-
 medan the pig is unclean, and a Hindoo holds the cow to be sacred. He believed that if he handled these cartridges he would be defiled; he would lose caste,—that is to say, his friends would despise him; and he also believed that he would be punished for his offence in the next world.

The Indian Mutiny, 1857. Thus the Sepoys became mutinous. At Meerut they fired on their British officers, and marched off to Delhi. At Lucknow a tiny British garrison under Sir Henry Lawrence was besieged in the Residency by hosts of natives. At Cawnpore there were about a thousand British men, women, and children. They took refuge in a hospital surrounded by a low mud wall, not thick enough to stop the bullets. There was no shelter from the scorching Indian sun; the one well was swept by the mutineers' fire; every man who went to draw water did it at the risk of his life. One by one the defenders fell. Still, the mutineers could not storm the wall. Nana Sahib, who commanded them, determined to do by treachery what he could not do by force. He offered the British to send them away by river, but when they were embarked his men shot them down from the banks. A few women and children were saved for a worse fate. They were imprisoned in a house for a few days. Then murderers were sent in to butcher them with swords. It is no wonder that when the British troops again entered Cawnpore they cried for a bitter vengeance on the mutineers.

First, however, Delhi had to be taken. It was a desperate task for a mere handful of British troops to capture a great city swarming with mutineers. Yet

it was done. John Lawrence, governor of the Punjab, sent every man he could spare to help the scanty force clinging to the Delhi ridge, themselves rather besieged than besieging. He sent, **Delhi taken.** too, an officer, John Nicholson, who saw that Delhi must be taken at all hazards. Nothing could resist Nicholson's fiery courage. Breaches were made in the walls. The Kashmir Gate was blown up. The troops rushed in. Nicholson headed a storming party, and was mortally wounded in the streets; but he had done his work. Delhi was taken, and the British power in India saved.

Meantime Lucknow held out bravely against numberless assaults. The walls crumbled under cannon fire; mines were exploded under the feet of the garrison. The commander, Henry Lawrence, **Lucknow relieved.** brother of the governor of the Punjab, was killed by a shell. At last Havelock reached them with a relieving force. It is said that the first token which the garrison had of his being close at hand was given by a Scottish girl, who above the din of the firing heard the pipes of Havelock's Highlanders. It was a welcome sound to the garrison, worn out with eighty-seven days' siege and privations.

By degrees more British troops reached India, and Sir Colin Campbell was able to put down the last remains of the mutiny. Of the mutineers those who were proved guilty of murder were punished, but the governor-general, Lord Canning, was wise enough to forbid any kind of vengeance. At the time many people thought him weak and foolish to be so merciful, and called him in derision "Clemency Canning", but the name has become a title of honour to the man who refused to allow his countrymen to soil themselves by deeds as cruel as those of the mutineers.

When the mutiny was over it was felt that the time had come to take India from the hands of the old East India Company, so the Company was dissolved, and all the Indian government put under the crown. There is now a secretary for India, who sits in the Cabinet, and India is ruled by a British Viceroy, British civil servants, and British officials. The number of British troops has been increased, and the artillery is kept entirely in British hands. There are still some states in India where native rulers hold power, but they have a British resident at their courts, and they would not be allowed to make war on each other, or injure British interests. Lastly, in 1877 Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, and the native rulers now own the British monarch as their sovereign.

XXXVI.—GREAT PARLIAMENTARY LEADERS— PALMERSTON, DISRAELI, GLADSTONE

Four names are connected with most of our parliamentary history since the Reform Bill—those of Peel, Palmerston, Disraeli, and Gladstone. They were all great leaders in the House of Commons, the place from which a statesman can exercise the highest influence. A member of the Lords may be a capable prime minister and an excellent statesman, but he cannot be a great parliamentary leader in the sense that both the Pitts and the four men mentioned above were great, because he cannot sit in the Commons and sway the House by his speeches, nor can he take any active part at elections.

When in 1846 Peel gave Britain free-trade in corn, and was, within a few days of the passing of the Act, driven from office by those Tories whom he had angered

by what they called his treachery, he was less than sixty years of age. It might have been thought that a man who was in reality so much respected, whom even his bitterest foe, Disraeli, described as being "the greatest member of Parliament" that had ever lived, would survive to become prime minister again. But it was



Viscount Palmerston.

not so. Peel died in 1850 from a fall from his horse without ever again holding office.

His death left Lord Palmerston, an Irish peer, the man most trusted by the nation. Although a Whig, Palmerston was by no means the sort of leader modern Liberals would follow. He had no liking for great legislative measures or changes. He was opposed to any further lowering of the franchise, and so long as he lived he would have nothing to do with more reform in Parliament. As most men trusted

Palmerston, they too were quite willing to see him put off reform, and generally leave home affairs alone.

In foreign policy, on the other hand, Palmerston displayed great activity. As foreign minister he liked to do as he wished, "to make strokes off his own bat", as he said, and twice he gave much offence to the Queen by doing things without consulting her. On the second occasion he had to resign. Men said "Palmerston is smashed", but he knew better. When the news of the Crimean winter came home, and Britain heard stories of neglect and stupidity at head-quarters—of coffee sent out unroasted, and consignments of boots all to fit the left foot,—there was great anger with Aberdeen's government. Aberdeen resigned, and the only man that the country would accept as prime minister was Palmerston. It was a time of trouble, and a strong man was wanted. It was said that "we turned out the Quaker and put in the Pugilist". Palmerston made an excellent pugilist. He brought the Crimean war to an end: he had also to deal with the dangers of the Mutiny, and he did so with a firm hand. So great was the trust that Britons felt in him, that even when he went wrong they preferred his rule to that of anyone else.

On one occasion we got into a dispute with China because the Chinese had boarded a Chinese vessel flying the British flag. It had no right to fly it, and the Chinese were doing us no injury. Palmerston, however, said our flag was insulted, and went to war about it. His enemies in Parliament thought this a good chance to attack him. Gladstone, Disraeli, Lord John Russell, and Bright, men of very different opinions, all fell on him and defeated him. Palmerston did not resign, but dissolved Parliament: the electors sent him back with a large majority. Several of his opponents lost their seats.

The secret of his power was that he was a thorough Briton; he believed in his country, his country believed in him. So for ten years, with one short interval, he remained prime minister. He was often supported by many who did not, strictly speaking, belong to his party, because he was not a party man.

In Palmerston's ministry Gladstone had been chan-



William Ewart Gladstone.

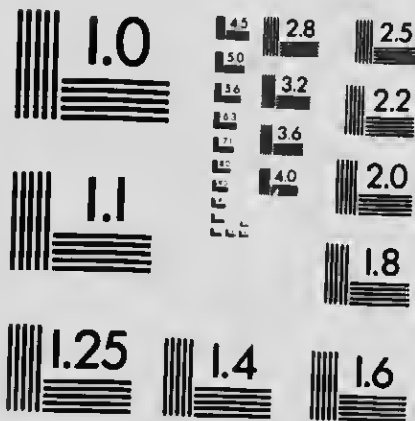
cellor of the exchequer. He had shown great skill in dealing with money matters. He was so attractive a speaker that he could make even the figures of a budget interesting. But he had a very different idea of the duties of his party from Palmerston. Palmerston knew that he would make great changes. "Whenever he gets my place," he said, "we shall have strange doings." Gladstone aimed at putting power really into the hands of the masses. He began to break the connection

Gladstone and
the People.



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with the old-fashioned Whig party, which had been largely made up of men well born and from old or wealthy families. Gladstone's party, the Liberals, was to be the party of the people, his policy that of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform".

Thus Gladstone's ministries are marked by great legislative measures. He caused the state to undertake all sorts of duties, instead of leaving them to private persons; and whatever he thought to be unjust, ineffectual, or useless he tried to set right, improve, or abolish, without regarding whether it had existed for a long time or not. Thus he passed the Education Act, which increased the number of schools, showing that the Government intended everyone to learn at least to read and write; and the Ballot Act, which secured voters from being influenced at elections, by making it impossible to find out how they had voted. He abolished the system whereby officers in the army could buy promotion, and so threw the highest ranks in the army open to any man who showed great ability. Further, he disestablished the Irish Protestant Church because it was not the church of the people at large, and he carried an Irish Land Act which improved the position of Irish tenants.

Opposed to Gladstone stood Disraeli. He had become the leader of the Protectionist Tories who had rebelled against Peel. But Disraeli was much too clever to think that anything could be done with "Protection" as a party cry when the nation was so clearly against it. He therefore set himself, in his own phrase, "to educate his party". He knew that if the Liberals offered reforms, the Conservatives could not afford to lag behind. He had once said of Peel's action in taking over the Whig measure of free-trade, that "Peel had caught the Whigs bathing, and had walked

away with their clothes". It was exactly what he came to do himself. Thus in 1867, when the Liberals were crying out for reform in the franchise, he resolved to take the wind out of their sails by a Reform Bill of his own. He passed a measure, giving household franchise in the towns. It was, as Lord Derby described it, "a leap in the dark", yet all the same, in Disraeli's words,



Lord Beaconsfield.

"it dished the Whigs". The Conservatives took the credit.

Yet Disraeli was much more than a clever party leader. The Liberal cry was "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform". He too would be a reformer. But he recognized that peace and retrenchment could be carried too far. Britain needs must be at war sometimes; to shrink from war would make other nations try to override us; to make war cheaply was to make it badly. Disraeli believed in British

**Disraeli an
Imperialist.**

power, and wished to make it felt abroad. Thus he sent the British fleet to Constantinople in 1878, when the Russian armies were within striking distance of the town. This firmness made Russia pause and agree to the Treaty of Berlin. Disraeli himself, by this time made Lord Beaconsfield, went to the Conference and returned bringing, as he said, "Peace with Honour". He had made Britain play a great and dignified part, and Britain was proud of him. Another stroke of his policy was his purchase by telegram of about £4,000,000 shares in the Suez Canal, which the Khedive wished to sell. The Canal is very important to us as a maritime and colonial power, and we thus got a powerful voice in its management.

When in 1880 Disraeli's ministry fell and Gladstone came in again, he intended to pursue the same policy as before—namely, to make reforms at home, and interfere as little as possible abroad. He was not, however, successful. He had a war against the Boers of the Transvaal, which ended unhappily; and he was forced to interfere in Egypt. We shall see more of these events in the next chapter. But what stood in Gladstone's way even more than affairs in the Transvaal and in Egypt, was the Irish party. They were trying to get Home Rule. The Irish members in the House of Commons did their best to hamper Gladstone's legislation. In Ireland many tenants refused to pay their rents; landlords and bailiffs were threatened and fired on, and some violent and reckless men used dynamite for outrage and intimidation. At last the Irish secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, was stabbed in Phoenix Park. In consequence Gladstone, who had always wished to rule Ireland mildly, was compelled to pass very severe measures to keep order there.

At length he became convinced that the policy of

severity, of "coercion" as it was called, was a failure, and he resolved to grant Home Rule. A number of Liberals, headed by Mr. Bright, Lord Hartington, who became the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Goschen, would not agree to this. They broke off from Gladstone, and, taking the title of Liberal Unionists, supported Lord Salisbury. The Home Rule Bill was rejected; and though six years later Gladstone got a similar bill through the House of Commons, it was thrown out in the Lords.

Thus Ireland proved a great stumbling-block in Gladstone's way. First he made the Irish hate him because he had to pass stern laws against the crimes that went on in Ireland; and then, when he tried to satisfy the Irish by promising Home Rule, he wrecked his own party in doing so. In consequence, his latter years were so much taken up with Irish legislation that many of his ideas of reform at home had to be abandoned. Yet, though in this latter period we do not find so many striking measures, there are some: the lowering of the franchise, by which agricultural labourers got votes in 1884; and the Parish Councils Bill, which allowed rural districts to govern themselves, may stand as examples.

Gladstone retired in 1894, and died four years after. We are still too close to him to be able to form a confident judgment about his work. He has not yet passed into the province of history. The view we take is sure to be tinged by our political opinions. One party will look too much at his failures, the other at his successes. No doubt both successes and failures were on a grand scale. He has been worshipped, and hated. He raised his party to a wonderful height of popularity; in his latter days he brought it to the ground in confusion and humiliation. Time alone will enable the historian to strike a just balance.

XXXVII.—ENGLAND SINCE GLADSTONE.

The death of Gladstone removed from political life the last conspicuous popular leader of the Victorian era. As long as he lived, the surpassing strength of his personality told upon the public mind almost more than the measures he advocated. It had been the same with Disraeli. Tons in the general election of 1880 popular sentiment was as much divided over the leaders of each side as it was over the issues before the electorate. The election seemed like a duel between two great men, each a veritable giant beside his followers. But since the days of Disraeli and Gladstone no party leaders have swayed popular imagination with the personal force these two men possessed. The tone of political life has altered. Party leaders have lost the controlling influence they once exercised. We have begun to look elsewhere for the forces that shape the course of our politics.

To what can we attribute the change? In brief, to the new electorate. Let us remember that it is only since 1885 that England has been a thorough-going democracy. The Third Reform Bill of that year completed the enfranchisement of the working class; that is to say, since then, workingmen, artisans and labourers as a class, have enjoyed the right of voting. Now a man with the right to vote can, if he choose through his vote, exercise a certain control over candidate at an election. He can make his ballot tell in any way he pleases. He may, and often does, refuse to vote for a candidate unless the candidate makes definite promises of support and further measures in which the voter is interested. When, in a voting district, the majority of

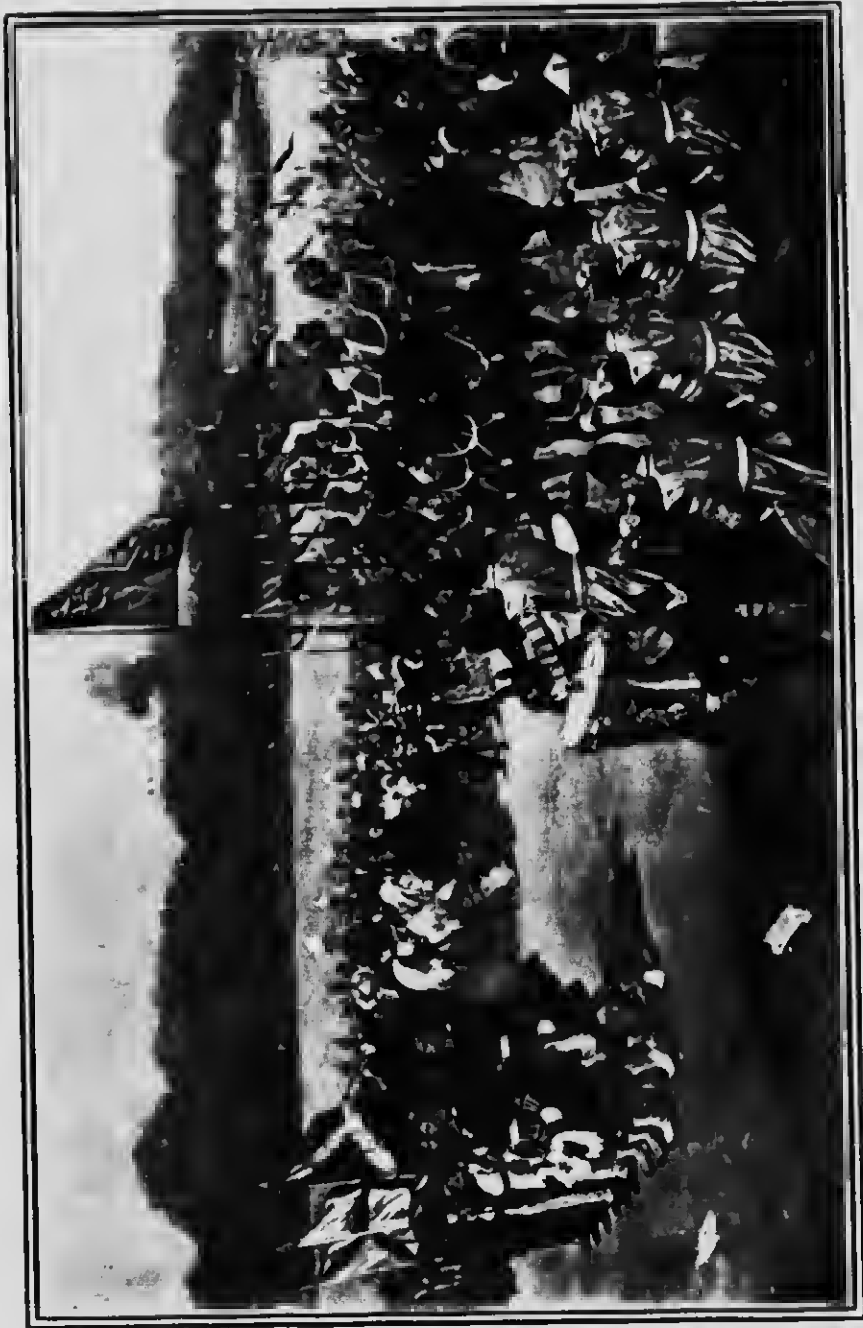
**Measures,
not Men.**

**The New
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REVIEW OF COLONIAL TROOPS BY QUEEN VICTORIA.
DIAMOND JUBILEE, 1847.

voters are agreed upon any measure, they are in a position to force a candidate to follow their wishes in that respect. The labouring class in general have not been slow to exercise this newly won power. They have elected to Parliament, if not representatives from their own class, at least representatives who favour the measures in which the labouring class is interested. The labouring class is no longer "led" in the sense in which the great Victorian Prime Ministers led their followers and adherents. As a class it chooses its measures first, and then expects its Parliamentary representatives to carry them out. The new democracy seeks to control the government rather than to be led by it. And this is true, not of the labouring class alone; the movement has spread over the entire electorate, irrespective of class. The result is that the character of members of Parliament has changed. The holder of a seat in the House of Commons no longer enjoys the independence of judgment which once attached to that dignity. Members are held in check by their constituencies to an extent little dreamed of in the days of Russell and Palmerston. The centre of political activity is no longer in the two Houses of Parliament. It has moved to the constituencies, where the wishes of the new electorate are brought to bear directly upon those they choose to represent them.

The two great political parties have gradually adapted themselves to these circumstances. Each, in soliciting votes from the new electorate, has had to shape its policy so as to attract the support of the last class to be enfranchised. The infusion of this class into the electorate has not upset the balance of parties. The new democracy sways now to the Conservatives, now to the Liberals in its sympathies.

**Its Influence
upon Parties.**

The resignation of Mr. Gladstone in 1894 led to the reorganization of the Liberal Cabinet under Lord Rosebery. Lord Rosebery's Government appealed to the country at a general election in 1895, chiefly on the issue of the Irish Home Rule Bill which had been passed by the Commons, but thrown out by the Lords. The Liberals were defeated, and a Unionist-Conservative Government under Lord Salisbury came into office. Lord Salisbury's Government faced in 1899 the serious crisis in the Transvaal which brought on the Boer War. In the following year, when interest in the war was at its height, the Conservatives called for a general election. It went heavily in their favour, and was considered as an expression of popular approval of the government's war policy. Lord Salisbury retired from office in 1902, leaving Mr. Balfour as Prime Minister. The Conservative Cabinet held together until the war was brought to a conclusion in 1902. Its unity was then broken by the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain, who had committed himself to a policy of fiscal and tariff reform. On this new issue raised by Mr. Chamberlain, the Conservative party divided. Mr. Chamberlain's followers were not strong enough to carry their party with them, and the official leaders of the party hesitated to commit themselves for or against the projected reform. This display of uncertainty told heavily against the Conservatives in the general election of 1906, and brought the Liberals back to office with a large majority, pledged to retain the tariff unaltered.

Amidst all the intense excitement of the war in the Transvaal, the nation heard with grief in the early days of 1901 that the life of the Queen was despaired of. She passed away in her eighty-second year, being the sixty-fourth

**The Death of
Queen Victoria.**

year of her reign. The venerable queen was born in 1819 and succeeded to the throne in 1837. Although her position as constitutional sovereign allowed no direct participation in political affairs, her strong sympathy with every great national movement, her influence in the interests of peace, the quiet dignity of a long, eventful life won for her universal respect. The jubilee of 1887, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of her accession, the jubilee of 1897, in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary, were tributes such as no English sovereign has ever received. Seldom has the death of a king or queen been so widely mourned, and coming as it did amidst the fervour of loyalty called forth by the war, seldom has the nation been so deeply affected.

The succession passed to the Queen's eldest son, born in 1841. His reign dates from the twenty-third of January, 1901. His full title is: "Edward VII. by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British dominions beyond the seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India". He is the first English sovereign to be proclaimed and crowned with an imperial title. The coronation took place in August, 1902, two months after the war in the Transvaal had been brought to an end.

**Accession of
Edward VII.**

The war, indeed, loomed up so large in people's minds that little else was thought of while it lasted. With the conclusion of peace in 1902 interest went back to measures before Parliament and to the discussion of outstanding political issues.

**Issues Before
the Public.**

Mr. Balfour's Government attempted a settlement of the Education question in 1902. The Liberal Government under Mr. Asquith carried an Old Age Pension Bill in

1908. Among issues over which there has been much public interest may be mentioned the Reform of the House of Lords, the Temperance movement, Woman's Suffrage and Tariff Reform. Let us look briefly at one or two of these.

The Education question has passed through a long and complicated history; too long for us to enter upon in detail. We may observe, however, that until the nineteenth century England had no adequate system of elementary schools. The Established Church and the Dissenting Churches felt strongly the prevailing ignorance, and inaugurated a system of schools for the children of the poorer classes. A small fee was usually charged for attendance, but the income from this source was totally inadequate. After 1833 the Government began to assist these schools by an annual grant of money, the grant increasing in amount year by year. Fees were taken for instruction until 1891, when by the Free Education Act the Government increased its grant of money to the amount of ten shillings a year for every child in attendance at a recognized elementary school. Thereupon the managers of these schools gradually withdrew the payment of fees, and a general system of free education resulted. Before this, in 1870, the Government, in order to provide education in districts where the facilities of the denominational schools were insufficient, started a new type of school known as a Board School. The Board Schools were not denominational in character; they were placed under the management of a local board elected by rate-payers. There were thus in existence two sets of elementary schools: the Board Schools, under the management of local public authority; the other schools, known as Voluntary Schools, under the management of denominational officers.

Under the Education Act passed by Mr. Balfour's Government in 1902, an attempt was made to bring the Board Schools and the Voluntary Schools under one single school system. They were both to be placed under the complete control of a new local authority. The local authorities were empowered to levy a school rate which was to go to both sets of schools alike. As far as this applied to the Board Schools no objection was raised. But over the Voluntary Schools a serious sectarian difficulty arose. We have seen that in origin these schools were denominational, that is, they were founded in the interests of the Established Church or of one of the Dissenting Churches. From the very beginning they had given the children religious instruction, usually of a denominational kind. The Act of 1902, while it provided public support for these schools, nevertheless allowed the managers of the schools to continue religious instruction as before the Act, and safeguarded this provision by keeping a majority of the managers of the denomination to which the school belonged. As such schools belonged in numerous cases to the Established Church, many Dissenting ratepayers objected to this arrangement, taking the ground that a rate-supported school ought to be altogether under public management and control. As a protest against the continuance of denominational management in any form, groups of ratepayers declined to pay the school rates for which they had been assessed, and earned the name of the Passive Resisters. Before the close of 1903, that is, before the Act had been in operation a year, over 7,000 Resisters submitted to legal proceedings before complying with the law; 315 of them suffered their effects to be distrained for payment. As the Act of 1902 was a Conservative

measure, and the Conservative party has been largely identified with the interests of the Established Church, the Passive Resisters and the Dissenting interest generally looked to the Liberal Government, which came into office in 1906, for a revision of the Act. A revised measure was brought into the House of Commons in 1908, but was dropped because of the threatened Conservative opposition. The sectarian feeling engendered by the dispute has left the Education question in a somewhat deplorable state.

The history of the Education question reveals a tendency which has yearly become more noticeable, and which the new democracy is clearly bent upon furthering. Education was at one time looked upon as a private matter, in which the Government or the State had nothing whatever to do. It was supposed that those who wanted education would make some individual effort to secure it; and that those who chose to neglect education altogether ought to be considered as deserving of the consequences. Within the Victorian era our convictions upon that subject have undergone a complete change. We now feel that every child must receive at least an elementary education; indeed, so necessary does it seem that we find nothing amiss in the State providing for it by public taxation. Whether a ratepayer has children or not, the law expects him to pay school taxes. This new idea that to the State belongs the duty of looking after the education of children we sometimes speak of as socialistic, meaning simply that Society, or the people as a whole, undertake to do that which, if left to individual effort, would not be done so satisfactorily. As long as Socialism means the systematic helping of the weak and the poor in the interests of an improved

society, all humanitarian thinkers will approve of it. Less general approval has been bestowed upon a measure, more socialistic in tendency, which has for its object the care of the infirm by a system of Old Age Pensions paid by the State. The first attempt made by the government to give State pensions to old people with little or no income or means of support was tried in 1908. The age limit chosen was seventy, that is to say, a person must be seventy years of age or over before being entitled to receive State aid. Many objections have been raised to the principle of Old Age Pensions. They have been described as taking money out of one man's pocket to put into another's. There is no need to discuss the principle here. We need only point out that the old view of what the State ought and ought not to do, and of the claims which may be made upon the State for support, has undergone complete transformation. That a labourer who has toiled through all the long years of an industrious life and is left at an advanced age without support should be pensioned by the State seems much less inappropriate than formerly.

The new democracy has shown signs of impatience at the present constitutional position of the House of Lords, and much discussion has been spent upon projects of reform. By reason of its hereditary character, the relative strength of the two political parties in the Upper House is not affected by a general election. Thus it may, and often does happen, that the party with a majority in the Lower House is in a minority in the Upper. By custom the Lords neither amend nor reject a money bill sent up from the Commons, so that questions of revenue seldom, if ever, bring the two Houses into collision. All other

**Reform of the
House of Lords.**

measures, however, may be contended, that is, the Lords may refuse to pass a bill that has been through the Commons, even with a very large majority. Thus they defeat legislation which has for the moment popular approval. That the House of Lords ought to be responsive to changes in public opinion, and that its hereditary character prevents it from being so, is the view held by Radical thinkers. But the difficulty of devising a reform that shall be practicable as well as acceptable has proved difficult in the extreme.

The question of the tariff and of the fiscal policy of the empire is closely bound up with the career of Joseph Chamberlain. England, which once held the industrial supremacy of the world, has had to face two powerful competitors in Germany and the United States. Besides these two countries, both of which protect their industries, England, adhering to the classical policy of free trade, appears, in the minds of some, to be competing at a disadvantage. To offset this, and to rearrange the tariff relations within the empire so as to present a more united fiscal policy, Mr. Chamberlain advocated tariff reform, and resigned his position in the Cabinet in 1902 to promote his views. The large numbers of unemployed in London and the great manufacturing centres gave point to the agitation. But Mr. Chamberlain and his followers could not carry the Conservative party with them, and the Liberals were unalterably opposed to reform. The overwhelming victory of the Liberals in the general election of 1906 seemed to indicate that public opinion was not then prepared for any new fiscal policy.

XXXVIII. THE EMPIRE IN AFRICA AND ASIA.

When Napoleon was banished to St. Helena in the year 1815, Europe breathed a sigh of relief. Many people thought that, since the great disturber of peace was out of the way, an era of quiet and calm would set in. To a certain extent their hopes were justified. For thirty years and over peace reigned. No general war disturbed the friendly relations between the five Great Powers that allied themselves to exile Napoleon. As late even as 1851 a section of the English Liberals seemed convinced that the time of great wars had passed. They fancied that if all the countries of the world would accept the principles of free trade, war must henceforth be out of the question and the day of universal peace would dawn. It was with such ideas as these that they conceived the Great Exhibition of 1851, the first of the World's Fairs. But even while the Great Exhibition was in progress rumours of war were heard from afar, and within two years England and France were sending troops to the Crimea to check the Russian designs against Turkey. Since then some of the momentous wars of history have been fought. With few exceptions they have been connected directly or indirectly with the movement towards expansion.

**Wars of
Expansion
not Ended.**

We need only take note of the efforts of the European Powers to acquire new territory in Africa and Asia. Both North and South America have been for purposes of expansion a closed continent. Early in the nineteenth century the United States put forth the celebrated Monroe Doctrine, which made it impossible for any European State to extend its territorial claims on either continent without incurring

**The Americas
a Closed
Continent.**

the hostility of the American Government. The United States, however, has, like the other Great Powers of the world, added much to its territory. It has acquired outlying possessions which give its government something of an imperial character. Alaska was purchased from Russia in 1867, for about seven million dollars; the annual output of the Alaskan gold mines is now estimated at something like fifteen million dollars. In 1898 the Hawaiian, or Sandwich, Islands were annexed. In the same year the Philippines, Guam, and Porto Rico were ceded by Spain at the close of the Spanish war. Several islands of the Samoan group were added in 1900, and since then the American flag has been hoisted over numerous other islands in the Pacific. Cuba, although not, strictly speaking, a part of United States territory, is virtually a protectorate of the American Government.

Of the European Powers that have sought expansion in Asia, Russia and England have been the foremost rivals.

Each now possesses a large Asiatic empire. The relations between the two have been somewhat modified by the rise of Japan to the status of a Great Power with strong imperialistic ambitions. In the Russo-Japanese war Russia and Japan entered into conflict because of the designs which each entertained towards the same region of territorial expansion. The failure of the Russians to maintain a military supremacy, and the crushing naval defeat inflicted by the Japanese in the battle of Tsushima caused the Russians to withdraw from their pretensions. Russia is now confined to Siberia proper, a huge expanse of territory running across the continent from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. Though thwarted by Japan in the extreme Orient, Russia has been very successful in pushing her frontier further and

**Europe
and Asia.**

further into Central Asia, coming, in fact, within dangerous proximity to the British frontier of India. In this region the two Powers stand mutually hostile. Thus both England and Japan look upon Russia with apprehension. This feeling is in part responsible for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1905, according to which both Powers agree to maintain the integrity of the Chinese Empire, thus making encroachment by Russia or any other Power impossible, and at the same time to assist one another if, under certain conditions, the Indian or the Japanese empire is attacked.

It is in Africa that the Empire has made the most noticeable progress since the close of the Napoleonic era. In fact, Africa has been a field for expansion of which every great colonizing Power of Europe, **Europe and Africa.** with the single exception of Russia, has had a share. France since 1830 has built up a vast African empire embracing sections of the northern coast line, of the old Guinea coast, and the Congo region, with claims over the greater part of the Sahara desert. Italy has secured the district of Eritrea on the Red Sea and a piece of the Somali country on the eastern coast. Her attempts to control Abyssinia have not been successful. Portugal owns a large territory bordering on the west coast, known as Angola or Portuguese West Africa, and another on the east coast known as Portuguese East Africa. Germany has acquired on the Guinea coast Togo Land and the Cameroon region, a section bordering on the west coast known as German South-west Africa, and another on the east coast, known as German East Africa. The remarkable feature about all these possessions is that no country has its territory in a solid block: its claims are divided among certain well-recognized areas. Moreover, nearly all the claims, with the exception of those on the old Guinea

coast, have been established since 1880. And furthermore, the lines of demarcation between the territory of one country and another have been the subjects of mutual agreements and partition treaties between the various Powers. Africa may yet prove to be the one continent to be partitioned and colonized by the European Powers without recourse to war.

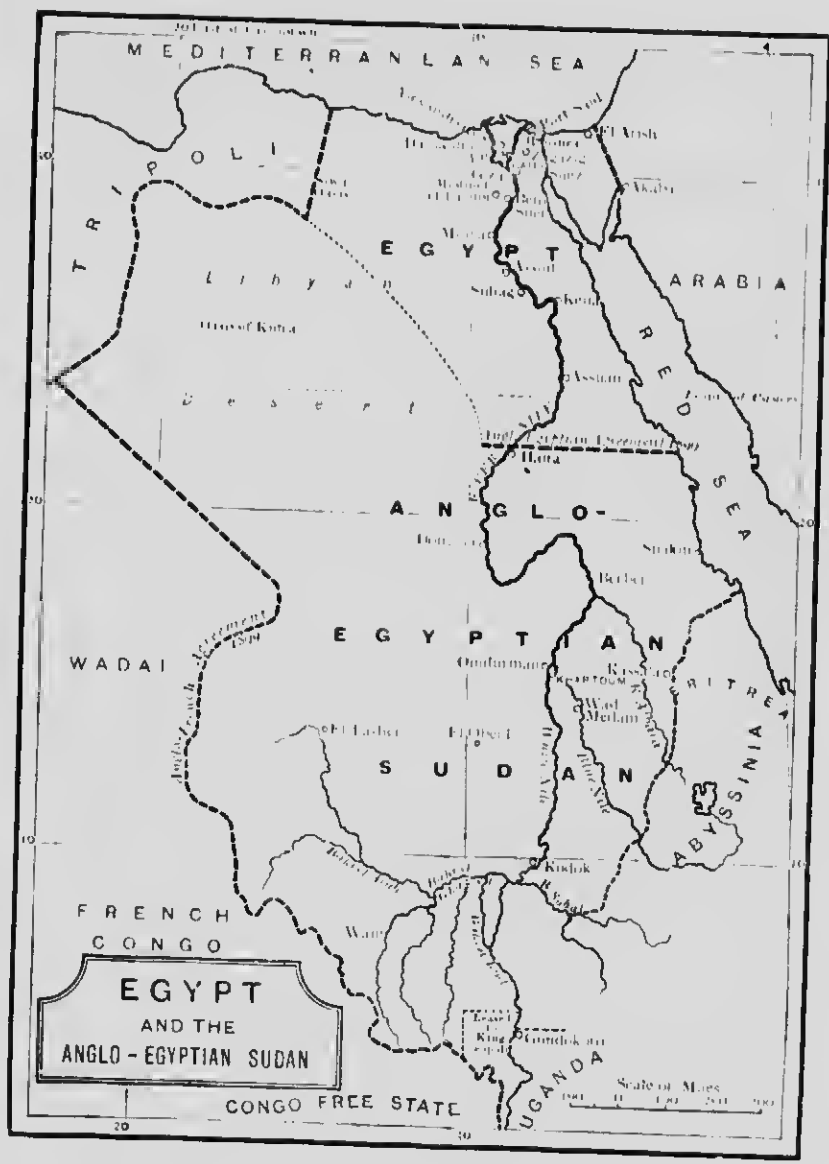
Like the countries mentioned above, England's possessions in Africa are distributed over certain well-defined areas. There is a group of territories along the **The Empire in Africa.** Guinea coast, famous since the days of slave-hunting. Then, beginning from the southern end of the continent, there is British South Africa, British Central Africa, British East Africa. Part of the German claim, together with the Congo Free State, divides the two latter; but the two former, South and Central Africa, form a compact whole, extending from the Cape northwards to the headwaters of the Congo river. British East Africa joins on to the Sudan, which carries British influence through Egypt to the Levant. British Somali Land on the Gulf of Aden completes the catalogue of the British claims. A glance at the map of Africa will show that it is possible to draw a line from Cairo in Egypt to the Cape of Good Hope, passing, without one comparatively slight break, continuously through territory that is either British, or under British influence.

The relation of Egypt to the Empire is peculiar. Although our government has a controlling influence in the administration of the country, Egypt is **Egypt and the Empire.** still technically a part of the Turkish Empire and a vassal state to the Sultan. Our interference in Egyptian affairs began in 1882, when in consequence of a military revolt British troops were

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landed at Alexandria, to restore the authority of the government. Previous to that, England and France had exercised over the Khedive's government a system of Dual Control, as a safeguard to English and French financial interests. Since France did not join England in maintaining the Khedive's authority in 1882, the Khedive placed his government after 1883 solely under English direction. Under the somewhat humble title of financial adviser to the Khedive an English resident or agent has since guided the development of Egypt's resources. By great good fortune the position fell first to Lord Cromer, under whose statesmanlike direction a series of reforms has been carried out which have turned Egypt into a prosperous, well-governed country. The scope of these reforms has been wide, embracing Irrigation, Finance, Justice, and Education.

The region stretching into the interior of the continent, from the frontier of Egypt proper, southward along the Nile valley, is roughly described as the Sudan.

**Egypt and
the Sudan.**

The Sudan, originally under Egyptian sway, revolted in 1883. The rebels being masters of the situation, it was decided to abandon the Sudan temporarily by withdrawing the Egyptian garrisons into safer quarters. Even with the assistance of British troops the task proved to be difficult in the extreme. The work of withdrawal will be ever memorable for the heroism of Major-General Gordon. Braving danger from the rebels, General Gordon pushed up the Nile to Khartoum to bring back the garrison stationed there. His forces being too small for him to leave Khartoum in safety, he was obliged to shut himself up in the city, which was soon closely besieged. Holding his own for nearly a year, he fell at last, the relieving force sent from England arriving

just too late to rescue him. In 1896 an Anglo-Egyptian army began the reconquest of the Sudan. Under Lord Kitchener's direction Egyptian authority was once more established, the power of the rebels going to pieces after the decisive victory of Omdurman (September, 1898). The Anglo-Egyptian administration of the Sudan has



General Gordon. From a photograph by the London Stereoscopic Co.

gradually brought that region into a condition of order and prosperity.

Our interests in South Africa began with the acquisition of Cape Colony. The Cape was originally a Dutch settlement, having been colonized by the Dutch East India Company since 1652. In 1814 Holland surrendered the colony to England; it had twice fallen into English hands during

**The Empire in
South Africa.**

the course of the Napoleonic wars. By the cession, the Dutch settlers (Boers) in the colony passed under British rule. Their descendants, wishing to keep their national distinctiveness and independence, began a general exodus from the colony in 1835. At first they took up lands directly across the Orange river. One group which had founded a republic in Natal were, however, annexed in 1844, Natal becoming a self-governing colony in 1893. The other group were annexed in 1848, and the name of Orange River Sovereignty was given to the region they had settled. But the Boers withdrew still further to the north, and founded a republic in the Transvaal district. In 1852 the British Government recognized the independence of the Transvaal, and extended the same recognition to the Orange River Sovereignty two years later, the name of the sovereignty changing to the Orange River Free State. The continued wars carried on by the Boers of the Transvaal against the native Kaffirs and Zulus proved such a source of disturbance that in 1877, the British Government, in the interests of general peace, undertook to suppress the risings of the natives. At the same time, acting upon what seemed to be a solicitation upon the part of the Boers, the government annexed the Transvaal. But as soon as the Zulus had been subdued the Boers agitated once more for independence, inflicting at the Battle of Majuba Hill a signal defeat upon an English force sent against them (1881). In face of this demonstration the Liberal Government under Mr. Gladstone yielded to the extent of granting the Boers a modified form of independence, subject to the suzerainty of the English Crown. These terms were agreed upon at the Convention of Pretoria (1881) and at the Convention of London (1884).

As we have seen above, it was about this time that the various powers of Europe began to take steps to secure a partition of Africa. In the meantime much of South Africa had passed into our hands. The acquisition of British Kaffraria (1853), Basuto Land (1868), Fingo Land (1875), Griqualand East (1876), Pondo Land (1884) and Tembu Land joined Cape Colony and Natal together; while the acquisition of Zululand (1887) and Tongo Land (1895) carried our line along the coast to the frontier of Portuguese East Africa near Delagoa Bay. Beginning from Cape Colony again, and going north, but to the west of the Orange River Free State, we acquired Griqualand West (1871), and Bechuana Land (1885), and extended our influence over Matabele Land and Mashona Land (1888). This brought the British line to the River Zambesi. Beyond the Zambesi, Marotse Land, British Central Africa, and British East Africa had been established by 1891. After 1889 a group of four districts—Bechuana Land, Matabele Land, Mashona Land, and Marotse Land—were placed under the administration of the newly organized South African Company, and to part of this territory the name of Rhodesia was given.

**Growth of
South Africa.**

In British South Africa the existence of diamond and gold mines attracted numerous settlers. Discoveries of gold made in the Transvaal in 1882 drew the British thither in ever-increasing numbers. The relations between these new settlers and the Boers led eventually to the outbreak of war in 1899. The Boers, jealous of their independence and their nationality, viewed with more than hostile suspicion this influx of foreigners into the Transvaal. In what seems to be a spirit of resentment they placed

**The South
African Mines.**

restrictions upon the newcomers, making their position intolerable. By the terms of a franchise law requiring a long term of residence before naturalization, the settlers were practically denied the rights of citizenship, remaining always foreigners or *Vitlanders*. Their commercial and industrial pursuits, moreover, were hampered and fettered by cumbersome restrictions imposed by the Boer Government. They were, it was charged, frequently denied justice in the Boer courts of law.

Such strained relations between the two peoples could not last indefinitely. The first step taken in the direction

of solving the difficulty was a private enterprise on the part of some of the British settlers to secure concessions from the Boer Government

**Jameson's
Raid.**

by force. A party among the residents of Johannesburg arranged with Dr. Jameson, the administrator of the South African Company, to join them with five hundred men (1895). Jameson's Raid, as the march to the Transvaal was called, ended in failure: the Boer Government, forewarned of the attempt, defeated Jameson's troops, and he himself was turned over to the British authorities and imprisoned. After this fiasco the position of the British residents in the Transvaal became steadily worse. They decided at last to appeal to the Imperial Government for redress, and a petition signed by over twenty thousand residents was sent to the Queen. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, thereupon entered into negotiations with President Kruger. President Kruger declined to meet the suggestions made to him for reform except in a spirit which betrayed views of the complete independence of the Transvaal. The forwarding of troops to South Africa was considered by the Boers as a design to urge the demands of the British by a display

of force. Not unprepared for a conflict, for they were well provided with arms and ammunition, the Boers ventured to insist that the troops on the way to South Africa should not be allowed to land. As the British Government could not entertain such a request, the



Field marshal Lord Roberts. From a photograph by Walery.

Boers precipitated a struggle which had become inevitable, firing the first shot on the 12th of October, 1899.

For two years and a half the war went on. The Boers of the Orange River Free State threw in their lot with the Boers of the Transvaal, and the two together, so far from conducting a war of defence, began a general attack upon the towns of the adjoining British territory. The British

**The War in
the Transvaal.**

army, operating thousands of miles from its base of supplies, and manœuvring in a difficult country, amidst a people renowned for their sharpshooting, had to overcome difficulties almost beyond conception. Added to this, the opinion of Europe and the United States was strong in condemning the British side of the dispute, and everywhere a wave of anti-British feeling made itself felt. In face of this the different parts of the Empire made of the war a common cause. Canada and Australia sent detachments of troops to South Africa. In 1900 Lord Roberts, Commander-in-chief, proclaimed the annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange River Free State. But it was not until May 31st, 1902, that Lord Kitchener, who succeeded Lord Roberts as Commander-in-chief in 1900, was able to bring the war to a close. Soon after the treaty of peace the Transvaal was given self-government, the equality of the two races being preserved at all points. The first Prime Minister of the new Transvaal Colony was General Botha, who had taken a conspicuous part in the war.

The annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony not only brought an extensive addition to the territory of British South Africa, making it into a compact whole, but it added at the same time one more to the list of self-governing countries in South Africa. Attempts have been made to bring about a South African Confederation, after the model of Canada and Australia, but so far (1908) they have not been successful.

**South African
Confederation.**

SELF GOVERNMENT AND THE EMPIRE

Our survey of English history is now finished. It is a story full of detail, crowded with great men and with great events. Yet we should fail to grasp the meaning of it all if we could go no deeper than the lives of men or the narrative of events.

**The Meaning
of English
History.**

We read of Sir Francis Drake, of the Duke of Marlborough, of Admiral Nelson and of the Duke of Wellington. Can we connect the four in any way? Was there no common object which their lives helped to further? Or again, we read of Simon de Montfort, of John Hampden, of Lord John Russell and of Mr. Gladstone. Is there no common purpose for which each of these laboured? Such questions as these we have to ask ourselves, and our answers will show whether or not we have found any meaning in English history.

Now the very first thing which ought to impress us is the idea that England has been what we call an expanding power. She started as a very small kingdom in the southern part of Great Britain; her empire now covers more square miles of territory than any other state. Her people were at one time confined to a small island; they are now to be found in every quarter of the globe. From being one of the smallest powers she is now the greatest.

**England an
Expanding
Power.**

This vast empire has been built up only very gradually. We have seen how first Wales, then Scotland, and at last Ireland came to be united with England into one

system of government. Consolidation at home is supplemented by conquest and colonization abroad. England did not begin her career as a colonizing power as early as some of the other European nations. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, that is, at the date of Queen Elizabeth's death, the Spanish, the Portuguese and the Dutch were far in the lead. When England started to compete with these three, she found a rival in France, which was bent upon the same policy. The two later competitors eventually outstripped the rest; and then each turned upon the other in a prolonged struggle for supremacy. All through the eighteenth century England and France fought one another, by land and by sea. By the time that the Napoleonic wars were brought to a close, England had gained the upper hand. She had acquired Canada, India, South Africa, several West Indian islands; and she had begun the colonization of Australia and New Zealand.

On these countries the pillars of her empire rest. Is it not a huge fabric to have been erected from a beginning so humble? Yet all this is not the work of great kings or of great statesman. It is the outcome of the energies of the British people, that mixture of English, Welsh, Irish and Scotch, whose sterling racial qualities have so notably stood the test of time.

As the empire grew, far-reaching changes came over the British people themselves. New avenues of wealth, steadily pursued, gradually transformed society from something simple into something quite complex. At the beginning England was an agricultural country; land was almost the only source of wealth. Society fell easily and naturally into three classes:

Expansion
Very Gradual.

The Work of
the Nation.

Changes in
English
Society.

the greater landholders, the lesser landholders, and the agricultural labourers. When the advance of trade opened up other opportunities for employment, a new class of small merchants came into existence. Their wealth lay in merchandise. They lived for the most part in towns, and were usually referred to as towns-people. The landholding class affected to despise them. But when England began to expand into a colonizing and trading power, the merchant class advanced materially. Enterprising merchants accumulated large fortunes in the Indian and the West Indian trade, and soon rivalled the landholding aristocracy. A merchant aristocracy grew up, demanding a share in public life. William Pitt, the first Earl of Chatham, the Great Commoner, as he was called, belonged to one of these merchant families, and his career serves to illustrate the recognition which in the eighteenth century the merchant class had begun to receive.

To the agricultural and the merchant classes the eighteenth century added a third. Towards the close of the century, and in the early decades of the nineteenth, England experienced what we have called the Industrial Revolution. Manufactures, the new source of wealth, had existed before the Industrial Revolution, but they had all depended upon hand labour or upon very crude machinery. With hand labour work is usually slow, and the output is never very great. The invention of the steam engine, and of improved machinery, especially for spinning and weaving, brought a tremendous change into English manufactures. Large factories and factory towns grew up, crowded with a factory or industrial class. England became the workshop of the world. Wealthy manufacturers began to rival the merchant aristocracy and the landed nobility of the

**A New
Industrial
Population.**

days before the Industrial Revolution. The greater part of England's population now derives its livelihood either directly or indirectly from manufacturing interests. To a large extent English society is now dominated by the industrial classes.

The slow evolution of England from an agricultural into a commercial and, further, into an industrial country, has not been without a marked effect upon the **Industry and the Empire.** conception of the empire. In the eighteenth century, when trading interests stood in the foreground, people thought of the empire as of something advantageous to the merchant class. Colonies were sought, and their development was fostered for the purpose of promoting the interests of trade. When, later, England's activity shifted to an industrial basis, and manufacturing interests influenced foreign and colonial policy, colonies began to appear in a different light. English manufacturers looked upon them as convenient markets for English goods. But society in the colonies went through the same transformation that had been effected in the home country. Colonial interests came to combine all three sources of wealth: agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. Thus the idea of a vast industrial empire with the colonies as markets for English goods was soon superseded by the idea of an industrial empire in which the different parts pursue their industrial career upon a footing of equality.

The growth of the empire and its industrial development are two things which we should find in our English **The English Constitution.** history, if we are able to discover any meaning in it at all. But there has been in the life of the nation another feature, distinct in itself, and of much deeper import. Behind territorial expansion,

behind the increase of wealth, we can see going on all the time the steady unfolding of the principles of the constitution. By unfolding we here mean adaptation to changing conditions. The few simple institutions which satisfied the requirements of the West Saxons or of the Jutes in the times of the Heptarchy must seem hopelessly primitive beside the government of a great empire. Yet in all the changes through which the British empire has grown out of the little kingdom of Wessex, the original constitution, so far from being superseded, has been retained with wonderful fidelity. In the vast machinery required for our imperial administration, in the complexity of our imperial institutions, we can still see in outline the simple form of government which met the needs of our forefathers in the days of King Alfred.

But the wonderful thing about the English constitution, the thing which endows it with surpassing interest in the world's history, is not its continuity; it is the fact that it has retained the principle of self-government. Nothing in all English history can compare in importance with this. Yet its retention is only due to a long and persistent conflict. Unfortunately the story of this struggle,—this long drawn out strife between the nation and its rulers; between the lower classes and the upper; almost, let us say, of the nation divided against itself,—is a story of bitter internal contention. To understand it we must go back to the very beginning of our history.

In the days before the Angles and the Saxons had left their original home on the continent to migrate to Britain, they had already developed the few simple institutions which they were to bring with them to their new abode. They had, to begin

Its Self-governing Principle.

How Self-government Started.

with, the kingship; the king being surrounded with a class of nobles, the natural leaders of the people. Royalty and nobility did not govern of their own free will. Above them in authority each nation or tribe had a general assembly, — the folk-moot,—to which each and every freeman was entitled to come. No important act of government was ever done in the tribe without the express consent and approval of the folk-moot. Under these simple conditions we can see in outline a royal government; but it is a royal government acting in accordance with the general will or the assent of the nation. This is virtually the principle of government in England at the present day; though it has passed through many different changes before attaining its present form.

When the Angles and the Saxons settled in Britain each folk had its own king and folk-moot. But when the different folk were all united under one king, a change had to be made. The nation had grown too large for a single general assembly: it would have been out of the question for each freeman to go once a year to a great national moot. Consequently the king fell into the custom of summoning, three or four times a year, a few picked and enlightened men as representative of the whole nation. They were known by the name of the *wise men*,—Anglo-Saxon, *witan*,—and their meeting came to be called the *wita wagemot*, or meeting of the wise men. The witanagemot spoke and deliberated in the name of the nation as a whole, and to that extent it was representative; though it was by no means an elective assembly.

When the Saxon line of kings was displaced by the Norman, after the conquest of 1066, new ideas as to the relation between the king and the representative assembly

began to be advanced. The old witanagemot disappeared and in its place came a Council of barons and great fensal nobles. To this Council the king summoned at pleasure members of the feudal nobility and of the higher clergy. **The Great Council.**

In the meantime the scope of royal government was enlarged. A body of ministers of state was gradually being formed, and these came to constitute a small or Privy Council from which there branched off, from time to time, the great courts of law, the treasury, and the other departments of state. The king tended to govern through the members of his Privy Council, disregarding his larger representative Council. Ministers and judges were "servants" of the king; they were appointed by him, and could be dismissed at pleasure. They carried out the king's policy, and were responsible to him alone. So long as the king's policy met with the general approval of the nation, this system of royal government,—that is to say, of the king's personal rule through ministers who were responsible to him alone, passed without serious opposition. But harmony between the king's personal wishes and the wishes of the nation, could not, in practice, always be attained. In the case of open conflict the national will would in the end always prevail. It was thus in the case of King John who, in signing the Great Charter at Runnymede, yielded to the storm of popular disapproval which his government had aroused. The century that saw the signing of the Great Charter saw also the beginning of an institution which, in the course of three or four centuries, was to bring royal government completely into harmony with the national will. This institution was Parliament. **The Privy Council.**

Parliament developed from the Great Council which the Norman kings had instituted in place of the Saxon witanagemot. Originally the Council consisted of members of the feudal nobility and of the higher clergy, summoned by the king.

Beginnings of Parliament.

It was a thoroughly aristocratic body. In the course of the thirteenth century the membership of the Council was enlarged by the addition of members who were *elected* as *representatives* by local bodies, —at first, two knights from every county and shire; later, two burgesses from every borough or town. The representatives sent up to the Council from the counties and boroughs soon separated themselves from the barons and higher clergy, and began to sit as a lower "House." The name of Council was replaced by that of Parliament; and Parliament commenced to assume its modern form, that is to say: an Upper House, consisting of the peers of the realm, both temporal and spiritual, and a Lower House, consisting of elected members from the county and borough constituencies.

The Parliament that thus came into being in the course of the thirteenth century was a body of very limited power. It was summoned and dissolved at the king's pleasure; it did little more than vote supplies or grants of money to the Crown over and above the feudal dues to which the king was entitled. It had no control over the king's ministers, nor over the royal policy. From this subordinate position it has grown to be the ruling power in the state. The story of the way in which this all came about has been told in the body of our history:—how the Lancastrian kings relied upon Parliamentary support; how the Tudors dispensed with Parliament as far as possible; how under the Stuarts, Parliament entered into a direct conflict with

Its Struggles for Recognition.

the king, bringing on the Civil War; how, as a result of the war, and later, of the fall of the Stuarts, no king has ever attempted to govern unless in full accord with the wishes of Parliament.

Once this principle of the constitution was admitted, a change came in the position of the king's ministers. Responsibility to the king was replaced by **Responsible Government.** responsibility to Parliament, and Parliament interpreted this responsibility into meaning that the body of ministers was to be held accountable for all the king's political actions. This could have no other effect than to relieve the king of the duties of personal rule, for the actual work of administration fell upon those who could be made accountable to Parliament. Hence our modern constitutional adage: The king reigns but does not govern. Hence also the propriety of calling the body of the king's ministers, the "Government". Parliament now controls the government because of the pressure it is able to bring to bear upon each individual minister. In face of this, there slowly developed among the body of individual ministers a solidarity, one of their number being recognized as chief or Prime Minister. The principal ministers of state taken collectively, under the leadership of a Prime Minister, we now describe as a Cabinet. The Cabinet is collectively responsible for the political acts of each individual minister, and for the general administration. We usually designate a Cabinet now by the name of its Prime Minister: as, for example, Mr. Gladstone's Government; Lord Salisbury's Government. A Prime Minister and his Cabinet remain in office, that is, they serve as king's ministers, as long as they have the confidence and approval of a majority of the Lower House.

The mention of the term "majority" as applied to the House of Commons brings us to the last point on which we need to dwell. We have seen the movement by which Parliament has gradually gained control of the king's ministers, thus establishing complete harmony between the one and the other. Theoretically there should be the same harmony between Parliament and the nation, but in practice this has not always been maintained. Throughout the course of the eighteenth century many of the seats in the Lower House came to be regarded almost as the private property of the wealthier among the aristocracy. Members of the House of Commons were more often nominees of some great nobleman than the choice of the constituencies. Against this system the first to advocate reform was William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham. He was ably followed by his son, the younger Pitt. After the close of the Napoleonic War, the agitation for the Reform of Parliament became the leading political issue of the day. It resulted in the Reform Bill of 1832. Further reforms were carried into effect in 1867 and 1884, till now England has virtually a uniform democratic franchise with electoral districts more or less of the same size. Thus, as far as possible, the majority of the House of Commons represents the majority of the nation, and thus indirectly the nation controls the general course of administration; in other words, exercises complete self-government.

We need only add that a similar movement towards complete self-government has been characteristic of the political life of Englishmen in the colonies. The lines along which this colonial movement has progressed have been, as in the mother country, in the direction of bringing the ministers who

**Reform of
Parliament.**

**Self-govern-
ment in the
Empire.**

carry on the work of government into complete harmony with public feeling. And this has been done through representative bodies of elected members after the model of the English Parliament. The empire, with the exception of the dependencies and Crown colonies, is now a group of self-governing communities, under the primacy of the mother country.

THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT AND IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION

THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT

Having discussed the growth of the empire and its constitutional development, let us turn to the government to see how it is carried on. The highest authority within the empire is the Parliament of the United Kingdom, which, when the empire is considered, we call the Imperial Parliament.

Parliament consists of the King, the Lords, and the Commons. No one of these can act without the accord of the other two. A bill may be promoted either by the Lords or by the Commons, but it must be approved by both houses, and must receive the royal assent before it becomes law. The king's right to withhold his assent has practically fallen into disuse. Moreover, the king can act only on the advice of his ministers, and no minister would advise the king to reject a bill which he had himself voted for in Parliament. The House of Lords, on the other hand, may reject a bill which has been passed by the House of Commons. When this happens in the case of an important bill, the prime minister may advise the Crown to dissolve Parliament and

appeal to the electors on the question at issue. If the motion is determined that the bill shall pass, as in the case of the Reform Bill of 1832, the House of Lords must in the long run yield. The power of imposing taxes and granting money, however, rests with the House of Commons alone.

The statute which determines the succession to the throne is the Act of Settlement of 1701. This act was passed during the uncertain times which followed the Revolution of 1688, when the presence of the exiled James II in France was a menace to the safety of British liberties. The succession is vested in the Hanoverian line, and is limited to Protestant descendants of the Electress Sophia, who was a granddaughter of James I. The disposal of the crown, however, is in the hands of Parliament. Parliament, for example, appointed a regent to take the place of George III on his becoming insane.

We have so far spoken only of the limitations that are placed upon the exercise of the king's power. The influence of the throne, though veiled behind the acts of its responsible ministers, is very considerable. The king remains while his ministers rise and fall, and his wide experience and knowledge must have weight in their counsels. The constitution limits the manner in which the royal power is used rather than the royal power itself. The responsibility of action, however, rests with the ministers, and they depend for their authority on the support of Parliament.

The House of Lords is an assembly of hereditary peers, together with a few dignitaries, such as the bishops of the English Church, who are appointed for life. It is, as we have seen, an older institution

than the House of Commons. Its membership is being constantly added to as new peers are created by the Crown. It consists of some 580 members, presided over by the Lord Chancellor, seated on the woolsack. This curious seat is a large square bag of wool, which is thought to date from the time of Edward III. Scotland is represented by sixteen representative peers, chosen at the beginning of each parliament by all the peers of Scotland. Ireland sends twenty-eight peers to Parliament, elected for life, vacancies in the number being filled up as they occur. In addition to these representatives there are many Scottish and Irish peers who possess a seat in the House of Lords in virtue of a British title.

The House of Commons consists of 670 members, elected by the citizens of the United Kingdom in the manner already described. Of this total 465 are allotted to England, 30 to Wales, 72 to Scotland, and 103 to Ireland. The House of Commons is presided over by the Speaker, or by the Chairman of Committees. The stormy days through which this historic chamber has passed have left their traces in the many jealous restrictions with which it has guarded its privileges. No member may be taken to task outside of the House for words he may have used in parliamentary debate. A member may not be arrested during the sitting of Parliament nor for forty days before or after the session. This regulation was designed to ensure members against mob-station during attendance, and during the journey to and from London in the days when travelling was slow. It offers no shelter, of course, from arrest on a criminal charge. A member who accepts a position of profit under the Crown is required to resign his seat and

House of
Commons.

Its privileges.

offer himself for re-election if he wishes to remain in Parliament.

When a general election has given a majority of seats in the House of Commons to one of the great political parties, the king sends for the leader of that party and asks him to form a ministry. This leader then selects from his party the men whom he thinks best fitted to fill the various offices of state, and invites them to serve under him as Prime Minister. If they accept office, the government is vested in their hands for so long as they retain the support of a majority in the House of Commons.

**Forming
the Cabinet.**

From time to time the prime minister calls a meeting of Cabinet to discuss ordinary business or any special matter that may have arisen. Each minister is responsible for the administration of his own department, and must know and approve of the general policy of his colleagues. The whole Cabinet thus makes itself responsible for the administrative acts of all its members. If a minister disapproves of the conduct of any part of the administration which his colleagues endorse, he must resign. On the other hand, if the House of Commons condemns the conduct of any member of the Cabinet, the whole ministry must resign. This principle of common responsibility ensures a general agreement between the various departments of government.

Its Unity.

The Cabinet is somewhat loosely constructed. Though it has long been the acknowledged centre of government, it is not recognized by law. Its meetings are in private, and no record is kept of the proceedings. It does not always contain the same ministers, and new members can be added by the Prime Minister by merely summoning them to the Council.

Its Constitution.

The Cabinet members are the Lord Chancellor, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretaries of State for Home and Foreign Affairs, for India and the Colonies, the Secretary of State for War, and the First Lord of the Admiralty. In addition to these, the prime minister may confer a seat in the Cabinet upon any other minister whose services he wishes to secure. There are commonly as many as nineteen members of Cabinet, and as this is an unwieldy number for confidential debate, there has grown up within the larger council an "inner cabinet" of the more important ministers on whose judgment the premier specially relies.

To carry on the affairs of the state, the ministers must retain the support of a majority in the House of Commons. Parliament fought hard to establish its authority over the king's minister in the days before the Civil War. This control is secured by the absolute command of the public purse which the House of Commons enjoys. A minister must explain his plans to the House of Commons before it will grant him the money he needs to carry them out. Private members have the right to question ministers on any matter touching their work, and on some days these questions have numbered as many as a hundred. When we remember that every part of the kingdom has its own representative in Parliament, we see how close a watch is kept upon the government of the country.

Parliament must meet every year so as to vote the money needed for the expenses of government. We saw that in the reign of James I Parliament refused to grant supplies till it had obtained redress of its grievances. It still claims its right to examine the conduct of the Government before granting

*Its relation
to Parliament.*

The Session.

supplies, and grants them for only one year at a time. A great part of the session, therefore, is taken up with a careful examination of the items of expenditure. The session generally extends from February or March till the middle of August. An autumn session may be called for in exceptional cases, as on the outbreak of the South African war, in order to provide the money needed to meet the emergency.

Parliament is summoned by the king, and the session is opened by the reading of the king's speech in the House of Lords. This ceremony may be performed either by the king himself, or by the Lord Chancellor or a commissioner. The speech, which is drawn up by the ministry, refers briefly to any recent events of importance in home and foreign affairs, and then outlines the business for the ensuing session. Parliament acknowledges the king's speech in an address, and this gives an opportunity for a general debate on the policy of the Government as outlined in the king's speech.

Early in the session the Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his budget, or financial statement, for the year beginning with April. Before this, however, the estimates must have been laid before the House, and sums granted to meet the expenses of the army and navy and the civil services for a few months. Any additional charges not foreseen in the previous estimates must also be met before the new budget is taken up. The budget speech is always awaited with great interest both in the House and in the country. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer finds that his revenue for the next year is likely to be larger than he needs, he is able to reduce the taxation for the year; on the other

hand, if his expenditure is likely to be larger than his revenue, he must find the money to meet it.

The rules of procedure of Parliament are very carefully prescribed, and very strictly observed. This is necessary in an assembly numbering six hundred and seventy members if the debates are to be orderly and to the point. The first act of a new Parliament is the election of the Speaker, to be its spokesman and representative, and to preside over its debates. "Mr. Speaker" is the authority on all points of order, and is constantly appealed to during debates. When greater freedom of debate is wanted than the ordinary rules admit of, the Speaker leaves the chair and a Chairman takes his place. The House is then said to be "in committee", and members are allowed to speak more than once on the same question. Thus we have the Committee of Supply, which *votes* sums of money to certain objects; and the **Supply** Committee of Ways and Means, which finds the money required, and *grants* the sums to meet these votes. The last stage of supply is reached when these grants are gathered together into an Appropriation Bill, and then sent to the House of Lords, to be approved by them before receiving the royal assent.

But Parliament has other important functions besides criticism and supply. A living nation is constantly outgrowing its old laws, and must be all the time **Legislation**. remodelling them, or making new ones to meet new needs. Every year sees a host of new bills introduced into Parliament, but very many do not live to tell the tale. Certain nights are set apart for private members' bills, and members draw lots for the right to introduce their bills. It thus often happens that a private member tries in vain year after year to introduce

a bill to Parliament. Bills promoted by the Government are naturally on a different footing. Coming from the ministers who are responsible for the administration, they may be supposed to be of national importance. Moreover, they are likely to be supported by a majority in the House. They, therefore, have precedence over all other bills.

On an appointed day the bill is brought up for its first reading. If the bill be an important one, its provisions may then be explained and discussed. Generally, however, the first reading is a mere form, after which the bill is ordered to be printed and circulated. At the second reading the principle of the bill is discussed and voted upon. The next step is the committee stage, when the Speaker leaves the chair and the bill is considered, clause by clause, in a committee of the whole House. There are certain smaller committees to which a bill may be referred if it is desirable to examine it still more closely than is possible in committee of the whole House. After the bill has passed through committee, the Speaker resumes the chair, and any changes that may have been made in committee are reported to the House. In the report stage the work of the committee may be amended. Finally, the bill is read a third time, and, if it is passed, it then goes to the House of Lords. There the same stages are again gone through, except that the first reading is omitted. Similarly, if the bill is introduced first of all in the House of Lords, the Commons, when they receive it, omit the first reading. In the case of a disagreement between the two Houses over a bill, each House sends the other a written statement of its reasons of disagreement, and in this manner a compromise is generally reached. When a bill

has passed through both Houses of Parliament, it receives the royal assent and becomes the law of the land.

We have made no reference, so far, to "His Majesty's Opposition". They form a recognized part of the parliamentary machine. Indeed the very furnishing of the House suggests this, for it is divided into two parts by a gangway down the middle, the Ministerial benches occupying one side, on the right, and the Opposition benches facing them on the other. The Opposition make it their business to criticise the Government on every occasion, and to endeavour, by all the means in their power, to defeat them and secure office for themselves. So truly is the Opposition a part of the parliamentary machine, that, for example, it has been the custom to allow the Opposition to determine to a large extent the order in which the votes of supply shall be taken up for discussion. The vigilance of the Opposition ensures the country against hasty legislation and careless administration.

The Opposition.

We saw in our survey of British history how constant the division into parties has been. We read of Roundheads and Cavaliers, Whigs and Tories, Liberals and Conservatives. In other countries we find the same state of things. But rarely do we find a country that has been able to settle its differences in the peaceful and lawful manner that has marked our political history. It is better, if there must be parties, that men should be divided by broad differences of principle and temperament, such as divide, for example, Liberals and Conservatives, rather than by blind attachment to party leaders. The old two-party system has now gone. The Irish Nationalist party has long been a power in the house, and the general election of 1906 introduced the

The Parties.

new and vigorous Labour party. If a party wishes to make its views effective, it must be united and well-organized. We cannot, of course, expect complete agreement within a party any more than within a state. On the other hand, just as it is a false patriotism that causes a man to dislike another nation, so it is a false loyalty that blinds a man to the merits of another party.

IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION

The actual work of government cannot be done by Parliament. It can lay down the rules upon which the administration is to be carried on: it can permit taxes to be gathered to provide the needed money; it can criticise or dismiss its ministers if their conduct is at fault. But the actual work of administration, the executive work, must be left in the hands of individual ministers.

Particularly is this true of our relations with foreign countries and for the empire as a whole. At home we are separated only by narrow seas from great and powerful states, while farther afield our widely-scattered empire brings us into relations with foreign powers in all parts of the world. The delicate task of negotiating with foreign governments would become almost impossible if Parliament had to be consulted at every step. Formerly the care of foreign affairs belonged exclusively to the Crown. Even to-day it is probable that the royal influence is felt most strongly in this department of government. Here, as elsewhere, however, the responsibility of action rests with the Secretary of State, and he must answer to Parliament for his policy. From time to time the

correspondence of the Foreign Office is published, and it may then be discussed in both Houses. It is true that the letters have already been sent before Parliament sees them. But on the other hand, a minister responsible to Parliament will take note of public opinion in framing his policy, and must, of course, consult with his colleagues and with the sovereign. When peace and war are hanging in the balance, the Foreign Secretary cannot ignore public opinion, for, if he declares war, he must immediately ask the House of Commons for funds to carry it on.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is the guardian of British interests and British subjects in foreign lands. For these purposes he maintains diplomatic and consular services. **Diplomatic and Consular Services.** Ambassadors and ministers are sent to the various foreign courts to represent the king on state occasions and for diplomatic purposes. British consuls and vice-consuls are stationed all over the world wherever British subjects resort. Besides having commercial and legal duties, the consular representatives are there to give general assistance to British subjects resident abroad. The diplomatic and consular services also send home reports giving valuable information about commercial and other affairs in foreign lands.

The greatest skill and tact of diplomatists sometimes fail to find a way out of the difficulties that arise between nation and nation. A foreign secretary, entrusted with the interests of the state, **Arbitration.** cannot yield a point in dispute so easily as a private individual. To facilitate the peaceful settlement of such disputes an International Arbitration Court has been

established at the Hague, as a result of the Peace Conference of 1899. Already the schemes then adopted have been the means of preserving peace when a terrible war seemed imminent between Britain and Russia. Britain has of late years signed arbitration treaties with most of the European Powers, and many of these nations have made similar treaties between themselves.

Though these are signs that the nations are turning more and more from the horrors of war and the misery that follows in its track, the reign of peace is not yet established. Matters involving vital interests or national honour are excluded from the terms of our arbitration treaties. It is to be feared, therefore, that brave men may yet be called to lay down their lives, homes may yet be made desolate, and treasure poured out in defending our country by battle when all other means have failed.

The very name of the British Isles reminds us that as islanders we must needs be a naval power. The growth of our empire in all parts of the world has made the navy more than ever a necessity of our existence. But if the army is truly called our *second* line of defence, it is no less necessary than the navy. Both arms are needed if our defence is to be complete, and they must work together. A Committee of Imperial Defence has been formed to advise the Cabinet in matters relating to the empire. Its president is the prime minister, and it includes the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretary of State for War, and other high officers of the navy and army. This committee is a means of linking together the two services, and of bringing them into closer touch with the Cabinet.

The navy is controlled by the Board of Admiralty. The First Lord of the Admiralty is equal in importance to the Secretary of State for War, and has a seat in the Cabinet. He is a civilian, and is frequently a landsman without any practical knowledge of the sea. The navy and army are powerful and dangerous weapons, and it is safer for the nation to entrust them to the keeping of ministers who are not professional sailors or soldiers. Such ministers can have no temptation to think more of the service to which they belong than of the nation they are armed to protect. The Board of Admiralty consists of the First Lord, four Naval Lords and a Civil Lord, a Parliamentary and a Permanent Secretary. The Senior Naval Lord is always an admiral of experience, and is naval adviser to the First Lord. He is responsible for the condition and movements of the fleet, and guides his chief in appointing officers. Another of the Naval Lords is the Comptroller, who has charge of the naval dockyards, the building and arming of new ships, and the upkeep of the ships of the fleet. The Parliamentary Secretary has specially to do with financial affairs, and generally presents the navy estimates in the House of Commons.

The full strength of the navy is not kept at sea in times of peace, but it would be available at short notice. The Fleet in Commission at Sea is divided between Eastern and Western waters. The Western portion consists of three fleets: the Channel Fleet consisting of twelve battleships with a cruiser squadron and minor craft, the Mediterranean Fleet, based on Malta, and the Atlantic Fleet, based on Gibraltar, each with eight battleships, a cruiser squadron, and minor

**The
Admiralty.**

Navy.

craft. The Fleet in Eastern waters consists of the Chinese Squadron, the Indian Squadron, and the Australian Squadron; while a squadron at the Cape of Good Hope forms a link between East and West. The vessels of the Fleet in Commission in Reserve go to sea periodically for practice. A nucleus crew is always at hand, and the full numbers can be made up from other sources. The officers and men of the navy are trained from boyhood in schools and training-ships. The men

Reserves. enlist for twelve or for ten years, and there is a Royal Fleet Reserve of men who have served their time in the navy but hold themselves ready for service in time of war. Another valuable source of supply is the Royal Naval Reserve, comprising some 27,000 men drawn from the merchant service and the fishing fleets. Yet another auxiliary force is found in the Royal Navy Volunteers, who offer for service either on sea or on land.

The army, like the navy, is controlled by a civilian, the Secretary of State for War, who has a seat in the Cabinet. Another fact shows in a curious way **The Army Act.** the control which Parliament has over our standing army. The code of military laws by which the discipline of the army is maintained is embodied in the Army Act, an annual act which must be renewed every year. By refusing to pass this Act, Parliament could at any moment loose the bonds of obedience which hold the army together.

The Secretary of State for War is president of the Army Council, a body planned on the pattern of the Board of Admiralty. There are four **Army Council.** military and one civil member, each responsible to the War Minister for the management of a branch

of the administration of the army. As in the Board of Admiralty, there are also two secretaries—a financial secretary, who is a member of Parliament, and a permanent secretary. The work of the Army Council is to administer the army: the actual command of the army rests with the generals, whom they appoint. The Inspector-General of the Forces reports to the Army Council upon the condition of every department of the army.

Enlistment in the army, as in the navy, is voluntary. The Continental system of conscription, or compulsory service, is not viewed with favour by the British nation. New recruits, if they are found medically fit, are enlisted in regiments of infantry or cavalry or batteries of artillery for various terms of years. When they have served their time there, they are transferred to the Army Reserve, where they are still available in time of the nation's need.

The Militia is a less highly-trained force than the regular army. Its recruits enlist for six years, and during that time are liable to be called out from time to time for a few months' training. They are intended for home defence, but during the South African war they furnished many battalions for garrison work abroad and for active service at the front. The Imperial Yeomanry is a force of cavalry organized for home defence, similar forces being raised in the colonies. The Volunteers form our citizen army, numbering some 250,000 men. Intended, like the Yeomanry, for home service, they also did good work in the South African war.

About a third part of the British Army is regularly stationed in India. To this must be added the Native

The
Army.

Auxiliary
Forces.

Indian Army. Indian Army, which is about double the size of the British force in that country. The cost of this army is borne by India itself, but expeditions beyond the Indian frontier are paid for by the home government, unless Parliament decide otherwise.

We saw something of the rise of British rule in India till, in 1877, it became the Empire of India. Under the sovereign the supreme power now rests with the

India Office. Secretary of State for India, who is a member of the Cabinet. The secretary need not be specially acquainted with Indian affairs, but he habitually acts "in council" with a body of chosen advisers. This council consists of fifteen paid members, elected for ten years, mainly from officials lately returned from India. The secretary in council controls the expenditure of revenue raised in India, and is responsible to Parliament for the government of the country. In India itself the

Indian Government. government is in the hands of the Viceroy, appointed for five years. He is assisted by an Executive Council of seven members, among whom are the heads of the departments of government. The Legislative Council consists of the same members and others added, with the approval of the Viceroy, for making laws and regulations. Among the additional members native gentlemen are always included. The governors of the provinces of India, who are also assisted by councils, are all subordinate to the Viceroy. In the Native States, where the old government is still in force, the British control is exercised by Residents, whose functions vary with different states.

The other portions of the British Empire, owning very diverse forms of government, are nearly all under the

control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. This control is exercised in the various colonies by governors, appointed by the Colonial Secretary and responsible to him. A few examples will serve to show the nature of the control exercised by the Colonial Office in different parts of the world.

Colonial Office.

Regions where the government, though under British control, is left more or less in native hands, are called Protectorates. To this class belong such countries as Uganda, Somaliland, and Nigeria. Somaliland is an instance of a Protectorate administered by the Foreign Office. In the history of Northern and Southern Nigeria, again, we have an illustration of another form of government. These regions were first opened up and administered by a company holding a charter from the British Government. In 1899 the Colonial Office took over the administrative part of the company's work, appointing High Commissioners to discharge it. These commissioners rule and make laws by their own authority, subject, of course, to the Secretary, employing native institutions as usual.

Protectorates.

Chartered Companies.

Other parts of West Africa furnish us with examples of what are called Crown Colonies. The Governor of the Gold Coast rules that colony with the help of an executive council, consisting of British officials appointed from home. In Sierra Leone the method adopted is more like what we saw in India. Here the governor nominates four outsiders to sit with the executive council for legislative purposes, thus making two distinct councils. The beginnings of representative government can be

Crown Colonies.

Representation.

seen in the island of Jamaica, where elected members form nearly half of the legislative council.

In the great self-governing countries, such as Canada, Australia, and Cape Colony, the governor acts as a constitutional sovereign, and the control exercised by the Colonial Secretary is very slight. **Self-governing Colonies.** The constitutions of these countries, granted by acts of the Imperial Parliament, are modelled upon the British constitution. The executive power is in the hands of a ministry, responsible to an elected Parliament consisting of two chambers. The assent of the governor is required to all acts of Parliament, and he has the same power of veto as is possessed at home by the sovereign. He may also reserve any legislative act for the consideration of the Colonial Secretary. Practically, however, the Secretary of State does not interfere with the acts of self-governing colonies unless foreign policy or the interests of the empire at large are involved.

But the extensive interests of the empire as a whole have in recent years brought out the need of much closer relations between the Imperial Parliament and the self-governing countries within the empire. Many schemes and suggestions have been offered for bringing this about. **The New Imperial System.** The most noteworthy proposal is for a *federated empire*,—that is to say, some form of Imperial Government which shall look after imperial interests, and which shall be controlled by an imperial representative assembly to which the different parts of the empire should elect representatives. This might relieve the local Parliament of the United Kingdom of its concern with imperial questions. But the suggestion raises many serious problems which no statesman has yet undertaken to

solve. How, for example, is the imperial army and navy to be supported? Is the taxation for these two branches of Imperial Defence to be borne proportionately by all parts of the empire alike? Such questions we have to leave to the future. For the present, the co-operation of the self-governing countries in the general government of the empire will probably remain slight.

Nevertheless we can already see the beginning of a movement to evolve institutions of a distinctly imperial character. Such is the Imperial Conference, a meeting held in London every fourth year, attended by the Prime Ministers and other representatives of our self-governing countries, and presided over by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The conference confines itself to advice and discussion. Its direct influence bears only upon the Secretary for the Colonies. But the publicity given to its proceedings, the universal interest with which its debates are followed, show that public opinion looks upon it as something more than a mere departmental council.

A very interesting move in this general direction was taken in 1908 by a committee of the House of Lords. The committee in question was appointed to consider measures for the reform of the Upper House. Among its recommendations was a provision by which representatives from the self-governing colonies should be admitted to the House of Lords. Such a step, if taken, would be a very signal advance upon the present system. We seem indeed to be only at the beginning of the complete organization of the empire; we have yet to see the re-ordering of the parts into an organic whole.



SYNOPSIS OF THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

I.—THE RACES OF BRITAIN.

i. The Early Peoples of Britain.

The earliest races that lived in Britain were savages; their bones and tools are sometimes found in caves. They were followed by

The Celts, of whom there were two main branches:

1. The Gaels, from whom are descended the *Irish* and the *Scottish Highlanders*.
2. The Britons, from whom the *Welsh* are descended.

ii. The Roman Occupation of Britain, 43 A.D.—410.

1. The Celts of Britain aided their kinsmen in Gaul in their resistance to Rome, and Julius Caesar crossed the Channel to show the power of Roman arms. Curiosity about an almost unknown land, and desire to share in the wealth of its tin mines, also drew the Romans to Britain.
2. But the Romans determined to annex Britain only in 43 A.D.
3. The northern limits of the Roman Province in Britain were fixed by *Hadrian's Wall* from the Solway to the Tyne, separating the province from the Picts of North Britain.
4. The most serious revolt of the Britons against Roman power was that of *Queen Boadicea*, who destroyed Colchester, St. Albans, and London.
5. Results of the Roman Occupation:
 - (1) Country divided into provinces, and the country pacified.
 - (2) Marshes drained, forests cleared, agriculture improved.

(3) Copper and tin mines worked.

(4) Towns built — Eboracum (York), Lindum (Lincoln), Londinium (London), Aquæ Sulis (Bath), &c.

(5) Numerous public buildings—theatres, baths, temples, and villas for private individuals.

(6) Great roads constructed for military and commercial purposes.

(7) Roman dress, manners and language adopted by upper classes.

(8) Christianity introduced.

6. Traces of Roman occupation still found in Britain:

(1) Remains of camps, roads, temples, baths, pottery, &c.

(2) Latin words in place-names like *Donecaster*, *Winchester*, *Gloucester* (Lat. *castra*, a camp), *Lincoln* (Lat. *colonia*, a settlement), *Portsmouth* (Lat. *portus*, a harbour).

iii. The English Invasion of Britain, 449-517.

1. The new invaders, who came from the northern shores of Germany, included:

(1) *Jutes*, from Jutland or Denmark.

(2) *Angles*, or English, from Schleswig-Holstein.

(3) *Saxons*, from the basin of the Lower Elbe.

The Britons called them all *Saxons*; they are often called *Anglo-Saxons*; but the best common name for all is *English*.

2. The Britons were forced to retire to the high lands of:

(1) *West Wales* — Cornwall and Devonshire.

- (2) **North Wales**—modern Wales.
- (3) **Strathclyde, or Cumbria**—between the Ribble and the Clyde, and west of the Pennine Range.
3. In North Britain there still remained outside the Roman Province:
 - (1) The kingdom of the **Picts**, north of the Forth and east of the Grampians.
 - (2) The kingdom of the **Scots**, immigrants from Ireland in the Highlands and Western Islands.
4. The nature of the **English Conquest**:
 - (1) The English Conquest — a national migration, establishing a new language and new institutions. Thus very different from the Roman Conquest, which was a military occupation.
 - (2) Christianity disappeared with the settlement of the heathen newcomers.
 - (3) English kingdoms were founded as the country was wrested from the Celts.
5. The old English kingdoms consisted socially of:
 - (1) *A King* (A.S. *cyning*), elected at first by the *folk-moot* or assembly of freemen, and later by the *witan* or assembly of wise men.
 - (2) *The Eorlas*, or nobles.
 - (3) *The Ceortas*, or simple freemen, land-owners.
 - (4) *The Theowas*, or slaves, some of whom were Britons.
6. The system of self-government established by the English involved:
 - (1) *The town-moot*, presided over by the *town-reeve* or governor, for each township or village.
 - (2) *The hundred-moot*, presided over by the *hundredes-euctor* (eider), and composed of members from groups of townships.
 - (3) *The folk-moot*, or assembly of the whole folk or people.
 - (4) *The Witan*, or council of wise men, a sort of inner council of the folk-moot, and somewhat resembling our House of Lords.

II.—THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY.

1. The chief points to be noted are:
 - (1) The English settlers were heathens, worshipping Woden and Thor.
 - (2) The Mission of St. Augustine, sent by Pope Gregory the Great, 597.
 - (3) Kent was the *first*, and Sussex the *last* kingdom to become Christian.
 - (4) St. Aidan from Iona, to which Christianity was brought by Columba from Ireland, established a nunnery at Lindisfarne.
 - (5) The **Synod of Whitby**, held to consider the differences between the Roman and the Celtic Christian churches, decided in favour of the Roman practice.
 2. **Results of the Conversion of the English to Christianity and of a united church:**
 - (1) The Archbishop of Canterbury—Primate of all England—divided the country into dioceses or sees, supervised by bishops; later on, parish boundaries were fixed.
 - (2) A united church helped to a united nation.
 - (3) The new religion offered an example, not only of union, but of peace and a higher morality.
 - (1) The beginnings of English learning were due to the church:
 - i. **Caedmon**, the first English poet, was a monk in the Abbey at Whitby.
 - ii. **Bede**—"the venerable Bede"—our first historian, lived and taught in the monastery at Jarrow-upon Tyne.
 - iii. **Dunstan**, scholar and statesman, became Archbishop of Canterbury.
- ## III.—THE UNION OF ENGLAND.
- i. **The Rise of Wessex:**
 1. Three of the old English kingdoms — Northumbria, Mercia, Wessex — became in turn more powerful than all the others.

2. The title of **Bretwalda**, or overlord, was taken by seven of the kings before Egbert.

3. Egbert, king of Wessex, as overlord, was crowned king of the English.

i. The Danish Invasions :

The English kingdoms were forced to unite to repel a new enemy—the Danes.

The Danes, also known as **Norsemen**, **Northmen** (**Normans** in France), and **Vikings**, began to make inroads on England in 787.

3. The Danish Invasions passed through two stages :

(1) The stage of plunder.

(2) The stage of settlement.

They became masters of all England except Wessex.

iii. The Hero-King of Wessex :

1. Alfred was great not only as a king, but as

(1) **A Warrior** : he helped to win the battle of *Ashdown* ; won the *Ethandune* ; forced the Danes to surrender at *Chippenham*.

(2) **A Statesman** : he concluded the *Treaty of Wedmore*, giving to the Danes England east of *Watling Street* ; he laid the foundation of England's naval power ; he reformed the laws.

(3) **A Teacher** : he was a famous scholar ; established schools ; translated books into English ; ordered the making of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

2. His sons and grandsons gradually restored Saxon sway over the Dane law.

IV.—THE FALL OF THE SAXONS.

i. The Golden Age of Saxon England.

1. From 800 to 978 was a period of great kings, and one great statesman—**Dunstan**.

2. The period of disunion and weakness that followed was marked by :

(1) The institution of the *Dane-geld*.

(2) The Massacre of *St. Brice's Day*.

(3) The reign of three Danish kings over England, 1007-1012.

ii. The Norman Invasion.

1. The causes that led up to the Norman invasion :

(1) The favour shown to Normans by **Edward the Confessor**.

(2) His making **Norman** earls, bishops, &c., in England.

(3) His giving a promise to leave the crown to **William**, duke of **Norwandy**.

(4) The oath sworn by **Harold** when a prisoner in **Norwandy**.

2. Leading events :

(1) **Harold** defeated **Tostig** and the **Northmen** at *Stamford Bridge*, 1066.

(2) **William** landed at *Poynsey*.

(3) **Harold** was defeated and slain at *Senlac*, near *Hastings*, 1066.

V. NORMANS AND ENGLISH : FEUDALISM.

1. **William the Conqueror** was King of England :

(1) By right of conquest.

(2) By right afterwards of election by the **Witan**.

2. **William's** policy was :

(1) To subdue the **English** thoroughly.

(2) To keep the **Normans** from revolting.

(3) To establish **Feudalism** in England.

3. The change in the system of land tenure was effected :

(1) By confiscating the lands of all the **English** who fought for **Harold**.

(2) By making the other **English** land-owners do homage.

Thus the king became, in name, owner of all the land.

4. The Feudal System.

(1) The king was sole owner of all land.

(2) The king granted estates to his nobles and barons *tenants-in-chief*.

(3) The *tenants-in-chief* granted smaller estates to *sub-tenants*.

- (4) Below the free tenants were the *serfs* or *villeins*.
 - (5) Each lord had jurisdiction over his own vassals.
 - (6) Vassals could be called on to fight for their lords.
5. To maintain strong rule over his kingdom, William
- (1) Gave the barons large estates, but broken up into scattered portions.
 - (2) Made all tenants swear obedience at Salisbury, to the king first and to the lords after.
 - (3) Caused the Domesday Survey of England to be made.
6. William I's dangers came from:
- (1) The English, who rebelled against him.
 - (2) The dissatisfied Norman barons, who rebelled also.
 - (3) His own sons, who were allied with France against him.

VI.—THE WORST EVILS OF FEUDALISM, &c.

The chief points to be noted in this chapter are:

- 1. The people feared the barons more than they feared the king.
- 2. The civil war between the followers of Stephen and Matilda.
- 3. The cruelties of the barons—"nineteen long winters".
- 4. The curb on the powers of the barons by Henry II.
- 5. The growing power of the church.
- 6. The king's law and the church's law.
- 7. Becket's defence of churchmen's privileges.
- 8. Henry's failure to make the law supreme over churchmen—mainly owing to the murder of Becket, 1170.

VII.—RICHARD THE CRUSADER.

- 1. Henry II's dominions included:
 - (1) England and Wales.
 - (2) Overlordship of Ireland.

(3) Overlordship of Scotland in virtue of William the Lion's homage. This was abandoned by his son Richard I.

(4) The west of France from the English Channel to the Pyrenees. England was now a great Continental Power.

2. Richard the Crusader.

- (1) The object of the Crusades was to free the Holy Land from the Saracens.
- (2) The special object of the Third Crusade was to capture Jerusalem from Saladin.
- (3) Richard captured Acre, but was forced to retreat from Jerusalem.
- (4) On his way home Richard was imprisoned in Austria.
- (5) Richard was ransomed, but was killed in a war with France.

VIII.—MAGNA CARTA.

1. Chief points to be noted in John's reign:

- 1. The loss of his French possessions. (He had been nicknamed "Lackland" in his youth, no territory having been then assigned to him by his father.)
- 2. His quarrel with the pope.
 - (1) Dispute arose over the election of Archbishop of Canterbury.
 - (2) England was laid under interdict by the pope.
 - (3) John was excommunicated.
 - (4) Philip II. of France was ordered by the pope to carry out John's deposition.
 - (5) John submitted, and the pope's nominee, Stephen Langton, became archbishop.
- 3. The revolt of the barons.
 - (1) The barons, headed by Langton, met to consider grievances.
 - (2) Against John were united the barons, the clergy, and the citizens of the towns.
 - (3) John was compelled to sign at Runnymede Magna Carta, the Great Charter (1215), the foundation-stone of English liberties and of the English Constitution.

i. **Magna Carta.**

The two main provisions of Magna Carta were:

1. That the king may not take money unless Parliament grants it to him.
2. That no man is to be punished without a trial, and that trial must be before a jury.

NOTE. This document has been confirmed by Act of Parliament thirty-two times.

ii. **The Makings of Parliament.**

1. The Great Council of the Norman kings and the early Plantagenets became Parliament in the reign of Henry III.
2. Parliament in its modern form is mainly owing to the influence of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester.

3. **The Mad Parliament drew up the Provisions of Oxford:**

- (1) The power of the king should be transferred to a council of fifteen barons.
- (2) Four knights should represent the freeholders of every county.
- (3) Sheriffs should be elected annually by vote.
- (4) Parliament should meet three times a year.

4. **After the Battle of Lewes Simon summoned another Parliament [1265], which, like the Scots Parliament, contained:**

- (1) Lords.
- (2) County members.
- (3) Borough members.

5. **The Parliament of Edward I.—"The Model Parliament" [1295]—also included knights of the shire and citizens from the towns.**

IX.—THE BEGINNINGS OF SCOTLAND

1. **The divisions of Scotland.**

The Scots came from Ireland, invaded Caledonia, and expelled the Picts from the south-west. Thus before the Norman Conquest there were:

- (1) The land of the Picts, north of the Forth.

(2) The kingdom of the Scots, in Argyleshire.

(3) The kingdom of Strathclyde, from the Clyde to the Ribble.

(4) The English district of Lothian, from the Forth to the Tees.

2. **The Union was effected thus:**

(1) First, the Picts and the Scots were united under Kenneth Mac-Alpine in 843.

(2) Next, the kings of Scotland obtained rule over the northern part of Strathclyde.

(3) Lothian, originally part of Northumbria and then a possession of the Danes, was, on the advice of Dunstan, given by King Edgar to Kenneth II.

3. **The spread of the English language in Scotland:**

(1) Lothian was Saxon in speech and in law.

(2) Malcolm Canmore, in consequence of long residence in England and of his marriage with Margaret, did much to spread English customs and speech in Scotland.

(3) The Celtic reaction was successfully resisted by Malcolm's son, aided by Normans—Bruces, Byssets, Lindsays, Ramsays—who also settled in Scotland.

I. **How the kings of England came to regard Scotland as subject to them:**

(1) William I. of England invaded Scotland, and compelled Malcolm Canmore to do him homage.

(2) Henry II. forced Malcolm IV. to do homage for the earldom of Huntingdon.

(3) William the Lion, captured by the English near *Alnwick*, was compelled by the *Treaty of Falaise* (in Normandy) to do homage for Scotland, to hold his crown as a fief of the English throne.

(4) But Richard I. released William I. from his feudal obligation on receipt of 10,000 marks (£6666).

X.—AN EARLY GREAT BRITAIN AND ITS FAILURE.

Edward I. aimed at a united British nation.

1. He conquered Wales, and bestowed on his son the title of Prince of Wales.
2. To unite the crowns of England and Scotland, he proposed a marriage between his son and Margaret, "Maid of Norway".
3. The Scots consented, and on the death of Margaret asked Edward to decide the question of the succession between a large number of candidates, who agreed to accept his award.
4. Edward revived the claim of lordship over Scotland.
5. The Court held at Norham decided in favour of John Balliol, who accepted the throne as a vassal of England.
6. Balliol, refusing afterwards to obey, was dethroned, and Edward I. treated Scotland as a forfeited fief.

XI.—THE STORY OF SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE.

Edward I., who had thus as he thought completed the conquest of Scotland, had now, however, to encounter the Scottish people in arms, and the national spirit gathered round

1. Sir William Wallace.
 - (1) He drove the English out of the Scottish castles.
 - (2) He defeated the English at *Sterling Bridge*, 1297.
 - (3) He was made Guardian of Scotland.
 - (4) He was defeated by Edward I. at *Falkirk*, 1298.
 - (5) He was betrayed to Sir John Menteith, condemned, and executed in London, 1305.
2. Robert Bruce, grandson of Bruce, the rival of John Balliol.
 - (1) He killed John Comyn, a rival for the throne, in Greyfriars Church, Dumfries.
 - (2) He was crowned at Scone, and defeated immediately afterwards at *Methven*.

(3) He took refuge for a winter in Rathlin Isle.

- (4) On the death of Edward I.—the Hammer of the Scots—Bruce began to regain the castles—Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Linlithgow—and soon Stirling Castle alone held out.
 - (5) To relieve Stirling Castle Edward II. fought the *Battle of Bannockburn*—the battle which decided once for all that England could not conquer Scotland (1314).
 - (6) Robert Bruce was recognized as king of Scotland, and the complete independence of Scotland was acknowledged by the English Parliament, 1328.
3. The chief results of Bruce's reign
- (1) He obtained the mastery over all his foes at home and abroad.
 - (2) He began the **Franco-Scottish Alliance**.
 - (3) He created a united Scotland, proud of its race and its king.

XII.—THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR, 1338-1453.

1. The causes that led to the Hundred Years' War between England and France:
 - (1) The help—men, arms, and money—given by France to Scotland.
 - (2) Edward's wish to get hold of Flanders and Guienne—centres of the wool and wine trades.
 - (3) Edward's claim to the French crown.
2. The Great Divisions of the War:
 - (1) Period of success in the early part of Edward III.'s reign.
 1. *The Battle of Sluys*, 1310.
 2. *The Battle of Cressy*, 1346.
 3. *The Battle of Poitiers*, 1356.
 1. The Treaty of Bretigny, by which England obtained the whole s.w. of France.
 - (2) Period of failure in the latter part of Edward III.'s reign, and in Richard II.'s reign.
 - (3) Second period of success in the reign of Henry V.
 1. *The Battle of Agincourt*, 1415.

2. The marriage of Henry V. to Katherine of France.
3. The crowning of Henry VI. as King of France.

1. Battles of Crevant and Verneuil.

(1) Second period of failure in the reign of Henry VI.

1. The Siege of Orleans.
2. The gradual loss of English possessions in France.
3. All French provinces lost, Calais alone remaining, 1453.

3. Success and failure.

The English victories were due

- (1) To the skill of the English archers.
- (2) To the fact that the day of knights in armour was past.
- (3) In Henry V.'s day, to the disunion of France and the alliance between England and Burgundy.

The English failures were due

- (1) To the difficulty of taking French walled towns.
- (2) To the French keeping up continual warfare by small parties.
- (3) To enthusiasm created by Jeanne Darc.

XIII.—THE BLACK DEATH AND THE SERFS.

The chief points to be noted in connection with the cultivation of the land are:

1. Under Norman rule the land was cultivated by serfs, bound to the land, and obliged to give to their lords so many days' service each week.
2. In course of time serfs came to pay money instead of giving service.
3. The Black Death—1347 to 1350— which destroyed one-third of the people of England, resulted in
 - (1) A great scarcity of labourers.
 - (2) A sharp rise in prices.
 - (3) A corresponding rise in wages.
 - (4) Consequent hardship to the land-owners, who received only the old commuted money payments, but paid the new high wages.

4. Parliament passed the **Statutes of Labourers** to restore the rate of wages current in 1317.

5. The statutes proved a failure: prices rose, and men could not live on the old wages.

6. The land-owners then tried to revert to the labour service—**villainage**.

7. Great discontent resulted in

(1) A peasant revolt headed by Wat Tyler.

(2) Some land-owners leasing their lands to tenants for a rent.

(3) Some land-owners turning from arable-farming to sheep-farming.

(4) Depopulation of the country, and the gradual disappearance of the serfs altogether as a class.

XIV.—WYCLIF AND THE LOLLARDS.

1. Wyclif and the Lollards were Reformers more than a hundred years before the days of Luther.

2. The causes of wide-spread dislike of the Roman Catholic Church:

(1) A great deal of money was sent to Rome as taxes.

(2) Foreigners were appointed by the Pope to English livings, deaneries, and canonries.

(3) A few churchmen held many livings, which they utterly neglected.

(4) The wealth of these churchmen and their servants formed a contrast to the poverty of the parish priests.

3. Both the Dominican and the Franciscan Friars outlived their first duty—the teaching of the simple message of Christ.

4. "The Great Schism" divided the church into followers of the pope at Avignon and followers of the pope at Rome, and weakened the power of both.

5. John Wyclif

(1) Was the forerunner of the Reformation—"the morning-star of the Reformation".

- (2) He founded the order of "The Simple Priests".
- (3) He translated the Bible from Latin into English.
- (4) He taught the great Protestant doctrine of individual judgment—the right of all to form their ideas of conduct on their reading of the Bible.

6. The Lollard Movement

- (1) Was a failure, because the Lollards had nothing definite to propose.
- (2) It ceased to be an active force with the burning of Sir John Oldcastle in the reign of Henry V.

XV.—THE WARS OF THE ROSES, 1455-1485.

1. The causes that led to the Wars of the Roses:

- (1) The failure of the French war.
- (2) The rivalry of the two families—York and Lancaster.
- (3) The insanity of Henry VI.
- (4) Margaret's determination to fight for her son Edward's rights.

2. The main incidents of the wars:

- (1) Yorkist victories at *St. Albans*, *Northampton*, *Mortimer's Cross*, *Towton*, *Hedgeley Moor*, *Hexham*, *Barnet*, *Tewkesbury*.
- (2) Lancastrian victories at *Wakefield*, *St. Albans*, and *The Battle of Bosworth*, 1485.
- (3) Treachery and bloodshed on both sides.
- (4) The power of Warwick the King-maker.

3. Results of the Wars of the Roses:

- (1) Changes of dynasty.
- (2) Almost total destruction of the nobility.
- (3) Establishment of a strong independent monarchy relying on the middle classes.

XVI.—THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. FIRST PERIOD.

- 1. Henry VII. strengthened the power of the throne:

- (1) By refusing reverted retainers to the nobles, and by enforcing the laws against *audaciousness*, or the mutual support of one another's law-suits.

- (2) By amassing hoards of money.

- (3) By marrying his children to foreign princes and princesses.

- 1. His daughter Margaret to James IV. of Scotland.
- 2. His son (Arthur and then Henry) to Catharine of Aragon.

2. The Reformation in England was in part Political.

- (1) Henry wished to annul his marriage with Catharine of Aragon.

- (2) Pope Clement VII., fearing to offend her nephew, Charles V. of Spain, refused his sanction.

- (3) So Henry wished to break free from the pope, but not to become a Protestant.

(4) The Parliament of 1529—the Reformation Parliament—

- 1. Declared that all appeals to the pope and appointments made by him were illegal.

- 2. Ordered that no payments should be made to the pope.

- 3. Passed the Act of Supremacy, making the king "the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England".

(5) But Henry was not

- 1. A Roman Catholic, for he defied the pope and believed Catholics who did not take the Oath of Supremacy.

- 2. A Protestant, for he held to all Roman Catholic doctrines.

3. Two notable results of the Reformation in England:

- (1) The suppression of the monasteries.

- (2) The translation of the Bible—Coverdale's Bible.

XVII.—THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. SECOND PERIOD.

- 1. The Duke of Somerset, regent for Edward VI., went further than Henry VIII. in religious matters.

- (1) He abolished the mass and the Catholic form of service.
- (2) He issued a new service in English.
- (3) He caused images and pictures to be removed from the churches.

2. Northumberland, who was scheming to get the crown for his son's wife, Lady Jane Grey, carried the Reformation still further.

3. But Mary, herself half-Spaniard and married to a Spaniard, restored Roman Catholicism, and persecuted the Protestants—Crammer, Latimer, Ridley, and others perishing at the stake.

4. Once again, however, England became anti-Roman under Elizabeth, who was acknowledged head of the National Church.

5. But a small party—the **Puritans**—sought for further reforms, and the abolition of rites and vestments, &c.

XVIII.—THE UNLUCKY HOUSE OF STUART.

1. The long troublous period covered by this chapter (1527 to 1512) was rendered gloomy:

- (1) By wars and invasions,
- (2) By minorities and quarrels at home, which impoverished the country and kept her but half-civilized.

2. **The Wars** included:

- (1) The defeat of the Scottish regent, Mur, at *Dupplin*, in 1322; David II.
- (2) The defeat of the Scots by Edward III. at *Halicton Hill*, in 1333; David II.
- (3) The defeat of the English at *Otterburn*, 1388; Robert II.
- (4) The disastrous defeat of the Scots at *Flodden*, in 1513; James IV.
- (5) The rout of the Scots at *Solway Moss*, in 1512; James V.

3. **The Quarrels** of the kings and nobles at home included:

- (1) The starving, by Douglas of Liddesdale, of Ramsay of Dalwolsy in Hermitage Castle.

(2) The starving by Albany of the elder son of Robert III. in Falkland Palace.

(3) The murder of James I. by Sir Robert Graham in Blackfriars Abbey, Perth.

(4) The beheading of the Douglas brothers in Edinburgh Castle.

(5) The slaying of Douglas by James II. in Stirling Castle.

(6) The hanging of Cochran by Archibald Bell-the-cat at the Bridge of Lauder.

(7) The battle of *Snochie Burn* and the murder of James III. in 1488.

(8) "The Cause the Causeway", an affray between the Douglases and the Hamiltons in the High Street of Edinburgh.

(9) The hanging of Johnnie Armstrong, the Border free-laster.

XIX.—THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

1. The Reformation had begun in Scotland before Mary Stuart was sent to France.

(1) The Scottish Parliament (March, 1513) permitted the study of the Scriptures in English.

(2) As a consequence, men began to think the Roman Catholic Church wrong.

(3) Cardinal Beaton, like his predecessors, tried to stop the Reformation by burning the reformers, among them George Wishart.

(4) Wishart's friends murdered Beaton and seized St. Andrew's Castle. But they were forced to surrender, and one of them, John Knox, was sent to the galleys.

(5) Protestantism was in grave danger when Mary of Guise became regent.

(6) Knox, however, stirred up the Reformers—Glencairn, Argyle, Marton—to lead the Protestant party.

(7) Knox's preaching led to the destruction of:

1. The images, pictures, and stained-glass windows of the churches.

2. The churches and monasteries themselves.
- (8) Mary of Guise obtained French aid, but Elizabeth sent help to the Lords of the Congregation, with the result:
 1. That by the Treaty of Leith the French troops left Scotland.
 2. That Scotland became Protestant.
2. The chief events in the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, the Catholic queen of a Protestant people:
 - (1) Her marriage with her cousin, Lord Darnley.
 - (2) The murder of David Rizzio.
 - (3) The murder of Darnley.
 - (4) Her marriage with the Earl of Bothwell.
 - (5) The defeat of Bothwell at *Corberry Hill*.
 - (6) Her escape from confinement in Lochleven Castle.
 - (7) Her defeat at *Langside* and flight to England.

XX.—ROYAL MARRIAGES.

1. The royal marriages of some centuries ago usually determined not only
 - (1) The foreign policy of a nation, but also
 - (2) The religion, its institutions, and even its separate existence.
 - (3) English destinies in the hands of three queens—Mary Tudor, Elizabeth, Mary Stuart.
2. Important royal marriages.
 - (1) The marriage of Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII., led to the union of the crowns of England and Scotland in the person of James I.
 - (2) The desire of Henry VIII. to annul his marriage with Catharine of Aragon led to the Reformation in England.
 - (3) The marriage of Mary Tudor to Philip II. of Spain increased the severity of persecution, and might have led to England's falling into the hands of Spain. Fortunately no heir was born.

- (4) The marriage of Mary Stuart to Francis II. of France knit closer the bonds of union between France and Scotland, but again there was no heir.
- (5) The marriage of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I. to the Elector Palatine led to the accession of the house of Hanover in the person of George I.

XXI.—ELIZABETH AND THE ARMADA.

1. The Greatness of Elizabeth's reign:
 - (1) The English Church was firmly established.
 - (2) The way was prepared for the union of England and Scotland.
 - (3) Her reign was marked by important social legislation.
 - (4) Her reign witnessed the noon-day splendour of English literature. It was the age of *Spenser* and *Shakespeare*.
 - (5) Britain's supremacy at sea was established.
 - (6) The beginnings of a "Greater Britain" beyond the seas were attempted.
2. England and Spain:
 - (1) The old hatred of France was transferred to Spain.
 - (2) Elizabeth's reign was one long war with Spain.
 - (3) The war with Spain was carried on in the Spanish Main by the "Adventurers"—Hawkins, Drake, and other "sea-dogs".
 - (4) The failure of the Invincible Armada not only freed England from all fear of invasion, but taught her that England's first line of defence must ever be—the Navy.

XXII.—THE STUARTS AND THEIR DIFFICULTIES.

1. King and Parliament:

The Stuart kings and their Parliaments quarrelled over

 - (1) Religion at home.

1. James, though brought up as a Presbyterian, wished to be head of the Church of England; his claim was disagreeable to Catholics, Puritans, and Presbyterians.
 2. The Gunpowder Plot followed by severe laws against the Catholics.
- (2) Religious matters abroad.
1. James I. wished his son to marry the Infanta of Spain—a Catholic.
 2. Charles I. married Henrietta Maria of France—a Catholic. These two plans were unpopular with the Protestant party.
 3. Elizabeth Stuart married the Elector Palatine, leader of the German Protestants.
1. Charles I. tried to help the French Protestants. These two policies would have been popular, but both ended in failure.
- (3) The right of the king to take money and govern without Parliament.
1. The Stuarts held that kings rule by divine right.
 2. James I. and Charles I. tried to override Parliament by use of the "Royal Prerogative".
 3. But the Parliaments were resolved.
 4. To prevent the king's raising money on his own authority.
 5. To make his ministers responsible for what was done.
4. Parliament enforced these resolutions.
1. By making James I. promise to give up grants of monopolies.
 2. By giving Charles I. certain taxes for only two years instead of for life.
 3. By forcing Charles I. to accept the **Petition of Right**, the two chief clauses of which were:
 - a. That to take taxes except by leave of Parliament was illegal.

6. That no one should be kept in prison by command of the king without trial.
7. By impeaching—that is, the Commons accused before the Lords—judges Bacon, Middlesex, Buckingham, and other royal favourites.

ii. The Eleven Years' Tyranny.

1. Charles, advised by Laud, ruled arbitrarily.
2. Wentworth ruled as president of the council of the north, and afterwards as lord-deputy in Ireland.
3. Ship-money was illegally levied.
4. **The Court of Star Chamber** fined those who spoke or wrote against the king.
5. **The High Commission Court** dealt similarly with the Puritans.
6. Archbishop Laud ruled the affairs of the church.
7. Riot in Edinburgh caused by enforcing the use of the liturgy prepared by royal authority for the Church of Scotland.
8. **The National Covenant** bound the Scots to defend the Scottish form of service.
9. **The Bishops' War** was the first step in the downfall of the king, because the extra expense of a war compelled Charles again to summon Parliament.

XXIII.—WAR BETWEEN KING AND PARLIAMENT.

1. **The Long Parliament** (1640) finally dissolved 1650.
 1. Pym and Hampden were bent on reform.
 2. Stratford impeached and beheaded.
 3. Star Chamber and High Commission Court abolished.
 4. Charles tried to arrest Pym, Hampden, and three others—the immediate cause of Civil War.
- ii. **The Civil War**:
 1. The Royalists successful.
 2. The Parliament successful.

- (1) Victory at *Marston Moor*, due to the Scots and Cromwell's Ironsides, 1614.
- (2) The New Model army formed by Cromwell, the champion of the Scots, who desired liberty to worship as they pleased and were opposed to the Presbyterians.
- (3) Victory at *Naseby*, 1645.

Charles in the hands of his enemies.

- (1) In Scotland Montrose won a series of victories over the Covenanters.
- (2) But he was defeated by Leslie at *Philiphaugh*, 1645.
- (3) Charles surrendered to the Scots, who in turn gave him up to Parliament.
- (4) The trial and execution of Charles I. was the work of the Independents, headed by Cromwell.

Reasons for the failure of Charles I. in the Civil War:

- (1) His want of money to carry on a protracted war.
- (2) The genius of Cromwell and the religious zeal of his Ironsides.
- (3) Want of agreement among the king's officers.
- (4) The help given to the Parliamentary army by the Scots.

XXIV.—BRITAIN GOVERNED BY AN ARMY.

The Commonwealth was established in 1649, but Charles I.'s son was recognized as king in

- 1) **Ireland**, where
 1. Cromwell subdued the country and sacked Drogheda.
 2. Cromwell abolished the Irish Parliament—members to be sent to Westminster.
- 2) **Scotland**, where
 1. Montrose was defeated, and was executed by his enemy, Argyle.
 2. Cromwell defeated David Leslie and the Covenanters at *Dunbar*, 1650.
 3. Cromwell ravaged Fifehire.

2. Charles's army was defeated at *Worcester*, and he escaped to France.

3. Monk subdued Scotland and abolished the Scottish Parliament—members to be sent to Westminster.

4. Quarrels between the English Parliament and the Independent Army.

(1) Colonel Pride had already "purged" Parliament of the leading Presbyterian members.

(2) Cromwell dissolved the "Rump" as the body consisting of the fifty to sixty remaining members was called.

(3) Cromwell's own Parliaments—including the "**Barebone's Parliament**"—unsuccessful.

5. Cromwell became a despot, ruling by means of the army and without the sanction of a Parliament for his doings.

6. Abroad, Cromwell made peace with the Dutch, and an alliance with Sweden and Denmark. He also formed an alliance with France, the enemy of Spain.

7. On the death of Cromwell, Monk declared for a free Parliament, which meant

- (1) That military despotism was ended.
- (2) **The Restoration of Charles II.**

XXV.—FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION.

The second struggle between King and Parliament was marked by:

1. In Charles II.'s reign:

(1) **Parliament—the Cavalier Parliament**—at first supporting the king.

(2) **The Clarendon Code**—intended to drive Presbyterianism from Church and State.

(3) The presence of a Dutch fleet in the Thames.

(4) The Caval Ministry—favourable to toleration and the strengthening of the royal prerogative.

(5) **A Declaration of Indulgence** issued by Charles.

1. It abolished the penal laws against both Catholics and Nonconformists.

2. All Protestants were united against it.

3. Parliament compelled Charles to withdraw the declaration.

(6) **The Test Act**, requiring all persons holding office to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church.

(7) **The Popish Plot** and the Popish Terror.

(8) The failure of the **Exclusion Bill**—a bill to exclude James, Duke of York, from succeeding to the throne.

2. In James's Reign.

(1) The Rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth and the *Battle of Sedgemoor*.

(2) The Bloody Assizes.

(3) **The Declaration of Indulgence**, and the suspension of the penal laws against Roman Catholics.

(4) The Trial of the Seven Bishops for petitioning against having to read the Declaration of Indulgence.

(5) The birth of a son to the king—known afterwards as "The Old Pretender".

(6) The landing of William of Orange—nephew and son-in-law of James,—and James's flight to France; the **Revolution**, 1688.

3. The causes of the Revolution:

(1) James's disregard of the penal laws against Catholics.

(2) The violation of the Test Act.

(3) His attacks on the Universities.

(4) The trial of the Seven Bishops.

XXVI.—WILLIAM III. IN BRITAIN.

1. Opposition to William and Mary arose

(1) In Scotland:

1. Viscount Dundee defeated General Mackay at *Killiecrankie*.

2. The Massacre of Glencoe.

3. The other Highland clans were Jacobites because the Campbells supported William.

(2) In Ireland:

1. The Irish fought for James because he was a Catholic.

2. The Protestants were besieged in *Londonderry* and *Kesh*.

3. William defeated James in the *Battle of the Boyne*.

4. **The Treaty of Limerick** closed the war.

2. The Revolution settled the supremacy of Parliament for ever, and brought in government by party.

3. The Bill of Rights declared

(1) That it was illegal for the king to set aside the laws, to levy money, or to keep a standing army without consent of Parliament.

(2) That Parliament should be freely elected, and should have freedom of debate.

(3) That no Catholic could be king.

XXVII.—A SECOND HUNDRED YEARS' WAR WITH FRANCE.

1. The long war with France was really a struggle for possession of the New World and India.

2. William was at war with France:

(1) Because France was the leader of Catholicism.

(2) Because France was threatening all Europe.

(3) Because France was specially dangerous to Holland.

(4) Because it seemed as if France and Spain were to be united under the grandson of Louis.

3. The English people were at war with France because Louis XIV. supported James II.

4. The war in William's reign was neither very popular nor very successful, and ended with the **Peace of Ryswick**.

5. The war in Anne's reign was popular and brilliantly successful.

(1) Marlborough in 1704 won the *Battle of Blenheim*—one of the great decisive battles in the world's history; it saved Austria from destruction.

(2) He also won the battles—*Ramillies*, *Oudenarde*, and *Malplaquet* in the Low Countries.

(3) The war was closed by the *Treaty of Utrecht*, which gave to Britain:

1. Two ports in the Mediterranean—Gibraltar and Minorca.

2. Two colonies in the New World—Nova Scotia and St. Kitt's.

3. The sole right of shipping slaves to the Spanish colonies.

XXVIII.—THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

1. Obstacles to the Union of the Parliaments:

(1) The religious and commercial jealousies of the two countries.

(2) Fears of the Scots for the independence of their country.

(3) The strength of the Jacobite party in Scotland.

(4) Resentment at the failure of the *Darien Scheme*, ruined by:

1. The unhealthy climate.

2. The jealousy of both the English and the Spanish.

(5) This discontent led the Scots to pass the *Act of Security* to prevent the succession as in England, unless Scottish trade and religion were fully recognized.

(6) The English retaliated and threatened

1. To treat the Scots as foreigners.

2. To admit no Scottish goods into England.

3. To fortify Carlisle, Newcastle, Berwick, and Hull.

2. Act of Union of England and Scotland.

This Act included twenty-five Articles.

(1) Establishing one Parliament for the two countries.

(2) Giving every security to the Scottish law and church.

(3) Opening up English trade to the Scots.

XXIX.—THE 'FIFTEEN AND THE 'FORTY-FIVE.

i. The 'Fifteen.

1. The object of this rising was to overthrow the Hanoverian dynasty, and to place the Old Pretender on the throne.

2. The chief events connected with the 'Fifteen:

(1) Risings in Scotland under the Earl of Mar and Lord Kenmure.

(2) Rising in Northumberland under Mr. Foster and Lord Dorwentwater.

(3) The English Jacobites surrendered at *Preston*.

(4) A drawn battle between Mar and Argyle was fought at *Sheriffmuir*.

3. Results of the rising:

(1) Derwentwater and Kenmure were executed.

(2) Severe laws against the Catholics were re-enacted.

(3) The *Septennial Act* was passed.

ii. The 'Forty-five:

1. The immediate cause of the 'Forty-five was the defeat of the British troops at *Fontenoy*.

2. The chief events connected with the 'Forty-five:

(1) Charles's march upon Perth and Edinburgh.

(2) The rout of Cope's army at *Prestonpans*.

(3) Charles's march into England as far as Derby.

(4) Charles's victory at *Falkirk*.

(5) The total defeat of the Highlanders at *Culloden*.

(6) Charles's romantic wanderings and escape to France.

3. Results of the 'Forty-five:

(1) Many Jacobites were executed or transported.

- (2) The Stuart cause was utterly and hopelessly lost.
- (3) Acts were passed to prevent further trouble in the Highlands:

1. **The Disarming Act.**
2. An act to put an end to the authority of the chieftains over their clans.
3. An Act forbidding the wearing of tartan or the Highland garb.

XXX.—GREATER BRITAIN

i. Pitt and the Empire:

1. The hostility to France.

- (1) Britain took part in three great wars in the middle of the eighteenth century. In each her chief antagonist was France. General causes of these wars are twofold:

1. Attempts of France to extend her power in Europe.
2. Rivalry between Britain and France (with her ally Spain) on colonial questions.

- (2) It was therefore British policy to take part with all France's enemies on the Continent in order to prevent her putting forth her full power in colonial struggles.

- (3) The possession of Hanover made our Hanoverian kings further inclined to involve Britain in German affairs.

2. The Three Great Wars:

- (1) The War of the Austrian Succession, 1739-1748.

1. Immediate cause—France and Spain repudiated the Pragmatic Sanction and Frederick the Great attacked Silesia.

2. Combatants—Britain, Austria, and Holland against France, Spain, Prussia, Bavaria.

3. Events—The French defeated at *Dettingen*; the British defeated at *Pontenoy*.

4. War closed temporarily by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

- (2) The Seven Years' War, 1754-63.

1. Causes of the war—French alarm at the power of Prussia; British anxiety about Hanover; British and French colonial rivalry.

2. In Europe Frederick of Prussia was hard pressed by Austria, France, and Russia in alliance against him. He was more than once nearly driven from his throne, but managed in the end to keep Silesia. He won great battles at Rossbach and Lenthien, while the British troops sent by Pitt were victorious at Minden.

3. Britain reaped the fruit of the war by:

- (1) Expelling the French from Canada.

- (2) Overcoming them in India.

- (3) The American War: see below.

ii. Our American Colonies.

1. Early Settlements in America.

- (1) The New England States were settled by Puritans—"The Pilgrim Fathers".

- (2) Maryland was founded by the Roman Catholics.

- (3) Pennsylvania was founded by the Quakers.

- (4) The coast lands from the Atlantic to the Alleghany Mts. were held by the British.

- (5) The French held Canada.

- (6) They also held the lower Mississippi valley.

- (7) The French tried to prevent British expansion westward by erecting a chain of forts from Canada to Louisiana.

- (8) Fighting at *Fort Duquesne*—afterwards Pittsburg,—on the Ohio, led to open war.

- (9) Pitt sent Wolfe to capture *Quebec*.

- (10) By the Treaty of Paris, 1763, all Canada fell into the hands of the British.

2. Causes leading to the American War.

- (1) Trade rivalry produced colonial discontent.

- (2) The Mercantile System sacrificed all interests to those of the British merchants and manufacturers.

(3) **The Stamp Act** was passed to tax the colonists directly.

(4) Destruction of the taxed tea cargoes in Boston Harbour.

3. **The American War.**

(1) Combatants - Britain against the colonists; but soon France, Spain, and Holland join the colonists against us.

(2) Declaration of American Independence, 1776.

(3) Two great British defeats; the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga; the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The latter was the work of the French fleet, which cut off Cornwallis's supplies by sea.

(4) American Independence acknowledged by Treaty of Versailles, 1783.

iii. **The Winning of India :**

1. Our Empire in India was founded by private enterprise—by the East India Company.

2. Trading stations—factories—were established in India by English, French, and Dutch traders.

3. Robert Clive turned the tables on Dupleix, the French governor, who designed to drive the English from India.

(1) He captured Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic.

(2) He defeated Surajah Dowlah of the Black Hole Infamy at *Plassey*, and became governor of Bengal.

4. Clive's policy :

(1) He prevented the Company's servants from taking bribes.

(2) He introduced a purer system of justice.

(3) He inaugurated a new policy—that of interfering with native princes in order to acquire territory.

(4) The victory of Wandewash destroyed the French power in India.

5. Warren Hastings was the first Governor-General of India, and formed the design of bringing all India under British rule.

(1) He so protected the Company's territories and procured money for the Court of Directors in England.

(2) He made war on the *Mahrattas*.

(3) He checked the advances of Hyder Ali in the Carnatic.

(4) He extended British influence in native Indian courts.

(5) Warren Hastings was impeached, on his return to England, for cruelty and oppression, but was acquitted.

6. **General result of the administration of Clive and Hastings—**

The East India Company was made the first power in India, and the way was paved for the conquests which so speedily followed.

iv. **British Power at Sea, a mixture of success and failure.**

1. **During the three great eighteenth-century wars:**

(1) **Great exploits.**

1. Anson plundered the Spanish possessions in the Pacific.

2. Hawke defeated the French in *Quiberon Bay*.

3. The English took Manila and Havana from the Spaniards.

(2) **Failures.**

1. Admiral Byng failed to relieve Minorca, and was shot.

2. The French fleet improved, while ours remained stationary.

3. The French seized many of our West Indian islands.

4. The French and Spanish fleets kept up a three years' siege of Gibraltar.

(3) The turning-point is Rodney's victory over De Grasse off Dominica. The new manœuvre of *breaking the line* made sea-fights decisive.

2. During this century also Captain Cook took possession of Australia and New Zealand in the name of King George—an event of immense importance, though little noted at the time.

XXXI.—THE STRUGGLE AGAINST NAPOLEON.

i. **General characteristics of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars:**

1. They were altogether the greatest of Britain's wars.
 2. More ships and more men were employed than in any other British war.
 3. Vast sums of money were spent on fleets and armies.
 4. enormous sums were also given to the allies of Britain.
 5. The National Debt went up by leaps and bounds to £850,000,000.
- i. The leading events may be grouped into five periods.
 1. The events of the years 1792-1798:
 - (1) The French Revolution; French victories over Prussia and Austria; French alliance with Spain and Holland.
 - (2) Admiral Jervis shattered the French and Spanish fleets off *Cape St. Vincent*, 1797.
 - (3) The Mutiny of the Navy at Spithead and the Nore.
 - (4) Admiral Duncan defeated the Dutch at *Camperdown*, 1797.
 - (5) Nelson broke the power of the French in the *Battle of the Nile*, 1798.
 2. The events of 1800-1808:
 - (1) Nelson destroyed the Danish fleet at Copenhagen.
 - (2) Napoleon missed an army of invasion at Boulogne.
 - (3) Nelson destroyed the combined fleets of France and Spain off Cape Trafalgar.
 - (4) Napoleon defeated the Austrians at *Austerlitz* and the Prussians at *Jena*.
 - (5) He issued the Berlin and Milan decrees, and Britain replies with Orders in Council.
 3. **The Peninsular War, 1808-1813.**
 - (1) The Spaniards rose against the French, and begged help from Britain.
 - (2) Sir John Moore defeated the French, but was killed in action at *Corunna*.
 - (3) Wellington constructed the lines at Torres Vedras, from which no enemy could dislodge him.
 - (4) Wellington stormed *Ciudad Rodrigo* and *Badajoz*, and defeated the French at *Talavera*, *Salamanca*, *Vittoria*, and finally at *Toulouse*.

1. Napoleon's expedition to Russia, 1812.
 - (1) The Grand Army marched into the heart of Russia.
 - (2) The Russians deserted and set fire to Moscow.
 - (3) The retreat from Moscow.
 - (4) The allies—Russia, Austria, Prussia—forced Napoleon to abdicate.
5. **The Hundred Days.**
 - (1) Napoleon, having escaped from Elba in 1815, was declared by the allies to be "the common enemy of the world."
 - (2) Wellington was sent with an army to Belgium.
 - (3) The Prussians sent to his aid an army under Blücher.
 - (4) Napoleon defeated Blücher at *Ligny*.
 - (5) Wellington crushed Napoleon and the French at *Waterloo*.
- iii. Results of Trafalgar and Waterloo.
 1. England was rendered secure from invasion.
 2. The supremacy of England at sea was re-established.
 3. Great wealth was drawn from a commerce that became world-wide.
 4. An unrivalled colonial empire—**Greater Britain**—sprang up.

XXXII.—THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

1. At the beginning of the eighteenth century
 - (1) Britain was chiefly an agricultural country.
 - (2) The iron trade was in a languishing condition.
 - (3) The linen manufacture, centred chiefly in Scotland and Ireland, was small.
 - (4) No true cotton fabrics could be manufactured.
 - (5) Only the woollen trade was fairly prosperous.
2. **Inventions and Improvements.**
 - (1) The gigantic industries of Lancashire and Cheshire were due to
 1. Kay's flying shuttle.

2. Hargreaves' spinning-jenny.
 3. Arkwright's water-frame.
 4. Crompton's mule.
 5. Cartwright's power-loom.
 6. Tennant's bleaching by chlorine.
- (2) The use of coal in smelting and Cort's invention of the puddling process fostered the iron industry.
 - (3) Wedgwood developed the potteries of Staffordshire.
 - (4) Roads were made, and Brindley intersected the country by canals.
 - (5) James Watt's improvements on the steam-engine led to rapid advances in all industries.
3. Results of this Era of Machinery:
- (1) Great Industries grow up wherever coal was to be found.
 - (2) Factory villages became great factory towns—Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Nottingham, &c.
 - (3) The "by-industries" decayed.
 - (4) Great hardships to the artisan class, resulted from the factory system—remedied, however, by the **Factory Acts**.
 - (5) It shifted the industrial centres from the south and east of England to the north and west.
 - (6) Britain became "the workshop of the world".

XXXIII.—THE DEVELOPMENTS OF PARLIAMENT.

f. The Supremacy of Parliament.

1. Though the Revolution had settled the supremacy of Parliament, the Crown could still influence and rule Parliament
 - (1) By giving pensions and honours to members and their friends.
 - (2) By promotions in the army and navy.
2. Men saw that Parliament did not represent the people, and that the power of the Crown ought to be diminished.
- (1) Many of the great new industrial centres—Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester—had no members.

- (2) Small boroughs returned two.
- (3) Even large towns and counties had few electors (Edinburgh had a member to itself, but Glasgow had only a fourth share in a member).
- (4) "Pocket Boroughs" were numerous.
- (5) Bribery and corrupt practices were almost universal.

II. Reform.

1. The French Revolution delayed Reform in England for nearly forty years.
2. The Reform Bill of 1831 passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords.
3. Riots, almost approaching revolution, broke out all over England.
4. A threat to create new Peers made the Lords give way, and **The First Reform Bill** was passed in 1832.
 - (1) Members were taken from rotten boroughs.
 - (2) Members were given to large towns and counties.
 - (3) **The Franchise** was extended—so as to include shopkeepers, the richer artisans, farmers, &c.
5. The franchise has been twice lowered since then—in 1867 and in 1884,—so that Britain is now in reality a democratic country.

XXXIV.—THE CORN-LAWS.

The Epoch of Reform.

1. The Reform Bill was only the first of many measures of a similar kind.
2. It was followed by the Factory Acts, dealing with the ages, hours, &c., of the workers.
3. Among other reforms of the time were:
 - (1) Reform in the Criminal Law.
 - (2) Reform in the Poor-law.
 - (3) The Catholic Emancipation Act (1829).
 - (4) The abolition of the slave-trade (1807) and slavery (1834).
 - (5) The introduction of the penny-postage system (1840).

4. The abolition of the Corn-laws and the alteration of the Navigation Acts led to the establishment of free-trade, thus making
5. Britain the First Free-trading Country in the World.

XXXV.- THE CRIMEAN WAR AND THE INDIAN MUTINY.

I. The Crimean War.

1. Causes:

- (1) The desire of Russia to become mistress of Constantinople.
- (2) The Czar demanded the right of protecting the Christians of Turkey.
- (3) Jealousy of the growing power and influence of Russia.

- (1) Napoleon III's desire for military glory.

2. Leading Events in the Crimean War:

- (1) Victory of the British and French at *Alma*.
- (2) Bombardment of *Sebastopol*.
- (3) Charge of the Light Brigade at *Balaclava*.
- (4) The Battle of *Inkerman*—"the soldiers' battle".
- (5) The fall of *Sebastopol*.

3. Results:

- (1) Many reforms were carried out at the War Office.
- (2) Florence Nightingale's example proved a new departure in army nursing.
- (3) Newspaper correspondents first began to play an important part in war.
- (4) The Treaty of Paris.

1. Russia gave up her claim to interfere with Turkey.
2. The Black Sea was made neutral.
3. The navigation of the Danube was made free.
4. Roumania and Servia obtained freedom.

II. The Indian Mutiny.

1. Causes:

- (1) Discontent with the British policy of interfering with native habits, customs, and beliefs.

- (2) The exclusion of natives from the higher posts in the civil service.

- (3) The dissatisfaction of the many dethroned princes.

- (4) The withdrawing of the ablest men from the army for civil posts, and the weakening of the army by the Persian expedition.

- (5) The issue of cartridges supposed to be greased with the fat of cows and pigs was the immediate cause of the outbreak.

- (6) It was thought by many that the British power was declining.

2. Leading events of the Mutiny:

- (1) Outbreaks at *Meerut*, *Delhi*, *Lucknow*, and *Cawnpore*, 1857.
- (2) Massacre at *Cawnpore*.
- (3) Capture of *Delhi*.
- (4) Relief of *Lucknow* by *Havelock*, *Outram*, and *Campbell*.

3. Results:

- (1) The whole Indian administration was placed under the control of the Crown.
- (2) The *East India Company* was dissolved, and the Governor General became Viceroy.
- (3) The native army was considerably reduced.

XXXVI.-PALMERSTON; DISRAELI; GLADSTONE.

After Peel, whose masterful skill carried the country through the difficulties of Catholic Emancipation and the Abolition of the Corn-laws.

Britain has had three eminent statesmen in the House of Commons.

I. Lord Palmerston.

- (1) He brought the Crimean War to a successful end.
- (2) He piloted the country safely through all the dangers of the Indian Mutiny.
- (3) Even when wrong—as in the case of one of the Chinese wars—he was strongly supported by the country.

2. **Gladstone.**

- (1) He was strong in finance, and was Chancellor of the Exchequer under Palmerston.
- (2) Gladstone's policy was "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform".
- (3) He passed the **Education Act** (Mr. Forster's).
- (4) He passed the **Ballot Act**.
- (5) He abolished the system of Army Purchase.
- (6) He disestablished the Irish Protestant Church.
- (7) He carried an **Irish Land Act**.
- (8) He wrecked the old Liberal party by his action in connection with **Home Rule for Ireland**.

3. **Disraeli.**

- (1) At first leader of the Protectionists.
- (2) Soon set to work to "educate his party" to rival the Liberals in granting reforms, e.g. the Reform Bill of 1867.
- (3) Was **Imperialist in Policy**; did not shrink from war; was ready to extend the empire.
- (4) His firmness in dealing with Russia led to good results in the Treaty of Berlin.

XXXVII.—ENGLAND SINCE GLADSTONE.

1. **The New Democracy.**

- (1) Disappearance of great party leaders.
- (2) Control exercised over Members of Parliament.

2. **Fate of Parties.**

- (1) Liberals defeated in 1895.
- (2) Conservatives hold office till 1906.
- (3) Liberals carry the general election of that year.

3. **Death of Queen Victoria, January 22, 1901, and Accession of Edward VII.**4. **Parliamentary Measures.**

- (1) The Conservative Education Act, 1902.
- (2) The Old Age Pension Act, 1908.

(3) Tendency towards Socialism.

5. **Projected Reform of the House of Lords.**

XXXVIII.—THE EMPIRE IN AFRICA AND ASIA.

1. **Expansion of the European Powers.**

- (1) Expansion has not ceased.
- (2) But America has been a closed continent, though the United States has added substantially to its territory.
- (3) In Asia, Japan and England are opposed to the further encroachment of Russia. The Anglo-Japanese Treaty.

2. **General Interest in Africa begins after 1880.**

- (1) Possessions of the various European Powers, France, Germany, Italy and Portugal.
- (2) The distribution of the English possessions.

3. **Egypt and the Empire.**

- (1) Origin of our interest in Egypt.
- (2) Administration of Lord Cromer.
- (3) The loss of the Sudan and its reconquest.
- (4) Results of British administration in Egypt and the Sudan.

4. **British South Africa.**

- (1) Acquisition of Cape Colony.
- (2) Exodus of the Boers.
- (3) The three Boer Republics.
- (4) Independence of the Transvaal and the Orange River Free State.
- (5) First annexation of the Transvaal, and the Boer war for independence.
- (6) Discovery of gold in the Transvaal and the influx of settlers.
- (7) Grievances of the settlers under Boer rule.
- (8) Outbreak of the Boer War. Its conclusion in 1902.
- (9) Annexation of Transvaal and the Orange River Free State.
- (10) Attempts at Confederation.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

GREAT EVENTS IN ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH HISTORY.

I.—THE ROMAN PERIOD (43-410).

- B.C.
55. First Landing of Julius Cæsar in Britain
54. Second Landing of Julius Cæsar in Britain.
A.D.
43. Re-invasion by the Romans, and Conquest of South Britain.
94. Agricola, Roman Governor of Britain, defeated the Caledonians in the battle of *Mons Graupius*.
120. Hadrian's Wall—stone wall and earthen rampart built from the Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tyne.
410. Withdrawal of the Romans from Britain: Rome captured by the Goths; Fall of the Western Roman Empire (477 A.D.).

II.—THE OLD ENGLISH PERIOD (449-1066).

449. English Conquest of South Britain began with the landing of the Jutes under Hengist and Horsa in Kent.
597. Introduction of Christianity into Kent by Augustine, sent from Rome by Pope Gregory
(d. 597). St. Columba, abbot of Iona, founded Celtic Christian Church in northern Britain
(d. 651). St. Aidan from Scotland founded Celtic Church in Northumbria.
664. Synod of Whitby decided in favour of the Roman ritual and time for keeping Easter.
787. First Invasion of the Northmen.
827. Egbert, King of the West Saxons, became king of the English south

- A.D.
of the Thames and overlord of all the English as far as the firth of Forth.
843. Union of the Picts and Scots under Kenneth MacAlpine.
878. Northmen, under Guthrum, invaded Wessex: Alfred retreated to Athelney, *Battle of Ethandun*; *Treaty of Wedmore*.
945. Edmund conquered Cumberland, which he gave to Malcolm, King of Scots, on military tenure
966. Edgar divided Northumbria, and granted Lothian to Kenneth, King of Scots, to be held by him as vassal.
1002. Massacre of the Danes on St. Brice's Day
1017. Canute, the Dane chosen king of all England.
1042. English line of kings restored in the person of Edward the Confessor
1066. The Norman Conquest.
Harold defeated Tostig and the Northmen at *Stamford Bridge*. *Battle of Senlac or Hastings*. Harold killed. William accepted as king.

III.—THE NORMAN PERIOD (1066-1154).

1066. The Norman Conquest.
1078. Rebellion of William's son.
1086. Domesday Book—a general survey of England—produced; Great Court held at Salisbury.
1100. Henry I. married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm of Scotland.
1138. David of Scotland defeated in the *Battle of the Standard*.

IV.—THE PLANTAGENET PERIOD (1154-1399).

- A.D.
 1157. Malcolm, King of Scots, did homage to Henry II. for the earldom of Huntingdon.
 1159. **Scutage**—a payment in money instead of military service—first regularly instituted.
 1162. Thomas Becket elected Archbishop of Canterbury.
 1164. **The Constitutions of Clarendon.**
 1170. Becket murdered at Canterbury.
 1171. Henry visited Ireland; his supremacy acknowledged by the chiefs.
 1174. William the Lion captured near *Alnwick*; set free by **Treaty of Falaise** on condition of doing homage for Scotland.
 1191. *Acre*, in Palestine, captured by Richard I.
 1208. England placed under an **Interdict** by the Pope.
 1215. **The Great Charter** signed by King John at *Runcinmeade*.
 1257. Simon de Montfort assumed the leadership of the opposition to Henry III.
 1258. **The Mad Parliament** drew up the **Provisions of Oxford**.
 1264. The barons victorious in the *Battle of Lewes*.
 1265. Representatives from boroughs and cities summoned for the first time to Parliament; *Battle of Evesham*.
 1282. **The Conquest of Wales.**
 1291. Meeting at *Norham* with the Scots; Edward's claim to decide the succession acknowledged.
 1295. First complete Parliament—"the **Model Parliament**"—of the Three Estates.
 1296. Scots defeated in the *Battle of Dunbar*; Balliol dethroned.
 1297. Wallace victorious in the *Battle of Stirling Bridge* or *Cambuskenneth*.
 1298. Wallace defeated at *Falkirk*.
 1304. *Stirling Castle* taken by the English; conquest of Scotland completed.
 1305. Wallace captured and executed at London.
 1306. Robert Bruce crowned at *Scone*; defeated at *Methven*.
 1314. *Battle of Bannockburn*; establishment of Scottish independence.
 1328. **The Independence of Scotland** recognized by Edward III.

A.D.

1333. Scots defeated at *Halidon Hill*; Balliol reinstated.
 1338. Beginning of the Hundred Years' War with France.
 1346. *Battle of Crecy*; David II. defeated at *Neuil's Cross* and taken prisoner.
 1349. **The Black Death**; the **Statute of Labourers**.
 1356. *Battle of Poitiers*.
 1381. Rising of the Commons under Wat Tyler.
 1388. *The Raid of Otterburn*.
 1393. **The Statute of Praemunire.**

V.—THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER (1399-1461)

1402. Scots defeated at *Homildon Hill*.
 1403. Conspiracy of the *Peoles*; *Battle of Shrewsbury*; Harry Percy ("Hotspur") killed.
 1415. *Battle of Agincourt*.
 1420. **Treaty of Troyes** signed.
 1421. English defeated at *Beaumont* by French, aided by a body of Scots.
 1429. **The Siege of Orleans** raised by Jeanne d'Arc.
 1450. Rebellion headed by Jack Cade.
 1453. Final loss of France, Calais alone remaining.
 1455. Beginning of the Wars of the **Roses**.

VI.—THE HOUSE OF YORK (1461-1485).

1474. Printing introduced in England by William Caxton.
 1485. { Henry of Richmond invaded England.
 Battle of Bosworth.
 End of the Wars of the **Roses**.

VII.—THE TUDOR PERIOD (1485-1603).

1487. Lambert Simnel proclaimed king as Edward VI.
 1492. Perkin Warbeck, another impostor, landed in Ireland.
 1502. Margaret Tudor married James IV. of Scotland.
 1513. *Battle of Flodden*.
 1520. Henry VIII. met King Francis on "The Field of the Cloth of Gold".
 1529. Fall of Wolsey.
 1532. Beginning of the Reformation in England.

- A. D.
 1535 Henry VIII. took the title of "Supreme Head of the Church in England".
 1539. All monasteries suppressed.
 1541. Henry VIII. declared King of Ireland.
 1542. Scots routed at *Solway Moss*.
 1547 Scots defeated at the *Battle of Pinkie*.
 1549. The first Prayer-book of Edward VI. approved.
 1554. Lady Jane Grey executed.
 1555. The Marian persecution began.
 1558. *Calaix* captured by the French.
 1559. Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity passed.
 1563. The Thirty-nine Articles drawn up and signed.
 1587 Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.
 1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada

VIII.—THE STUART PERIOD
 (1603-1714).

1604. The Hampton Court Conference.
 1605. The Gunpowder Plot discovered.
 1613. Execution of Sir Walter Raleigh.
 1621. Bacon Lord Chancellor, impeached.
 1628. Charles I. assented to the *Petition of Right*.
 1637. John Hampden refused to pay ship-money.
 1640. The Long Parliament met.
 1644. *Battle of Marston Moor*.
 1645. *Battle of Naseby*; Montrose defeated at *Philiphaugh*.
 1649. Charles I. executed; *Drogheda* sacked.
 1650. Scots defeated at *Battle of Dunbar*.
 1651. Charles defeated at the *Battle of Worcester*.
 1653. Dutch Naval War.
 1660. The Restoration.
 1665. The Great Plague of London.
 1666. The Great Fire of London.
 1667. The Cabal Ministry.
 1672. The Declaration of Indulgence.
 1673. Test Act passed.
 1679. Habeas Corpus Act passed.
 1680. The Exclusion Bill rejected by the Lords.
 1685. Insurrection of Monmouth; *Battle of Sedgemoor*; the Bloody Assizes.

- A. D.
 1688. The Seven Bishops tried and acquitted.
 Revolution; William Prince of Orange invited to invade England; James deposed.
 1689. The Declaration of Right.
 1690. *Battle of the Boyne*.
 1692. Massacre of Glencoe; Naval battle off *La Hogue*.
 1693. Origin of the National Debt.
 1694. The Bank of England established.
 1697. The Peace of Ryswick.
 1701. The Act of Settlement passed.
 1702. War of the Spanish Succession began.
 1704. *Battle of Blenheim*; Capture of Gibraltar; Scottish Act of Security.
 1706. *Battle of Ramillies*.
 1707. Act of Union between England and Scotland.
 1708. *Battle of Oudenarde*.
 1709. *Battle of Malplaquet*.
 1713. The Treaty of Utrecht.

IX.—THE HOUSE OF HANOVER
 (1714-1901)

1715. Defeat of the Jacobites at *Preston, Sheriffmuir*; The Riot Act.
 1716. The Septennial Parliament Bill passed.
 1720. The South Sea Company purchased from Government part of the national debt.
 1736. The Porteous Riots in Edinburgh.
 1743. George II. defeated the French at *Dettingen*—the last time a British sovereign personally led troops to battle.
 1745. The British defeated by the French at *Fontenoy*. Charles Edward Stuart defeated Cope at *Prestoupana*.
 1746. Charles defeated Hawley at *Falkirk*. Charles was finally defeated at *Culloden*.
 1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
 1756. The French captured *Minorca*. The Black Hole of Calcutta.
 1759. The Capture of Quebec by Wolfe.
 1763. The Treaty of Paris—End of the Seven Years' War.
 1765. The Stamp Act for America passed.
 1776. American Independence declared.

- A. D.
- 1781 Lord Cornwallis surrendered at *Yorktown*.
1782. Spanish fleet defeated by Rodney off *Cape St. Vincent*.
- 1783 Britain acknowledged the Independence of the United States.
1789. **The French Revolution.**
1795. The Cape of Good Hope captured from the Dutch.
1797. Naval victories off *St. Vincent* and *Camperdown*.
1798. *The Battle of the Nile*.
1800. **The Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland** passed.
1801. Defeat of the French at *Alexandria*, and of the Danish fleet at *Copenhagen*.
1805. The French and Spanish fleets defeated off *Trafalgar*.
1806. Defeat of the French at *Corunna*; Sir John Moore killed.
1812. The storming of *Badajoz*; the victory of *Samarang*; the burning of *Moscow*.
1813. *The Battle of Vittoria*.
1814. Wellington defeated *Soult* at *Toulouse*; abdication of Napoleon.
1815. Complete defeat of Napoleon at *Waterloo*.
1829. **The Catholic Emancipation Bill** passed.
1832. **The Reform Bill** passed.
1833. **An Act for the Emancipation of Slaves** passed.
- A. D.
1837. Hanover separated from England.
1846. The Bill for the gradual **Repeal of the Corn-laws** passed.
1848. The Battles of *Alma*, *Balaclava*, *Inkermann*.
1855. *The Fall of Sebastopol*.
1857. *The Indian Mutiny*—the capture of *Delhi*, the massacre at *Cawnpore*, the relief of *Lucknow*.
1862. The Cotton Famine in Lancashire, caused by the Civil War in America, 1861-1865.
1870. **The Irish Land Act and the Elementary Education Act** passed.
1878. **The Congress of Berlin** to settle the Russo-Turkish difficulty.
1882. Arabi defeated at *Tel-el-Kebir*.
1885. The death of General Gordon at *Khartoum*.
1886. Defeat of the Gladstone Scheme for Home Rule in Ireland.
1889. **County Councils Act** passed.
1894. **Parish Councils Act** passed.
1898. *Battle of Omdurman*—Re-conquest of the *Soudan*.
1900. **Boers declared war**. Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking besieged.
1900. Towns relieved; Bloemfontein and Pretoria captured; Transvaal and Orange Free State proclaimed British territory.
1901. January 22, **Death of Queen Victoria**. Accession of Edward VII.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

GREAT EVENTS IN SCOTTISH HISTORY.

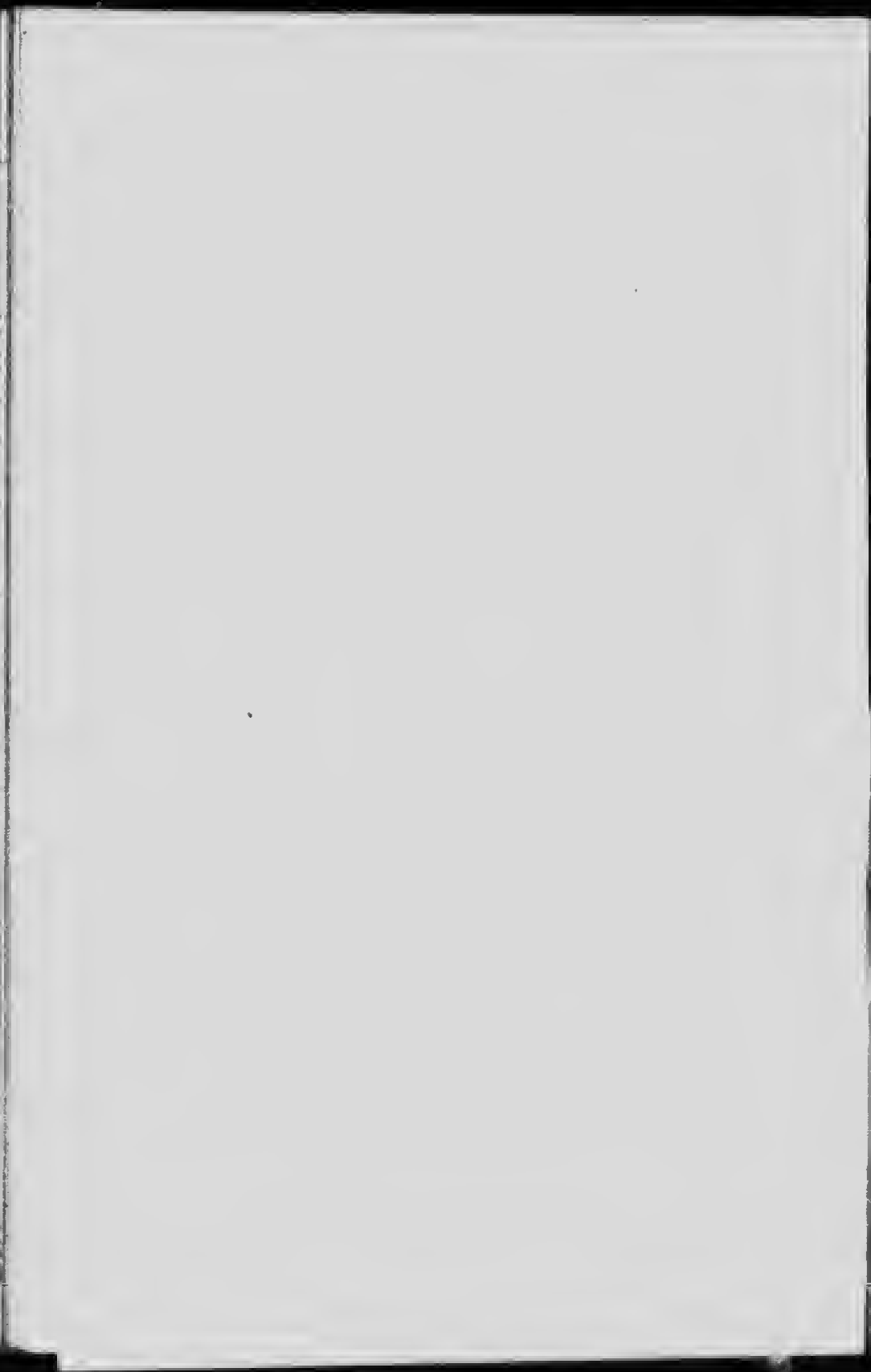
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| <p>A.D.
 80. Julius Agricola invaded Scotland.
 84. The Romans defeated the Caledonians at <i>Mons Graupius</i>.
 209. The Romans built a wall—now known as <i>Graham's Dyke</i>—between the Forth and the Clyde.
 4th Century. { The Picts—formerly Caledonians, and the Scots—immigrants from Ireland—invaded South Britain.
 5th Century. }</p> <p>843. Union of the Picts and Scots under Kenneth MacAlpine.
 945. Malcolm, King of Scots, obtained Strathclyde from Edmund on military tenure.
 968. Edgar granted Lothian to Kenneth II.
 1066. Malcolm Canmore became King of Scotland.
 1068. Malcolm Canmore married Margaret, sister of Edgar the Atheling.
 1072. William I. compelled Malcolm Canmore to do him homage.
 1100. Henry I. of England married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III, thus uniting Norman and Saxon royal lines.
 1138. David I. defeated at the <i>Battle of the Standard</i>.
 1157. Malcolm IV. did homage to Henry II. for the Earldom of Huntingdon.
 1174. William the Lion captured near <i>Alnwick</i>; <i>Treaty of Falaise</i>; William did homage for Scotland.
 1189. Richard I. released William the Lion from his feudal obligation.</p> | <p>A.D.
 1213. The Border Line between England and Scotland fixed.
 1213. The last Division of the Scotsmen; Hautes that destroyed at <i>Largs</i>.
 1236. Death of Alexander III.
 1260. Heir of the Maid of Norway.
 1291. Meeting at Norham with Edward I.
 1292. John Balliol crowned at Scone.
 1296. <i>Battle of Dunbar</i>; Balliol deposed.
 1297. <i>Battle of Stirling Bridge</i>.
 1298. Wallace defeated at <i>Falkirk</i>.
 1303. Defeat of English at <i>Roslin</i>.
 1304. Stirling Castle captured; Conquest of Scotland completed.
 1305. Wallace betrayed, condemned, and executed.
 1306. Bruce killed Comyn at <i>Dunfries</i>; crowned at Scone, defeated at <i>Methven</i>.
 1307. Bruce defeated the English at <i>Loudoun Hill</i>.
 1311. Castle of <i>Linlithgow</i> taken by the Scots.
 1313. Roxburgh and Edinburgh Castles taken by the Scots.
 1314. <i>The Battle of Bannockburn</i>.
 1328. The complete Independence of Scotland recognized by England.
 1333. <i>Battle of Halidon Hill</i>.
 1346. Defeat of the Scots at <i>Nevel's Cross</i>; capture of David II.
 1388. <i>The Battle of Otterburn or Chevy Chase</i>.
 1396. <i>Clan Battle on the North Inch of Perth</i>.
 1401. Murder of the Duke of Rothesay in <i>Falkland Palace</i>.</p> |
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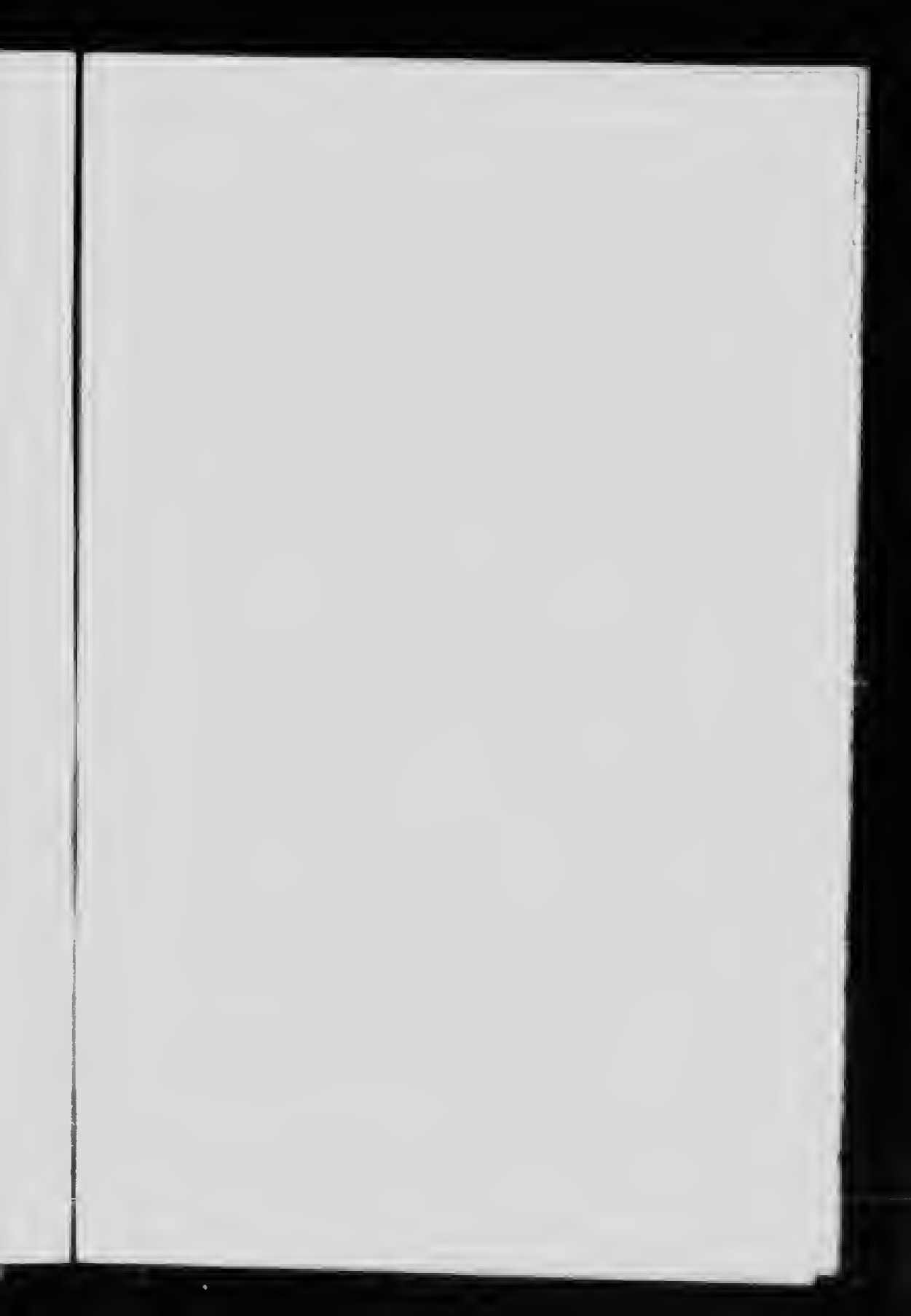
- A.D.
 1402. The Scots defeated at *Homildon Hill*.
 1411. *The Battle of Harlaw* established the superiority of the Lowlands over the Highlands.
 1413. The University of St. Andrew's founded.
 1421. *The Battle of Beaugé*.
 1440. The Black Douglas's Dinner.
 1448. Defeat of English at the *Battle of Sark*.
 1482. Cochran hanged at Lauder Bridge by Archibald Bell-the-Cat.
 1488. *Battle of Sauchieburn*.
 1502. James IV. married Margaret Tudor.
 1513. *The Battle of Flodden*.
 1520. "Cleanse the Causeway."
 1542. The Scots defeated at *Solway Moss*.
 1544. English defeated at *Ancrum*.
 1547. The Scots defeated at the *Battle of Pinkie*.
 1557. The first Covenant or "band" signed at Edinburgh.
 1567. The Murder of Darnley.
 1568. Mary Queen of Scots defeated at *Langside*.
 1582. University of Elinburgh founded; Raid of Ruthven.
 1587. Mary Queen of Scots executed at Fotheringay Castle.
 1600. The Gowrie Conspiracy.
 1603. The Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland.

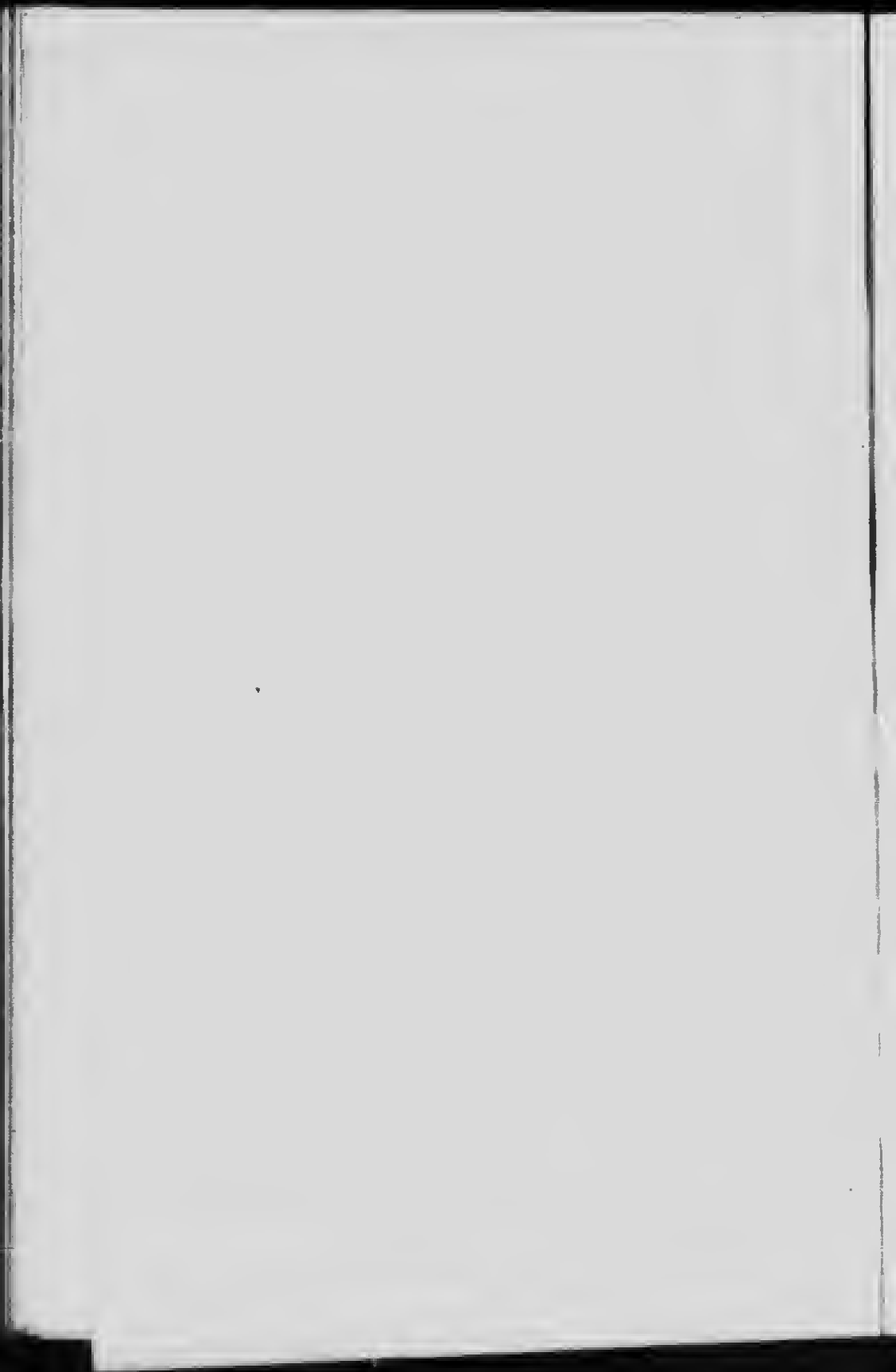
- AFTER THE UNION OF 1603.
 A.D.
 1637. The Riot in St. Olles's Church.
 1645. The Marquis of Montrose defeated by David Leslie at *Philiphaugh*.
 1648. The Scots defeated by Cromwell at *Preston*.
 1650. Defeat and Execution of Montrose; Scots, under Leslie, defeated at *Dunbar*.
 1651. Charles II. crowned at Scone.
 1661. The Marquis of Argyle beheaded.
 1666. The Scottish Covenanters defeated at *Rullion Green* on the Pentland Hills.
 1679. Archbishop Sharp murdered on Magnus Moor; Graham of Claverhouse defeated by the Covenanters at *Drumclog*; Covenanters routed at *Bothwell Bridge*.
 1684-1688. "The killing time."
 1685. The Rising and Execution of Argyle.
 1689. Meeting of the Scottish Convention; defeat of William's troops at *Kiltiecrunkie*.
 1692. The Massacre of Glencoe.
 1699. Failure of the Darien Scheme.
 1707. The Act for the Union passed.
 1715. First Jacobite Rebellion: "The Fifteen".
 1745. Second Jacobite Rebellion: "The Forty-five".
 1746. *The Battle of Culloden*.
 1832. The Reform Act gave Scotland fifty-three representatives.
 1872. The Education (Scotland) Act passed for the formation of School Boards.

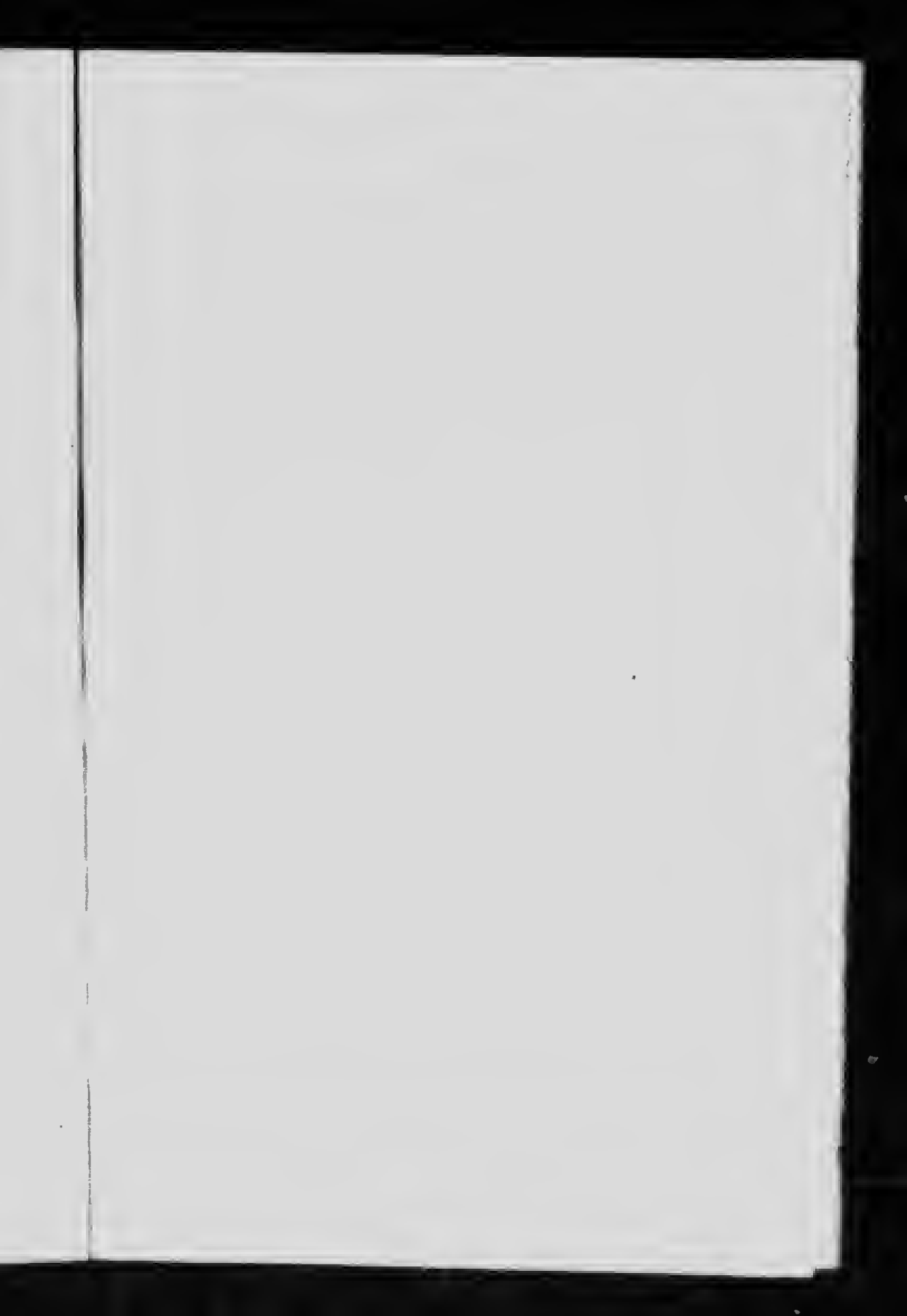
THIRTY MEMORABLE DATES IN BRITISH HISTORY.

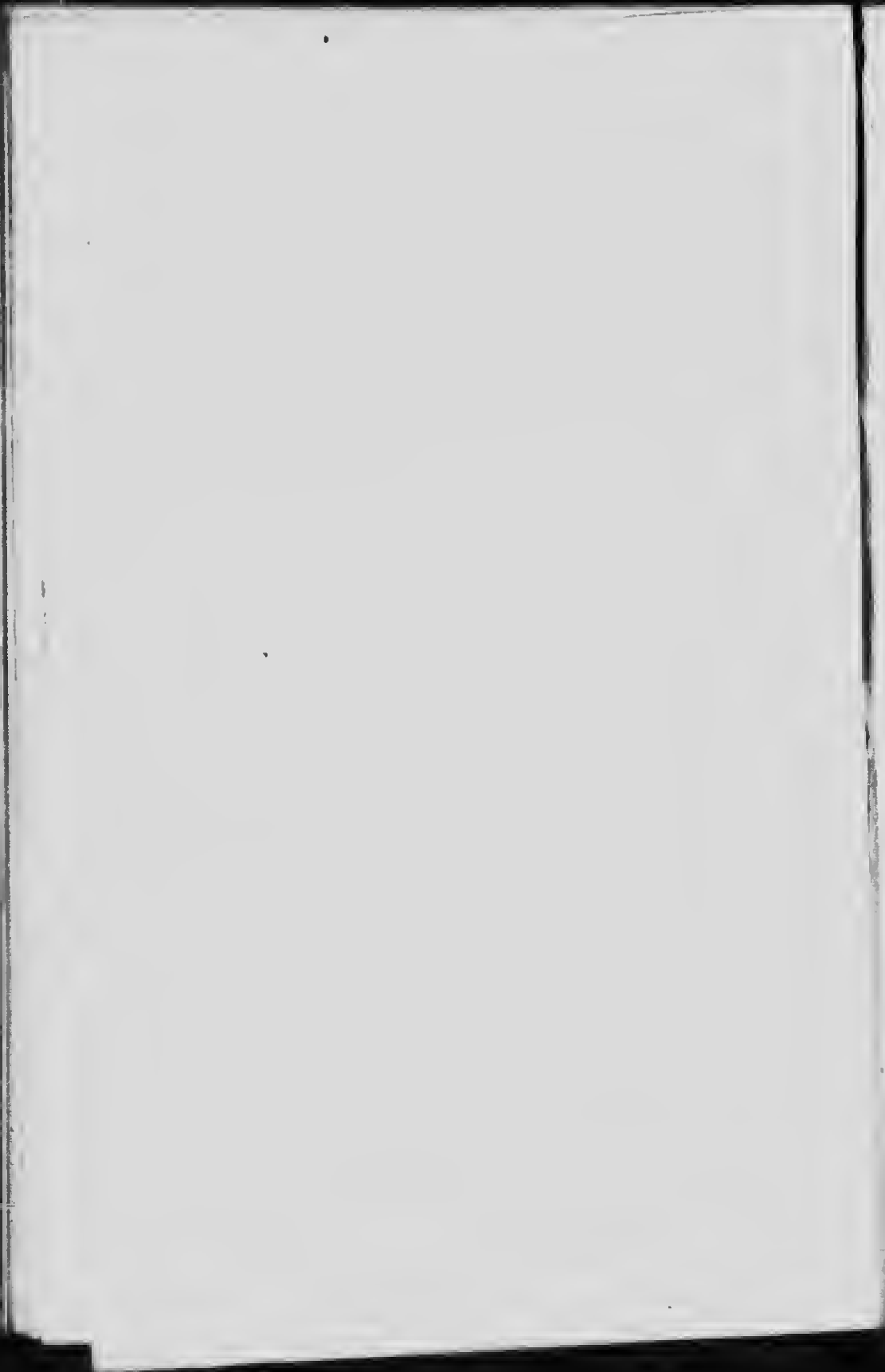
- | B.C. | A.D. |
|---|--|
| 65. Caesar's First Invasion of Britain. | 1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada. |
| A.D. | 1603. The Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland. |
| 43. Beginning of the Roman Conquest of Britain. | 1611. The Authorized Version of the Bible published. |
| 449. Beginning of the English Conquest of Britain. | 1649. Charles I. beheaded. |
| 607. Mission of St. Augustine to Britain. | 1660. The Restoration of Charles II. |
| 787. First Invasion of the Northmen. | 1679. Habeas Corpus Act passed. |
| 871. The accession of Alfred the Great. | 1688. The Glorious Revolution. |
| 1066. The Norman Conquest of England. | 1707. The Union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland. |
| 1215. The Great Charter signed. | 1715. The First Jacobite Rebellion: "The 'Fifteen'". |
| 1265. Simon de Montfort's Parliament. | 1745. The Second Jacobite Rebellion: "The 'Forty-five'". |
| 1282. The Conquest of Wales by Edward I. | 1776. Declaration of Independence by the United States. |
| 1314. The Battle of Bannockburn. | 1800. The Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland passed. |
| 1485. The Battle of Bosworth: End of the Wars of the Roses. | 1815. The Battle of Waterloo. |
| 1513. The Battle of Flodden. | 1832. The Reform Bill passed by the Lords. |
| 1529. The Reformation begins. | 1848. The Repeal of the Corn-laws. |
| | 1857. The Indian Mutiny. |

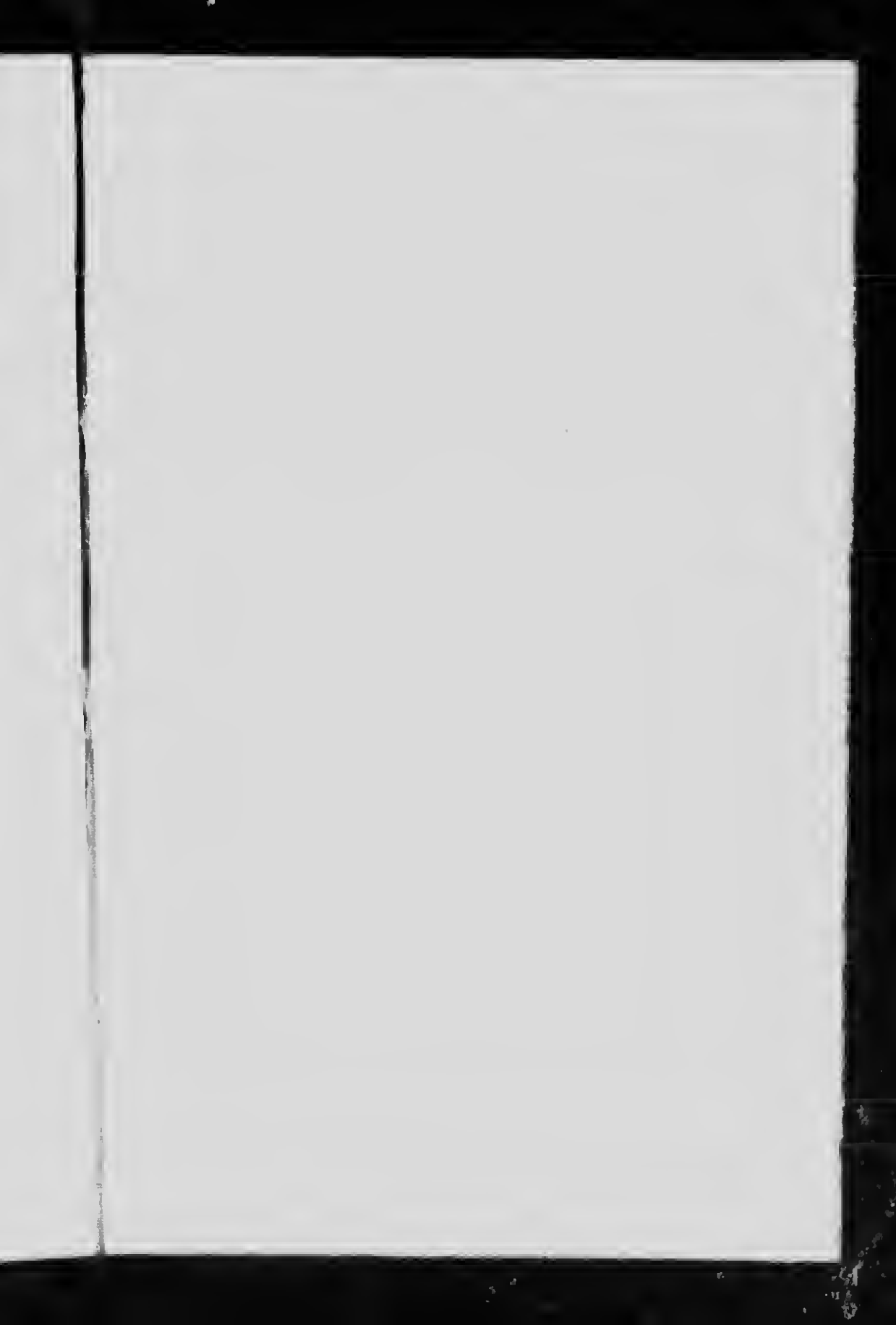




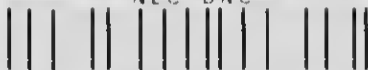








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