# ENGLISH HISTORY
## IN A NEW SETTING—II
### (1485 - 1688)

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
AS WELL AS
POLITICAL AND MILITARY

BY
VERNON SIMMS
M.A. (Lond.)
*Assistant Master at the Central Foundation Boys' School, London*

ILLUSTRATED

*W. R. Pratt, B.A.*

J. M. DENT AND SONS LTD.
BEDFORD STREET LONDON W.C.2

MADE IN GREAT BRITAIN. PRINTED BY
SHERRATT AND HUGHES AT THE ST ANN'S PRESS
TIMPERLEY CHESHIRE

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1936
REPRINTED IN 1938

TO MY
FATHER AND MOTHER

# PREFACE

THIS book, the second of a series of four volumes covering English History, deals with the period 1485 to 1688 and is intended for use as a text book in preparatory schools, in the junior forms of secondary schools, central and senior schools, and in the senior forms of elementary schools. Like the first volume of the series, this second volume has been written with the object of supplying the definite demand for a text-book which, while furnishing an account of the political development of the English nation during the period adequate for teaching and examination purposes, should at the same time contain a decided economic and social bias, to meet the requirements of syllabuses which now demand more attention to those aspects of the subject. Thus it is in no way to be regarded as an "extra" book.

While the use which the teacher will make of the book must, of course, be left to his own judgment, the author has tried to write a book which the boy or girl can use with advantage at home as well as at school. To this end, a glossary of those words, such as "excommunicate", "transubstantiation", etc., which cause so much trouble to those reading English History for the first time, has been included at the end of the book. These "glossary" words will be found in italics in the text. Also, at the end of each chapter, a list of questions based upon the text has been added, which, it is hoped, will be found useful for the purposes of homework or revision; and a short list of well-known novels dealing with the events covered in the preceding chapter.

All those who have done any research on the period covered by the book will be acquainted with the wide differences of opinion which are held on many aspects, especially the economic, of Tudor and Stuart history. Thus it is possible that the author's opinions, for instance, on the Agrarian Revolution of the sixteenth

century, on the foreign policy of Wolsey, and on the place of Charles II in the history of his reign, will not be shared by some teachers. In that event, they can, and no doubt will, state their own opinions to their pupils. The author would like it to be clearly understood, however, that he has not been influenced in the slightest degree by the conclusions of the school of "popular biography" at present flourishing, which, for example, would reduce Elizabeth to a puppet in the hands of Cecil.

Finally, it remains to acknowledge the debts contracted in writing the book. The author's obligations to the standard works on the period will be obvious to all who are acquainted with them. He also desires to express his grateful thanks to those of his colleagues and fellow research-students who have assisted him; to Mr. H. W. Marsh for much valuable advice in the preparation of the book, and to Mr. H. Hayden, M.A., for reading the proofs so efficiently and for placing at the author's disposal his wide and profound knowledge of the history of the theatre.

Any suggestions or criticisms will be welcomed by the author.

VERNON SIMMS

*March*, 1936.

# CONTENTS

## APPENDIX

# MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

# INTRODUCTORY

## THE DAWN OF MODERN TIMES

*NOTE. Although the Renaissance and the Reformation should be numbered among the great changes which produced the modern world, their effect was not fully felt in England until after 1485. Accordingly they are dealt with in a separate chapter.*

### I. The Year 1485 marks the End of the Middle Ages in England

In English History, the year 1485—the date of the battle of Bosworth—is usually taken to mark the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times. It is undoubtedly the most correct as well as the most convenient date, for the battle of Bosworth does mark a definite break in the story of the English people. Richard III, who lost the battle and with it his life, belonged to the Middle Ages; Henry Tudor, who won the Crown of England on that field in Leicestershire, was a man of the modern world. But the Middle Ages did not die in a day with Richard "Crookback" on Bosworth field; they passed away gradually, chiefly as a result of profound changes in the manner of living of the English people. These changes, closely connected with each other, had begun their work centuries before Henry VII landed at Milford Haven and they were still at work long after he was dead.

What were these changes which, roughly between 1300 and 1600, transformed our country from a feudal into a national state, which is a convenient way of stating the real difference between medieval and modern England? In order to answer that question clearly, it is necessary to recall the chief features of *feudalism*.

### II. The Downfall of the Feudal System

The feudal system was a method of carrying on the affairs of the country by making the ownership of land, then the chief source of wealth, the basis of men's relations with each other. A man held land from a superior in return for performing certain

services. The barons, or tenants-in-chief, held their estates from the king and in return they were bound to pay him certain *aids*, give him advice in his Great Council and, if called upon, follow him to war with a certain number of men for forty days in every year. The small landowners, or knights, held their estates from the barons on very similar conditions, while the *villeins*, in return for their holdings, worked on the lands of their overlords on certain days in the week.

**1. The Growth of the Power of the King.** Now, by 1300, this system had begun to decay in England and, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was gradually destroyed, both from the top and the bottom. In the first place, the power of the king, in relation to that of the barons or nobles, was greatly increased. According to feudal ideas, the king was little more than a supreme overlord and was expected to " live of his own ". But William I, Henry I and II, and Edward I, by establishing a national system of justice and administration, had strengthened the royal power considerably and the great development of English national feeling in the fourteenth century, which found an outlet in the Hundred Years' War, added still further to the prestige of the king, who was regarded as the leader and symbol of this new patriotism. Henry V was the first king to be granted the customs duties for life by Parliament, and his victory of Agincourt, won, not by the feudal knight, but by the *cloth-yard* shafts of the *yeoman*, was regarded as a national triumph. The loss of France after his death could not destroy this patriotism or the feeling that the king was a figure who represented the whole nation. Then the bloody *vendetta* waged by the nobles on the battle-fields of the Wars of the Roses went far towards destroying *feudalism* in England for ever. Finally, the increasing use of gunpowder completed the downfall of the old baronage, for Henry VII possessed the only artillery within his realm and could easily shatter the stone walls behind which rebel nobles had defied previous kings. Thus the victor of Bosworth was able to leave to his son Henry VIII a power greater than that possessed by any king of England before or since.

**2. The Emergence of the Squire.** In addition, a hundred years of warfare in France did much to break the feudal bond between baron and knight. Campaigns of conquest abroad could not be conducted with men who would serve only forty days in each year; thus professional armies took the place of feudal service, and the knight began his transformation into the country squire and *Justice of the Peace* of modern times, with his chief interests centred in farming and the problems of local government.

**3. The Villein Secures His Freedom.** In the second place, *feudalism* was overthrown from the bottom. In spite of its harshness and wastefulness, it had more than served its original purpose of keeping society together. Large tracts of land had been won for the plough from the forest, the population of England had risen steadily from a million and a half when Domesday Book was drawn up, to about four millions just before the Black Death, and the prosperity of all classes had increased. The *villein* was selling his surplus produce at the market of the growing town in his neighbourhood and he wished to use the money thus obtained to buy his freedom from the services due to his lord. He would then have more time to cultivate his own holding and could thus make more profit on his crops. This arrangement—the *commutation* of services for rent—was welcomed by the landlord for several reasons—he now received a steady income whether the harvest were good or bad, he had money to hire soldiers for the French wars, or if he preferred a more peaceful occupation, to speculate in sheep farming, which the growing demand for English wool was making a profitable undertaking. By 1450 the majority of *villeins* had bought their freedom and many were already solidly established in the *yeoman* class.

**4. The Growth of Commerce, Towns, and Middle Classes.** One of the most important influences in the overthrow of the old way of life was the great growth of commerce throughout the later Middle Ages. Life under the feudal system was lived in the

country, on *manors* that were isolated and self-supporting, with here and there a small town in which markets were held for the sale or exchange of goods. These towns, especially London, Norwich, and Bristol, grew in size, number, and importance from the twelfth century onwards. Their growth as centres of commerce was aided by the success of the feudal system they were to overthrow, for the surplus wealth of the *manor* enabled the landlord to demand luxuries in food, clothes, and ornaments; by the Crusades, which were followed by a great increase in foreign trade, enabling the towns to buy charters of *privileges* from the king and from needy barons, impoverished by the expenses of campaigns in the far-off Holy Land; by the policy of Hubert Walter, de Montfort, and Edward I, who encouraged the burgesses to govern their own towns and to take part in Parliament in the work of national government; by the Black Death, which broke up the old, settled life of the *manor* and drove many *villeins* to take refuge from their lords in the towns; and by the *immigration*, under the patronage of Edward III, of considerable numbers of *Flemish* weavers, who laid the foundations of the greatness of the English cloth industry.

By the fifteenth century, wealthy and active-minded middle classes had established themselves as a power in the land; their activities were seen in the operations of the prosperous Merchant Adventurers, who controlled the expanding export trade in English cloth, and their typical representative was the " merchant prince ", William Canynges of Bristol, who, in 1461, was sending out ten ships of his own in trading ventures. The increasing demand for English cloth abroad led to a great expansion in its manufacture at home which dealt a mortal blow to the *medieval* organization of the industry. The *guildsmen* in the chartered towns could no longer satisfy the demand and so the manufacture spread to the surrounding countryside, with the result that the *guild* system gave way to the " domestic system " which lasted to the end of the eighteenth century.

The middle classes and the king were natural allies, for both were enemies of the feudal baron, and the prosperity of the towns was bound up with the increase of the royal power, for

trade could only flourish where the government was strong enough to keep order. The Tudor rule was successful because it was based on the material interests of the middle classes, the wealthiest, and therefore the strongest, section of the nation.

## III. The Decay of the Church's Authority

One of the greatest differences between *medieval* and modern times is the part played by the Church in the life of the people. During the Middle Ages the power of the Church was tremendous. Her empire was a very real one, with its capital at Rome, its own system of law, the *Canon Law*, its own vast revenue from *tithes*, bequests, and legal fees, its own universal language, Latin, its complete organization of Christendom into provinces under archbishops, *dioceses* under bishops, and parishes under priests, all deriving spiritual authority from the Pope, an absolute ruler and the representative of God upon earth. The Church's *sacraments* alone could save the soul from damnation, her courts alone could deal with marriages and wills; she had a complete monopoly of education, and since all educated men were in Holy Orders, the Church's control over the arts and sciences was absolute, and her servants alone were lawyers, ministers, and clerks of State.

Nevertheless, during the fifteenth century, this almost complete dominion over the minds and actions of men was fast breaking up. The vast wealth of the Church had long been enjoyed by the higher clergy, by monks and friars in the pursuit of worldly pleasures, and their spiritual duties had long been scandalously neglected, as we see from the portraits of Churchmen drawn by Chaucer in his *Prologue*. The result was that, although there were as yet few signs of an attack on the *doctrines* of the Church, public opinion in Western Europe was rapidly coming to the conclusion that the part played by the clergy in the life of the people no longer justified their possession of such great wealth. This belief was strengthened by the growing feeling of nationalism, which caused men to resent more and more the authority

enjoyed in their country by a *temporal* Italian prince—the Pope, and, in particular, the tribute paid to him.

Ever since the days of John and Henry III, this resentment of *papal* authority had been especially strong in England, and with the Popes living during most of the fourteenth century at Avignon under the control of France, the national enemy, Edward III was able to restrict their power in England severely by the *Statute of Provisors* and the *Ordinance of Praemunire*. The national dislike of *papal* authority and discontent with the wealth and laxity of the Church then found a spokesman in John Wyclif, the " Morning Star of the Reformation ". Although the Church, with the help of Henry IV and V, managed to crush the *Lollard* movement Wyclif had founded, she found him far too popular with his countrymen to burn him as a *heretic*. Indeed, the *Great Schism* (1378–1447) seemed to justify his attacks; rival popes, each claiming to be the sole representative of God upon earth, hurled abuse at each other across Europe, and although the schism was healed, none of the reforms which were so necessary were carried out. The discontent which Wyclif had voiced was felt increasingly as the fifteenth century went on by the powerful new middle classes, merchants and squires, one of whose strongest beliefs was that the Church no longer justified its possession of so much wealth and land. As we shall see, the support of these classes in the Reformation Parliament enabled Henry VIII to destroy for ever the authority of the Pope in England.

## IV. The Dawn of the Modern Spirit

Closely connected with the political, social, economic, and religious changes described above was a growing curiosity of mind that led men to experiment with all sorts of new ideas. This intense interest in the world around him is one of the most distinguishing marks of the man of modern times. In the Middle Ages men had thought and acted as members of a community, an order, or a *guild*; in modern times they think and act as individuals, for themselves. The result of this new spirit was a

number of inventions and discoveries which dealt mortal blows at the *medieval* scheme of things.

Gunpowder had been known in Europe since the thirteenth century, and cannon had been used at the battle of Crècy, but it was not until the fifteenth century that the French developed the use of artillery to expel the English from France. The long-bowman who had won all the English victories, the feudal knight in his armour, the hitherto impregnable stone castle—these belong to the Middle Ages; gunpowder and artillery, *standing armies* of musketeers and pikemen, in destroying and replacing them, ushered in modern times.

The arts of printing and paper-making had been known in China, but it was not until the modern spirit, working through the Renaissance, created a demand for knowledge that they were rediscovered in Europe. Perhaps the greatest event in fifteenth-century English history took place in 1476, when Caxton set up his printing-press at Westminster; at once the price of books was cheapened considerably; reading and study increased among the educated middle classes; men learnt to think for themselves, and the *monopoly* of the Church in knowledge and education was destroyed for ever.

Almost as important was the invention of the mariner's compass. For centuries past, experiments had been made to produce such an instrument, but it was not until the adventurous minds who longed to explore the mysterious western ocean set to work that a really serviceable compass was made. Voyagers could then safely dispense with the familiar landmarks of European coasts, and in 1492 Columbus reached the West Indies; soon after John Cabot from Bristol and Amerigo Vespucci, who gave his name to the whole continent, reached the mainland of America, and the Portuguese Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope to India. These discoveries played an important part in destroying the old order of things in Europe. The earth was conclusively proved to be round, a heavy blow to the prestige of the Church, which had always declared that, according to Scripture, it was flat. Before long, gold and silver from the mines of America were flowing into Europe, supplying a plentiful coinage for the further

expansion of commerce. The discoverers had been financed by the kings of Western Europe; their discoveries became royal territories, and much of the wealth of the New World found its way into royal treasuries, increasing still more the power of the New Monarchies.

Finally, the discovery of America prepared the way for the future greatness of England. No longer was she a small, unimportant island on the north-western edge of civilization; she now lay across the trade-routes between the Old World and the New. Her island position, the internal peace and unity she received from the powerful rule of the Tudors, the unifying effect of a national Parliament and a Common Law, and the activities of prosperous middle classes were before long to establish her as one of the most powerful nations of the modern world.

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) Why did feudalism pass away in England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries?

(2) What were the reasons for the decay of the Church's authority during the fifteenth century?

(3) State briefly the importance of the following inventions: gunpowder, printing, the mariner's compass.

# PART I

# ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS

(1485–1603)

# CHAPTER I

## THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION

### I. The Italian Renaissance

In the Introduction to this book many of the changes which transformed the *medieval* into the modern world have been described. These changes were closely connected with a great movement called the "Renaissance" or "Re-birth". What was it that was born again?

The Renaissance began in Italy about the year 1400. There were many reasons why it began in that country. Italy was in the forefront of civilization, a country where *feudalism* had largely given way to independent cities, whose citizens had become rich by conducting the trade of Europe with the East and who had used their wealth to buy their freedom from feudal overlords. Wealth also gave them leisure; travel in pursuit of trade had broadened their minds, made them receptive to new ideas and had given them a keen desire for knowledge. This desire took the form of an eager interest in the literature of ancient Greece—preserved at this time in the *Greek Empire*, rapidly breaking up before the victorious Turkish advance—and of ancient Rome, for these city-states felt themselves heirs to the glories of *republican* Rome, and the Italian they spoke resembled closely the Latin from which it had been derived.

Like all great movements, the Renaissance had its forerunners; they were Petrarch (1304-74) and his friend Boccaccio (1313-75), who first woke their fellow-Italians to an appreciation of the language and spirit of the ancient Latin writings. Very soon all Italian scholars and men of wealth were following Petrarch in collecting and interpreting the old manuscripts, which were mostly to be found on the dusty library shelves of *Benedictine* monasteries, those centres of light in which learning had been

preserved throughout the Dark Ages that followed the fall of the Roman Empire. Cosimo de Medici, the great merchant-prince of Florence, collected a library of eight hundred classical manuscripts; all Europe was explored for the writings of the ancient world, and Italy soon became one great school of the New Learning.

The knowledge of Greek had been almost entirely lost outside the Eastern (Greek) Empire; one of Petrarch's most valued possessions was a copy of *Homer* which he could not read. But now the enthusiasm of Italians to learn all about the ancient Greek world led wealthy citizens such as de Medici to invite famous Greek scholars to come from Constantinople to teach their language and literature.

Two events which occurred in the middle of the fifteenth century ensured the success of the Renaissance. In 1453 came the long-expected capture by the Turks of Constantinople, the capital of the *Greek Empire* and the greatest centre of learning in Europe, within whose libraries were stored manuscripts of all the great works of the ancient world. Hundreds of Greek scholars, with what they could save of these treasures, fled to Italy, where they were eagerly welcomed as teachers. The study of Greek became the fashion of the day, and scholars declared with enthusiasm: "Greece has not fallen. She has only migrated to Italy!" Secondly, the invention of printing, which took place soon afterwards, made possible the multiplication of copies of the manuscripts and enabled the New Learning to be spread throughout Western Europe.

But the Renaissance was more than a Revival of Learning; it was a re-awakening of the human mind from the slumber of a thousand years, a revolution in man's attitude towards life. "During the Middle Ages man had lived enveloped in a cowl. He had not seen the beauty of the world, or had seen it only to cross himself and turn aside, to tell his beads and pray." His mind had been dominated by the Church, which taught that this life was a discipline to prepare the soul for the next world in which it would spend eternity, and that the Church had imparted to man all the truth necessary for him to save his soul. Fifteenth-

century Europeans now learnt that the Greeks had regarded life as something to be lived to the full; that thoughts of a future life had not troubled them particularly and that they had taken it for granted that man could find out truth by using his powers of reason. The Renaissance is also called *Humanism* because it led to man's rediscovery of himself—*it was man who was born again* —and of the Greek belief that the chief end of life is the enjoyment of the world and everything in it.

It was in art, and particularly in painting, that the spirit of the Italian Renaissance was able to express itself most enduringly. New methods, in particular painting on canvas in oil, were introduced, *anatomy* was studied, the laws of *perspective* were discovered—with the result that artists were given much more freedom to express their own individuality. They began to paint pictures, no longer with the *medieval* object of inspiring people to live holy lives, but for the purpose of enabling them to appreciate and enjoy beauty in all its forms. The period 1500 to 1550 saw Renaissance painting in Italy reach its golden age with Michelangelo, Raphael, del Sarto, Correggio, Giorgione, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, and Leonardo da Vinci—perhaps the most remarkable man of the Italian Renaissance—producing masterpieces that succeeding centuries have agreed to call immortal.

No account of the Italian Renaissance would be of any value without some mention of Nicolò Machiavelli (1469-1527), for this Florentine *diplomatist* had undoubtedly more influence upon modern history than any other man of his age. Indeed, his book *The Prince* (1513) must be regarded as one of the most important written works of modern times. It is an essay on how to govern a state successfully. The author insists that the sole object of the Prince should be the advantage of the State; to secure this end, any means, including massacre, are justified; indeed, a Prince of courage and decision will do far more for the happiness of his people by force and cunning than a saintly ruler who is guided by his sense of right and wrong in his dealings with his subjects and with other States. It is no wonder that the word " machiavellian " has passed into most European languages as

a *synonym* for "cunning", but Machiavelli wrote honestly of men as he found them. He had no belief that they would ever become any better than they were. What idealism he had took the form of patriotism. He was disgusted with the disunion of Italy, then merely "a geographical expression", and he hoped that *Cesare Borgia* would make his country strong and united as Louis XI had made France, and Ferdinand of Aragon Spain. Machiavelli's teaching was followed by most rulers and statesmen who came after him—as we shall see, Henry VIII was his "*Prince*" *in action*—and the results of that *kind of patriotism* which takes for its motto "My country right or wrong" are very apparent in the world to-day.

The Italian Renaissance was a movement of many impulses, closely connected with each other and all hostile to the spirit of the Middle Ages. The men of the Renaissance believed that this life is the only certain one, and should be enjoyed to the full without regard to any uncertain future existence; that it is therefore more sensible to enjoy the beauty of this world than to prepare oneself by a saintly life for the next; and that, by using his powers of reason, man can solve all the problems of life without help from the Church. They were moved by a feeling of intense curiosity about those problems, about the personalities of their fellow-men, and about those parts of the world yet undiscovered. These—and that new patriotism felt by Machiavelli—are the forces that have made the world as we know it to-day.

## II. The Dawn of the English Renaissance; the Oxford Reformers

It was not long before the Renaissance spread from Italy to the rest of Europe, taking a different form in each country, according to the character and circumstances of its people. In England, Wyclif's *Lollard* followers had been crushed, but his desire to reform the Church and make it once again a power in the lives of the people had not died with him; it had grown in strength throughout the fifteenth century. Thus, in this

country, the Renaissance took the form of a religious revival. Englishmen were interested, not in painting and sculpture, but in the study of Greek and Latin, which would enable them to read and understand the New Testament, which the printing-press was making available for them.

The English Renaissance dawned in Oxford University; in 1497, John Colet, the son of a wealthy London merchant, returned there from Italy, where he had been studying Greek, to lecture on the Epistles of St. Paul. For a long time the Scriptures had been taught so slackly at the Universities that they had lost all meaning; they had ceased to be the stories of the lives and teaching of real men and had become store-houses of texts, with which dry-as-dust teachers tried to justify the authority of the Church over the lives of the people. Colet now endeavoured to make clear what St. Paul had really meant in his letters, and he did not shrink from applying the Apostle's teaching to his own times, pointing out the need for reform in the Church. Colet later became Dean of St. Paul's, and in 1510 he founded, under the shadow of his cathedral, St. Paul's School, in which the scholars were to be taught the classical Latin and Greek of the Renaissance. He earnestly hoped that the New Learning would lead in time to a reformation within the Church which would restore it to its old leadership in the lives of men.

Colet's ideals were shared by the Dutchman Erasmus (1467–1536), the most famous scholar of the day. Declaring that he wished to see the New Testament in every man's hand, Erasmus printed the original Greek text and his own Latin translation of it in parallel columns. This book was read all over Europe and did so much to prepare the way for the Reformation that it was said: "Erasmus laid the egg and Luther hatched it." Erasmus came to England in 1499 and spent many years here, forwarding the movement for religious reform by his teaching and lecturing.

The most attractive of the Oxford Reformers was Thomas More (1478–1535). The kindly humour, keen intelligence, and lovable character of this young lawyer soon gained for him the close friendship of Colet and Erasmus, and thenceforth the three men worked together "to revive Christ's Christianity in the

Church ". In 1516 More published his *Utopia* (a Greek word meaning "nowhere") the most notable book of the early English Renaissance. In this work he denounced the social evils in the England of his day and described Utopia, an imaginary island in which the people had learnt how to live happily and at peace. *Utopia* expresses More's hope that the spirit of the New Learning might not only reform the Church but do much to make England a better country to live in.

Although they attacked the evils of the Church, the Oxford Reformers were all good Catholics, and More was to die a *martyr* to his faith. He and his friends, by bringing their fellow-countrymen into direct contact with the Scriptures, certainly did much to prepare the way for the English Reformation but they were not the men to lay violent hands on the Church, in order to rebuild it. That work had been reserved for a German friar, Martin Luther by name.

## III. The Reformation in Germany

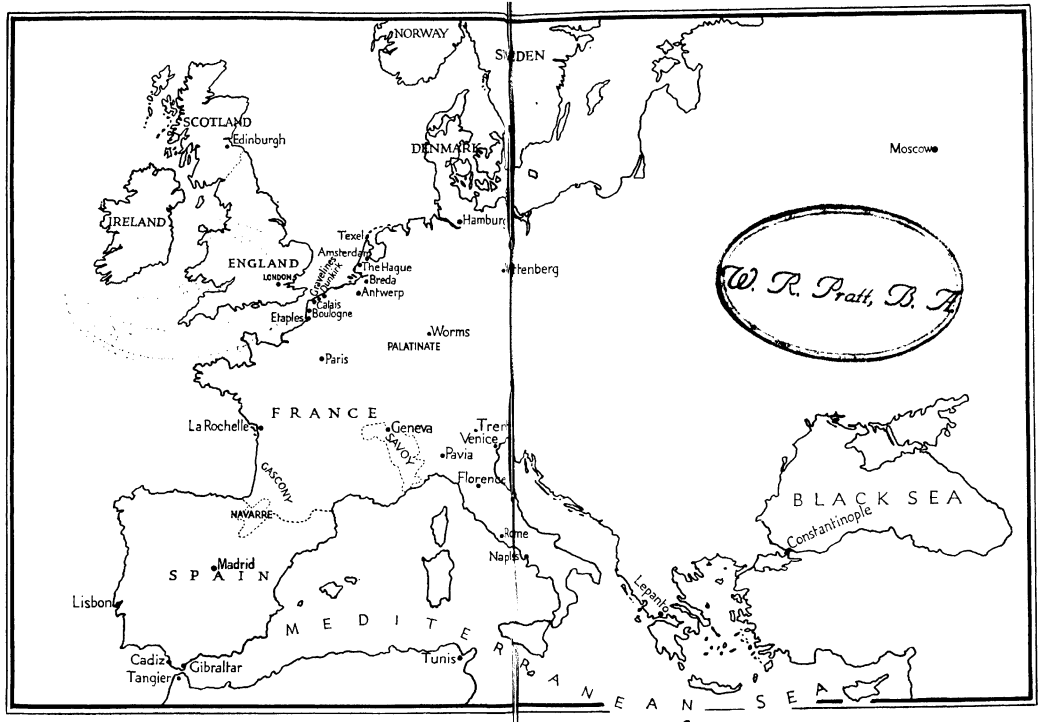
From the time of Wyclif and *Huss* there had been a growing demand in Western Europe that the Church should put its house in order. The spirit of the Italian Renaissance, however, was not concerned with religious questions, and its effect upon the *Papacy* was to corrupt it so much that reform of the Church from within became impossible. The Popes of the Renaissance (1450–1550) were able, cultured men, who cared nothing for religion. They used the wealth obtained from the *tithes* and *annates* of Europe to patronize the new art and learning and, since they felt their spiritual authority rapidly vanishing, to increase their *temporal* power in Italy. The worst of them was undoubtedly Alexander VI, the father of *Cesare Borgia*, whose object was to make his family supreme in Italy. He murdered all who stood in the way of that ambition and, in securing the execution of Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican friar who had obtained power in Florence by denouncing the spirit of the Renaissance and the worldliness of the clergy, he destroyed the last attempt to reform

the Church from within. Julius II, the patron of Michelangelo and Raphael, increased the *temporal* power of the *Papacy* considerably, and the words of Leo X (1513-21), the son of Lorenzo de Medici, the great merchant-prince of Florence, upon becoming Pope: "God has given us the Papacy, let us enjoy it!"—show the spirit in which he entered upon his high office.

In 1517, in order to secure money for the rebuilding of St. Peter's Church at Rome, Leo authorized a sale of Indulgences, in which the Pope granted the remission of the *temporal* punishment due to sins. These Indulgences could be bought from the *papal* agents, the Dominican monks who went from town to town all over Europe, selling them in the market-places. For many years reformers like Erasmus had poked fun at the sale of Indulgences, but it required a man like Martin Luther, who was not afraid of being called a revolutionary, to put a stop to it. By birth Luther (1483-1546) was a man of the people; as a young monk deep religious experience had convinced him that man could only reach Heaven, not by good works, but by perfect faith in God. In 1511 he journeyed to Rome, where the corruption of the Papacy shocked him profoundly. The night before the Dominican Tetzel began his sale of Leo's Indulgences in the German town of Wittenberg, Luther, who was now Professor of Theology at the University, nailed to the church door his famous ninety-five theses, or arguments against them, declaring that they were useless, since only God could pardon the sins of man.

Luther's protest was assured of success, for it came at the right time. The spirit of the Renaissance was strong upon Germany, where, as in England, it had taken the form of a new interest in religious questions; moreover, the growing national feeling in the country was bitterly opposed to the exactions of the Pope, who was now regarded as an ambitious Italian prince rather than as the representative of God upon earth. Luther's theses were printed, read, and discussed all over Germany; in a short time they had established him as the religious and patriotic leader of the German people.

With the sale of Indulgences dwindling rapidly Luther found himself exposed to the fury of all supporters of the *Papacy*. In




EUROPE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

replying to their attacks he laid down the essential principles of what was shortly to be called the Protestant religion. He denied the Pope's authority as God's representative upon earth, attacked *transubstantiation*—the central doctrine of the Catholic Church—and maintained that, in the sight of God, there was no difference between the priest and the ordinary man. Taking his stand on the Scriptures as Erasmus and the New Learning had interpreted them, Luther declared that a man's religion was a personal matter between himself and his God. Thanks to the printing-press, all Germany was able to read Luther's pamphlets, and they gained him tremendous popular support, as well as the backing of several powerful princes, including the *Elector* Frederick of Saxony.

In 1520 Luther was *excommunicated* by Leo X; when he burnt the *papal bull* of *excommunication* in public, the Protestant leader split Christendom in twain for ever. The Pope then called upon the Emperor to silence this obstinate *heretic*, and Charles V, who wanted the *papal* support against France, summoned Luther to the *Diet of Worms* (1521). The reformer's friends urged him not to risk his life by going but, with splendid courage, he appeared before the Diet and not only refused to withdraw his beliefs, but justified them in a long speech. To have seized and burnt him as a *heretic* would have produced a revolt in Germany, and Charles had to let him go unharmed. Luther's next task was the translation of the Bible into German, and the publication of his work, containing some of the finest writing in the German language, established the hold of his beliefs upon his fellow-countrymen. The course of events outside Germany also did much to ensure the success of Lutheranism. Charles V's great victory over Francis I of France at Pavia (1525) had made the Emperor supreme in Italy and had driven Pope Clement VII to ally with France against him. Consequently Charles no longer troubled to uphold the interests of the Church in Germany, and Protestantism spread unchecked. Then the Emperor's troops seized Rome, sacked it and took Clement prisoner (1527); the *temporal* power of the *Papacy* was shattered and there was no longer any prospect of suppressing Luther-

anism, which by this time had established itself in Denmark and Sweden as well as in Germany, and was strongly influencing the rest of Europe.

## Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) Explain clearly what you understand by the phrase—the Italian Renaissance.

(2) Who were the Oxford Reformers and what were their objects?

(3) Explain clearly what you understand by the word "Lutheranism".

(4) Why was Luther's "protest" successful in the countries of Northern Europe?

## Books for Reading

*Romola*, by George Eliot (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*The Cloister and the Hearth*, by Charles Reade (Dent: Everyman's Library).

# CHAPTER II

## THE REIGN OF HENRY VII (1485–1509)

### I. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TUDOR DYNASTY (1485–99)

THE victor of Bosworth was well aware that England expected him to govern with a firm hand in order that peace and prosperity might be restored after a generation of civil war. When Parliament met it speedily confirmed his title to the throne, and the King lost no time in carrying out his promise to end the feud of York and Lancaster by marrying the Yorkist heiress, Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV.

However, before he could feel secure on his throne, Henry had to deal with two Yorkist pretenders; Lambert Simnel, set up as Edward, Earl of Warwick,[1] and Perkin Warbeck, who claimed to be Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the "Princes in the Tower". The King defeated Simnel's supporters at Stoke (1487), and with the capture and imprisonment of Warbeck in the Tower (1497) the Yorkists gave up the struggle.

By this time the Tudor *dynasty* was firmly established, for there were no rivals to Henry's sons, Arthur and Henry, in the succession to the throne.

### II. THE RESTORATION OF ORDER AND THE FOUNDATION OF GOOD GOVERNMENT (1485–1509)

Henry VII was well equipped for the strenuous tasks of restoring order and laying the foundations of good government within

[1] Henry had imprisoned the Earl of Warwick, the nephew of Edward IV, in the Tower at the beginning of his reign, and had him executed, with Warbeck, in 1499.


TUDOR AND STUART ENGLAND, WALES, AND SCOTLAND

his kingdom. He had a first-class brain, he was untiring in his attention to the business of government, and a lifetime of plots, escapes, and adventures during the ups and downs of the Wars of the Roses had made him cautious, patient, and cool in the face of danger. He realized that ready money was the source of power in the modern world, and by confiscating his enemies' estates, by heavy taxation, and by strict economy, he amassed a huge treasure which enabled him to rule with complete independence.

The task that faced Henry was a formidable one. The ambassador of Venice wrote to his masters: "There is no country in the world where there are so many thieves and robbers as in England; insomuch that few venture to go alone in the country excepting in the middle of the day, and fewer still in the towns at night, and least of all in London." A generation of civil war had bred a restless and turbulent temper in all classes of the people. Although many noble families had been completely destroyed in the Wars of the Roses, the great landowners were still independent within their own districts.

They still kept their retainers, who wore their *livery*, and they still maintained in the King's Courts the causes of the lesser men who were attached to their fortunes. The King's judges and the juries of local men knew that a verdict against the lord's interests or against his client would mean grave danger for themselves. Thus justice had become a mockery. Moreover, in addition to the unrest caused by Yorkist plots during the first fourteen years of Henry's reign, the economic changes that were to mark this century (see Chapter IV) had already given birth to considerable bitterness and hatred between classes, both in town and country.

Henry turned without delay to the restoration of "good governance". The enlisting of armed retainers, or the maintenance, by a display of men-at-arms, of the cause of a client in the shire court, was made unlawful. In 1487 the Court of the *Star Chamber* was given the task of dealing with offenders against these and other laws of the land who were too powerful to be dealt with by the ordinary courts. The judges of this Court were able, middle-class men of proved loyalty, and they were

given power to punish by heavy fines and long terms of imprisonment. They were firmly supported by the growing power of the King, and it was not long before powerful nobles, who had contemptuously ignored royal summonses for the past thirty years, were compelled to come up to Westminster to answer in person before the *Star Chamber* for their breaches of the law.

As soon as men found that the *Star Chamber* did punish without fear or favour, they came to it eagerly for redress of their wrongs, and the Court was popular and respected in Tudor days. The ordinary law courts soon recovered their independence, and the life of the ordinary man became less miserable and more secure, a fact that largely explains the unswerving support that most of the nation always gave to Henry VIII and Elizabeth.

By the end of his reign, Henry, in spite of the fact that he was too poor to maintain a *standing army*, had succeeded in establishing the peace that was enjoyed in this country, with few interruptions, for the rest of the Tudor period. The power of the old nobility had been broken for ever. The new middle classes—squires and merchants, whose importance in the nation was growing so rapidly, were ready to give unquestioning support to a king who could maintain the peace and good government necessary for them to pursue their chief aim in life, to make themselves rich. In return, the king relied on them, in their capacity as *Justices of the Peace*, to carry on the local government of the kingdom. The success of the first Tudor and his Justices in their tasks made it possible for Englishmen to make the most of their great commercial opportunities during the sixteenth century.

## III. The Foreign Policy of Henry VII

Henry VII sought to make his foreign policy serve his principal aims in England, the foundation of "good governance", and the secure establishment of the Tudor *dynasty*. Thus his chief desire was to remain at peace with other countries for, until 1499, his throne was not secure and war would mean active support by

his enemies of the Yorkist pretenders who were such thorns in his side. Moreover, war would upset the growing foreign trade of England, and the Tudors rarely acted against the material interests of their subjects.

It was, however, very necessary that the new *dynasty* should obtain a footing among the great powers of Europe by concluding a firm alliance with one of them. The ancient hatred of France was still strong in England, so Henry was wise in making an alliance with the other great enemy of France, the rising monarchy of Spain, an alliance that lasted for forty years (1489-1529). But, although he invaded France in 1492 with the object of securing Spanish goodwill by proving himself a valuable ally, Henry was far too sensible to dream of recovering the former English possessions on the other side of the Channel. However, he was resolved not to be out of pocket by his foreign policy; so he was quite ready to be bought off by Charles VIII of France for a large sum in ready money at the Peace of Étaples (1492).

Two years later, at the request of Ferdinand of Spain, Henry joined the Holy League to expel Charles VIII from Italy, on condition that his ally consented to the marriage of his daughter Catherine to Arthur, the heir to the English throne. This union would do much to give the Tudor dynasty *prestige* and security. When the cautious Spanish King had been convinced that Henry's throne was safe from Yorkist pretenders, the marriage took place (1501), and, although Arthur died in the next year, Henry was able to secure the consent of Spain and a *dispensation* from Pope Julius II for the marriage of Catherine to his second son, afterwards Henry VIII. As we shall see, this union was to have a tremendous effect on later English history.

The marriage arranged by Henry in 1503 between his daughter Margaret and James IV of Scotland was also of great importance, for the friendship of Scotland assisted Henry considerably in establishing the " Tudor peace " in England, and the marriage led to the unions of the Crowns of the two countries a century later, for the great-grandson of James IV and Margaret was James VI of Scotland and James I of England.

Thus, by the time of his death, Henry VII's foreign policy had

done much to establish the security of the Tudor throne; moreover, he had raised England to a position where her alliance was eagerly sought by the rival monarchies of France and Spain.

QUESTIONS FOR REVISION, HOMEWORK, OR TEST PURPOSES

(1) What were the objects of Henry VII? What methods did he adopt to secure them? Was he successful in securing them?

*W. R. Pratt, B. A.*

# CHAPTER III

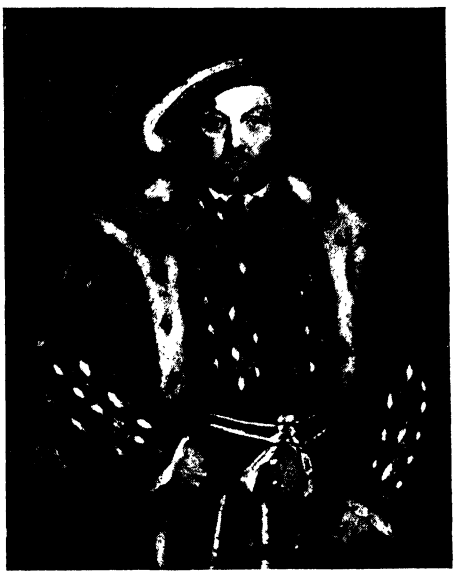
## THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII (1509-47)

### I. THE NEW KING AND THE FIRST YEARS OF THE NEW REIGN (1509-14)

HENRY VIII was eighteen years old when he came to the throne. Tall and handsome in appearance, frank and genial in manner, he was strong both in body and mind, and his masterful personality soon established a hold upon the mass of his subjects that all the storms of his later years failed to shake. Educated under the influence of the Renaissance by the best minds in England, Henry was an able scholar and musician, while in any kind of sport he was a match for any man in his kingdom. These accomplishments largely account for his remarkable popularity, but for the next thirty years—until the birth of his son Edward in 1537—Englishmen never forgot that Henry's life alone stood between them and a return to the anarchy of the Wars of the Roses. Henry VII had made his son's throne secure by removing all rivals, and Henry VIII was the most powerful king who has ever sat on the throne of England, largely because his subjects realized that there was no alternative to his rule.

The young king resolved to continue, but with far more vigour, his father's foreign policy of alliance with Spain against France. He married Catherine of Aragon without delay, for an heir to the throne was essential for the security of the *dynasty* and the nation, and in 1511 his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Spain, persuaded him to join the Holy League to defend the Pope's domains in Italy from the French. An English expedition under the Marquis of Dorset was sent to invade Gascony. Ferdinand had promised it active aid, but he made use of its presence to occupy the French while he himself seized Navarre from them.

Dorset's army had been badly equipped; his troops now mutinied and had to be brought home, and England's military reputation sank very low.



HENRY VIII
*Holbein*

Henry, whose pride in England's good name was tremendous, determined to restore it without delay. In 1513 he took a large army in person across the Channel, captured Thérouanne and Tournai from the French, and routed them at the Battle of Guinegatte, commonly known as the "Battle of the Spurs". In his absence, James IV, true to the "auld alliance" between Scotland and France, invaded England, but on 9 September, 1513, the chivalry of Scotland was shattered by the Earl of Surrey's army on Flodden Field. James himself fell in the battle, and Scotland gave Henry no more trouble until the closing years of his reign.

By this time Henry was awake to the fact that his wily father-in-law was making use of England to harass France while he built up the Spanish power in Italy. Henry was giving all to his allies and receiving nothing in return. Realizing his own inexperience when pitted against such cunning *diplomatists* as Ferdinand, Henry came to rely more and more on his adviser, Thomas Wolsey, who, it was clear, had the ability to meet such statesmen on equal terms. On Wolsey's advice Henry brought the useless war with France to an end, and married his sister Mary to the French King, Louis XII.

## II. The Rule of Wolsey (1514-29)

Thomas Wolsey was born at Ipswich in 1471, the son of middle-class parents. Realizing that the Church offered the only road of advancement for a man not of noble birth, he became a priest, and after some time his business ability was brought to the notice of Henry VII. Henry, with the Tudor capacity for recognizing talent, employed Wolsey on important diplomatic business during the last year of his reign. In 1513 Henry VIII entrusted this able servant of his father with the organization of the campaign against the French, and his success in that task enabled him to acquire an influence over the King that was maintained for the next fifteen years. Thereafter Wolsey's rise was rapid. In 1514 he was made Archbishop of York; the next year he came *Lord Chancellor*, and soon the Pope had made him a Cardinal and *Papal Legate* in England. By 1518 he was in full control of the King's policy, both in Church and State.

Wolsey's chief interest was in foreign affairs, where his policy was to preserve the balance of power between the two strongest countries in Europe—France and Spain—in order that neither might grow powerful enough to endanger the safety of England. For example, if France became too strong, the Cardinal intended to throw the weight of England on the side of Spain until the balance had been restored. This was to be done as far as possible by diplomacy and without wasting the resources of England in continental wars. Wolsey's policy was far from successful, but the idea behind it was sound and, after his time, England only intervened directly in Europe when some great power, such as France under Louis XIV or Napoleon, threatened her safety by violently upsetting the balance of power.

In 1519 the long struggle between France and Spain began in earnest. Charles V, master of Spain since the death of his grandfather Ferdinand three years before, of Naples and the Netherlands, was elected *Holy Roman Emperor*, which also gave him control of the resources of Germany. In reality, however, Charles and Francis I of France were so nearly equal in power

at this time that Wolsey's task of maintaining the balance between them should not have been very difficult. Both monarchs, preparing for war, were eager for the alliance of England, and Henry, having been entertained by Francis on the splendid Field of the Cloth of Gold near Calais, proceeded to meet Charles secretly at Gravelines.

By 1522 Wolsey had decided to support Charles actively against France, and in doing so he made the gravest blunder of his career. But the Cardinal desired to become Pope, and the Emperor had promised that, at the next vacancy, he would use his great influence in Wolsey's favour. Moreover, war against France was always popular in England, where the people strongly favoured alliance with Charles, for the Emperor controlled England's wool market in the Netherlands and war against him would mean ruin for the English export trade.

By 1525, however, the situation had changed completely. War against France had brought no success for England, and Parliament had protested vigorously against voting supplies to continue it (1523). Moreover, Charles had used his influence, not for Wolsey, but to secure the election of Clement VII as Pope. Then, in 1525, Francis I, who had invaded Northern Italy, was completely defeated and taken prisoner by the Emperor's troops at Pavia. The balance of power, upon which England's influence in Europe rested, was completely upset. Wolsey's support of Charles had aided the Emperor to establish that *Habsburg* supremacy in Europe which came near to overwhelming England in the reign of Elizabeth.

The Cardinal, who was bitterly unpopular in the country and completely dependent on the King's favour, now unwisely agreed to Henry's plan for an invasion of defeated France. Fearing to face Parliament, Wolsey attempted to raise money by a forced loan, but this was so vigorously resisted that the scheme had to be given up and peace made with France (1527). It was clear that the Cardinal's control over the royal policy was no longer complete.

In this year the way was prepared for the downfall of Wolsey and of the Church of which he was the last great representative

in England. The Pope had allied with France in an effort to check the soaring power of Charles in Italy. In May 1527, the Emperor's forces invaded the Papal States, sacked Rome, and took Clement VII prisoner. This was a severe blow for Henry VIII, who had just decided to apply to the Pope for the *annulment* of his marriage with the Emperor's aunt, Catherine of Aragon.

## III. The Breach with Rome (1529-36)

**1. The Origin of the "Divorce"** (1525-27). *Note.*—Although the word "divorce" is always used in this matter, it should be noticed that what Henry desired from the Pope was a declaration of nullity, i.e. that no true marriage had taken place between himself and Catherine of Aragon, because Pope Julius II had exceeded his powers in granting a *dispensation* for Henry to marry his deceased brother's widow against the sacred law laid down in Leviticus xx, 21.

By 1525 Henry VIII had become very worried because he was still without a son to succeed him. If the peace and settled government established by the first Tudor were to continue, it was absolutely necessary that there should be a peaceful and secure succession on Henry's death. Thus both the interests of the *dynasty* and of the nation demanded a male heir to the throne. Of the six children borne by Queen Catherine only Princess Mary had survived, and Englishmen could not regard the prospect of a woman's succession with any satisfaction. If she married one of her countrymen, there would always be a danger of civil war; if she married a foreigner, a possibility that England might be converted into a province of another realm, fear of which made Mary's later marriage with Philip II of Spain so unpopular with her people.

By 1525 it was known that Catherine would bear no more children and that Henry must take a fresh wife if he desired

a son to succeed him. About the end of 1526, the King fell in love with Anne Boleyn, a lady of the Court and the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, a wealthy London merchant. By May 1527, he had determined to marry her, and he ordered Wolsey to obtain from Pope Clement VII an *annulment* of his marriage to Catherine.

CARDINAL WOLSEY
*Holbein*

**2. Wolsey's Failure to obtain the "Divorce"** (1527–9). The Cardinal's task was an impossible one. From first to last, Catherine refused to admit that her marriage had been unlawful; it was certain that her nephew Charles V would use all his influence to prevent her from being deprived of her rights and that, while the Pope remained in his power, no action against her interests would be taken. Although Clement's sympathies were with Henry, the *Defender of the Faith*, rather than with Charles, the plunderer of the Church, only the Emperor could give him back the Papal States. Accordingly the Pope's object throughout the next two years was to avoid giving any judgment at all in the matter.

Wolsey did succeed in persuading Clement to appoint a Commission, consisting of himself and the Italian Cardinal Campeggio, to examine the case in England, but the Pope reserved to himself the power of confirming or setting aside any decision at which they might arrive. It was not until

October 1528, that Campeggio arrived in England, with secret orders from the Pope to spin out the proceedings as long as he could. Having failed to persuade the Queen to solve the problem peacefully by entering a monastery, Campeggio opened his Court in May 1529. In July he adjourned the hearing to October, with the question of the lawfulness of Pope Julius II's *dispensation* still unanswered. But in June Clement had been forced to come to terms with Charles, whose armies had completely defeated the Pope's French allies in Naples. In return for the Emperor's restoration of the Papal States, the Pope had promised to stop the proceedings against Catherine. Accordingly, he ordered the case to be referred to Rome for decision.

**3. The Fall of Wolsey** (1529). This action of the Pope's led directly to the downfall of Wolsey and to the complete destruction of the authority of Rome in England.

By 1528 it was clear that the Cardinal's influence over his master was severely shaken and that his last chance of retaining power was to secure from the Pope the *annulment* of Henry's marriage with Catherine. Wolsey's position was indeed an unhappy one, for whether he succeeded or failed in the " King's business ", his many enemies would triumph over him. His success would make Anne Boleyn Queen of England, and her relatives, the leaders of the powerful anti-Church party, would secure great influence through her hold over the King. His failure was followed by his fall from power. In October 1529, he was deprived of all his offices and sent into retirement at Esher. But Henry was uncertain whether the Cardinal's great diplomatic gifts might not yet be needed in the matter of the " divorce ". Accordingly he was pardoned and restored to the *See* of York. Unable to support his loss of power, Wolsey foolishly asked Francis I to intercede with Henry on his behalf and was arrested for treason. On 29 November 1530, he died at Leicester Abbey, on his way from York to the Tower, exclaiming: " Had I served God as diligently as I have served my King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs! " He had learnt, as many others were to learn in this reign, that the

" favour of princes is fickle, and the wrath of the King is death." Wolsey's fall showed that Henry had mastered the business of government and was determined to rule henceforth by himself.

Wolsey was certainly " the proudest *prelate* that ever breathed ", greedy and ambitious to the point of desiring the Papal throne. But for fifteen years he transacted all the business of government, and his genius for *diplomacy* and administration has rarely been equalled by any other Englishman. If he failed to preserve the balance of power in Europe by his *diplomacy*, his control of affairs in England was more successful. By making the *Star Chamber* the instrument of a firm system of justice, he performed a real service to the King and the nation. Wolsey instinctively distrusted Parliament as the voice of those new middle classes who were so hostile to the Church and, whenever possible, he avoided meeting it. Unlike his master, he failed to understand either the need of a strong navy for England or the importance for the future of his country of the discovery of the New World. Indeed, he was the last and greatest of the English churchmen-statesmen of the Middle Ages, and the Church in England, which he had desired to reform by educating a better type of priest at his magnificent foundation of Cardinal's College, Oxford (Christ Church), did not long survive his fall.

**4. The Work of the " Reformation " Parliament** (1529-36). The famous " Reformation " Parliament met on 3 November 1529. Henry decided to appeal from the Pope to the people of England. He knew that, although there was considerable popular sympathy for Catherine, there was a very strong feeling in the nation that a matter so vital to England's future as the " divorce " ought not to be decided by any foreign power, Pope or Emperor. He also knew that he could count on the support of the new landowning and trading classes in the House of Commons; they coveted the lands of the Church, which, according to them, no longer deserved the *privileges* and property it possessed. Henry's confidence was not misplaced; Parliament supported him wholeheartedly throughout the next seven years because his interests and those of its members were identical.

Henry's object at first was merely to bring pressure on the Pope to grant his " divorce ". This was to be done by showing Clement how firmly the English nation was united in support of its King, and by an " attack on the outworks " of the Church in England, under the pretence of reforming it, a very necessary task in the opinion of most of the nation.

The campaign of the next ten years, which ended the power of the Pope and the Church in England, was directed by Thomas Cromwell. The son of a Putney blacksmith, Cromwell had led a very adventurous life, pursuing many occupations in many European countries. About 1520 he entered Wolsey's service and soon became his trusted secretary. His courageous defence of the fallen Cardinal in Parliament was greatly admired and did not escape the notice of Henry VIII, whose ability to recognize talent was one of the features of his greatness. He saw that Cromwell possessed the qualities he desired in a minister —loyalty, shrewdness, and complete lack of scruple. The Cardinal's secretary soon became the secretary of the King, and from 1529 to 1540 Cromwell was Henry's right-hand man, zealously pursuing the policy of establishing the King's absolute power in England.

Cromwell's first attack was launched at the pocket of the Church. Very popular Acts of Parliament cut down the heavy fees[1] charged by the clergy. Henry then called a halt, to see if the Pope would be alarmed enough to grant the " divorce ". Clement was indeed alarmed, but Charles V was still master of Italy and determined that his aunt should remain Queen of England and his cousin Mary the heiress to the throne. Thus the Pope was powerless to comply with Henry's wishes.

Accordingly the attack on the Church was resumed. The whole body of English clergy was suddenly charged with breaking *Praemunire* by recognizing Wolsey's authority as *Papal Legate* (1530). The charge was absurd, for the King had not objected to Wolsey's appointment as the Pope's representative or to the " divorce " being tried in the *Legate's* court. But

[1] Large fees had been charged by the clergy for proving wills, burying the dead, etc.

Henry's main object was to compel the clergy to acknowledge the King's supremacy over the Church in England; he hoped that the Pope, faced with the threat of England going the way of North Germany, would defy Charles and grant the " divorce ". Henry also desired money. Thus the *Convocations* were given to understand that they could purchase pardon for their " error " by voting liberal supplies to the King. The *Convocation of Canterbury* hastily granted £100,000 but was then informed that the King could not accept the supply unless he was recognized as " the sole protector and supreme head of the Church and clergy of England ". There was much opposition to this demand, but the only concession Henry would make was the addition of the vague phrase, " as far as the law of Christ allows ". The *Convocation of York* voted £18,840 and also agreed to recognize his supremacy. Henry had forced the Church in England to bow to his will " with scarcely the show of a fight " and had shown the Pope and the world that he was master in his own house.

Meanwhile, on the suggestion of Thomas Cranmer, a learned young Cambridge clergyman, the King had submitted his case to the Doctors of *Canon Law* in all Universities of Europe, and many had agreed that his marriage to Catherine was against Divine Law and should be annulled. Thus encouraged, Henry determined to exert even stronger pressure on the Pope. A Bill to abolish *annates* was passed through Parliament, but the King was given the power of deciding whether it should be put into force. If it were, the Pope would lose a considerable income, and Henry hoped that the threat would at last move Clement to *annul* his marriage.

By the end of January 1533, Henry knew that Anne Boleyn was going to bear him a child. It was vital that this child, the heir to the throne of England, should be born legitimate. The marriage with Catherine must therefore be annulled without delay and Anne must become Queen of England. Henry could no longer wait for the Pope to move in the matter; he must settle it himself in England. Accordingly, he married Anne secretly about 25 January 1533. Then, Archbishop Warham

of Canterbury having very conveniently died, the King resolved that Cranmer should succeed him and should *annul* the marriage with Catherine in the Archbishop's Court. Thus it was very necessary that the new *Primate* should be properly consecrated—otherwise Henry's second marriage might be called in question—and that there should be no appeal to the Pope from Cranmer's *annulment* of the King's first marriage. Accordingly, Henry let it be known at Rome that, if the Pope made no difficulties over Cranmer's consecration, the *Act of Annates* might not be enforced. Clement rose to the bait; the necessary *bulls* were dispatched without delay, and the new Archbishop was consecrated on 30th March. At the same time *Cromwell* passed through Parliament a Bill making all appeals to the Pope illegal. This was the first definite break with Rome. In April, *Convocation* was compelled to declare the King's marriage with Catherine invalid and Cranmer proceeded to *annul* the union, Catherine refusing to appear or to recognize the authority of his Court. On 1st June the Primate crowned Anne Boleyn and on 7th September Elizabeth was born. Henry, who had hoped for a son, was bitterly disappointed. In November, he and his new Queen were *excommunicated* by the Pope.

The breach with Rome was made complete by the passage of three Acts of Parliament in March 1534. The first definitely put an end to the payment of *annates*; it also forbade the publication of papal *briefs* or *bulls* in England, and ordered that in future archbishops and bishops were to be chosen by the King and were to take an oath of allegiance to him before consecration. The second measure forbade the payment of "Peter's pence" or any other kind of fee from the English clergy to Rome. The third was an "Act of Submission of the Clergy" to the King; in future, *Convocation* was only to meet when summoned by a royal *writ*, and new laws could only be passed with the King's approval.

**5. Henry VIII and the English Reformation.** When Henry VIII asked the Pope to *annul* his marriage with Catherine of Aragon he did not anticipate a refusal of his request, and, after

each stage in Parliament's attack on the Church, he expected Clement to grant his " divorce ". As the conflict went on, Henry's anger that Charles V could prevent him from securing the future of his *dynasty* and his people by exerting stronger pressure on the Pope rose steadily. His self-confidence also steadily increased; he came to realize his own strength and the weakness of the Papacy and, by 1533, when Cranmer annulled the marriage in England, the King had learnt that he could defy the Pope with complete safety.

It should be clearly understood that Henry intended to do little more than take the place of the Pope as Head of the Church in England. With the growth of national feeling from the fourteenth century onwards, *papal* control had been increasingly resented, and the bulk of the nation undoubtedly supported Henry in casting it off. But neither King nor subjects regarded themselves as one jot less Catholic on that account. Protestantism had as yet made little headway in England; Henry still looked upon himself as the *Defender of the Catholic Faith*, and was firmly resolved that there should be no change in the *doctrines* or services of the Church.

As a result of the breach with Rome the Crown secured absolute power in England. Henry VII had destroyed the power of the " over-mighty " baron; Henry VIII now proceeded to destroy that of the Church. Henceforth, until the rise to power in the next century of Henry's allies in this conquest—the middle classes in Parliament—the Crown knew no rivals. We in England have had our dictatorship, that of the Tudors.

## IV. The Downfall of the Church (1534-9)

**1. Henry Crushes the Opposition** (1534-6). In spite of his power, Henry VIII must often have wondered how much opposition his subjects would raise to the breach with Rome. At first there seemed little cause for alarm; the Church accepted the royal supremacy without much protest; the people, while sorry for Catherine, realized that they would be much better off

for not having to pay tribute to Rome. But Henry was determined that his supremacy over the Church and his marriage with Anne Boleyn should be acknowledged by all his subjects, for he felt that any difference of opinion on these two matters would endanger the unity and security of the nation.

Thus the refusal of Sir Thomas More and John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, to accept him as Head of the Church was for Henry a very serious matter, for no Englishmen were more renowned for wisdom and goodness. An Act was rushed through Parliament to prevent their opposition spreading; every Englishman was to take an oath acknowledging the royal supremacy; refusal was to be high treason, punishable by death. The oath was first administered to the monasteries (it was clear that an attack would be made upon their vast property in the near future); most of the monks submitted, but four leading *Carthusians* were executed for refusing it. Then, since More and Fisher, while willing to accept the succession of Henry's children by Anne, still refused to acknowledge his supremacy, they were sent to the block (1535). By destroying its chief supporters in England, Henry had rendered any peaceful settlement with the Papacy impossible.[1] Henceforth, until the defeat of the Armada, England had to reckon with the unsleeping enmity of Catholic Europe.

After most revolutions, there is a reign of terror against those who wish to return to the old order of things and those who desire to alter it still more. The reign of terror had begun in England; Henry was determined to maintain his supremacy and Catholic *doctrine*, and for the rest of his reign he beheaded as traitors those Roman Catholics who denied the first, and burnt as heretics those Protestants who attacked the second.

If Henry and Cromwell thought they had crushed all opposition by the execution of More and Fisher, they were soon proved wrong. After 1534, discontent with the new order of

[1] As these words are being written, exactly 400 years after their death, it is announced that the Pope, in answer to 200,000 petitions from English Roman Catholics, has made More and Fisher Saints of the Roman Catholic Church.

things slowly gathered strength in the North of England. In this backward region of pasture and few towns, the old ways of life still retained their hold; there were many monasteries playing a useful part as centres of local life, and the violence of Cromwell's agents in suppressing them (see pages 44–5) caused discontent to flame up in rebellion (1536).

From the beginning, however, the Pilgrimage of Grace, as this movement was called, was more like a demonstration of all classes in favour of the old order of things than a rebellion. The 30,000 pilgrims who marched southwards behind their banner depicting the Five Wounds of Christ, hoped to persuade the King, without using force, to undo all that had been done in England since 1529. Henry, without a *standing army*, was compelled to play for time, but as soon as he had gathered forces he dispersed the pilgrims, executed their leaders, Lord Darcy and Robert Aske, and visited the North with such a terrible vengeance of wholesale execution that there was no more resistance to his reformation while he lived. He also took the opportunity of bringing the North under the direct control of the Crown by setting up at York a committee of his Privy Council to govern it, under the title of the Council of the North.

The failure of the Pilgrimage of Grace showed that, although the backward North hated Henry's reformation, the rest of the country was with him in " breaking the bonds of Rome ". If London, the Midlands, and the South had not rallied to his support when the pilgrims were marching unopposed on the capital, Henry must have agreed to their demands or else have lost his throne.

**2. The End of the Monasteries** (1536–9). Nobody expected the monasteries to survive for long the overthrow of the Pope's power in England; there were too many strong motives for their destruction. The Abbots and Priors who controlled them were answerable to the Pope alone; since the downfall of his authority they had been defenceless, a condition that invites attack. Henry was bound to regard them as outposts of the *Papacy*,

whose power would not be completely destroyed until they had been dissolved. Moreover the monastic houses, besides owning a considerable part of the soil of the country, had amassed much wealth in the shape of jewels and plate bought with the countless *legacies* of pious benefactors down the centuries. For many years Henry had been in financial difficulties; to seize monastic land and treasure would do much to solve his problems. In doing so, he would have a powerful public opinion behind him, for there had long been a strong demand for the reform of the monasteries, on the ground that they no longer justified their possession of so much wealth by playing a useful part in the life of the nation. Moreover, the rising middle classes, having made their money in trade, were eager to invest it in land.

In 1535 the storm burst. With much talk of the need for reform, Cromwell's agents were sent out to hold a visitation of all the monastic houses in England. They understood that their business was to present reports that would provide a good excuse for the suppression of the monasteries, and they blackened the picture of English monastic life as required. What was the truth of the matter? It is probably true to say that, except in the North, the monasteries had largely outlived their usefulness. Formerly, they had taken a valuable part in the life of the nation; they had cared for the sick and dying when no hospitals existed, they had lodged travellers when inns were lacking, they had given alms to the poor, and had taught their children when schools were rare, and as farmers they had turned large tracts of wilderness into pasture and ploughed fields. But people no longer felt that the main business of this life was to prepare for the life to come, and the Renaissance and the printing-press had thrown open the pursuit of knowledge to all men. The *legacies* of the wealthy were now used to build schools, colleges, or hospitals, and between 1399 and 1509 only eight monastic houses were founded in England. Many of the monasteries were badly managed and had long ceased to be centres of learning; in some idle lives, in a few immoral lives were led, but the majority of the monks and nuns were probably no better or worse than the rest of the people in Tudor England.

THE DOUBLE CLOISTERS OF FOUNTAINS ABBEY
This Cistercian Abbey was suppressed in 1540.

Cromwell naturally had no difficulty in persuading Parliament to agree to the dissolution of the monasteries; between 1536 and 1539, some six hundred houses were dissolved; all their property was vested in the Crown, and some seven thousand of their inmates and servants were turned adrift. Where abbots and monks gave up their property of their own accord they received pensions which seem to have been regularly paid, but when Cromwell met resistance he did not hesitate to use force, as an interesting memorandum of his shows: " Item, the Abbot of Glaston to be tried at Glaston and also executed there ".

What became of the great wealth that passed from the monasteries to the Crown? There had been much talk of using it " that God's word might be better set forth and that children be brought up to learning ". But the golden opportunity of founding an educational system which would make England a shining example to Western Europe was not grasped. Cromwell wished to use the loot of the monasteries to make the Tudor

monarchy the most powerful in Europe; had he had his way, the course of English history under the Stuarts might have been very different. But Henry felt that he had power enough; his great need was ready money. Thus, although the national defences were improved and six new bishoprics were endowed from the wealth of the monasteries, most of their estates were sold at cheap rates to courtiers, officials, and House of Commons' men who stood well with the King.

These transactions had a tremendous influence on the future of England; in the course of a few years, the monastic estates were so parcelled out that forty thousand families had obtained an interest in them. Henry thus rendered the destruction of his life-work—the breach with Rome—impossible, for, as we shall see, while his daughter Mary compelled Parliament to restore the authority of the Pope, she could not persuade its members to restore their abbey lands. Henry had also prepared the way for the downfall of absolute monarchy in England. The lists of those who bought monastic lands from the Crown are full of the names of those families—the Cromwells, St. Johns, Russells, and Whartons—who, in the days of the Stuarts, became the champions of Parliament, which, first raised to power by Henry VIII as his ally against Rome, was to put an end to the power of kings to rule in England as they pleased.

## V. The Birth of a Male Heir (1537)

When long-suffering Catherine of Aragon died in January 1536, Anne Boleyn rejoiced, but her own doom was not far off. The King was wearying of his second wife. Anne had failed to provide him with a son; she and her relatives were bitterly unpopular, and he felt a grudge against her for all the trouble she had caused him. Moreover, he had recently met Jane Seymour at the home of her father, a Wiltshire knight. Henry began to think that a third marriage—now that Catherine was dead—could not be challenged by anybody on any grounds—if Anne were dead also. In May 1536 she was accused of

"various horrid crimes", found guilty and sent to the block. The next day the serviceable Cranmer declared that her marriage to the King had been unlawful from the start; a week later, Henry married Jane Seymour and Parliament obediently vested the succession to the throne in any children she might have by the King. In October 1537, pretty, kindly Jane died in giving birth to a son—the future Edward VI—and Henry's desire for a male heir to carry on his dynasty and maintain the unity of England was at last gratified.

## VI. Henry VIII's Failure to Secure Religious Unity (1536 onwards)

When Henry VIII replaced the Pope's authority over the Church in England by his own supremacy, he determined that there should be no change in the Catholic Faith of all his subjects. But Luther's triumph in Germany had led to the steady growth of his *doctrines* in England, and the last ten years of Henry's reign were filled with the wordy warfare of Catholic and Protestant. The King resolved to enforce "unity and concord in opinions", and to stop religious arguments which might soon pass beyond words. Feeling instinctively that the spread of the Protestant spirit would lead to attacks on the Royal Supremacy (as it did in the next century), he made up his mind to uphold the old Catholic creed with all his power. Accordingly, he issued Ten Articles of Religion (1536), stating the Royal Supremacy and confirming the Catholic Faith. Cromwell considered it wise, however, to do something to satisfy that large body of opinion which had long demanded the reform of the Church. So the Scriptures were declared the only authority on matters of *doctrine*; images and relics were to be destroyed, as making for superstition; the worship of saints was forbidden, and church services were to be conducted in English and not in Latin. Far more important, the Bible in English, the joint work of *Tyndale* and *Coverdale*, was to be placed in every parish church. Henry little knew that by this

order he was making impossible the religious unity he desired. His subjects were not particularly religious people, but their children were; Bible-reading became a national habit, and it was soon discovered that much of the priest's teaching was not to be found in the Scriptures. The next generation began to use its own judgment in interpreting the Bible, and thus English Puritanism, with its many sects, was born, that powerful force which, in the next century, executed a king, ruled this country for ten years, and finally divided Englishmen into *Anglicans* and *Nonconformists*.

## VII. The Fall of Cromwell (1540)

The Pope had not remained inactive in face of Henry's destruction of his authority and of those who had supported it in England. Since 1534, supported by Catholic opinion in Europe, he had been working to end the long rivalry of Charles V and Francis I, that they might combine to lead a crusade against *heretic* England.

The threat of *papal* vengeance enabled Henry to raise the power of the Crown in England to a height unknown before or since. Liberal supplies were voted by Parliament for the national defence; the King's Proclamations were to have the force of law and, to prevent the country being weakened by religious strife, Henry issued his famous "whip with six strings"; these Six Articles of Religion were strictly Catholic and it was made death to question them (1539). Cromwell, whose sympathies were Protestant, was able to persuade his master to ally with the German Lutheran Princes against the Catholic powers; the alliance was to be cemented by Henry's marriage to Anne, daughter of the Duke of Cleves.

By 1540, however, Charles and Francis were at war again, and the danger of invasion had passed. But the Cleves marriage had taken place and the fastidious Henry found himself tied to "a *Flanders* mare", as he most ungallantly described Anne, who belied in every way the great *Holbein*'s flattering portrait

of her. His rage was turned against Cromwell; the minister had outlived his usefulness and there was no gratitude in Henry VIII. Cromwell was bitterly hated throughout the kingdom, especially of course by the Catholic party, whose influence was growing as Henry became more and more determined to stop the spread of Protestant opinions. When its leader, Norfolk, accused Cromwell of treason, the King saw no reason why he should not reap the popularity of his minister's downfall; he allowed the absurd charge to go forward, and Cromwell was executed (July 1540).

## VIII. The Last Years of Henry VIII (1540-7)

**1. The Tudor Attempt to Make a United Britain.** Two centuries after Edward I, the Tudor kings revived his dream of a united Britain. They did not possess the strength to subdue Ireland, but, because of their Welsh blood, they understood and dealt successfully with Wales. Henry VII restored order on the borders, and the *Council of the Marches*, by maintaining it, enabled Henry VIII to join Wales to England on equal terms (1535). The whole Principality was divided into twelve counties; henceforth it was governed by Welsh county gentlemen as *Justices of the Peace* under the Privy Council, and the Welsh shires and boroughs sent their representatives to Parliament.

But the Tudors, like Edward I, were unsuccessful with Scotland. The marriage arranged by Henry VII between his daughter Margaret and James IV certainly led to the union of the Crowns of England and Scotland under James VI and I, but until her reformation, Scotland remained faithful to her "auld alliance" with France. In 1542, with France and the Emperor at war again, Henry VIII determined to bring about the union of Scotland with England by force. The English victory at Solway Moss broke the heart of James V, and he died a week after the birth of his daughter Mary. Henry now made up his mind to bring about the union by marrying his son Edward to the infant Scottish Queen. But the Scots,

especially after the Earl of Hertford had laid waste their Lowlands in 1543, were determined not to be yoked to England, and, with the French Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, and the Catholic Cardinal Beaton in power, it was clear that only the conquest of Scotland could bring about union. Before he could take up this task, Henry VIII had died, leaving his policy to be carried on by Hertford as Protector Somerset.

In 1543, having raised money by heavy taxation, forced loans, and by debasing the coinage,[1] Henry joined the Emperor in war against France, the ally of Scotland. An English expedition invaded France and took Boulogne, but Charles made peace with Francis behind Henry's back, and England was again threatened by a French invasion. But thanks to the King himself, who must be regarded as the founder of our navy, a strong fleet under John Dudley, Lord Lisle, was soon at sea and beat off the French fleet without much trouble. Realizing that England was being exhausted by a useless war, Henry made peace with France in 1546.

**2. The Struggle of Old and New in Religion.** During Henry's last years, it became clear that, although his iron will might enforce religious unity while he lived, the struggle between the Catholic and the Protestant faiths would begin in earnest as soon as he was dead. For the opinions of Luther continued to spread, and in addition, England began to feel the influence of *John Calvin* (1509–64), the French Reformer, who was ruling the Swiss city of Geneva with the powers of a pope.

The triumph of the Catholic party, led by the Duke of Norfolk and Bishops Gardiner and Bonner, seemed ensured by the downfall of Cromwell, and when the amiable Anne of Cleves had been pensioned off and her marriage *annulled* by Cranmer, Henry took for his fifth wife the eighteen-year-old niece of Norfolk, Catherine Howard (1540). As the King's health broke up, the struggle of parties to control the govern-

[1] Henry put one-sixth of copper into the gold sovereign, and one-half and afterwards two-thirds of copper into the silver shilling, thus reducing the purchasing power of his subjects in England and abroad.

ment when the boy Edward should rule, became increasingly bitter. In 1542 the Catholic Queen Catherine was executed for misconduct; the next year the King married his sixth wife, Catherine Parr, a tactful, twice-widowed lady, favourable to the Reformed doctrines, who succeeded in outliving her terrible husband. The Protestant party, whose leaders were Cranmer, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford—Prince Edward's uncle—and John Dudley, Lord Lisle, began to obtain more influence over Henry; late in 1546, they obtained from the dying King the arrest of Norfolk and his son, Surrey—the famous poet, on a charge of plotting to seize the government on his death. Surrey was executed, and only the death of Henry on 28th January 1547, saved Norfolk from a similar fate. It was clear that the Protestants would control the situation in the new reign.

## IX. Henry VIII's Place in English History

People will always differ in their opinions of Henry VIII. He had his virtues—courage and tenacity—and he never shirked the detailed business of government once he had taken over its control from Wolsey. His faults were many; he was coarse and greedy, cruel and crafty, ungrateful and a hypocrite, and his selfishness allowed nothing to come between him and what he wanted. But it is useless to judge a sixteenth-century ruler by the standards of the twentieth century. In any case, it is impossible to deny Henry greatness as a king. He understood the needs of England during his reign, and he was largely successful in satisfying them. He maintained the peace established by his father; he based his rule upon the material interests of the bulk of his people; he shared their growing national pride and he piloted them through their Reformation, untouched by civil war or foreign invasion. He saw that a strong navy was essential to safeguard England's independence from Catholic Europe, and he built and left at his death a fleet of seventy-one ships. His foreign policy was certainly mistaken and unsuccessful, but he made a just and lasting union between England and

Wales, and he saw the value of union between England and Scotland. In spite of his faults he never lost his popularity, for there was something magnificently regal and typically English about his masterful control of affairs, and his subjects realized, as their children did under Elizabeth, that their interests and his were the same. When his son Edward became king, it was at once apparent how much the nation had owed to Henry's captaincy of the ship of State.

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) Explain clearly the chief object of Wolsey's foreign policy. Was he successful in securing it?

(2) Why did Henry VIII desire to "divorce" Catherine of Aragon?

(3) Why did Wolsey fail to obtain Henry VIII's "divorce" from the Pope?

(4) Make a list of the chief Acts of the Reformation Parliament from 1529 to 1536. Explain briefly and clearly their effects.

(5) Account for Henry VIII's success in making his Reformation.

(6) What opposition was made in England to Henry VIII's breach with Rome?

(7) What reasons were put forward for the dissolution of the monasteries?

(8) What was the policy of Thomas Cromwell as chief minister of Henry VIII? Was he successful in carrying it out?

(9) Explain clearly the importance of the sales of monastic lands.

(10) What steps did Henry VII and Henry VIII take towards making a united Britain? How far were they successful?

(11) Account for the absolute power enjoyed by Henry VIII.

(12) What, in your opinion, were Henry VIII's chief services to England?

## Books for Reading

*Windsor Castle*, by Harrison Ainsworth (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*Utopia*, by Sir Thomas More (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*The Household of Sir Thomas More*, by Manning (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*Brave Earth*, by A. T. Sheppard.

# CHAPTER IV

## THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

### . WHY THE REVOLUTION TOOK PLACE

IN the Introduction to this book several causes were given to explain the break-up of the feudal system. Perhaps the most important cause was the great expansion of trade and industry during the later Middle Ages (see sections on the Cloth Industry, the Control of Industry, and on Company Trading). Under the "Tudor peace" this expansion continued, and the populations of London and other ports, and of the market towns and villages which were the centres of this growing industry increased greatly.[1] Now a considerable proportion of these populations was no longer growing its own food and was therefore demanding more and more corn from the farmers of the near-by countryside. Moreover, all the growing population of England had to be clothed, and there was, in addition, a considerable European demand for English corn and cloth[2] and for English wool, the fine fleeces of which were indispensable for foreign weavers.

As a result of the greatly increased demands of these markets, the attitude of landowners towards their acres changed completely. In the Middle Ages, land had been cultivated merely to provide enough food for the population of the manor, and the baron valued his estate chiefly by the number of men-at-arms it supported. The Tudor landowner, on the contrary, who had quite often bought his property out of the proceeds of his successful career as a merchant, was determined to cultivate his acres for profit. But before land could be made to yield a profitable return, either from corn- or wool-growing, considerable

[1] The population of England increased from 2½ millions in 1509 to 4 millions in 1547.

[2] The export of English cloth increased from 35,000 pieces in 1510 to 160,000 pieces in 1554.

changes had to be made in the existing methods of agriculture. These changes had such important effects on the lives of the people that they have been called the "*Agrarian* Revolution" of the sixteenth century.

## II. Enclosure for Corn-growing

Under the "open-field" system of the Middle Ages, the holdings of the *villeins* and part of the lord's land were scattered in strips in various parts of the manorial fields, so that each man might share in the bad as well as in the fertile land. This method of cultivation might have been fair, but it was very wasteful of time and labour; it did little more than keep the population of the *manor* alive, and it certainly could not produce a large *surplus* of corn for marketing elsewhere.

It is not surprising, therefore, that progressive landowners in the late Middle Ages, realizing the profits that could be made by satisfying the demands of the growing towns in their neighbourhood for corn, began to make changes. The holders of scattered strips agreed to exchange them, so that each man could get his strips side by side. These exchanges often took generations to carry out, but, by early Tudor times, the movement was going on apace. Having consolidated his holding, the owner would then dig a ditch and plant a hedge around it; this was called "making a close" or "enclosing". No longer bound by the custom of the *manor*, he could now sow what he pleased, plough when he thought best, and experiment as he wished with his crops, no longer at the mercy of straying cattle. Moreover, his own cattle were better fed on the fallow of the "close" than they would have been in the open fields. His yield of corn per acre greatly increased and the success of the "new farming" is shown by the fact that lords of *manors* no longer let out parts of their own domains but began to cultivate large acreages themselves or else leased two or three holdings to rich tenants for high rents. This change from *champion* to *several* was probably accompanied by the buying out or turning out of a

number of small cultivators; moreover, fewer labourers were needed on the consolidated farms. But it is unlikely that many of these sufferers by the change became "sturdy beggars"; most of them probably found employment in the expanding cloth industry of their neighbourhood.

It must not be thought that enclosure replaced the open-field system all over England in Tudor times; it is impossible to say exactly how much of the area of the country was enclosed for corn-growing; Leland the topographer, journeying across England between 1536 and 1540, noticed much enclosed land in the southern, eastern, and western counties, and the movement was probably confined to the districts round the growing towns. In these areas, a new middleman class came into existence; these "bodgers" or "loders" bought the farmers' surplus corn and sold it—with a profit for themselves—to the towns. Thus, with the price of corn rising steadily throughout Tudor times, the "new farming" became a prosperous industry.

### III. Enclosure for Sheep-farming

Far more important in its effects upon the lives of the people was the enclosure of arable land and its conversion into pasture for sheep, in order to meet the demands of the rapidly expanding cloth industry for raw wool. Ever since the Peasants' Revolt, landowners faced with the difficulty of keeping their acres under cultivation had been taking up sheep-farming in increasing numbers. The advantages of the change were obvious; the costs of sheep-raising were much less—only a few shepherds were needed—and the returns were much more profitable; moreover, while corn prices rose and fell to a considerable extent, the price of wool remained remarkably stable.

The landlord determined to secure the greater returns of sheep-farming found little difficulty in converting his domain from *arable* to pasture, especially if it had previously been consolidated and enclosed. But few of the landed gentry, all-powerful in their own parts of the country, were content to stop at this

point. They soon added the common pasture to their sheep-run. The *copyholder*, the descendant of the *villein*, who had no rights before the law, was then attacked; he might simply be turned out of his holding or, at his death, his son might be charged such an enormous *relief* for succeeding to it that he would have no alternative but to give it up. Sometimes, but not often, less ruthless landlords compensated their dispossessed tenants with other holdings. Finally, the *freeholders*, protected by law from being turned out, were bought out. The landlord then put all the manorial land under grass and, if he himself did not engage directly in sheep-farming, leased large holdings at high rents to farmers who produced wool which a new middleman, the " clothier ", bought from them and gave out for manufacture to the ever-increasing army of workpeople in the cloth industry.

The profitable returns from sheep-raising determined many of the " new husbandmen ", who had grown rich in the corn trade, to adopt a system of mixed or convertible farming. They divided their large holdings into a number of fields, each of which they placed under grass for some seven years; at the end of this period, corn crops would be grown in the fields for three years; thus a regular rotation from pasture to *arable* over a period of ten years would be arranged.

It is very difficult to state exactly how much of England was enclosed for sheep-farming; it is certain that when Elizabeth died (1603) tillage was still the rule, and that the bulk of enclosed sheep-run was to be found between Trent and Thames, Severn and the Fens, and that, even within this area, not more than ten per cent. of the total acreage was under pasture.

Nevertheless, enclosure for sheep-farming went far enough to cause serious disturbance in the life of the nation by the complete depopulation of those parts of the countryside affected. As Latimer said: " Where have been a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog." Apart from dispossessed tenants, far less labour was needed by the sheep-farmers, and although some of both these classes of victims of the " revolution " doubtless found work in the

cloth industry, very many went to swell the ranks of the "sturdy vagabonds"—the Tudor unemployed.

The enclosures of the sixteenth century put an end to serfdom and the old manorial system. After the Peasants' Revolt, the landlord had bent all his efforts to holding the *villein* to the full performance of his services; a century later, he was driving his descendant, the *copyholder*, off the soil, not caring what happened to him. Under the new system of agriculture, *villein* service was simply not needed and, by the death of Elizabeth, serfdom had died out, without any law having been passed to bring about its extinction.

## IV. The Failure of Tudor Governments to stop the Agrarian Revolution

The Tudor governments were seriously alarmed at the effects of enclosure for sheep-farming upon the life of the nation and resolutely set themselves to check the movement. They were not moved by any righteous indignation against the sheep-farmers, those "covetous and insatiable cormorants", as Sir Thomas More calls them in his *Utopia*, but what of the military strength and food supplies of England if all the small farmers were ruined? Moreover, unsettlement and class hatred were bad for the business of government and led to rebellions like that of Kett. (See page 62).

Thus a law of Henry VII in 1489 forbade further enclosure for pasture and ordered the reversion of all newly enclosed pasture to tillage. It is said that this law was evaded by the driving of a single furrow across a field, thus putting the land once more "under the plough". Another law to check enclosure by ordering that no man might own more than 2,000 sheep was evaded by pretending that some flocks were owned by other members of the sheep-master's family. The purchasers of abbey lands from Henry VIII were ordered to plough as much *arable* as their monastic owners had done. These laws and the commissions of inquiry into enclosures held by Wolsey

in 1517 and by Somerset in 1548 probably did something to check the movement. But, powerful as Tudor governments were, they depended, for the enforcement of their will in the various counties, upon the *Justices of the Peace*, who belonged to the very class, the landed gentry, who were making their fortunes by growing wool within enclosed sheep-runs. Economic forces had brought about enclosure for sheep-farming, and economic forces, not laws passed through Parliament, were to check it. As we shall see, about the middle of Elizabeth's reign (1580), the price of corn, aided by a growing foreign market, increased considerably. In 1500 England was importing corn; in 1600, thanks to the "new farming", she was exporting it; and corn-growing, by this time, had become as profitable as sheep-raising.

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) What were the causes leading landowners to make "enclosures" for corn- and wool-growing during the sixteenth century?

(2) Explain clearly why "enclosures" caused such serious disturbance in the life of the nation.

(3) For what reasons did Tudor governments oppose "enclosures"?

# CHAPTER V

## THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI (1547–53)

### I. THE PROTECTORATE OF SOMERSET (1547–9)

WITHIN a month of Henry's death, Hertford, the leader of the Protestant party, had made himself Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector of the Realm of his ten-year-old nephew, Edward VI. The task that faced him was no easy one. The conflict between Catholic and Protestant broke out violently directly Henry's iron hand was removed. The country was committed to a war with Scotland, and might at any moment have to face the long-threatened attack of Catholic Europe. The Agrarian Revolution, the breakdown of the guild system (see pages 93–5), Henry's debasement of the coinage[1], and the flow of gold and silver from the New World[2] had combined to throw trade and industry into complete confusion. The prices of life's necessities soared ever higher, while wages lagged far behind. The result was general misery and dangerous discontent, soon to flare up in rebellion.

Somerset's first concern was with the Scotland. He intended to continue Henry VIII's policy of breaking the " auld alliance " of Scotland and France and of ensuring, by the marriage of King Edward to Queen Mary, that, in the next generation, England and Scotland should become one State, "with the sea for a wall and mutual love for its garrison ". Since most Scots, fearing that their country's interests would be sacrificed to those of her more powerful neighbour, were strongly opposed to union, the Protector was compelled to use force. He led an army across the Border, defeated the Scots at Pinkie, sacked Edinburgh and wasted the Lowlands. But the Scots sent their little Queen to France and determined to fight to the last for

[1] See footnote on p. 50.
[2] This had the effect of decreasing the purchasing power of money.

their independence. Somerset had neither the time, the men, nor the money to conquer Scotland, and he had to return home with the bitter knowledge that his expedition had merely strengthened the Franco-Scottish alliance and that union was further off than ever.

EDWARD VI
*Holbein*

The Protector returned to find a bitter struggle in progress between the Old Faith and the New. He wished to see Protestantism established in England, but he was no religious *fanatic*. He had hated Henry's enforcement of religious uniformity "by axe and gallows", and he was ready to tolerate the creeds of all men, provided they kept them to themselves. In this respect Somerset was far in advance of his time, for in 1547 scarcely anybody believed in toleration. Even a century later, as we shall see, another Protector who believed in toleration—Cromwell—had to force it on the country. When Somerset persuaded Parliament to repeal all Henry's laws against *heresy*, the Protestants who had fled abroad to escape the late King's wrath, swarmed back, eager to impose their creeds on their fellow-countrymen. Lutherans, *Zwinglians*, Calvinists—all gladly accepted the government's toleration for themselves but refused absolutely to extend it to those who differed from them. The result was complete confusion; images were smashed, preachers assaulted, processions broken up, while riots in church and streets became everyday occurrences.

The Protector's policy of advancing towards Protestantism was not likely to restore religious peace, for most of the people were still strongly attached to the Old Faith. The *Mass* was abolished; sacred images and pictures were removed from the churches; *chantries* were dissolved, as making for superstition. Since the lands which supported them went to the party in power it is not surprising that the people came to regard Protestantism as a form of plunder by the government. Moreover, although provision was made for *chantry*-priests to continue teaching the children of their neighbourhood in the King Edward VI grammar-schools now founded, another great opportunity of setting up a national system of education had been lost. In 1549, the first Prayer Book in English was issued for public worship; the work of Cranmer, it contained some of the finest writing in our language. Those passages dealing with *doctrines* in dispute between Catholic and Protestant were purposely worded very vaguely, so that both could read into them their own beliefs. Although the Prayer Book was enforced by a mild Act of Uniformity, the Catholic population of Devon and Cornwall rose against it and was suppressed with great difficulty.

Far more serious was the revolt against enclosures in Protestant East Anglia (1549). Sixteen thousand peasants, led by Robert Kett, encamped on Mousehold Heath, outside Norwich, demanding that enclosures should cease. The Protector, torn between his duty to suppress the revolt and his sympathy with the rebels, tried to settle matters by treating with them, but the rest of the King's Council, disgusted by what they described as Somerset's weakness, sent down John Dudley, now Earl of Warwick, to break the rebellion by force. He did so, and hanged Kett.

The Protector was by now bitterly unpopular with all except the poorer classes and a few enlightened men like Bishop Latimer and John Hales, the opponents of enclosures. The Catholics hated his religious policy, which the extreme Reformers disliked because it did not go far enough towards Protestantism. The efforts of the Commission which he sent

round to break down unlawful enclosures and the Court which he set up to hear complaints against encroaching landlords earned him the hatred of the "new rich" landowners who were the real power in Council and Parliament. The opposition to Somerset gathered round his bitter enemy, Warwick; late in 1549 Warwick felt strong enough to arrest the Protector, but not strong enough to take extreme measures against him. Somerset was compelled to resign his office, but was soon released from prison and allowed to take his place at the Council-board.

## II. Northumberland in Power (1549–53)

Warwick, now the most powerful man in Edward VI's government, was a capable soldier and sailor, but a bold and ambitious schemer, with no policy beyond his own advancement. He had no strong religious views, but the failure of Somerset's tolerant policy had convinced him that he must base his rule on the support of one of the religious parties. He decided to favour the more extreme Protestants, since the advancement of their views would give him the excuse for further confiscation of Church property.

Warwick's government was soon far more unpopular than Somerset's had ever been. He made peace with France, restoring Henry's VIII's conquest of Boulogne, and allowed the French to build up their influence in Scotland; the coinage was debased still more, Henry's harsh treason laws were revived, and enclosures were authorized by Act of Parliament, with severe penalties for resistance to the wishes of landowners. Warwick's unpopularity led Somerset to cherish hopes of regaining power, but his rival had taken care to secure a strong hold over the mind of the young King. Edward, now fourteen years old, clearly possessed both the strength of will and the coldness of heart of his father, and he was strongly Protestant in his views. Confident in his influence over Edward, Warwick suddenly had the King's uncle arrested and executed (January

1552). Somerset had been an honest, well-meaning man, born far in advance of his time, and the confusion caused by his mild rule is the best argument for the sterner methods of Henry VIII.

Warwick, whom the King had recently made Duke of Northumberland, now decided to secure the support of the Protestant party for his detested rule by advancing the Reformation still further. In 1552, a second Prayer Book was issued. In the first, Cranmer had tried to satisfy the Catholics, but Bishop Ridley, who was largely responsible for the second, swept away every trace of the Old Faith. A strict Act of Uniformity imposed severe fines and imprisonment upon all who did not attend a church in which the Book was used, and the Catholic Bishops, whom Somerset had left alone, were expelled from their *sees*. The Protestant demand for simplicity in public worship gave Northumberland and his party a useful excuse for the confiscation of everything of value from the churches—*chalices, censers*, bells, *vestments*, even the lead from the roofs. Nevertheless, his government was near to bankruptcy.

Early in 1553 Northumberland was compelled to face a serious crisis. The young King, who had never been strong, went into rapid consumption; it was clear that he had not long to live. The accession of the Catholic and vigorous-minded Mary, the heiress under Henry VIII's will, would mean loss of power and very possibly of life for Northumberland. He determined to prevent it. Playing upon Edward's fear of a Catholic reaction if his half-sister should come to the throne, Northumberland persuaded the King to make a will setting aside the rights of Mary and Elizabeth, on the ground that the rule of a woman would be dangerous to the State. He then brought forward Lady Jane Grey, the granddaughter of Henry VIII's youngest sister, Mary (see table, page 255); she was sixteen, and a Protestant, and the arguments against rule by a woman were removed by marrying her to Northumberland's son, Lord Guildford Dudley. If the Duke could persuade the country to accept Lady Jane as Queen, his own power would be secure.

However, from the moment of the King's death in July 1553

it was clear that he would be unable to force Lady Jane on the country. His rule was too unpopular for the nation to wish it to continue, and the zeal of the extreme Reformers he had patronized had called into being a widespread Catholic reaction which looked to Mary for leadership. Moreover, the bulk of the nation felt considerable sympathy with Mary on account of her misfortunes, and above all, she was a Tudor, Henry's daughter and his lawful heiress. So Northumberland proclaimed Queen Jane in silence while Mary fled to East Anglia, where he was particularly hated, to her friends, the Catholic Howards. She soon found thirty thousand men ready to fight for her rights, and as Northumberland marched against her, his army melted away. Realizing that the game was up, he tried to make terms with Mary, who soon entered London in triumph, but he was thrown into the Tower and shortly afterwards executed.

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) What problems confronted Somerset as Protector? What were the reasons for his failure to solve them?

(2) Account for the downfall of Northumberland.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE REIGN OF MARY (1553-8)

### I. THE QUEEN

MARY TUDOR was blessed neither with good looks nor with good health, and she came to the throne embittered by the unhappy experiences of her earlier life. Like all the Tudors, courageous and resolute in spirit, she was a woman of a single idea; an ardent Catholic, she believed it her mission to bring England back to the Old Faith and to the rule of Rome. She was bound to fail, for she had none of her father's instinctive understanding of the English desire for national independence. Mary was a religious enthusiast, living in an age when men were mainly moved by motives like greed for land or for money; she was concerned much more for the spiritual than for the material welfare of her people and, once they realized how out of touch she was with their real feelings, they passively resisted her policy and waited for her death.

### II. THE RESTORATION OF CATHOLICISM; WYATT'S REBELLION; THE SPANISH MARRIAGE; THE RESTORATION OF PAPAL AUTHORITY (1553-4)

In 1553 the North and West were still strongly Catholic, and although Protestantism was growing fast in the South and East, most of the people wished to return to the religious conditions of Henry VIII's last years. In short, while they would not object to the return of Catholic doctrine, they would be strongly opposed to the restoration of *papal* authority in England. Moreover, when Parliament met, Mary was given clearly to understand that those who had bought monastic lands from her father were firmly resolved not to part with them. Thus the Queen had no

difficulty in reversing the Protestant advance made in Edward VI's reign and Parliament agreed to forbid the use of the English Bible and Prayer Book and to restore the *Mass* and the doctrines of Catholicism.

Had Mary remained content with this much of Catholic restoration, her reign might have been less of a failure. But she was resolved to restore authority over the Church of England to the Pope, to whom, in her opinion, it rightfully belonged. This alarmed her subjects, but they were alarmed far more by her determination to marry her cousin Philip, the heir to Spain and the Netherlands. If this union took place, there would be grave danger of independent England declining into a mere province of the great *Habsburg* Empire.

These fears led the Protestants of Kent to rise in revolt under Sir Thomas Wyatt (1554). But discontent had not yet developed into disloyalty; Mary, with typical Tudor courage, rode down to the Guildhall to appeal to her subjects and, although Wyatt fought his way into the City, Protestant London did not rise for his cause. The rebels were dispersed; their leader taken and executed. The headsman's axe also removed from Mary's path Lady Jane Grey and her husband Guildford Dudley; and Princess Elizabeth spent two months in the Tower upon suspicion of being concerned in Wyatt's plot. But, although the Spanish ambassador urged the Queen to get rid of her half-sister, Mary's advisers had enough wisdom to realize that the nation would never allow a daughter of Henry VIII, and the next in succession to the throne, to be put to death.

Wyatt's rebellion should have warned Mary that caution was necessary for the success of her policy, but she saw in his failure a sign that Heaven was on her side and she determined to undo the English Reformation without delay. In July 1554, she married Philip of Spain; in November, she compelled Parliament to restore the authority of the Pope in England by repealing those laws of Henry VIII which had abolished it. It was, however, a hollow victory for Rome; there was little enthusiasm for the return among the people, and the Pope did not obtain one penny piece from England during the reign of Mary. Only

those abbey lands conscientiously restored by the Queen from Crown property were regained by the Church; her government lacked all power to compel those who had purchased monastic estates to restore them. In fact, it was clear that England had followed Mary back to Rome solely because national unity was necessary and violent opposition to her policy might have led to a civil war like those which were to rend France in the near future.

### III. The Protestant Martyrs (1555-8)

Mary was convinced that the only forces behind the English Reformation had been the will-power of her father and the greed of his courtiers for land; ruthless persecution would therefore soon stamp out Protestantism in England. Accordingly, in 1555, she ordered the burnings to begin. During the rest of her reign, some three hundred Protestants suffered death at the stake rather than forswear their religion; most of them were humble folk, living in London and the South of England, and they met their terrible fate with unflinching courage. Nor were their leaders found wanting in this testing time of English Protestantism. The great preacher Latimer died bravely with his brother bishop, Ridley, calling out to him, " Play the man, Master Ridley; and we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out! " At first the gentle Cranmer shrank from sharing their fate and made his submission to Rome; but in vain, for the persecutors had marked him down for death as the chief author, under Henry, of the English Reformation. Accordingly, the Archbishop withdrew his submission and endured martyrdom with unyielding courage, thrusting " that unworthy hand " which had signed his surrender first into the flames. Protestantism in England emerged purified and strengthened from its ordeal by fire. Hitherto it had been regarded as the creed of the godless despoilers of the Church, but the courage and faith of its humble *martyrs* secured its future for ever.

From Mary's point of view, the persecution was a complete

failure. The Tudor Englishman was far from being a soft-hearted individual, but the burnings aroused deep disgust among the majority of the nation, and the Queen's advisers deemed it wise to suspend them whenever Parliament was sitting. Mary had indeed converted England—but to Protestantism, for when she came to the throne England was at heart Catholic; when she died, it was Protestant. Moreover, she had succeeded in stamping on the national mind a passionate hatred of Rome and all its ways that made the restoration of Catholicism in this country impossible.

## IV. War with France; Disaster and Mary's Death (1557-8)

If the burnings destroyed Mary's popularity with her people, her surrender of England's independence to her husband Philip of Spain brought them to the verge of rebellion against her. Already, as our merchants and sailors sought to break down Philip's trading *monopoly* in the New World, Spain was replacing France as the national enemy in the eyes of Englishmen. In 1557, to assist Philip in securing the Spanish hold on Italy, Mary dragged England into war with France and even with the Pope; the loss of Calais, our last possession on the Continent, completed the tale of her failure as Queen of England. Her subjects were now waiting for her death, hoping that the *dropsy* from which she suffered would bring it about before her religious policy plunged them into civil war and before she could give birth to an heir who might rule England from Madrid.

She died, childless, in November 1558, and at her death "all the churches in London did ring, and at night men did make bonfires and set tables in the street, and did eat and drink and make merry for the new Queen."

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) How far was Mary successful in her attempt to undo her father's Reformation?

BOOKS FOR READING

*The Tower of London*, by Harrison Ainsworth (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*The Story of Francis Cludde*, by S. J. Weyman.

# CHAPTER VII

## THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH (1558 1603)

### I. ELIZABETH AND ENGLAND IN 1558

AT the age of twenty-five the daughter of Anne Boleyn became Queen of England. She was a well-educated and cool-headed young woman who, during the perils of her sister's reign, had schooled herself to the caution that was to serve her so well throughout her long rule.

In one of her first speeches, Elizabeth boasted that she was "mere English" and the vigorous patriotism of her subjects is the keynote of her reign. In 1558, however, there seemed little indication of the glories to come. England appeared a third-rate power, the client of Spain, facing bankruptcy, and torn by the feud of Catholic and Protestant. Appearances, however, were misleading. In reality, the nation was passing from the stage of infancy with its various ailments, to lusty youth, and it became Elizabeth's task to act as a watchful nurse, guarding the child from harm until it should be strong enough to stand on its own feet. Henry had learnt and taught his people to believe that England united could not be conquered; it was his daughter's work to maintain that unity and, with the aid of the navy her father had founded, to preserve England's independence.

### II. THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION (1558 9)

The Queen at once stopped the burnings, made peace with France and Scotland, began to practise the strictest economy, and wisely refused Philip of Spain's offer of marriage. William

Cecil, a cautious and moderate man of the middle classes, became her chief minister, and remained her right hand for the next forty years.

If national unity were to be preserved, there must be made a

*National Portrait Gallery*

QUEEN ELIZABETH
*Ditchley*

lasting settlement of religion that should be acceptable to as many Englishmen as possible. Elizabeth's task was no easy one, for within a single generation the country had experienced many

violent religious changes. Her intention was to build up a national Church. Although every effort would be made to obtain the allegiance of the Catholics, its *doctrines* would be Protestant. For the strongest sections of the Queen's subjects were now Protestant, and it was certain that England would never return to the Old Faith, which had come to be associated in the minds of Englishmen with the fires of Smithfield, the loss of Calais, and dependence on Spain, clearly regarded by now as the national enemy.

In 1559 the Queen and Cecil carried their settlement through Parliament. The *papal* power in England was again abolished; the Queen was declared " Supreme Governor " of the Church in England and an Act of Uniformity adopted Edward VI's second Prayer Book as containing the services to be used. But it was Elizabeth's boast that she " made no windows into men's souls "; accordingly, phrases that might give offence to Catholics were left out, and the wording of the *Communion* Service was altered so that Catholic and Protestant might each believe what he liked about *transubstantiation*. No laws condemning *heretics* to the stake were passed, for Elizabeth had learnt from her sister's experience the folly of persecution. Membership of the national Church by attendance at its service was made compulsory, and those Catholic *recusants* who stayed at home to celebrate the *Mass* were to pay a fine of one shilling or twenty shillings per family per month. Thus the practice of the Old Faith was made rather an expensive luxury and, as the reign went on, the Catholic gentry, who had as keen a sense of money values as their Protestant neighbours, became more regular in their attendance at the parish church. Finally, bishops and clergymen who refused to recognize the Queen's Supremacy were replaced by carefully chosen men of moderate Protestant views, like Matthew Parker, who became *Primate*.

Time was on Elizabeth's side, during which her national Church could take deep root in the lives of the people. Twelve years were to pass before the Catholic Counter-Reformation disturbed England, and until 1576 there were no executions for religion in this country. During this period a new generation

was growing up which, knowing nothing of the old Roman Catholic England, came to feel a patriotic affection for its *Anglican* Church.

### III. Preparations to Defend England's Independence; Elizabeth secures the goodwill of Scotland (1558–60)

As early as 1558, it was clear that England would have to prepare for war if she intended to preserve her independence. The Catholic Counter-Reformation, with its purpose of regaining all *heretic* countries for Rome, was being prepared under the mantle of the mighty Spanish Empire. At the same time, the growing aggressiveness of English traders in the New World was certain to provoke Spain into that retaliation which ultimately came in the shape of the Armada. Elizabeth and Cecil were fully alive to the Catholic-Spanish danger. Having released England from the Spanish leading-strings in which Mary had placed her, they resolved that their foreign policy should be to maintain a balance of power between France and Spain, so that neither might grow strong enough to threaten English independence. It was Wolsey's former policy, but the Cardinal's fatal inclination towards Spain was to be avoided.

Meanwhile, England was strengthened in every way against the threat of invasion. The people were trained to use arms; Elizabeth was not afraid of arming her subjects, for their interests were hers. Her government began to make its own powder, cast its own cannon, build its own ships, and by 1580 England was independent in these matters. All the bad money in circulation was called in; the Queen's strict economy soon reduced the heavy debt left by Mary, and Sir Thomas Gresham, the ablest financier of the day, put the country's finances on a sound basis.

In 1559, John Knox, the leader of Scottish Protestantism, returned from exile in Geneva, and the Scottish Reformation—

a movement of the people led by a powerful section of the nobles, calling themselves the " Lords of the Congregation ", opened its attack upon Catholicism and the French influence bound up with it. But Mary of Guise, the French widow of James V, who was acting as Regent for her daughter Mary, brought over strong forces from France, and Knox and his followers were soon fighting for their lives.

Faced by the destruction of their religion, the Lords of the Congregation appealed to the Protestant Queen of England for help. Elizabeth had no desire to be dragged into a war with France, but here was a chance to break the " auld alliance " for ever and to gain Scotland as a Protestant ally instead of a Catholic enemy. After some hesitation, she sent an English fleet which closed the Forth against reinforcements from France, and an army, which helped the Scots to defeat the French and to make themselves masters in their own house.

Elizabeth demanded nothing in return for her aid, and for the first time in the long story of the two nations, the English forces marched out of Scotland, leaving a grateful people behind them. In two years the Queen of England had put an end to Catholic and foreign influence in both countries, and had laid the sure foundations of the later union between them; already she was regarded as the champion of the Protestant cause in Europe.

## IV. The Story of Mary Stuart and the Revolt of the Catholic North (1542–69)

The tragic story of Mary Stuart is so closely connected with that of Elizabeth's England that some account of it is necessary. Queen of Scotland almost from her birth in 1542, Mary was sent to the Court of her mother's France to prevent Somerset from enforcing her marriage to Edward VI. In 1558 she married the *Dauphin* Francis; the next year she was Queen of France; the year after, a childless widow. In 1561, in an evil hour for herself, Mary, an ardent Catholic, returned to Scotland,

to find its Reformation completed, *Presbyterianism* the national religion, and Knox and the Lords of the Congregation all-powerful.

Mary was now a beautiful and charming girl of nineteen, and after his first meeting with her, Knox remarked: "If there be not in her a crafty wit, my judgment faileth me!" Mary's tragedy was that, unlike Elizabeth, she did not always use her brains to rule her heart. Determined to make good her claim to the throne of England (see page 255) and to rule a united and Catholic Britain, she governed with great caution for the next four years. Then, in 1565, she married her cousin Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. Though entirely without brains or character, Darnley was a Catholic and also boasted a claim to the English throne. In the event of Elizabeth's death, their joint claim would be difficult to resist.

But Mary soon quarrelled with her worthless husband, and advised by her Italian secretary, David Rizzio, she resolved to break the power of the Lords and the *Presbyterianism* they upheld. However, on the night of 9 March 1566, Darnley, who had gone over to the nobles, burst into the Queen's private apartments in Holyrood Palace with some of his allies, dragged Rizzio from her presence, and stabbed him to death.

Mary determined on vengeance. The birth of her son (later James VI of Scotland and I of England) helped her to regain control over her miserable husband, but she then prepared her ruin by falling in love with the ambitious and unscrupulous Border baron, Bothwell. In the night of 9 February 1567, Darnley's house near Edinburgh was blown up, and Darnley himself was found strangled in the garden. All believed Bothwell to have done the deed, but Mary's responsibility for it remains one of the most disputed questions in history. Bothwell then carried off the Queen to Dunbar, most probably with her consent, hastily divorced his wife and returned with Mary to Edinburgh, where he married her. The Queen's insane conduct had completely destroyed her hold on her subjects, making it easy for the Lords to raise a rebellion against her. In June 1567, they defeated her forces at Carberry Hill, outside Edin-

burgh; Bothwell escaped to Denmark, but the Queen was captured, forced to abdicate in her son's favour and imprisoned in the castle of Loch Leven. In May 1568, she won over her gaoler, and escaped from her island prison to her last friends, the Hamiltons. But at Langside, near Glasgow, her forces were scattered, and with no refuge left her in Scotland, Mary fled across the Border, beseeching Elizabeth's aid to restore her to the throne from which her rebellious subjects had driven her.

The arrival of the fugitive Queen in England placed Elizabeth in a very difficult position. She had no intention of losing the friendship of Protestant Scotland by aiding Mary to regain her throne, but to hand her over to her rebel subjects would be regarded as the shameful betrayal, possibly to her death, of a fellow-monarch. Again, to allow Mary, a claimant to the English throne, to proceed to France was out of the question. Accordingly, it was judged the safest course to keep her in England, in honourable custody under Cecil's watchful eye.

Nevertheless, within a year, the Queen of Scots had inspired a dangerous attack on the national unity that Elizabeth had been building up during ten years of peace. Mary, regarded by many Catholics as the rightful Queen of England, was welcomed joyously in the Catholic, feudal North, still the region that had produced the Pilgrimage of Grace. Power in this last-surviving district of *medieval* England was divided between Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Neville, Earl of Westmorland, and Lord Leonard Dacre, all Catholics hating the growth of the national Church and a monarchy which based its rule on the middle classes. In 1569, in close connexion with the old nobility of the South, led by the Duke of Norfolk, they planned a rebellion of Catholic England. Cecil and the *Anglican* Church were to be overthrown; Norfolk was to marry Mary, who was to be recognized by Elizabeth as heir to the throne. But Cecil, who always managed to learn more about the plots against his Queen than most of the plotters knew themselves, struck first; Norfolk was sent to the Tower; royal forces broke the rising of the

Northern Earls almost as soon as it had begun, and its leaders barely escaped from England with their lives.

## V. England and the Counter-Reformation (1570-88)

During the first half of the sixteenth century (1500-50), the Protestant Reformation, in its Lutheran or *Calvinist* form, had torn from the Catholic Church the allegiance of England, most of Germany, Denmark, Scandinavia, Poland, and Scotland. At the end of this period, *Calvinism* was still spreading in France and in the Netherlands (Holland and Belgium), but in reality the tide had turned. Catholicism was about to take the offensive with its Counter-Reformation, and by the end of the century, the Old Faith had regained its supremacy in France, Belgium, Poland, and South Germany.

The purpose of the Counter-Reformation was to purify the Catholic Church from those evils which had caused the Protestant revolt, and then to bring back the *heretic* countries to Rome. The movement was the result of a profound religious re-birth within the Catholic Church, and its progress was seen in the foundation of numerous societies, pledged to bring about the regeneration of the Church. Of these the most famous was the Society of Jesus, founded in 1540 by Ignatius Loyola. Submitting to a strictly military discipline, the Jesuits, by their enthusiasm and self-sacrifice as teachers, preachers, and missionaries, had soon done much to restore the influence of the Church in the lives of the people. In 1542 the Catholic Reformers set up the dreaded Inquisition, a court which successfully used its power of life and death to prevent the spread of *heresy* in Catholic countries; in 1555 they secured the election of their leader Caraffa as Pope Paul IV. Under Paul and his able successors the Papacy speedily put its house in order, and made a firm alliance with the powerful Spanish Empire under Philip II (1556-98), for the purpose of purifying the world of *heresy*. In 1562 the Counter-Reformation opened its offensive when Pope Pius IV, at the Council of Trent, informed the *heretic*

world of the Catholic resolve not to rest until the breach which Luther had made in the unity of Christendom had been completely repaired. So began a hundred years of war between Catholic and Protestant in every country of Europe.

In 1570 Pope Pius V, too late to aid the revolt of the Catholic North, *excommunicated* Elizabeth and declared her Catholic subjects freed from their allegiance to her. The English Catholics, who had hitherto suffered no persecution, were now compelled to choose between giving their loyalty to Elizabeth or to the Pope and Mary, regarded by all strict Catholics as the rightful Queen of England. Threatened by the Counter-Reformation, England was drawn into the European struggle of Catholic and Protestant; Mary's supporters sought help from Spain, France, and the Pope, while Elizabeth struck back by maintaining her alliance with Scottish Protestantism and by aiding the French *Huguenots* and the Protestant Dutch in revolt against Spain. Now ensued sixteen years of plotting against Elizabeth's life on behalf of Mary, until English national feeling demanded the execution of the Queen of Scots in 1587.

The first of these plots was hatched in 1571. The English Catholics were to rise, aided by a Spanish invasion; Elizabeth was to be assassinated, and Mary, marrying Norfolk, was to become Queen. However, Cecil (now Lord Burghley) soon unravelled the threads of the plot, and Norfolk and Ridolfi, its organizer, were executed.

From the beginning of her reign Elizabeth realized that war with Spain could not be avoided. Her constant purpose was to postpone it as long as possible, for, with every year, increasing prosperity was making England stronger, while the Spanish Empire had already begun its decline. As a safeguard against the Spanish power, Elizabeth sought a firm alliance with its rival France, which the French, torn by the strife of Catholic and *Huguenot*, were glad to make. In spite of the massacre of the *Huguenots* on Saint Bartholomew's Day (24 August 1572), which outraged the feelings of Protestant England, Elizabeth kept her subjects firm to the French alliance until the Spanish

danger had been met and overcome. Although—warned by the mistakes of Mary Tudor and Mary Stuart—she probably never intended to marry, Elizabeth was well aware of the value of her hand as a diplomatic weapon, and she kept the French monarchy to the alliance by holding out hopes of sharing her throne to its princes, *Anjou*, and then *Alençon*. Nevertheless, her good relations with the French government did not prevent her from secretly financing the rebel *Huguenots*, for, if the religious wars continued, Catholic France would be powerless to join forces with Spain in the crusade against *heretic* England.

In 1567 the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands against Philip's attempt to restore Catholicism and to set up his absolute power offered Elizabeth an opportunity which she did not neglect. As long as this rebellion lasted a Spanish attack on England was out of the question. The Queen of England could not, of course, support the rebels openly, but in practice she became the champion of Dutch and Flemish liberties. English money was advanced to the Dutch leader, William the Silent, Prince of Orange; Dutch *privateers* preyed upon Spanish commerce from English harbours, and Englishmen found an outlet for their Protestant zeal as volunteers in the Dutch army.

After 1580 events moved rapidly towards the great crisis of Elizabeth's reign, the open war with Spain which came with the Armada eight years later. In 1580, Campion and Parsons, the Jesuit leaders, landed in England, and were soon followed by a number of young English Catholics who had been trained at the Jesuit college at Douai for the reconversion of their native land to Rome. This attack of the Counter-Reformation ruined Elizabeth's hopes of uniting Catholic and Protestant within her national Church, and her government struck back bitterly by declaring it high treason to preach the doctrines of Rome. In 1581 Campion was taken and executed—the first of two hundred Catholic executions during the rest of the reign, while Parsons was so hunted that he left the country. Nevertheless, the Jesuits were active in forwarding the plot of a Catholic Cheshire gentleman, Francis Throgmorton, to murder Elizabeth

and place Mary on her throne. But Secretary Walsingham was soon in possession of all the details, and Throgmorton went to the block (1584).

Meanwhile, as the Counter-Reformation gathered strength on the Continent, the future of the Protestant cause grew dark. In 1581 Spain conquered Portugal, uniting the two greatest colonial empires in the world, and Parma, Philip's able Governor of the Netherlands, won back Belgium to the Catholic Faith and the allegiance of Spain. Then, in 1584, William the Silent was assassinated by an agent of Philip II, and the Dutch cause seemed doomed. In the same year, the *Huguenot* Henri of Navarre became heir to the French throne. The French Catholics formed a league to resist his succession, and turned for support to Philip; the union of Catholic France and Spain, which Elizabeth had striven to prevent, had taken place—a terrible menace to England's safety.

Protestant England prepared to meet the danger. All classes bound themselves in an association to protect the Queen's life: those who threatened it were to receive no quarter, and an Act of Parliament—with Mary in mind—declared that nobody in whose interest Elizabeth was killed would be allowed to ascend her throne. A firm alliance was made with James VI of Scotland, and by giving the son of Mary Stuart to understand that he would succeed to the English Crown, Elizabeth secured England from attack in the rear. English loans put fresh heart into the *Huguenot* cause, so that, when the Armada sailed, Catholic France was too hard pressed by Navarre to be able to join forces with Spain. In 1585 an English army under the Earl of Leicester went to succour the Dutch, for, if their cause perished, it would be England's turn next. In the same year, Drake sailed with thirty ships to plunder the Spanish domains in the New World, a task that he carried out with great success.

Then, in 1586, Walsingham discovered yet another plot to assassinate Elizabeth so that Mary—who had disinherited her son and made over her rights to Philip II—might become Queen of England. The Secretary held his hand until he had obtained

undeniable proof that Mary had approved the plan of the Catholic Derbyshire gentleman, Anthony Babington, to murder Elizabeth. The Queen of Scots was then tried and found guilty of treason, and Protestant England, convinced that its Queen and the nation would never be safe while Mary lived, demanded her immediate execution. Long did Elizabeth hesitate to sign the death-warrant, chiefly because she knew that Mary's execution must lead to open war with Spain, and she only gave way before the overwhelming pressure of national feeling. In 1587 Mary went to her death with high courage in Fotheringay Castle. England had flung down the gauntlet to Catholic Europe and to Philip. As Mary's heir and as champion of the Counter-Reformation, he was compelled to pick it up. Moreover, he was convinced that if he delayed his attack on England any longer, Holland and the Indies, upon which his wealth depended, would pass out of his control for ever. Accordingly, he turned to prepare the Armada.

## VI. The Armada and the War with Spain (1588-1603)

In the spring of 1587, every dockyard in Spain and Portugal was noisy with the building of Philip's "Invincible Armada", to sail that summer to the conquest of *heretic* England. Then, in April, Drake dashed into Cadiz harbour and wrought such havoc among the preparations that the expedition had to be postponed for a whole year. But Drake's "singeing of King Philip's beard" only made that monarch more determined in his purpose, for it showed that not even Spain and Portugal were safe from attack by English sea-power.

In July 1588 the Armada, under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a landsman with no enthusiasm for the enterprise, at last put to sea. A huge flotilla of 69 fighting ships and 68 armed transports, carrying 20,000 of the best soldiers in the world, its orders were to sail up-Channel to Antwerp, embark the army of Parma, the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and then land the combined forces in England.

In this threatened island every preparation had been made to resist invasion. Every seaworthy merchantman and privateer had been turned out to support the ships of the navy, and the largest English fleet ever to sail the sea was assembled. The commander, Lord Howard of Effingham, had with him Drake and every sea captain of note, justifiably confident of their ability to defeat the Armada. Behind these " wooden walls ", the gentry in every county were briskly training the manhood of England to combat Parma's veterans, and the Queen went down to the large army assembled at Tilbury and aroused it to the heights of patriotic enthusiasm by her vigorous address.

Drake's sound plan of sailing to meet the Armada off the Spanish coast was thrice defeated by south-westerly gales, and on July 19, the Spanish fleet, driven along by the same gales, sighted the cliffs of England. It sailed past Plymouth, with Drake bottled up in the Sound, but he warped out his ships, and with the advantage of the weather-gauge, fell upon the Spaniard. After nine days of hard fighting, the Armada had battled through to Calais. On the night of the 28th, the English captains sent eight fireships with the tide into Calais Roads. Panic seized the Spaniards; cutting their cables, they fled eastwards in complete confusion. In the morning, spread out in disorder off Gravelines, the Armada was brought to battle. The English fleet, sailing twice as fast, manœuvring twice as quickly, and firing four times more rapidly than the Spanish, won a complete victory. By evening, the beaten Armada, the plan of invasion abandoned, was flying northwards, hoping to round the north of Scotland and make its way home by the west coast of Ireland. The English lack of ammunition saved it from pursuit, but the gales completed its destruction. " God blew with His wind and they were scattered! " as Elizabeth piously inscribed her Armada medal. Only 52 ships of the " Invincible Armada " eventually made port in Spain.

The defeat of the Armada secured the great object of the Tudors—the independence of England. Moreover, since it gave the English command of the Channel, the sea communications

of Spain with her armies in the Netherlands were cut, and Dutch independence of Spain was also made certain.

Although England had repulsed the attack of Spain and the Counter-Reformation, the defeat of the Armada was the beginning and not the end of the war with Spain. The English resolve to share in the wealth of the New World had been strengthened by their great naval victory. In alliance with Navarre—now Henry IV of France, and fighting for his Crown and his country's independence against Spain and her Catholic League allies within France—Elizabeth's government carried on the war with vigour. The Spanish Empire, on the defensive, fought back desperately and successfully. Drake's expedition to Lisbon in 1589 to arouse the Portuguese against their Spanish oppressors, was his only failure. In 1592 Lord Thomas Howard failed to intercept off the Azores the Spanish treasure-fleet from the Indies and left Sir Richard Grenville to win immortal fame in the last fight of the *Revenge*. In 1595 Drake and Hawkins, on their last voyage, found Spanish America too strongly fortified for successful attack. Hawkins died off Porto Rico and Drake did not long survive his kinsman; on 27 January 1596, the body of the greatest Elizabethan sailor was buried in Nombre de Dios Bay. Philip now put forth all his efforts to prepare a second Armada which should make good the failure of the first, but in 1596, Essex, Ralegh, and Howard repeated Drake's exploit and destroyed the ships being prepared in Cadiz harbour. With Philip's death in 1598, the Elizabethan war with Spain really came to an end.

## VII. The Last Years of Elizabeth (1588–1603); the Growth of English Puritanism

The year 1588 marks a real break in the reign of Elizabeth; until the Catholic-Spanish menace had been overcome, Englishmen had laid aside their differences for the sake of national unity. Now that the independence of their country had been secured, they could devote their attention

to the matter which now interested them beyond all others—religion.

As Elizabeth's reign went on, her national Church, despite the efforts of the Jesuits, succeeded in securing the allegiance of more and more of her subjects. But, within the *Anglican* Church, the tide of feeling was running strongly in a Puritan direction. When Henry VIII placed the Bible in English in every parish church, he all unknowingly made possible the growth of Puritanism. The generation which grew up in Elizabeth's reign was intensely religious, and Bible-reading became a habit among a people quick to appreciate the power and beauty of its own language. The result was that a growing number of Englishmen determined to live their lives according to the teaching of the Scriptures and to believe nothing not warranted by them; moreover, they insisted upon their right to interpret the Bible for themselves. These men were called " Puritans "; although they were far from united in their beliefs, they had certain ideas in common. They believed that religion was a personal, *inward* communication between man and his God, and they hated anything which stood in the way of that direct relationship; they were strongly opposed to *outward* display in religion, referring to it as " rags of Popery ". It was their opinion that before the *Anglican* Church could be called a truly Protestant body, its ceremonies must be severely reformed in the direction of simplicity.

The Puritans began by opposing the wearing of *vestments* by the clergy, for they held that there was no difference between the priest and the ordinary man. Conscious of their growing strength, they proceeded to attack as " Romish ", certain *rites* and *doctrines* of the Church. When the Bishops hastened to defend these, they drew down upon themselves the wrath of the Puritans, who hated them for their wealth and the control they exercised over men's lives through the still powerful Church Courts.

During the first twenty years of her reign, Elizabeth allowed considerable freedom to both Catholics and Puritans, for the sake of national unity. By 1580, however, she had become

convinced that the further growth of Puritanism, which she instinctively disliked, would imperil national unity by putting an end to the peace which she had established between Catholic and Protestant. Puritanism was growing steadily among the squires and merchants in the House of Commons, and conferences of Puritan ministers were petitioning Parliament to undertake the reform of the Church. The Church was the Queen's business, and Elizabeth foresaw correctly that the Puritans would be led on from attacking the Bishops to an assault on the royal supremacy over the Church.

Accordingly, she resolved to defend her Bishops, and in 1583 she formed an alliance between the Crown and the *Anglican* Church that lasted for over a century. The able Whitgift was appointed *Primate*, with orders to stamp out Puritanism within the Church. As President of the Court of High Commission, he carried out his task with the severity of the Inquisition. The power of the printed word was steadily increasing and, although Whitgift endeavoured to muzzle their presses by a strict censorship, the Puritans struck back with violent attacks on the Bishops in secretly printed *pamphlets* like the famous Martin Marprelate tracts. After ten years of bitter strife, Whitgift could claim considerable success. The moderate Puritans resolved to conform until the old Queen was dead. The extremists, having seen their leaders executed for denying the royal supremacy, went into exile in Holland, whence they made their way to the New World, to find that freedom to worship which had been denied them in the Old.

Thus Elizabeth failed to make a Church to include all her subjects, but she succeeded in making one which obtained the support of most of them. Although Puritanism continued its steady growth and even ruled England for ten years of the next century, the *Anglican* Church has retained the allegiance of the majority of Englishmen down to our own day.

## VIII. Elizabeth and England

When Elizabeth came to the throne, she set herself to carry on her father's policy of securing the unity and ensuring the independence of England. To this task she brought many of Henry's remarkable qualities—his high courage, iron will, discerning judgment of men, and his complete command of the business of ruling a nation—and she had also many virtues to which he had not been able to lay claim—an ability to "manage" in money matters, a freedom from cruelty, and a remarkable loyalty to her trusted servants. It was no empty boast to one of her Parliaments: "I thank God I am endued with such qualities that if I were turned out of the realm in my petticoat, I were able to live in any place in Christendom." Like her father, Elizabeth was *a despot*, but she had a high sense of duty towards her people and she always regarded herself as "the first servant of the State". Although she did not hesitate to use her hand as a *diplomatic* weapon, she had no intention of marrying, and in this she was quite right. England's great need in her reign was not a child to settle the succession, but to escape the bitter religious strife then afflicting the rest of Europe, which her marriage to a foreigner or to an English noble might have brought about. For the same reason—to preserve the national unity—she refused to declare her successor, for that, she declared, would be extending to him an invitation to endeavour to succeed—before her death and by plots or force of arms.

Of her success as a ruler there can be no doubt. By her matchless *diplomacy* she postponed the attack of the Counter-Reformation until England was strong enough to meet and defeat it; she preserved the national unity until that danger had been overcome, and while she lived, both Puritans and Catholics had to postpone their hopes of religious freedom. She completed the long process of making the English nation and she laid the sure foundations of a union with Scotland; by preserving the independence of England, she made possible its commercial and colonial development; by preserving its unity,

she enabled Englishmen to begin learning the lesson of governing themselves. Her government, like that of her father, was based on the material interests of her people, and they knew it; she had every reason for declaring to her last Parliament: "I account the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves."

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) What were the chief features of Elizabeth's religious settlement?

(2) Write an account of the life of Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-87).

(3) What were the objects of the Counter-Reformation? What methods were used to realize those objects? What influence did the Counter-Reformation have on England?

(4) Explain clearly the foreign policy which Elizabeth pursued from the beginning of her reign until the coming of the Armada.

(5) Account for the defeat of the Armada. Why was its defeat so important?

(6) Explain clearly the meaning of the word "Puritanism". Why did Elizabeth persecute the Puritans after 1588? How far was her persecution successful?

(7) What were Elizabeth's chief services to England?

### Books for Reading

*The Monastery*, by Sir Walter Scott (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*The Abbot*, by Sir Walter Scott (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*Westward Ho!* by Charles Kingsley (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*The Ladder of Swords*, by Sir Gilbert Parker (Dent: Wayfarer's Library).

*Kenilworth*, by Sir Walter Scott (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*The Sea Hawk*, by R. Sabatini.
*The Queen's Quair*, by Maurice Hewlett.
*The Queen's Maries*, by Melville Whyte (Collins).
*Sir Mortimer*, by Mary Johnston.
*Unknown to History*, by C. M. Yonge.
*Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall*, by C. Major.

# CHAPTER VIII

## THE POLICY OF NATIONAL POWER

*NOTE. This section should be regarded as an introduction to the economic history of the period.*

ONE of the most important changes distinguishing modern from *medieval* times was the growth of nationality. During the fifteenth century, as the more advanced European nations became fully conscious of themselves as separate communities, they came to regard each other (as England under Wolsey regarded France and Spain) as rivals and possible enemies. This attitude resulted in the fierce determination of each young nation to preserve its independence. For this purpose national unity was essential; every activity of the people must be closely controlled, and the interests of the nation must always be placed before those of the individual.

Now, to achieve these objects, some strong authority was necessary and, in sixteenth-century England, the only authority powerful enough was that of the Crown, which by 1540, had crushed its two great *medieval* rivals, the Baronage and the Church. Henry VIII and Elizabeth made the preservation of England's independence their first object, and under their rule, the State established a strict control over the fast-growing trade and industry of the country. Tudor government was based on the material interests of the people; England was to be made powerful that she might remain free.

This system of strict control by the State of all activities of the people has been called *Mercantilism* by historians, and it was in force in England between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The statesmen of Tudor and Stuart times believed that if England was to be strong and free, active measures must be taken to maintain her naval and military strength, and her ability to grow her own food. Industry and trade must

be given every opportunity to expand, so that a great supply of precious metals might be amassed within the country, for gold and silver could buy all things in time of war.

England's naval strength must be maintained, for the command of the sea was essential to this island country's independence. So Elizabeth increased the royal navy her father had founded, and the State encouraged the building of a large merchant fleet, which would carry the products of expanding English industry and which, if need arose—as it did when the Armada came—could easily be converted into warships. The national diet was regulated so that deep-sea fisheries (the best school for the training of seamen) might flourish. The greatest care was taken in trading to secure ample supplies of naval stores—timber, *hemp* and sailcloth, while one of the first measures of Elizabeth's government was to make itself independent of foreign supplies of ordnance by making its own (see page 74).

To maintain the country's military strength a large, active, and healthy population was necessary. Thus the State did its best to check enclosure for sheep-farming, which depopulated the countryside and led to overcrowding in the towns and to epidemics of plague, with which medical science, then in its infancy, was totally unable to cope (see Chapter IV). The necessity for maintaining England's food supply was another reason for the opposition of governments to enclosure, for if the country was to be independent in this respect, her peasantry must be kept on the land and agriculture must flourish.

Just as necessary to England's well-being were the prosperity and expansion of trade and industry. Accordingly, the regulation of industry, which, in the Middle Ages, had been the concern of the *craft guilds*, was taken over by the Tudor State, and after 1563 was based upon the Statute of *Artificers* and upon orders issued from time to time by the Privy Council, to be carried out by the *Justices of the Peace* (see Chapter IX). The State also took over the control of foreign trade, by issuing charters to *monopolistic* Companies (see Chapter XI).

The great object of State control of trade and industry was

to amass a large supply of gold and silver, for money was the most powerful weapon to defend the country's independence. Thus every effort must be made to establish a large balance of trade in England's favour; all foreign imports would then be paid for by English exports, and the *surplus* of English exports would be paid for in gold and silver. For these reasons governments preferred the import of raw materials to manufactured goods, for the former could be worked up—thus aiding the expansion of English industry, and re-exported with their value increased—thus tilting the balance of trade in England's favour. Similarly, the export of English raw materials was discouraged; it was held that they should be worked up and exported as manufactured goods.

Such was the policy of national power pursued by the statesmen of Tudor and Stuart times. Their object was to make England strong, so that she might be free to follow her true road of development—the sea—and to take full advantage of the wonderful future that clearly awaited her, first as a commercial, then as a colonial, power. No one can deny their success in achieving that object.

QUESTIONS FOR REVISION, HOMEWORK, OR TEST PURPOSES

(1) Explain clearly what the statesmen of Tudor and Stuart times understood by the policy of national power.

# CHAPTER

## THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY; THE STATE REPLACES THE GUILDS

### 1. The Decline of the Guilds and the Rise of the Domestic System

During the later Middle Ages, industries were controlled by the *craft guilds*, themselves subject to the chartered towns in which they were established. The *craft guilds* were associations of workmen, whose object was to control a particular industry in the interests of its members. The *guild* made regulations to secure the good quality of its members' work and fair prices for its sale; it fixed the hours and wages of *journeymen* and apprentices, who hoped in due time to become masters; it made grants to sick and needy members, and it elected annually a master and wardens, to hold its funds and to see that its rules were carried out.

By 1450, however, the *craft guilds* were breaking up, for industry was expanding far beyond their control. The great growth of internal and foreign trade during the fourteenth century had already led to the accumulation of capital in the hands of many masters in the *guilds*. As the possibility of getting rich quickly was realized, individual profit replaced the well-being of their *craft* as men's motive in business. Moreover, prices rose steadily throughout the Tudor period, and efforts to fix fair levels failed. The quality of work declined in the rush to meet orders, but even so, the *guilds* were unable to satisfy by themselves the growing demand for goods.

In these circumstances, disputes between masters and *journeymen* over the hours and wages of labour became frequent; it was clear that their interests were no longer the same. These disputes developed into a bitter conflict when the masters adopted a policy of exclusion within the *guilds*. The less the number

of masters, the more profit for each of them; thus they made every effort to cut down the number of *journeymen* allowed to set up for themselves, and to compel as many as possible to remain wage-earners for the rest of their lives. The *journeymen* endeavoured to safeguard their interests by forming their own *guilds*, but they could do little against the wealth of the *craft guilds*, and finally, to escape their control, many *journeymen* left the chartered towns to set up for themselves in the new towns and villages.

The masters adopted the same selfish policy towards their apprentices. Heavy fees were charged for apprenticeship, and every possible restriction was adopted to prevent qualified apprentices setting up in competition with their masters, unless they happened to be sons or relatives of wealthy members of the *craft guild*.

Between these wealthy members and the poorer masters of the *guilds* there developed a sharp distinction, of which the outward sign was the wearing of an expensive *livery* by the employees of the former. Before long, the control of the guilds had fallen into the hands of the "liverymen", the wealthy masters, from whom the ruling body, the Court of Assistants, was exclusively chosen. The "liverymen" then secured the *monopoly* of selling the products of the guild, so that the poorer masters were compelled to sell to them as middlemen—in effect, to become wage-earners for them. By 1450, the wealthier masters had ceased to work, and a class of wage-earners—apprentices, *journeymen*, and poor masters—had come into existence. The modern division of "employers" and "employed" had arrived.

In these circumstances, considerable numbers of poorer masters and *journeymen*, seeing no future for themselves within the *guilds*, left the chartered towns to set up in the new towns and villages of the surrounding countryside, whose development as centres of industry had been made possible by expanding markets and by the "Tudor peace". They provided the technical instruction for those smallholders and labourers who had been driven off the land by "enclosures" (see pages 57-8).

These unfortunates, finding it impossible to become members of the town *guilds*, had also made their way to the new centres of industry. Soon after them came the capitalist in the wool industry in the person of the " clothier ", who bought raw wool from the sheepmasters, paid the workpeople wages for manufacturing it in their own homes, collected the finished article from them, and sold it to the drapers (see page 101). Thus was established in the countryside the " domestic system " which lasted until the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century; and Manchester, by 1542 a flourishing centre of the linen and woollen industries; Sheffield, where the Cutlers Company was founded under Elizabeth; and Birmingham, the centre of hardware manufacture, began their long careers.

As the activities of the new centres of industry became organized on a large scale, they flourished at the expense of the *guilds*, and the corporate towns began to decline. Weakened by the loss of so many skilled craftsmen, their industry was " undercut " by the competition of " outsiders " and the burden of taxation fell with increased weight upon those who had remained within the town walls. Then came the law of Edward VI, ordering the confiscation of the funds devoted by the *craft guilds* to religious activities, on the pretext that they were superstitious. The commissioners of a government, hard pressed for money, did not scruple to seize *guild* revenues devoted to other than religious purposes and, although the *guilds* managed to survive these heavy blows, their importance henceforth was small. The London *guilds*, or " Livery Companies ", as they were coming to be called, were powerful enough to escape confiscation by the payment of lump sums to the Government. They have survived to this day, not, however, as trading concerns, but rather as philanthropic institutions, maintaining benevolent funds and establishing great schools, like Merchant Taylor's School, Mercers' School, or the Fishmongers' Company School now at Holt, in Norfolk.

## II. The Growth and Establishment of State Control of Industry

By 1550 English industry had expanded far beyond the local, *guild*, control of the later Middle Ages, but had not yet been brought under the control of the State. For the past two centuries, however, there had been a certain amount of regulation by governments of industry. In 1351, after the great breakdown of the *medieval* system, the Statute of Labourers had attempted to fix wages; in 1388, *Justices of the Peace* were given authority to settle the wage-rates of their districts, and several Acts to fix wage-levels—all of them failures—were passed from that time to the reign of Henry VIII. Henry VII and Henry VIII also tried to check the decline of the corporate towns by Acts forbidding or restricting the development of particular industries outside them, but they failed, because, like the laws on wage-regulation, their measures went against the economic forces of the time. The Henries also attempted to revive the declining *guilds* as the most useful instruments for the control of expanding industry, but henceforth they were to be under the control of the State, or of its local representatives, the *Justices of the Peace*. The authority of the *guilds* was in some cases extended over the industry of neighbouring villages and craftsmen who had escaped their control, but the quality of their work and their control of prices were closely supervised, and an Act of 1504 ordered them to submit their rules for the approval of the town authorities or the *Justices* in the counties, who could strike out those of which the Government did not approve. But not even the powerful arm of the Tudor Governments could revive the *guilds* as effective instruments for the control of expanding industry; they could not compete with the large-scale capitalist manufacture of men like Winchcomb and Stumpe (see page 102) and they began to be replaced by companies like that of the Norwich cloth manufacturers incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1555, an association of capitalist-employers.

Thus, when Elizabeth came to the throne, the problem of the control of industry was still unsolved, and the need for its

solution was urgent. Prices continued to rise while wages lagged far behind (1); they would have to be more nearly adjusted, to prevent further distress among the working population. The continued decline of the chartered towns must be checked (2). The condition of the new capitalist industry outside those towns was far from reassuring. The artisans of the villages received low wages and were largely untrained, for apprenticeship was not insisted upon (3); clearly, if the poor quality of products was to be improved (4), the workmen of the new industries must be given a proper technical training. The dawning revival in agriculture was revealing an alarming shortness of labourers (5); the best way of dealing with the "sturdy beggars" (see page 112) was clearly to set them at work on the land (6). Both agriculture and industry would gain if the artisan and labourer were guaranteed some security in their employment (7). Elizabeth's advisers believed that the establishment of an effective system of State control over all branches of industry was necessary to the solution of all these problems.

*NOTE. Refer from the numbers in the paragraph below to those in the paragraph above.*

This control was established by the great *Statute of Artificers* (sometimes called the Statute of Apprentices) of 1563. All able-bodied persons between 12 and 60 who did not possess property were henceforth liable to agricultural labour (5); "sturdy beggars" were thus deprived of the excuse that they had no occupation (6). In all occupations, apprenticeship for seven years was made compulsory (3) (4), but all workers were to be hired for at least a year (7). The Government sought to regulate the labour supply of both urban and rural industry (2) (3) (4); the corporate towns were favoured (2), since in them the sons of 40-shilling freeholders could become apprentices, while in the new towns, the father of an intending apprentice had to possess freehold land worth 60 shillings. The *craft guilds* were ordered to superintend the enrolment of apprentices and to enforce the good quality of products (2). To make sure that properly trained *journeymen* did not lack employment, a

ratio of apprentices to *journeymen* in the service of any one master was laid down (7); for example, for every three apprentices in certain trades one *journeyman* was to be employed, and for every additional apprentice one extra *journeyman* was to be taken on. The *Justices* were ordered to fix, with the aid of experts in the various trades, the annual rates of wages which employers were compelled to pay (1), and the hours of work, generally twelve in summer and for the duration of daylight in winter. For the first time the Government gave up the attempt to fix a minimum wage limit (1), so that wages could now adjust themselves to prices; apparently the connexion between the two had at last been realized.

*The Statute of Artificers* was the first serious attempt to reorganize English industry after the breakdown of the system of the Middle Ages, and there seems little doubt that the State control it established was a success. No new ideas were contained in its provisions, but the fact that they were administered locally made for elasticity and largely accounted for their success. Certainly the corporate towns took on a new life, and agriculture so flourished that James I was able to remove all restrictions on enclosure. But the greatest tribute to the success of the Statute is the repeated popular demand in petitions to seventeenth-century Parliaments for its provisions to be strictly enforced.

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) What were the reasons for the decay of the guild system in England during the fifteenth century?

(2) What were the objects of Elizabeth's government in passing the *Statute of Artificers* in 1563? What were the chief provisions of the Statute?

# CHAPTER X

## THE GROWTH OF THE CLOTH INDUSTRY

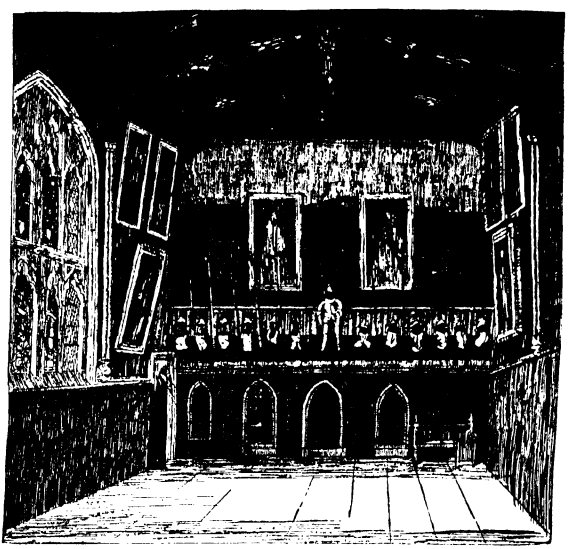
SINCE the manufacture of cloth was England's chief industry, apart from agriculture, throughout the period covered by this volume, some account of its growth is necessary.

Although wool-growing was the chief source of England's wealth during the Middle Ages, there had always been a considerable manufacture of coarse cloth from wool. This industry, however, had never been more than local, satisfying only the demands of its own district, and part-time, for most of those engaged in it had also been tillers of the soil. It was Edward III who had laid the foundations of the cloth industry's greatness by bringing in skilled *Flemish* weavers, who soon taught his subjects how to make the finer cloths that a richer and more civilized Europe was demanding. By 1350 the manufacture of cloth had increased to such an extent that there was a surplus over the English demand, and a considerable export trade was being carried on.

The export of wool began to decline until it was forbidden altogether, so that the cloth industry might have the benefit of the whole supply. English weavers soon found that they enjoyed two tremendous advantages over their foreign competitors; their raw material was grown at their doors and did not have to be imported, and for fineness of fleece, English wool was agreed to be the best in Europe. With these advantages, the manufacture of cloth rapidly became the basis of the national wealth. In 1364, the Drapers Company, of middlemen merchants, was formed to buy the cloth from its manufacturers and to sell it both in England and abroad. Then, about 1400, the Drapers took the lead in forming the Merchant Adventurers Company, to carry on the export of cloth; during the next thirty years

a large trade was built up with Europe, and there was every sign that it was capable of still greater expansion.

About 1450, as a result of this expansion of the cloth trade, a complete change took place in the organization of the industry (see Chapter IX)[1]. The demands of the growing populations of England and Europe could no longer be satisfied by the small numbers of craftsmen belonging to the *guilds* controlling



ST. MARY'S HALL, COVENTRY
The 'guild-hall' of the local guilds.

the manufacture of cloth, and the industry began to spread from the old chartered towns to the new market towns and villages. Here technical instruction was provided by the many *journeymen* who had left the towns, seeing no future for themselves with the *livery* in control of their *guilds*, for the hundreds

[1] This change took place with other industries, but cloth, because it was the chief industry, took the lead. The weavers were the first to break away from guild control. See Chapter IX.

of ruined smallholders and labourers now swarming to the new centres to obtain work in industry.[1]

Increasing production for an ever-growing market made investment of capital in the cloth industry a very profitable venture and the new class of capitalists took the lead in its organization and development. Indeed, the clothier was the central figure in the new "domestic" system,[2] and, before long, he had obtained control over every stage of the industry. He provided the raw material, he employed the workpeople, and he took the risks of the market. At shearing-time, he would visit the neighbouring *manor*- and farm-houses to buy raw wool from the sheep-owners. He would then ride round the countryside, with a guard of stout servants, from farm to farm and cottage to cottage, handing out the wool to families or to small masters with a few *journeymen* and apprentices, to be broken, combed, carded, spun, woven, and dyed in their own homes.[3] For this work, the clothier paid wages by the piece, according to the rates fixed by the *Justices* for the district. He then collected his cloth, sometimes from as many as 800 workpeople, put it into presses in his shop in the town, making it up into rolls and bales when he had sold it to the country draper. This retailer would then take the cloth to market. Much of it came to London, to Blackwell Hall in Basinghall Street, the headquarters of the Drapers Company, which had a monopoly of the London retail trade. They sold it in their shops and stalls at the great cloth fair of St. Bartholomew or to merchants from the rest of England, while the Merchant Adventurers took charge of the supplies intended for export.

By 1500, the cloth industry had been efficiently organized on the new system and, from its centres in East Anglia and the

[1] See Chapter IV.

[2] Replacing the guild system, under which the worker had controlled both the material and the instruments of production; under the domestic system, he controlled the instruments only, under the later factory system, neither.

[3] Wealthier clothiers often owned their own flocks of sheep and dye-houses.

West country, the manufacture developed rapidly all over the Kingdom.[1] Its prosperity[2] came as a godsend to the dispossessed and unemployed of agriculture, who had become weavers, *fullers*, and dyers, and to those who still worked on the land for low wages. During the long winter evenings, the ploughman turned weaver and eked out the family income by using up the yarn spun by his womenfolk during the day. The piety of rich clothiers, like Peter Blundell of Tiverton (1520–1601), covered the countryside with churches, and their generosity provided their towns with guildhalls, hospitals, and schools. The State adopted the cloth industry as its favourite child[3] and encouraged its development by lowering export duties, by insisting on the high quality of its products, and by forbidding the import of foreign cloth, so that the home market might be reserved for the industry. But the efforts of the Tudors to protect the independent weavers against the rich clothiers were not successful; the capitalist employer, like John Winchcomb (Jack of Newbury), who had two hundred looms at work in his house, or William Stumpe, who bought Malmesbury and Osney Abbeys from Henry VIII and put looms in them, had become the outstanding figure in the industry long before the coming of machinery in the eighteenth century.

By 1570 it had become clear that England could obtain a *monopoly* in the sale of cloth, provided her workpeople could be taught certain processes of dressing and dyeing and how to make the finer cloths which the new Europe of the Renaissance was demanding. The peace established by the Queen's religious settlement in England was in violent contrast to the strife tearing the Continent. Philip II's religious persecution in the Spanish Netherlands was ruining the *Flemish* cloth industry—England's great rival—and was causing hundreds of Protestant *artisans* to

[1] In Yorkshire, however, independent masters bought their own wool, worked it up in their homes and sold it in Leeds market.

[2] In 1354, 5,000 pieces of cloth were exported; in 1509, 80,000 pieces, in 1547, 120,000 pieces.

[3] An Act of 1570 ordered all people over six years of age to wear a cap of wool wrought in England, on pain of a fine of 3*s*. 4*d*. This was the "statute cap" of Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*.

take refuge in England. Here they were welcomed by Elizabeth's government and by discerning manufacturers and *merchants*, while the natural popular hostility to foreigners was tempered by a common Protestantism and hatred of Spain. Between 1555 and 1571, the merchants of Norwich, finding their *worsted* industry suffering severely from the competition of fine Italian cloths, found homes for over 4,000 *Flemish* and *Walloon* refugees. As the reign went on, colonies of Flemings and *Huguenots* settled in London, Colchester and Sandwich, among many other places, where they soon taught the inhabitants how to weave the finer cloths. As a result of this immigration, the "New Drapery", as the manufacture of the finer fabrics was called, arose to endow the cloth industry with a new prosperity. When Elizabeth died, a domestic and very widely spread manufacture was specializing for a sure and expanding market. The fashion for *bombazines* re-established the prosperity of Norwich; Colchester grew rich on the manufacture of *bays* and *says*; West Riding towns like Halifax and Wakefield were making fortunes out of coarse cloth; the Devon clothiers of growing Tiverton, Crediton, Torrington, and Barnstaple had a sure sale for their *kerseys*, while Exeter and Taunton were famous for their serges. Cloth had indeed become "one of the pillars of the State".

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) What were the causes of England's supremacy in the manufacture of cloth during this period (1485–1688)?

(2) Explain what you understand by the phrase—"the Domestic System".

# CHAPTER XI

## THE GROWTH OF FOREIGN TRADE; THE CHARTERED COMPANIES

### I. THE EXPANSION OF ENGLISH FOREIGN TRADE AFTER 1550

SINCE the discovery of the New World (1492) and of the Cape route to India (1497), England's future as a great commercial power had been assured. Previously on the edge, she was now at the centre of the known world, on the trade routes between the Old and the New. But not until the middle of the sixteenth century did Englishmen perceive this fact; till then, Portugal held the route to India, Spain those to America. After 1550 Englishmen took to the sea, Protestant pioneers, seeking refuge from Mary's persecution; then, under Elizabeth, for commercial gain and from a desire, on patriotic and religious grounds, to strike a blow at the national enemy, Catholic Spain.

By this time, the merchants of the English ports had succeeded in wresting control of the overseas trade of their country from the foreigners who had carried it on ever since the Norman Conquest. In 1578 Elizabeth annulled the privileges enjoyed by the *Hanseatic League* in England for so many centuries, and in 1587, " the Flanders galley " of Venetian merchants visited this country for the last time. The Merchant Adventurers of London and the other ports, wealthy and powerful from the export of cloth, were left supreme in control of England's foreign trade, in which the peace established by Elizabeth's religious settlement had made possible a tremendous expansion, and by 1603 England was well along the road to commercial greatness. The sack of Antwerp by the Spanish in 1576 and 1585 had ruined Europe's greatest commercial centre, and although its place was first taken by Amsterdam, much of Antwerp's business went to London. Aided by a growing


THE CHARTERED COMPANIES

banking business, London began its career as an international money market, and as the clearing house for an ever growing proportion of the world's goods.

## II. THE CHARTERED COMPANIES: REGULATED AND JOINT STOCK

Elizabeth's advisers believed that the well being of the nation demanded a strict control of England's expanding overseas trade. In their opinion the best method of regulation was to grant Crown charters to responsible companies, assigning them the monopoly of trade with some definitely specified part of the world. Company trading was preferred to the activities of a swarm of individual merchants for several reasons. Customs duties could be collected more easily and trade regulations enforced more effectively by dealing with a large company. Moreover, private traders, competing fiercely, would flood foreign markets with their goods, thus lowering prices and

making for an unfavourable balance of trade. Again, concessions from foreign rulers were far more likely to be obtained by a large organization, intent on building up a regular trade and therefore careful for its reputation and for that of its country, than by individual *interlopers*, often out to make their fortunes in one voyage and not caring particularly what methods of fraud and violence they adopted to do so. Finally, companies had the capital to arm their ships and send them in convoys, as a protection against the pirates who swarmed in all the Seven Seas. The *interloper*, however, often did well for himself by voyaging to parts of the world untouched by the companies, and he was frequently the unconscious *pioneer* of a new association to develop trade with that region.

There were two types of chartered company, the regulated and the joint-stock. The regulated company laid down conditions of membership and drew up rules for the conduct of its business, but the company did not trade as a whole. Any member could or need not, as he wished, put his capital into any particular venture which other members were undertaking; the risk was his own, as was a share of any profits made. The joint-stock was the more powerful type. In this kind of organization, capital is contributed by all the members; the company carries on its affairs as a whole, through its paid directors and officials, and members receive their share of profits as dividends on their holdings of capital. Unlike the members of a regulated company, all the shareholders of a joint-stock company are financially affected by the success or failure of every venture of their organization.

**The Merchant Adventurers.** The greatest of the regulated companies was the Merchant Adventurers of London, which obtained its charter from Henry VII in 1505; it succeeded in establishing its control over all the Adventurer companies in England, and it directed English trade with North Germany through its settlement at Hamburg down to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

**The Muscovy Company.** In 1553, the London Adventurers Company, a joint-stock undertaking, obtained a charter to discover a north-east passage through the White Sea and to develop trade with the East. Its first venture was that of Willoughby and Chancellor; the latter reached Moscow, and was well received by the Tsar, Ivan the Terrible, who granted freedom of trade to his organization. On Chancellor's return, Mary granted a charter to the Muscovy Company, formed by the merchants who had financed his voyage, giving it the *monopoly* of trade with Russia (1555). A brisk trade in timber, *hemp*, oil, tallow, and furs was soon developed, but, during the seventeenth century, the company declined. It failed to obtain control of the Persian trade, and its commerce with Russia suffered to such an extent from *interlopers*, Dutch competition, and the dishonesty of its agents, who used their positions to make their fortunes by private trading that the Tsar refused to renew its privileges. Its reorganization as a regulated company, with a heavy admission fee, did not restore its fortunes, for, during the eighteenth century, *interlopers* secured control of the Russian trade.

**The Eastland Company.** The Elizabethan period saw the foundation of most of the great chartered companies. The Eastland Company, which received its charter in 1579, was formed to wrest the important Baltic trade in naval stores from the *Hanseatic League*. But its development was prevented by the fact that, during the seventeenth century, naval stores could be obtained more conveniently from our colonies in North America, and in 1672, the reduction of its entrance fee to a merely nominal sum enabled any merchant to engage in the Baltic trade.

**The Barbary, Turkey, and Levant Companies.** The Barbary Company failed to build up a trade with the Moslem rulers of the North African coast, but a number of English merchants who had long been endeavouring to establish commerce with the Sultan of Turkey's domains in the Eastern Mediterranean were more successful. In 1571, the Turks were defeated by the Spanish in the great naval battle of Lepanto and the hatred

between England and Spain no doubt influenced the Sultan to grant trading privileges to the Turkey Company, which received its charter in 1581. In 1592, this association was merged in the new and larger joint-stock organization, the *Levant* Company, which was soon sending out large fleets to the Near East. In James I's reign, the Company was reorganized as a regulated concern and it flourished throughout the seventeenth century.

**The East India Company.** In 1600, the greatest of all the trading companies, the East India Company, received its charter to develop direct trade with the East. At first, a separate joint stock was raised for each venture, the capital being returned when the accounts of the voyage had been settled, but in 1657 a permanent, non-returnable joint stock was subscribed.

During its first century the East India Company had a hard struggle. Failing to oust the Dutch from the trade of the East Indian spice islands which they had seized from the Portuguese, the Company, in a fortunate hour for its shareholders and for England, decided to transfer its activities to the west coast of India. Here it met with success from the beginning. A factory was built at Surat (1612); wide privileges were obtained from the *Mogul*, and the Company's trade expanded rapidly; settlements were made at Madras (1639) and on the Hooghly (1642), and in 1668 Charles II made a grant of Bombay to the Company. The Company dealt successfully with *interlopers* and with private trading by its factors, and extended its commerce north to Persia and east to China and Japan. In the eighteenth century, the story of *John Company* is largely that of the foundation of our Indian Empire.

**African Companies.** Throughout the seventeenth century the activities of swarms of *interlopers* prevented the success of any *monopolistic* company in the African trade. Guinea Companies chartered in 1588, in 1618, and in 1631, to trade in ivory and palm oil, failed for this reason, and the Royal African Company, formed in 1672 to supply the English colonies in America with

negro slaves from the Guinea coast was unable to maintain its *monopoly* against *interlopers*.

**Hudson's Bay Company.** In 1670, the Hudson's Bay Company received its charter from Charles II, whose cousin, the famous Prince Rupert, interested himself in its activities. It flourished from the start, supplying England with furs obtained from the Indians, and although the Company was compelled to give up its *monopoly* in 1869, it still carries on a prosperous business.

During the seventeenth century—the heyday of the chartered companies—they and the thousands of *interlopers* who endeavoured, with more or less success, to break down their *monopolies*, supplied England with silks, spices, sugar, coffee, tea, cotton, tapestry, glass, jewels and precious stones, furs and household furniture, chocolates, hops, and tobacco, and exported in return cloth, wool, coal, corn, lead, tin, beer and cheese.

QUESTIONS FOR REVISION, HOMEWORK, OR TEST PURPOSES

(1) What arguments were put forward in favour of company trading during the Elizabethan period?

(2) State clearly the differences between a regulated and a joint stock company.

# CHAPTER XII

## THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM IN TUDOR TIMES

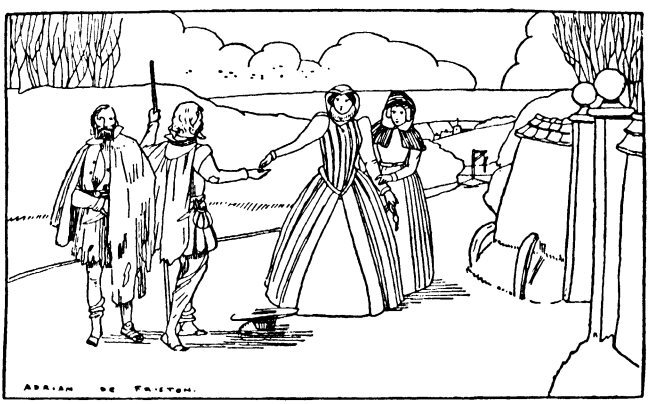
### I. The Origin of the Problem

The statesmen of the sixteenth century, like those of the twentieth, had to deal with the grave problem of unemployment. From the reign of Henry VIII onward, "vagabondage" was an ever-present question-mark in the minds of Tudor rulers. Three great changes in the life of the nation were, to a large extent, responsible for its existence. The strictly enforced *livery* laws of Henry VII (see page 26) led to the disbandment of the great baronial *retinues* of the Wars of the Roses; large numbers of retainers, who knew no trade but fighting, were dispersed, to beg for a living throughout the countryside. Secondly, those small landowners and labourers—the victims of the *Agrarian* Revolution (see pages 57-8)—who had not been lucky enough to find work in industry, were compelled to tramp from one village to another, seeking employment and existing the while upon what alms they could secure. Thirdly, the suppression of the monasteries not only turned adrift some 8,000 of their servants, but destroyed establishments which had done much to relieve the poor throughout the later Middle Ages. In fact it was the dissolution of the monasteries which opened the eyes of Henry VIII's government to the facts that "vagabondage" had become a national problem and that the State must deal with a matter which had hitherto been regarded as the concern of the Church, the *guild* or the borough.

### II. The Tudor Attitude Towards the Unemployed

The attitude of Tudor governments towards unemployment and poverty was far different from public opinion on those matters to-day. In the sixteenth century, the unemployed were

divided into two distinct classes—the aged and disabled, who could not help themselves and were deserving of Christian charity; and the "sturdy beggars", who either could not, or made no attempt to find work. These vagabonds were considered from the point of view of the State alone; in the interests of law and order, it was much better for them to be at work



"STURDY BEGGARS"

than roaming the countryside, living upon charity. They must therefore be prevented from begging and must be forced to work at tasks provided for them.

## III. TUDOR ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM; ELIZABETH'S SUCCESS

From the last years of Henry VIII to those of Elizabeth, several Acts of Parliament dealt with vagabondage along these lines. All those who, from age or infirmity, were unable to work, were ordered to obtain licences to beg; able-bodied persons caught begging were to be whipped, sent to the parish of their birth or residence, and there put to work. It was hoped that voluntary charity would provide the work for them to do. But

the charitable spirit of the Middle Ages seemed to have perished with the monasteries, for the State's hope was disappointed and the government was compelled to lay upon the churchwardens the unpleasant duty of extracting " voluntary " alms from their parishioners to provide local unemployed with work and upon the parish authorities the task of organizing this work.

It soon became clear that these measures would never solve the problem, and the Council of Edward VI, while ordering that the aged and infirm should be provided with dwelling-places at the expense of their parishes, increased the penalties for " sturdy beggars " to branding, slavery, and death for the first, second and third offences respectively. In addition, every parish was to elect special collectors—there was a heavy fine for refusing the " honour "—whose duty was to prevail upon their neighbours to contribute " voluntarily " to the fund for providing work for the unemployed of the parish. The bishops and their vicars were requested to aid in the unloosing of purse-strings by using their spiritual authority over their flocks. Mary's government realized that vagabondage had become a national problem when it ordered that wealthy parishes should contribute to the funds of those which were overburdened with workless. Thus the State, which had set out to deal with " sturdy vagabonds " in the interests of law and order, had already been drawn on to tackle the whole problem of the relief of the poor.

Although perhaps one-eighth of her subjects were destitute, Elizabeth and her advisers brought to the problem a determination to succeed that was part of the spirit of the age. Realizing that voluntary charity had failed, they ordered the *Justices of the Peace* to raise a compulsory poor rate; the proceeds of this were to be used by the collectors to provide a common stock of wool, *hemp*, iron and *flax* for the unemployed to work up for sale; all who shirked their share of this work were to be sent to " houses of correction ". To remind people that vagabondage was a national problem, the clergy were requested to exhort the well-to-do to give up their suppers twice a week for the relief of the poor. The government then tackled the problem at the right

end by ordering the children of vagabonds to be taken from their parents and apprenticed to agriculture or to some trade which they could learn and later follow. Parents and children were made responsible for each other's support. Finally, the great Act of 1601 summarized all these measures and recognized the nation's responsibility towards those who had defended it by ordering that disabled soldiers and sailors should be supported by the parishes of their birth or residence.

How far were Elizabeth's advisers successful in solving their unemployment problem? They were faced by tremendous difficulties. The population of twentieth-century England is mostly stationary, and governments, by swift means of communication, can easily make contact with it and compile useful statistics about its affairs. But, in Elizabethan times, the workless were largely a floating population; a numerous army of old soldiers and sailors, discharged retainers, ruined smallholders, out-of-work labourers, pedlars, tinkers, minstrels, actors, jugglers, *bear-wards*, and fortune-tellers roamed about from village to village. In that age of slow communication, when no local police force existed—beyond that overworked *Dogberry*, the parish constable—it was extremely difficult for the authorities to put their hands on these vagabonds, or to distinguish between those who genuinely wanted work and those who were determined to dodge it at all costs. Nor did this last class remain passive under the government's efforts to set it to work. Many vagrants, having begged enough money to buy a pedlar's licence from a good-natured *Justice of the Peace*, thus escaped the necessity of forced labour, while the periodical " round ups ", carried out by the *Justices* under orders from the Queen's Council, were often forcibly resisted by organized bands of " rogues ", who supported themselves by keeping up reigns of terror in isolated villages.

Nevertheless, Elizabeth's advisers could claim a considerable measure of success. They had the sense to see that the solution lay in providing work for the majority who wanted it and not in inflicting brutal punishment upon those unable to obtain it. Accordingly, the savage penalties for " sturdy begging " were

lightened, and every encouragement was given to schemes like that of the London authorities, who in 1591 rounded up all their vagabonds and paid them to clear the city ditches. The solution of the problem was greatly aided by the agricultural revival after 1580 (see page 224), and by the expansion of foreign trade (see page 226), for both movements absorbed many of the workless, and by 1603 the unemployment problem was no longer so grave as it had been in 1558.

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) What were the causes of the unemployment problem in Tudor times?

(2) What steps did Elizabeth's government take to deal with the unemployment problem?

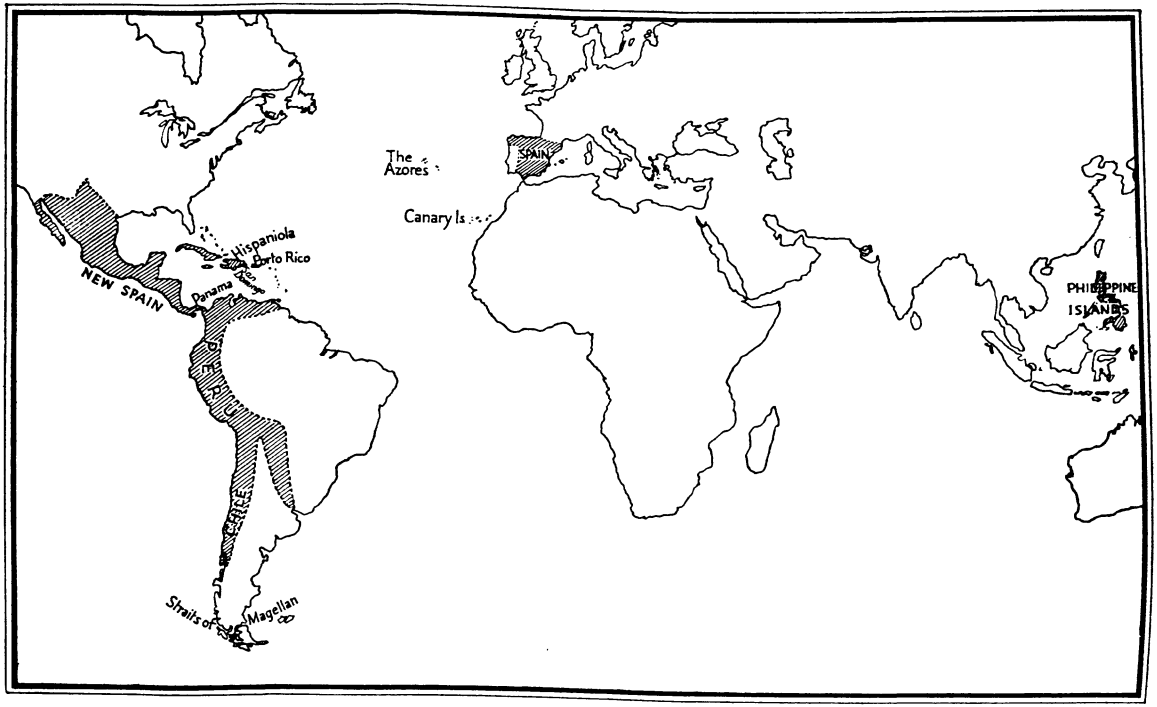
# CHAPTER XIII

## THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE; ENGLISH MARITIME ENTERPRISE UNDER THE TUDORS

### 1. The Expansion of Europe: Portugal and Spain Lead the Race (1450–1550)

It used to be said that the great outburst of maritime enterprise which began in the second half of the fifteenth century among the peoples of Western Europe was called forth by the Turkish conquest of Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt, which barred the access of those peoples to the wealth of the East by the overland route. But this desire to reach the East by sea was much older than the Turkish conquests, for the peoples of the West had long been compelled to pay with their scanty stocks of gold and silver for the Asiatic spices so necessary to preserve their winter diet of salt meat and fish, since camels (unlike ships) could not carry back their bulky manufactured goods. The discovery of a sea-route to the East was far more closely connected with the spread of the New Learning, with the revival of interest in the science of geography, and with the inventions of men of science, for example, the mariner's compass, which made it possible to leave the familiar shore for the open sea.

Long before the Turkish conquests, the Portuguese had been pushing down the west coast of Africa; their Prince Henry the Navigator, the father of modern exploration, had been training and sending forth expert pilots like Bartolomew Diaz, who rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1487, and Vasco da Gama, who in 1498 reached India, the goal of Portuguese endeavour. Six years before, another of Henry's disciples, the Genoese Columbus, had discovered for Spain lands in the western Atlantic; he died in the belief that he had found a new route to the East, not the continent to be called America.




SPANISH AMERICA

In 1493 a *bull* of Pope Alexander VI set up a north and south line a hundred leagues west of the Azores; all newly discovered lands to the west of it were to belong to Spain, those to the east of it to Portugal. While the Portuguese Magellan, in the Spanish service, was sailing through the Straits that bear his name, across the Pacific to the Spice Islands,[1] and home round the Cape of Good Hope, so proving the world to be round (1520), the Portuguese under the great Albuquerque, and the Spanish under the renowned *conquistadores*, Cortez and Pizarro, were fast laying the foundations of their Indian and American Empires. Settlers, traders, and missionaries followed these pioneers, and by 1530, it seemed that the Portuguese would monopolize the rich trade with the East, and the Spanish the inexhaustible gold and silver supplies of the West.

## II. England Enters the Race; Maritime Enterprise under the Tudors (to 1603)

*NOTE. This section should be read in conjunction with the section on Company Trading.*

It was not until Elizabeth's reign that England was able to take advantage of the fact that she faced the western ocean which had suddenly became a main trade route of the world. Henry VII had encouraged the Genoese John Cabot, who sailed west from Bristol, hoping to reach the East, and discovered Newfoundland (1497); Henry VIII had founded the Royal Navy, which saved England when the Armada came, and thus made possible the commercial and colonial future of this country. But from 1530, until Elizabeth's religious settlement once more united the nation (1560), the struggle of Catholic and Protestant absorbed the attention of Englishmen. Then came the great outburst of Elizabethan maritime activity. Much of the great wealth accumulated by the new middle classes from the great expansion of English trade and industry was available for any

[1] Magellan himself was killed in the Spice Islands.

sea-going enterprise that seemed likely to make a profit. Englishmen were determined to break down the Spanish *monopoly* in the New World and to secure a share of its wealth; they were also resolved to find a route of their own to the East, either by the "North-east Passage", round the north of Europe, or by the "North-west Passage", round the north of America. In 1553 Willoughby and Chancellor had attempted the former, but without success, and both Martin Frobisher (in 1576, -77, and -78) and John Davis (in 1585, -86, and -87) made three fruitless voyages in quest of the "North-west passage".

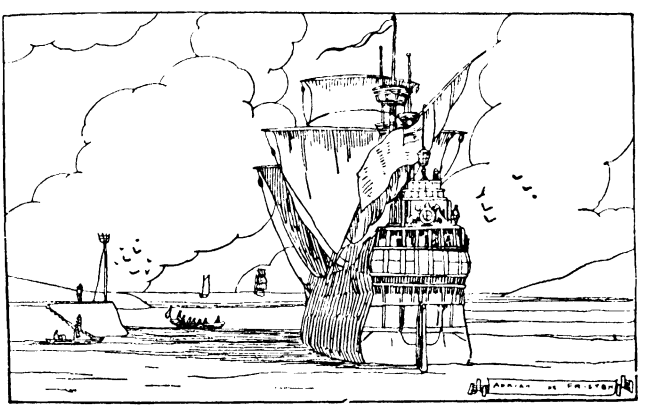
With the failure to discover an alternative route to the East, English maritime enterprise came to be directed more and more against Spain, the national enemy, with whom, sooner or later, war was inevitable.[1] Two methods were adopted by Englishmen to secure a share of the wealth of Spanish America. The first method, by trading, has always been associated with the name of John Hawkins of Plymouth. There was a labour problem in Spanish America: the native Indians died off rapidly when forced to work in mines or on plantations, and Hawkins proposed to make his fortune by supplying the Spanish colonists with a tougher race, African negroes, bought from native chiefs with English manufactured goods. He made two voyages, in 1562 and 1564, found the Spanish settlers eager to buy in spite of their King's prohibition of trade with foreigners, and made handsome profits from his forcible smuggling. When, in 1567, Hawkins made his third voyage, his cousin Drake went with him, and his fleet included two ships of the Royal Navy, lent by the Queen, who was probably a partner in his venture. Having profitably disposed of his human cargo along the Main,[2] Hawkins put into the port of San Juan de Ulloa, to refit for the homeward voyage. Here he was attacked by a Spanish fleet sent out to put a stop to his smuggling, and

[1] In 1580, Spain conquered Portugal and so united the two greatest colonial empires in the world

[2] The Spanish Main meant the Caribbean Sea from the Orinoco to Darien.

escaped with great difficulty. This was the end of trading with Spanish America—henceforth there was to be no peace "beyond the line".[1]

So Englishmen turned to the second method—that of downright *buccaneering*, and Francis Drake came into his own. Drake was a Devon man, whose knowledge of the sea had been gained as a Channel pirate, preying upon foreign merchantmen. He now resolved to make his fortune by applying the methods of the Channel rover upon the larger stage of the Spanish



THE "GOLDEN HIND"[2]

Main. In 1572 he returned from his very profitable first raid; he had seen the Pacific, the first Englishman to do so, and he determined that his next voyage should be into that ocean. In November 1577, with the Queen, Leicester, and other courtiers holding shares in his venture, Drake sailed out of Plymouth; after weathering terrible storms he succeeded in passing the Straits of Magellan with one ship, the *Golden Hind*, the size of a small trawler. He had turned the flank of the unprotected

[1] The line drawn by Pope Alexander VI in 1493.

[2] The *Golden Hind* was the first ship from Europe to enter the Pacific since Magellan, 60 years before.

and hitherto impregnable Spanish Empire on the Pacific. An entirely unexpected terror, Drake plundered the undefended ports of South America to his heart's content, and captured the galleon carrying to Panama the whole year's treasure from the mines of Peru. Realizing that a Spanish fleet would be probably barring his southward return, Drake thought of attempting the "North-west Passage" back to Europe. Fortunately, he gave up that idea and, following Magellan's route westwards, he made his return journey by way of Java, the Indian Ocean, and the Cape of Good Hope. On 26 September 1580, having sailed round the world in just under three years, the *Golden Hind* dropped anchor in Plymouth Sound, loaded down with £800,000 worth of treasure. The Queen had every reason for visiting the ship and knighting Drake upon his quarter-deck.

In 1585 the great rover took a fleet of twenty-five vessels to plunder the Spanish Indies. This joint-stock venture in piracy resulted in much plunder being divided between the officers and crews and the financial backers, who included the Queen and several courtiers. In the following year, Cavendish, a young Suffolk gentleman, repeated Drake's exploit in sailing round the world in three years, and brought back the plunder of a great galleon from the Philippines that he had waylaid on the coast of California.

But by now the minds of several famous Elizabethans were turning to something more permanent than smuggling or *buccaneering* ventures, profitable though these were and vexatious to the national enemy. Richard Hakluyt, who taught geography and navigation at Oxford, the author of the famous *Principal Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, may with justice be called the father of English colonization. He inspired and planned the expeditions of many individuals and companies, and he converted Sir Walter Ralegh and his half-brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert to his belief that England should found colonies—that her "sturdy beggars" might begin new lives in them and her adventurous spirits find in developing them

an outlet for their energy; that colonies would provide markets for England's ever-expanding industry, supplying her in return with necessary naval stores, and that they would be refuges for all Protestants exiled for their faith.

In 1583 Gilbert led the first English colonial expedition—to settle Newfoundland. But the colonists chosen were completely unfitted for developing such a difficult country; the project was a failure and Gilbert was drowned in a storm on the return journey. In 1585 Ralegh sent out 150 colonists under his cousin, the famous Sir Richard Grenville, to settle a part of America further to the south, which he named Virginia, in honour of the Queen. But conditions proved too hard for his settlers; next year, Drake found them starving and brought them back, with potatoes and tobacco. Ralegh's second attempt in 1587, with 150 colonists under John White, was no more successful.

Thus, when Elizabeth died, the first page in the story of England's colonial empire had still to be written; as yet, only the introduction had been penned. England was not quite ready for colonization; her unity, her independence, her command of the sea were very recent acquisitions. Most of Elizabeth's subjects were chiefly interested in making money, by trading or piracy; the colonists of Gilbert and Ralegh lacked a motive strong enough to compel them to overcome the difficulties they encountered, and it was not until religious zeal was joined to commercial enterprise that the British Empire could begin its career.

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) What were the reasons for the expansion of Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? Give an account of Portuguese and Spanish commercial and colonial enterprise during this period.

(2) Make a list of the chief voyages made by Englishmen between 1497 and 1603, and state the objects of each.

# PART II

# ENGLAND UNDER THE STUARTS

1603 1688

# CHAPTER XIV

## THE REIGN OF JAMES I (1603–25)

### I. The First of the Stuart Kings

The son of Mary Stuart was a well-educated man, very proud of his knowledge, especially of religious and foreign affairs. If he had coarse manners, "an awkward figure, a rickety walk and a slobbering mouth", the new king possessed also a real sense of humour and considerable shrewdness. Moreover, he was a man of high ideals, determined to do his duty as king. In an age of war, he stood for peace, and did his best to prevent the renewal of the conflict of Catholic and Protestant in the Thirty Years' War. In an age of religious persecution, he was in favour of toleration, and he realized the benefit of union between England and Scotland a century before it was brought about. Unfortunately, James's defects more than outweighed his good points. Henri IV of France called him "the wisest fool in Christendom", and that remains the best description of him. A poor judge of the true worth of men, James's conceit made him the prey of flattering favourites and caused the slightest opposition to infuriate him beyond measure.

As he rode south in the spring of 1603, James resolved to maintain affairs in England as Elizabeth had left them and to exercise his royal rights to the full. He believed strongly in the Divine Right of Kings but he knew nothing of the laws and liberties of England, as he showed by ordering a pickpocket caught at Newark to be hanged without trial. More unfortunately still, he never learned to understand, as the Tudors had done instinctively, the real desires and feelings of the English people, and he failed entirely to estimate the growing strength of English Puritanism. In short, James was a foreigner, and a foreigner he remained to the last.

## II. The Beginning of the Struggle Between the Crown and Puritanism (1603-4)

The accession of a king who had been brought up by men of their own religious views was naturally hailed with joy by the persecuted Puritans. They hastened to present him with a *Millenary* Petition, asking to be excused from wearing cap and surplice and from declaring their belief in the Prayer Book, provided they used its service. Here was James's golden opportunity to heal the breach in the national Church; the extreme Puritans had gone into exile, and his agreement to the Petition would have retained the loyalty of the moderates. But James, although brought up as a *Presbyterian*, had discovered with pleasure that the *Anglican* system, with the King governing the Church through Bishops, fitted in perfectly with his own views on the Divine Right of Kings. Accordingly, at the Hampton Court conference of *Anglicans* and Puritans, which he called to discuss the matters raised by the Petition, the King not only decided against the Puritans but declared that he would make them conform or harry them out of the land. He had decided to continue Elizabeth's alliance of Crown and Church, and within the year, 300 Puritan clergy were expelled from their livings for refusing to conform in every particular to the Prayer Book.

When James's first Parliament met (1604), the House of Commons took up the cause of these " silenced brethren ", but the King, basking in the flattery of the Bishops, failed to understand the importance of the fact that Puritanism had become the religion of the squires and merchants, the most powerful classes in the England over which he had been called to rule. He had no idea that he had begun a conflict that was to result in civil war and the execution of his son.

## III. The Gunpowder Treason (1605)

It was also natural that the persecuted English Catholics should hope for much from the son of the Catholic *martyr*, Mary Stuart. James was confident of his ability to unite his

new subjects, whatever their religion, in common devotion to his throne, and it was his praiseworthy intention to allow the Catholics to worship as they pleased, provided they remained loyal to him. But when he remitted the fines for non-attendance at church, the real strength of the Old Faith, hitherto unknown, was suddenly revealed. Panic swept Protestant England, and the King was compelled to allow the active enforcement of the harsh Elizabethan laws against the Catholics.

This destruction of their hopes reduced the Catholics to desperation and led the more determined of them to engage in the most famous plot in our history. Under the leadership of a Warwickshire gentleman, Robert Catesby, they planned to blow up King, Lords, and Commons by gunpowder concealed in a cellar beneath the Parliament house. In the confusion that would certainly follow, the Catholics were to rise and strike for freedom. The actual execution of the plot was entrusted to Guy Fawkes, a Yorkshire gentleman, whose service with the Spanish army in the Netherlands had made him an expert in mining. But as the dreadful moment drew near, the plotter Tresham lost his nerve; hoping to prevent the deed without betraying his friends, he sent an anonymous warning to his brother-in-law, Lord Monteagle, who would be bound to show it to the chief minister, the Earl of Salisbury. On the night before the meeting of Parliament, Fawkes was seized in the cellars while making his final preparations. He was executed, and Catesby and his friends were hunted down and killed.

The " Gunpowder Treason " not only exposed the Catholics to a new and savage persecution; it made any idea of toleration for them impossible for over two hundred years. To the seventeenth-century Englishman, Catholicism meant murder-plots, and the fierce national hatred of " Popery " was to turn James's grandson off the throne eighty years later. As for James himself, in spite of his boasted statecraft, he had failed to restore religious peace in England.

## IV. James I and His Parliaments

The great struggle of the seventeenth century between Crown and Parliament began in 1604, when James met his first Parliament.

It could hardly have been avoided. The Tudors had made England strong and had secured her independence; they had brought up the young nation so well that it had outgrown their dictatorship. The Renaissance, the Reformation, and the great expansion of trade and industry in the sixteenth century had combined to produce wealthy and powerful classes—squires, merchants, and lawyers—who could think and act for themselves. James I, while extending toleration to the Catholics, had refused it to the Puritan religion of these classes and so, when members took their seats in the Commons in 1604, many of them already felt themselves in opposition to the Crown.

Apart from religion, a clash was unavoidable between a King who believed that he ruled by Divine Right and a House of Commons, which had hitherto only refrained, out of respect for the age, sex, and greatness of Elizabeth, from vigorously asserting a claim to be consulted in the government of the country. Thus, when James told Parliament there were no limits to his power and that they were sitting, not in their own right, but of his grace, his challenge was taken up at once. He was told he had been "misinformed" and Parliament's privilege of debating what it chose—including the limits of the king's power—was strongly asserted. Relations between James and his first Parliament went from bad to worse when the Commons ruined his wise project of a closer union between his two kingdoms by refusing free trade to Scotland.

A far more serious case of conflict was money. Very early in his reign James found himself facing bankruptcy. Prices were still rising steadily; thus, the royal revenue, a fixed sum, was declining in value at a time when the expenses of government were increasing; and James was as extravagant as Elizabeth had been economical. The only method of balancing the royal budget, without asking Parliament for supplies, seemed

to be by increasing the customs duties on England's steadily expanding foreign trade. In 1606, the merchant Bate refused to pay one of these new duties on the ground that Parliament had not authorized it, but when his case came to Court, the judges decided against him, declaring that the control of customs duties belonged to the King. It was not until 1610, when their differences with James over Puritanism had become a bitter quarrel, that the Commons realized the importance of this decision. Unless the King's control over customs duties were successfully challenged, he would soon be rich enough to do without Parliaments; he would then be able to harry the Puritans out of the land. Dislike and suspicion between King and Commons so increased that Salisbury's "Great Contract", by which the Crown was to receive £200,000 additional revenue in return for not imposing new customs duties, broke down in failure (1610). James thereupon decided to rule without Parliament; he dissolved it in 1611, and except for the *Addled* Parliament of 1614—which took up the dispute over customs duties and was quickly dissolved—no Parliament met until 1621. But the Commons had now realized that, if Puritanism was to have any future in England, the King must be kept dependent on Parliament for supplies; Parliament must secure the *monopoly* of taxation, including customs duties.

## V. James I's Personal Government (1611–21)

At his accession James had wisely kept Cecil, the son of Burghley, in power. In 1608 this trusted minister of Elizabeth was made Earl of Salisbury, and his wide knowledge of State affairs no doubt saved James from making more blunders than he actually did. After Salisbury's death in 1612 James resolved to be his own chief minister; henceforth neither Parliament nor Council was to be consulted and the business of government was to be settled by the King with the advice of his personal friends. The most famous of these favourites, who were chosen not for their ability but for their good looks and charm, was George

Villiers, the penniless son of a Leicestershire knight. Beside his good looks, Villiers had some ability and a certain magnificence of manner, and his rise was rapid. By 1619 this erratic personality, one of the many evil geniuses of the House of Stuart, was Earl of Buckingham and the real ruler of England.

This method of government by upstart favourites widened still further the breach between Crown and people which James had opened by his first blunders as king. Peers and councillors bitterly resented being deprived of their right to be consulted in the framing of the royal policy, and the mass of the people soon lost that respect for the Crown with which the Tudors had always inspired them.

## VI. The Foreign Policy of James I

It was James I's praiseworthy object to preserve the peace of Europe, and in 1604 he wisely ended the costly and purposeless war with Spain. It soon became clear, however, that the struggle between Protestanism and the Counter-Reformation would shortly be renewed. It was James's pathetic belief that he could prevent this disaster by marrying his son, Henry, Prince of Wales, to the *Infanta* of Catholic Spain, and his daughter, Elizabeth, to the Protestant *Elector* Frederick of the *Palatinate*. Only the second marriage took place, however, and when the Thirty Years' War broke out in 1618, James's son-in-law was quickly driven out of his domains by a Spanish army. Embittered by the failure of his diplomacy, James was compelled to summon Parliament, for only the supplies of the Commons could furnish military aid to Frederick (1621).

But the Commons evidently believed that "charity begins at home", for their first business was an attack upon James's personal government. The great Lord Chancellor Bacon was impeached for taking bribes in the administration of justice, and the King was compelled to promise that grants of *monopolies* should cease. When the Commons turned to foreign affairs,

they approved James's resolve to aid his son-in-law, but they were far from agreeing with him that the best way to do it was to marry Charles,[1] Prince of Wales, to the Spanish *Infanta*. To them, the Spanish marriage meant giving up England's proud Elizabethan position as Protestant champion; moreover, it opened up the nightmare prospect of Catholic kings of England, whose first object would be the undoing of the Reformation. The Commons stated that the best way for England to aid the Protestant cause in Europe was to renew the naval war against Spain. Proud of his knowledge of foreign affairs, James was roused to fury by their attempting to teach him his business. He ordered the Commons not to debate foreign affairs, which he rightly said were the sole concern of the Crown; when they replied with a novel claim to discuss all matters of national importance, the King went down to their House, tore out with his own hand this " Protestation " from their Journal, and then dissolved Parliament (1622).

Having failed to obtain supplies from Parliament, James was compelled to fall back on the Spanish marriage in the hope that Spain would thereby be persuaded to withdraw her forces from the *Palatinate*. The Duke of Buckingham, who had established over Prince Charles an influence as strong as that which he possessed over the King, resolved to carry the matter through himself. In 1623 he took Charles on what was intended to be a " romantic journey " to Madrid, to woo the *Infanta* in person. But the hare brained scheme was a complete failure and their return without the *Infanta* produced a great outburst of popular rejoicing, for the nation was bitterly opposed to the Spanish marriage. This sudden popularity was a new and pleasant sensation for Buckingham and he sought to prolong it; he persuaded the King to summon Parliament, in which he appeared, condemned the whole idea of a Spanish marriage and called for immediate war against the national enemy (1624). With the Duke the real ruler of the country, the death of James I in 1625 had no effect on the course of affairs.

[1] Prince Henry had died in 1612—to everybody's regret—and James I had renewed his project on behalf of his second son, Charles.

## VII. The Reign of James I

Although, when James died, his beloved "Steenie" [1] and his son Charles were on good terms with Lords and Commons, this momentary harmony could not conceal the fact that the struggle between Crown and Parliament for supreme power in the land had definitely begun. During the twenty years of his reign James had succeeded in destroying that close sympathy between them which, in spite of their differences, had always existed under Elizabeth. His refusal to make any concessions to the growing force of Puritanism had created in the Commons a strong party in opposition to the Crown and suspicious of its intentions. This Puritan group had been foremost in upholding the *privileges* of Parliament, in challenging the King's right to levy customs duties and in asserting novel claims to debate all affairs of State and—as in Bacon's case—to remove ministers for misconduct. As yet the conflict had merely reached the stage of mutual mistrust and dislike—the only violence had been James's tearing of a page from the Commons' Journal, but questions had been opened which would not easily be closed. Moreover, the King's failure as a peacemaker, both in Europe and in the English Church and his government by favourites had led to a considerable decline in the power and popularity of the Monarchy; the mass of the people were coming to feel that its policy had a Catholic tinge and that it was no longer, as with the Tudors, in harmony with their interests and desires.

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) Why was the Gunpowder Plot formed? What was the most important result of its discovery?

(2) Show why James I's character and ideas were bound to lead to bad relations between Crown and Parliament.

(3) What were the matters in dispute between James I and his Parliaments? Account for their disputes on these matters.

[1] James's nickname for Buckingham.

## Books for Reading

*The Fortunes of Nigel*, by Sir Walter Scott (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*By Order of the Company*, by Mary Johnston.

*The Lancashire Witches*, by Harrison Ainsworth.

# CHAPTER XV

## THE REIGN OF CHARLES I (TO 1642)

### I. THE CHARACTER OF CHARLES I.

CHARLES I had many advantages that his father had lacked, but unfortunately he inherited from James many of his faults. As a glance at Van Dyck's famous portrait of him shows, he looked "every inch a king". Handsome in appearance and dignified in bearing, his devotion to the *Anglican* Church was sincere. A firm believer in his Divine Right to rule, he had a high sense of his duty as king and never shirked the irksome details of government.

But, although Charles was a good man, he possessed faults which made it certain that he would not be a successful king. Of no great ability himself, he lacked the power to recognize it in others, giving his confidence to men because he liked them and not because of their wisdom. In Charles a dull obstinacy took the place of that imagination which is essential for a successful ruler; convinced of his own good intentions, he could never believe himself in the wrong; opposition merely made him more stubborn, and he thought himself justified in using any means to overcome it. Thus he soon convinced those who differed from him that he was not to be trusted; he broke his word again and again before, during, and after the Civil Wars, until the Puritans, believing that no settlement in England could be made with him, determined to make one without him. On the day of his execution, he showed a splendid courage, and the halo of a *martyr* did much to hide his shortcomings from succeeding generations.

## II. The Renewal of the Conflict between Crown and Parliament; Charles's First Three Parliaments (1625-9)

In the last year of James's reign, the erratic Buckingham, by breaking completely with Spain, had gained a certain measure of popularity. He now joined the alliance which the great Cardinal Richelieu, who was governing France for young Louis XIII, was building up against the *Habsburg* powers of Spain and Austria. But the badly equipped force of 12,000 Englishmen, raised by the press-gang, which the Duke dispatched under the *mercenary* Mansfeld to recover the *Palatinate*, was destroyed by starvation and disease before it could leave the Dutch coast. To strengthen his French alliance, Buckingham then married Charles to Henrietta Maria, the sister of Louis XIII (1625). Seldom has a royal marriage proved more disastrous. After Buckingham's death, Charles found another " evil genius " in his Catholic wife; their children were those Catholic kings the English people had feared would result from such a union, and James II's Catholicism was to cost him his throne.

Charles I
*Van Dyck*

Charles then called his first Parliament, to obtain supplies for war against Spain. To their amazement, King and favourite

found that their popularity had disappeared. The Commons proceeded to express their deep dissatisfaction with Buckingham's conduct of affairs, and particularly with the King's marriage to a Catholic. Moreover, Charles's friendship with the growing Arminian party[1] in the Church was giving rise to an uneasy, if groundless suspicion that the Protestantism of the King himself was open to question. This distrust led the Commons to propose limiting their grant of the Customs Duties—known as Tunnage and Poundage—to one year only. As every monarch since Henry V had received this grant for life, Charles took the proposal as a personal insult. He was given to understand, however, that no more money would be forthcoming while Buckingham ruled England. It seemed clear to the King that to give up the Duke would be to surrender to Parliament the power to choose his ministers and dictate his foreign policy. Apart from his affection for the favourite, Charles's belief in his Divine Right to rule would never allow him to make such concessions. Accordingly, he dissolved Parliament.

Charles and Buckingham now spent what money they possessed in preparing an attack upon Cadiz, hoping that the success of a new "singeing of the Spanish king's beard" would so arouse national feeling that a new Parliament would be compelled to vote them large supplies. But as James I had completely neglected the fighting forces, the Cadiz expedition was a disgraceful failure and Charles, left entirely without money, was compelled to call his second Parliament (1626).

Bitter opposition at once revealed itself under the leadership of the eloquent and high-minded Devon squire, Sir John Eliot. Relying on the judge's decision in Bate's Case (see page 129), the King had collected Tunnage and Poundage although Parliament had not authorized it, and the Commons immediately challenged his action. Their main object, however, was the dismissal of Buckingham, who had made England's martial efforts the laughing-stock of Europe. But when Eliot impeached the favourite before the House of Lords, Charles sent him to the Tower. The Commons refused to consider the granting of

[1] See page 141.

supplies until Eliot had been released and Buckingham dismissed. Charles thereupon dissolved his second Parliament for the same reasons that he had dissolved his first.

Having failed to obtain supplies from Parliament, Charles decided to raise money by a forced loan (1627). His needs were all the greater since the reckless Buckingham, not content with one war against Spain, had just begun another with France, because Richelieu refused to listen to his ill-planned schemes for recovering the *Palatinate*. The King was soon faced with strong resistance to his "loan". The famous Five Knights, who refused to contribute to a tax unauthorized by Parliament, were kept in prison without trial in defiance of their lawful right to be tried for their alleged offence in court. The judges' decision, upholding the King's action, made it possible for him to do as he pleased henceforth with the persons and property of his subjects. Meanwhile, the press-gangs were busy recruiting an army; districts resisting the "loan" and the "press" were placed under martial law, and Buckingham's ill-disciplined recruits were billeted on their inhabitants, without payment for their keep or for the considerable damage they did to property.

Finally, the Duke set off to relieve the besieged *Huguenot* stronghold of La Rochelle, in revolt against Richelieu. Again his expedition was a complete failure, and Charles was compelled to seek from a third Parliament the means to carry on the government (1628).

The new Parliament, which contained many of the eighty gentlemen who had been imprisoned for refusing to contribute to the forced loan, took up that matter at once. It was indeed the most important question before them, for if the King's raising money without the consent of Parliament went unchallenged, it would not be long before England saw a despotism of the type Richelieu was building up in France. The Commons decided to present the King with a Petition of Right declaring that martial law, the billeting of troops, taxation without the consent of Parliament, and imprisonment by "the special command of the King" were against the law. Charles was given to understand

that ample supplies would be granted him directly he had agreed to abide by the Petition. After a week's hesitation his desperate need for money overcame his hatred of making any concessions, and he agreed to the Petition (June 1628). His decision caused much popular rejoicing, for it was felt that the law was now on the side of personal freedom, whatever Judges who were dependent upon the Crown for their positions might decide. But when the Commons again requested the dismissal of Buckingham, Charles *prorogued* Parliament.

The Duke then went down to Portsmouth, to prepare with the Commons' supplies a second expedition to relieve La Rochelle; it was here that he was stabbed to death by Felton, a discontented lieutenant, who saw in him the author of his own and his country's misfortunes. The news of the hated favourite's murder produced a tremendous outburst of popular rejoicing, and the City crowds cheered his funeral as it passed to Westminster Abbey. Charles, overcome with grief, heard those cheers in Whitehall and never forgave his people for them. After the second Rochelle expedition had failed as badly as the first, he made peace with France and Spain; he had determined to free his hands for the struggle with Parliament.

In 1629 Charles's need of money compelled him to call a second session of Parliament. The Commons immediately enlarged on two grievances—that the King was destroying the Protestant character of the Church by appointing only Arminians[1] to high office within it, and that he had continued to collect Tunnage and Poundage against the Petition of Right. Embittered by the death of Buckingham, Charles now made up his mind to rule without Parliaments. The Commons, learning of his decision to dissolve the Houses, hastened to make a clear statement of the principles for which they were fighting. While two Puritan members held the Speaker down in his Chair[2], Eliot read three resolutions; whoever brought in Popery and Arminianism, or advised the King to collect Tunnage and Poundage not authorized

[1] See page 141.

[2] When the Speaker leaves the Chair, the session of the Commons comes to an end.

by Parliament, or of his own free will paid those duties, was to be considered a betrayer of the people's liberties. With the King's messengers hammering on the locked doors, these resolutions were carried amidst great excitement; they were the last business a House of Commons was to do in England for eleven years.

## III. The Personal Government of Charles I (1629–40)

**1. The King's Problem.** The nation still regarded the government of the country as the King's business, and looked upon Parliaments as assemblies occasionally summoned by him to grant money and to be dismissed when they had served that purpose. Charles had no intention of doing without Parliaments for the rest of his reign, but he had made up his mind not to summon another until the Commons had been taught that they could not dictate his policy by refusing him supplies.

This being so, Charles's problem was to make himself independent of their grants by "living of his own". Except for the growing customs duties, the value of the royal income was still falling and was by no means equal to the expenses of government. The King must therefore seek every method of increasing his revenue; moreover, he must practise strict economy and keep out of war.

**2. Personal Government in Action.** It was Charles's resolve to keep his personal government within the letter of the law. Accordingly, he sought to increase his income by every means which the judges, who interpreted the laws and who were appointed and could be dismissed by the king, could declare lawful. Statutes, out of date for centuries, but still the law because no Parliament had bothered to repeal them, were revived; by one of these, many landowners were now compelled to become knights and to pay for the honour; by another, those whose ancestors had bought forest land from the Crown and could produce no document to prove their title to it, were forced to pay heavy fines to retain their property. Charles continued

to collect the customs duties, and discovered another fruitful source of income in selling *monopolies* to his favourites.

These methods of raising money may not have been unlawful, but they were certainly unpopular, unjust, and injurious to the welfare of the people. Moreover, from Charles's point of view, they were unwise, for they bore most heavily on the squires and the merchants, the strongest classes in the nation.

In 1634, with Algerian pirates roving the Channel at will, Charles was forced to take steps for the protection of English commerce by restoring the strength of the navy, which he and his father had completely neglected. Having no money of his own to build warships, the King declared an emergency, and ordered the seaports to provide money for the purpose. As the sum raised was insufficient, he extended the levy, in 1635 and 1636, to the inland counties, maintaining that the safety of English commerce was a national concern. Although Charles did much to strengthen the navy with the proceeds, it was clear that Ship Money was becoming a permanent tax, without the consent of the nation's representatives in Parliament. For this reason, John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, refused to contribute. His case was brought to court and he lost it, a majority of the judges declaring that the King was the sole judge of an emergency and that he was entitled by law to raise Ship Money (1637).

Any resistance to the King's methods of raising money was dealt with severely by the judges in the ordinary courts of law, and examples were made of dangerous opponents in the *Star Chamber*, which could summon any subject before it, try him without regard to the laws of the land, and inflict heavy fines, long terms of imprisonment, and savage sentences of mutilation. This court, so popular under the Tudors for its justice without fear or favour, became under Charles I a hated instrument for enforcing the will of the king.

**3. The Laudian Persecution.** The unpopularity of the King's personal government was greatly increased by its religious policy. For some years Charles had been under the influence

of the growing Arminian party within the national Church. The Arminians, who would to-day be called High Churchmen, were strong supporters of the royal supremacy over the Church. They upheld the authority of bishops, regarded clergymen as apart from ordinary men, celebrated the *Mass* and took pleasure in splendid *ritual*, rich *vestments*, and stained-glass windows. Most important of all, they detested the Puritans and all their views.

In 1629 the strongly Puritan House of Commons, alarmed at the growth of Arminian influence, had condemned this " new Popery " in one of the three famous resolutions. Freed from Parliamentary criticism, Charles continued to advance the Arminians, and in 1633 he made their leader, William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud, who was an upright, conscientious man, at once began to introduce his ideas into the Church, making a personal inspection of every parish to make sure that they were being carried out. Clergymen of Puritan views were dismissed and all opposition was severely dealt with by Laud as President of the Court of High Commission.

Laud's policy naturally aroused the bitter hatred of the Puritans, whose numbers and influence were still increasing. The life-blood of Puritanism was free religious discussion, and Laud (as Primate) had largely silenced this by his strict censorship of all printed matter. Accordingly, between 1628 and 1640, some 20,000 of the sternest Puritans, seeing no future for their religion in England, emigrated to North America, ensuring that the future of that vast country should belong to the Anglo-Saxon race. Thousands more left their parish churches to worship God as they thought right in secret *conventicles*. The " weaker brethren " conformed, biding their time, and it was certain that, if ever the Puritans came to rule England, they would destroy Laud and all that he stood for.

Meanwhile, the Queen was using her great influence over Charles to obtain for her fellow-Catholics freedom of worship and advancement at Court. Laud was powerless to prevent this, and although he and his king were sincere Protestants, it is not difficult to understand why a large part of the nation was coming

to the conclusion that their one purpose was to undo the *Reformation.*

**4. The Breakdown of Personal Government** (1637-40). By 1637 it seemed that Charles had succeeded in his attempt to rule without Parliament. He was managing to " live of his own ", and he was governing the country efficiently. The Poor Law was being administered better than ever before, taxation was light, and the prosperity of England at peace contrasted favourably with a Europe torn by the Thirty Years' War. The *Star Chamber* and the High Commission had apparently crushed all resistance to the royal will in State and Church.

Appearances, however, were misleading. Below the surface, opposition was fast gathering strength, but while Charles could afford to do without Parliament this opposition had no means of expression beyond the passive resistance of Eliot and Hampden. A century of " Tudor peace " had made obedience to the government second nature with Englishmen, and not for fifty years would there be a free press or a political party able to express its opposition in public meetings and demonstrations. Nevertheless, in 1637 there occurred an incident which showed in a striking way the unpopularity of Charles's government. The lawyer Prynne, the doctor Bastwick, and the clergyman Burton, who had written Puritan pamphlets against the bishops, were fined £5,000 each by the *Star Chamber,* and condemned to solitary imprisonment for life after their ears had been cut off in the *pillory.* A large crowd of Londoners assembled to see the last part of the sentence being carried out, and protested indignantly against its savagery. Charles had clearly aroused against his government the growing English hatred of torture and cruelty.

Mere protests, however, were useless, and if Charles had confined his personal government to England it might never have been overthrown. But in an evil hour for himself, he approved Laud's proposal to introduce High Anglican ideas into Scotland. In 1637 Laud ordered that the *Anglican* Prayer Book should be adopted by the Scottish Kirk in place of Knox's Book of

Common Order, which, to the Scots, contained the very spirit of their *Presbyterian* Reformation. At once all classes in Scotland determined to resist to the death this attempt to destroy their national faith. The riot which the famous Jenny Geddes started in St. Giles's, Edinburgh, by throwing a stool at the Dean's head before he could begin the *Anglican* service, was repeated in a score of places, and the Scottish people entered into a National Covenant for the defence of their religion.

Charles now had cause to regret that he had not built up a *standing army*, for he had no force to deal with this defiance of a nation. He was compelled to negotiate, but the Scots would not give way, and Charles angrily resolved to crush their rebellion by force of arms. He called on the nobles and gentry of the North to rally to him with their tenants, but his first sight of the well-ordered Covenanting forces convinced him that his raw levies could not stand against them in battle. Accordingly, it was agreed to discuss once more the matters in dispute; thus ended the " first Bishops' War " (1639).

Charles had no intention of surrendering to rebellion; he wished to gain time and money to raise a real army. He now summoned to him the ablest man in his service, Wentworth, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, made him Earl of Strafford and proceeded to act on his advice.

Thomas Wentworth, as a member of Parliament for Yorkshire, had supported Eliot against Buckingham, but when in 1629 the Commons endeavoured to dictate the King's policy, he had gone over to Charles. He had no sympathy with Puritanism, and believed that the King, advised by able ministers, could govern the country much better than five hundred squires and merchants. It was much better, in his opinion, for Englishmen to be well governed than self-governed. These views and his first-rate ability soon brought him advancement; after a successful Presidency of the Council of the North, he was made Lord-Deputy of Ireland in 1633. Adopting the watchword of " Thorough ", he had within six years established the most efficient government that country had ever seen.

Called too late to the head of affairs in England, Strafford could only advise his master to summon Parliament, in the hope that national hatred would move it to vote the King the money necessary to raise an army to crush the Scots. But when Parliament met, John Pym, the leader of the Commons, made it clear that the English people and the Scots were in close sympathy and that the King would receive no supplies until he had removed the evils of his personal rule. Within three weeks Charles had angrily dissolved the " Short " Parliament, but not before the opposition had discovered its strength and its leaders (May 1640).

Having raised a motley force by the press-gang, Charles equipped it with the proceeds of another forced loan and marched against the Scots. But the Covenanters swept the royal forces aside, entered England, and compelled the King to promise to give up his attempt to force *Anglicanism* on Scotland. He was to pay all the expenses incurred by the Scots in defending their religion, and until he had done so, they were to occupy Northumberland and Durham. Entirely without money, Charles had no alternative but to summon Parliament. His personal government had broken down completely.

## IV. The Long Parliament to the Outbreak of the Civil War (1640–2)

**1. The First Session of the Long Parliament** (3 November 1640, to 9 September 1641.) The Parliamentary leaders had previously agreed on their policy—to break the influence of " evil counsellors " over Charles and to secure the religion and liberties of the nation by destroying the machinery of his personal government. They were encouraged by the support of wealthy London, while the presence of the Scots army, victorious in the " second Bishops' War ", on English soil, put the King at the mercy of Parliament; without its supplies he could neither carry on the government nor purchase the withdrawal of the Scots to their own country.

It was natural that the attack upon Charles's "evil counsellors" should begin with Strafford. He was hated as a turncoat, and feared because his great ability, and the pikes and muskets of his Irish Catholic army might yet enable Charles to make a success of personal government. The Commons hastened to impeach him for treason, and he was sent to the Tower, where he was soon joined by Laud, impeached on the same charge.

It was not until March 1641 that the Commons began their impeachment of Strafford before the Lords. Their case was a very weak one for, by law, treason could only be committed against the King, and Strafford's real crime, in the eyes of the Commons, was his able support of Charles's personal government. In reality, his foes were charging him with an offence unknown to English law—treason against the nation. Strafford found it an easy task to destroy the case against him, and it seemed probable that the Lords would acquit him. But at this point, news reached London that the officers of Charles's army in the North, stirred up by his Catholic Queen, were preparing a march on London to release Strafford and to dissolve Parliament by force. This "Army Plot" sealed Wentworth's doom, for the Puritan party in the Commons determined to drop his impeachment and to dispatch him by an *Act of Attainder*. A petition of twenty thousand London citizens for Strafford's execution, and the presence of a mob outside Parliament, howling for his blood, no doubt influenced the unwilling Lords to follow the Commons in passing the *Bill of Attainder*. Charles had given Strafford his royal word that "they shall not harm a hair of your head", but the Queen's *impeachment* was being threatened by the Commons, and the lives of the whole Royal Family by the mob, which was now surging round Whitehall, loudly demanding the head of "Black Tom the Tyrant". Wentworth, from the Tower, nobly released Charles from his promise, and the King signed the *Attainder*. Eight years later Charles was to admit on the scaffold that his own downfall was a just judgment upon his fatal weakness in signing away the life of his ablest servant. On 12 May 1641 Strafford passed to his

doom, blessed by the hands of his friend Laud, upraised in the window of his prison cell. He died proud and unshaken, only allowing himself the bitter reproach: "Put not your trust in Princes!" With the execution of their ablest enemy, the Parliamentary leaders breathed freely once again.

With Strafford and Laud safe in the Tower, the Houses had proceeded to destroy the machinery of the King's personal government. Their unanimity in that task showed how generally hated that government had been. Between February and August 1641, Charles was compelled to agree to the severe limitation of his power by a *Triennial* Act, an Act against dissolving the existing Parliament without its own consent, and Acts making Ship Money and all taxation without the consent of Parliament unlawful, and abolishing the *Star Chamber*, the Councils of the North and of Wales. This part of the Long Parliament's work was never undone; as we shall see, with the exception of the *Triennial* Act, these measures formed the basis of the Restoration Settlement in 1660.

Had the Long Parliament been as united in religious matters as it was in the destruction of the "King's tyranny", the Civil War could never have taken place. It was the bitter religious strife within the Houses which broke up their unity and gave Charles a party with which to fight that war. On 11 December 1640, a petition of 15,000 London citizens, calling for Bishops to be abolished "root and branch", was presented to the Commons. The debates upon this petition revealed how deeply members were divided upon religious matters. Those who spoke in its favour afterwards fought for Parliament, while those who argued against it were found on the side of the King when civil war broke out.

At least four different religious points of view now made their appearance in the Commons, The *Cavaliers* of the future, led by Hyde, Digby and Falkland, heartily detested the Bishops and their High Church practices, but did not wish to abolish their office. They desired to deprive them of all power in the

State and to make them the servants of Parliament, not of the King. This party had a very deep affection for the *Anglican* Book of Common Prayer, and disliked intensely the Puritan idea that religion should be a matter for the people rather than for Parliament. Secondly—Pym's party was the strongest in wealth and numbers; they desired to abolish the Bishops and to set up a State Church, Puritan in *doctrine* and *ritual* and controlled by lay commissioners appointed by Parliament. Thirdly—the *Presbyterian* party regarded government by Bishops as against the Word of God, and preferred the Scottish Book of Common Order to the *Anglican* Prayer Book. Lastly—the Independents were against Bishops and all systems of Church government, demanding freedom of worship for each congregation of Christians. This small party was alone in declaring for religious toleration.

These parties united for the last time to pass the Bill abolishing the Court of High Commission (July 1641), but from this point, those who wished to retain Bishops and Prayer Book moved steadily apart from those who answered to the name of "Puritan". The "Root and Branch" Bill—to replace Bishops in control of the Church by nine lay commissioners appointed by Parliament—which was supported by the Puritan parties, was so vigorously opposed that it never passed the Commons. The Puritans, by their evident desire to introduce both discipline and popular control into the national religion, and particularly by their attacks in debate upon the beloved Prayer Book, had created a party for the King.

**2. The Second Session of the Long Parliament, to the Outbreak of Civil War** (October 1641 to August 1642). The second session of the Long Parliament opened in very changed circumstances. Since August, Charles had been in Scotland, and by promising not to interfere again with *Presbyterianism*, he had persuaded the Scots to withdraw their army from England. Its homeward journey alarmed Parliament, for it had hitherto been their safeguard against the use of force by the King. At the same time, the determination of the Puritans to make sweep-

ing "reforms" in the national religion had created a party for the King in Parliament and the country.

At this moment, the strong hand of Strafford having been removed, a national and Catholic rising broke out in Ireland against English rule. This rebellion made civil war in England certain. All parties agreed that the Irish rising must be put down, but who was to raise and command the army required for that purpose? The Puritans, remembering the "Army Plot", feared that if the King, whose right it was by law, were allowed to raise the army, he would use it to dissolve Parliament and destroy Puritanism. Their opponents believed—correctly, as the future showed—that if the Puritan majority in Parliament were allowed control, they would use the army to enforce their own religious views on the rest of the nation. Thus another wedge was driven between the Puritans and the *Anglicans*, who were forced to uphold the King's right to command the army to subdue Ireland.

Pym and his friends, feeling their hold on the Commons slipping, prepared that appeal to the nation known as the Grand Remonstrance. This lengthy document catalogued and condemned everything done amiss in England since Charles had been king, defended the recent reforms by Parliament, demanded that the King's advisers should be responsible to Parliament, and declared for a "godly thorough reformation" of religion on Puritan lines. On 22nd November, after a long and bitter debate, the Grand Remonstrance was carried by eleven votes. The Puritans had made good their control of the Commons.

Charles, newly arrived from Scotland, returned a mild answer to the Grand Remonstrance, but he had resolved to yield nothing more. His hands were no longer tied by the presence of the Scots army in the North, and he was agreeably aware that almost half the Commons were now on his side. He made up his mind to get rid of this Parliament by force, since by law he could not dissolve it without its own consent. To show that he meant business, Charles ordered the impeachment of five Puritan leaders, including Pym and Hampden, on a charge of high treason in corresponding with the Scots rebels. When

the Lords rightly refused to order their arrest, on the ground that the King's action was unlawful, Charles came down to the Commons with five hundred armed soldiers and courtiers at his back, to arrest the five members himself (4 January 1642). He strode into the House, only to find that "the birds had flown" to nests of safety in the City, and he made his exit with considerable loss of dignity, pursued by cries of "Privilege!" The King's foolish attempt to take the law into his own hands lost him much of the support he had recently been gaining from men of moderate views.

Six days later Charles left Whitehall for York. It was his intention to raise an army in the North, then to return and forcibly dissolve Parliament. The Puritan leaders were fully alive to the danger, and resolved to meet it. In close alliance with London, they began to raise forces to protect Parliament. Each side, however, anxious to secure the goodwill of as much of the nation as possible, was unwilling to appear as the aggressor. Thus the King signed the Bill to remove Bishops from the House of Lords sent him in February. But he refused point-blank the demand of Parliament for the control of the Militia, and when the Houses proceeded to appoint officers to raise the Militia in their own name, Charles forbade obedience to their *Ordinance* (March 1642). During the several months necessary to prepare a civilian nation for war both sides tried to secure arsenals and fortresses, and civil war really began when Sir John Hotham, Governor of Hull, acting on the authority of Parliament, refused entrance to the King in person (23 April).

On 2 June, Parliament sent Charles Nineteen Propositions. Had he consented to these, nothing would have been left him save the name of king, for Parliament demanded complete control of the government both in Church and State. Charles could not submit without trying the fortune of war, and on 22 August he raised the Royal Standard at Nottingham. It was indeed clear that there was no common ground between him and his rebellious subjects save the field of battle. The King could claim to be defending the lawful order in Church

and State, but the war would set up either his absolute power or that of Parliament, and few Englishmen desired either. Most made the unwelcome choice according to their religious sympathies, for if the King were victorious there would be an end of Puritanism in England, and if Parliament won the day there would be an end of Bishops and Prayer Book.

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) What were the matters in dispute between Charles I and his first three Parliaments (1625–9)? Account for their disputes in these matters.

(2) What means did Charles I adopt between 1629 and 1637 to make himself independent of parliamentary supplies of money?

(3) What were the chief differences between the religious views of the Puritans and those of the Arminians?

(4) Trace the course of events leading to the breakdown of Charles I's personal government. (1637–40.)

(5) Show how the Long Parliament destroyed the machinery of Charles I's personal government.

(6) Distinguish between the different religious parties in the *Long Parliament*. State clearly the religious beliefs which divided them.

(7) Show how the religious differences between the members of the Long Parliament created a party for the King.

(8) Why did civil war break out in England in 1642?

# CHAPTER XVI

## THE CIVIL WARS (1642-9)

### I. THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR

THE CIVIL WAR was a conflict between two parties, whose strength was drawn fairly equally from the upper and middle classes, and who held different—but not widely different—ideas in politics and religion. The Puritans went to war because they felt that unless Parliament, in which they had a majority, replaced the King in control of the government, they would be unable to preserve their religion, and this control the King would not yield without war. The Royalists, who had hated and helped to destroy the King's personal government, rallied to him now because they saw in supporting him the only means of preventing the complete control of every man's religion by the Puritans. The only thing which could have prevented civil war would have been a sudden, miraculous conversion of both parties to religious toleration, but in 1642, only a small section of the Puritans—the Independents—believed in that principle.

This was the least cruel of all wars, for most men took up arms unwillingly, and relatives and neighbours ranged themselves regretfully on opposing sides. As the Puritan General, Waller, wrote to his Royalist friend Hopton, it was "a war without an enemy". Plunder there was, but little deliberate destruction of life and property.

Generally speaking, the North and West, those regions of England least influenced by new religious ideas from the Continent since the Reformation, furnished the strength of the King's armies. These agricultural districts were much poorer than the more populated, industrial, and commercial South and East, which Parliament controlled. Moreover, wealthy London,


ENGLAND IN THE CIVIL WAR, AUTUMN 1643
The districts held by Parliament are shaded.

which carried on two-thirds of the kingdom's trade, was the steadfast ally of Parliament. In addition, the Navy, which the Stuarts had neglected, declared solidly for the Puritan cause. Not only did this cut the King off from Continental aid throughout the war; trade was able to go on without much disturbance, and Parliament collected the customs duties, using them to pay for the war.

Of the various classes which made up the England of that day, most of the great landowners, like the Earl of Derby, who controlled half of Lancashire, were devotedly Royalist. The majority of the country gentlemen were also found on the King's side, but a large minority, of the type of Cromwell and Hampden, organized and led the armies of Parliament. Tenant-farmers and servants dependent on the *manor*-house followed their masters into whichever camp they went. The small but independent landowners, the *yeomen*, made up the regiments of Parliament in the Midlands and East Anglia, but west of the Severn they were the backbone of the royal cause. The merchants and shopkeepers were solid for Parliament, and carried most of the growing towns in its interest.

## II. The Campaign of 1642

The Earl of Essex was first in the field for Parliament with a well-equipped army, largely recruited from the apprentices, and largely paid for by the merchants of London. He took the north road against Charles, who thereupon moved off to recruit on the Welsh border. Essex followed slowly, unwilling to attack his lawful king, and a more resolute general might have ended the war before Charles could have raised an army. The King, having made his numbers up, started for London, and Essex followed him. At Edgehill, Charles turned to face his pursuers, and a drawn battle resulted, neither army possessing enough discipline to win the fight (23 October). Noting the victorious charge of the Royalist horsemen under the King's nephew, Prince Rupert, Cromwell came to the conclusion that a large

force of disciplined cavalry, " such men as had the fear of God before them ", would have to be raised speedily, if the Puritan cause were not to go down in defeat.

After the battle, the King proceeded to Oxford, where he set up his Court and headquarters for the rest of the war. In November, his army moved down the Thames valley to attack the capital. The alarm brought twenty thousand Londoners to Turnham Green to oppose his progress, and Charles, realizing that he was not strong enough to take London by a frontal attack, retired to Oxford and went into winter quarters.

### *III.* The Campaign of 1643

**1. The Royalist Plan of Campaign.** The Civil War did not begin in earnest until 1643, when the Royalists produced their plan for a triple advance on London. The Earl of Newcastle, with his northern *Cavaliers*, was to march southwards through East Anglia and appear on the Essex shore of the Thames. Sir Ralph Hopton was to lead his loyal Cornishmen through the South-west and South to the opposite bank. The passage of shipping up the Thames could then be prevented, and the rebel capital threatened with starvation, in spite of the parliamentary control of the sea. Meanwhile the King himself, with the Royalists of the Welsh border, was to march down the Thames valley and join Newcastle and Hopton in a united attack on the stronghold of the *Roundhead* cause. With the surrender of London, the war would be over.

The plan seemed sure of success if the Royalists of the North, the Welsh border, and Cornwall could be persuaded to put loyalty to King above love of home, and march hundreds of miles on his behalf into " foreign " territory.

**2. The War in the North** (1643). The North, from York to the Scottish border, its population still half Catholic, was enthusiastically Royalist. The Earl of Newcastle's famous " Whitecoats ", raised in this region, soon overran the Puritan

clothing district round Bradford, and chased the parliamentary leaders, Lord Fairfax and his son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, into Hull, held by Parliament from the sea. In midsummer, the northern Royalists, in accordance with the King's plan of

IRONSIDE AND ROYALIST—'THE PRISONER'
*Rowlandson*

campaign, crossed the Humber into Lincolnshire, and there came into conflict with the forces of the Association of Eastern Counties, led by Oliver Cromwell.

After Edgehill, Cromwell had returned to his native East Anglia to create a cavalry force capable of defeating Rupert's *Cavaliers* in battle. The great reputation he had for many years enjoyed as a leader in local affairs enabled him to enlist hundreds of his fellow-Puritans, and to his headquarters at Cambridge came the pick of the East Anglian *yeomen* and their

sons, riding their own horses and provided with their own weapons. These men would not be restrained by scruple from attacking their lawful king; they were ready to venture all to secure the right to worship God in their own way. These "Ironsides", as they were soon called, were to receive regular pay, but the strictest self-discipline was demanded from them in return. Thus, while the royal cause was sweeping triumphantly south and east in the spring of 1643, "the plain, russet-coated captains", who were to break it for ever, were attentive to Colonel Cromwell in the level Cambridgeshire fields, while he explained those Swedish cavalry tactics which had carried his hero *Gustavus* to victory for the Protestant cause on many a German field. The teacher too was learning, not merely to lead, but to handle cavalry; how to wheel after a victorious charge, disdaining to pursue the flying foe for an empty glory, and how best to aid hard-pressed infantry in those parts of the field where the fortune of battle was still uncertain.

*Cromwell's new forces* won their spurs by defeating the *Royalists* in a skirmish at Gainsborough (July), showing Newcastle that he would have no easy passage to Thames bank. This resistance was strong enough to discourage the Earl's officers, who flatly refused to march any further south while the garrison of Hull was able to dash out and ravage their Yorkshire estates. Accordingly, Newcastle turned back to besiege the *Roundhead* fortress (August).

Meanwhile Parliament, impressed by Cromwell's success, had asked him to aid the Earl of Manchester to raise in the eastern counties an army of fifteen thousand men, to be paid out of the national taxation. By September this force had been raised; in October it advanced northwards, defeated the Royalists at Winceby, regained Lincolnshire, and compelled Newcastle to raise the siege of Hull.

Thus the war in the North in 1643 ended with the balance definitely in favour of Parliament. Not only had Newcastle been prevented from carrying out his part of the King's plan, but Hull had been saved and the way prepared for the recovery of the North by Parliament in the following year.

**3. The War in the South-west** (1643). The South-western war in 1643 closely resembled the Northern, except that there was no Cromwell. In the spring, Sir Ralph Hopton, with the volunteer Cornish army he had raised for the King, overran Devon, Dorset, and Wiltshire. In July he defeated Waller's parliamentary army on Roundway Down, outside Devizes; by December he had advanced as far as Arundel in Sussex, but he was not strong enough to proceed further, and was obliged to retreat. His Cornishmen, who were ready to die for the King in their own Duchy, were not prepared to fight for him any longer outside it, while the garrison of Plymouth, held by Parliament from the sea, was able to threaten their homes. Thus, in spite of Hopton's four victories in battle, he too was unable to carry out his part of the King's plan of campaign.

**4. The War in the West** (1643). In the spring, the Royalist forces from Oxford overran the Severn countryside, and in July Rupert captured Bristol, the second seaport of the kingdom. But Gloucester still held out for Parliament and the *Cavaliers* of the Welsh border refused to march on London until Gloucester had been taken. The King was accordingly compelled to begin its siege (August).

This month of August 1643 saw the Puritan cause at its lowest point. The King, hard pressed in the previous year, now controlled half the kingdom, had taken the offensive, and seemed bound to win. Desertion to his side was growing, and he had broken off the peace negotiations which Parliament had begun, by his firm refusal to abolish the Bishops or to give up his control of the Militia. By August, the long tale of parliamentary defeats and the heavy taxation caused by the war had produced a "peace at any price" party in London itself.

In these circumstances it was essential that Gloucester be speedily relieved. Its fall might well mean the fall of London soon afterwards, for neutrals and waverers would rally to the King if he seemed able to end the war. Accordingly, Parliament appealed to the City to put forth its greatest effort for the

" good old cause ". On 26 August all shops were closed, and the London apprentices, fifteen thousand strong, marched out under Essex to the relief of Gloucester, still held by the sturdy Massey. Rupert's cavalry failed to stop them, and Charles broke up the siege as they came marching down from the Cotswolds (5 September).

The cause of Parliament had been saved, but Charles was blocking the road home to London at Newbury. Short of food, Essex had to break through or surrender, and a fierce " soldiers' battle " took place at " push of pike " in the lanes and orchards round the Berkshire town (20 September). It was a drawn battle, but the King, short of powder, had to retire from the field where Falkland fell, and on the 25th Essex brought his citizen army home in triumph.

The King's plan had broken down completely. It must have been a sad reflection for his loyal followers that, while the spirit of Puritanism could rouse the apprentices of London to march across England and back, the magic of the King's name was powerless to move his Yorkshire, Cornish, and Welsh supporters from their homes. The navy had also saved Parliament, for by supplying Hull and Plymouth it had brought to naught all Newcastle's and Hopton's efforts on behalf of the royal cause. By October 1643, it was clear that the balance of the war, which all the year had been in favour of Charles, was now going against him. For the King an early victory was essential, because the longer the struggle went on the poorer would he become in comparison with Parliament. Charles could raise no loans; he was compelled to fight the war on the proceeds of plunder and the free gifts of his supporters in the shape of rents and melted-down plate. On the other hand Parliament in addition to customs duties and loans from London, was raising large sums by the Excise, a tax imposed on most articles consumed within the wealthier territory it controlled.

Just after the relief of Gloucester, Parliament, despairing of victory, had made alliance with their " brethren of Scotland ". Puritans on both sides of the Border realized that they must

unite to save their religion from the destruction that would follow the King's victory. In return for the aid of the Scots army, Parliament bound itself by a Solemn League and Covenant to maintain *Presbyterianism* in Scotland and to reform religion in England " according to the word of God " and " the example of the best reformed Churches ". In Scottish eyes this was a promise to introduce *Presbyterianism* into England, and these vague phrases caused considerable trouble later.

The Scottish alliance was the last work of Pym, who died in September 1643. He and Hampden, mortally wounded in a cavalry skirmish in June, had saved the cause of Parliament hitherto; the sword of Cromwell was now to carry it to triumph.

## IV. The Campaign of 1644

In the spring, the Scots army, in accordance with the Solemn League and Covenant, entered the north of England and forced the *Cavaliers* under Newcastle to take refuge within York. In March, Hopton's Royalist advance into Hampshire was checked by Waller at Cheriton, a success which encouraged Parliament to dispatch Manchester and Cromwell with the forces of the Eastern Association to aid the Scots in the siege of York (May). In late June, Rupert came riding to the rescue, cleverly out-manœuvred the besiegers, and relieved the city without a fight. He then offered battle at Marston Moor, eight miles west of York, and in the evening of 2 July his 18,000 *Cavaliers* were attacked by 27,000 *Roundheads* and Scots, and the greatest battle of the Civil War took place. On their left and in the centre the Royalist charge secured the field, save where half the Scottish foot stood firm, but on their right, where Rupert clashed with Cromwell, his *Cavaliers* for the first time failed to make headway, and after much hot work at close quarters, were finally driven headlong from the moor. Night was fast coming on as the " Ironsides " wheeled round to relieve the rest of the shattered Puritan army, but a number of well-planned charges eventually cleared the field of Royalists.

Cromwell's victory destroyed the King's army in the north, and with the surrender of York, England from the Humber to the Scottish border was secured for Parliament. For the rest of the war the King was on the defensive.

In August, Essex, instead of attacking the King's forces at Oxford while the effect of Marston was still strong, chose most unwisely to march into the Royalist stronghold of Cornwall, to reduce it for Parliament. His communications with London was soon cut off; short of food, he made for the coast near Fowey. While he was anxiously scanning the horizon for supply ships from London, the King was energetically closing all roads of escape. Essex thereupon took ship for London, leaving his cavalry to cut through the Royalist lines and his starving foot to surrender at Lostwithiel (2 September).

Royalism now took fresh heart, and Charles led his victorious army eastwards to relieve Basing House, held for him by the Marquis of Winchester. On 27 October he might have been defeated at the second battle of Newbury, but, much to Cromwell's disgust, Manchester's unwillingness to attack his king allowed Charles to make his way home to Oxford. The King's energy had saved his cause and restored the balance of the war to a considerable extent.

Three indecisive campaigns had convinced many parliamentary officers, including Cromwell, that the war could not be won until a drastic reorganization of their forces had taken place. Hitherto the Puritan cause had been upheld by a number of purely local forces, some raised by private gentlemen, some by County Committees or Associations of Counties. Occassionally, Parliament would take these local armies into its pay, as it did with the forces of the Eastern Association in 1644. But many of the soldiers were pressed men, and many were enlisted for a single campaign only; their pay was often in arrears, their discipline often bad, and desertions were very frequent. These methods of carrying on the war had clearly broken down; Cromwell and his supporters now insisted that, if victory were to be secured, Parliament must raise an army

like that of the Eastern Association, in which the soldiers were regularly paid, properly fed, subject to strict discipline, and ready to march to any place, however distant, to fight for the Puritan cause.

Now those who upheld that cause were far from united in religious matters. As we have seen (pages 146–7) there were really three parties among them. First, Pym's followers, who desired a Puritan Church controlled by Parliament, but who, by signing the Covenant with the Scots, had really joined forces with the second party, the *Presbyterians*. It should be noted that the name *Presbyterian* is applied to both these parties from the taking of the Covenant. They had a majority in the House of Commons, and were determined not to allow freedom of worship to any *sect* which did not share their views. The third party consisted of Independents, who had increased by hundreds since the opening of the war. They had enlisted in large numbers under Cromwell in the army of the Eastern Association, resolved that victory in the war should secure for them freedom of worship. It was clear that the Independents would form the backbone of the New Model army which Parliament had decided to raise, for Marston Moor had proved that the war could not be won without them. So the *Presbyterian* majority was compelled to permit their enlistment, but it resolved to throw them over as soon as they had served their purpose in winning the war.

It was also clear that Essex, Manchester, and Waller would be incapable of leading the New Model army to victory. New officers must be appointed for their ability as soldiers, whatever their religious or political opinions might be. So, to win the war, Parliament was compelled to get rid of the " old gang " by passing the Self-denying *Ordinance* (April 1645), by which members of both Houses were to resign their military commands and submit to being reappointed or not as Sir Thomas Fairfax, the commander-in-chief of the new army, chose. It was generally understood, however, that Cromwell would become Lieutenant-General, with the command of the cavalry.

The formation of the New Model then went rapidly forward, for Parliament had at last learned how to use its superior wealth to win the war. This new professional army would be twenty-two thousand strong. Cromwell's troopers from the Eastern Association formed the bulk of the cavalry, and within two years, they had converted many of their comrades to their own Independent and Republican views in religion and politics. In many ways, the New Model was the most remarkable body of men that ever rode and marched together; not only did they control England for ten years (1649–59), but many of the democratic ideas that were to shake both Europe and America in the eighteenth century were first proclaimed in their camps.

## V. The Campaign of 1645 and the End of the First Civil War (1646)

Any hope that the war might be ended without another campaign disappeared when the Puritans took Archbishop Laud out of the Tower after four years' imprisonment and executed him for "treason" (January 1645). The peace negotiations which had been opened at Uxbridge broke down in February when the King firmly refused to part with "the Church, my Crown, and my friends". Since neither side would make any concessions, peace could only come through the complete defeat of one of them.

In the early summer, the New Model took the field against Royalist armies, whose discipline was fast disappearing as the King's growing poverty forced them to support themselves more and more by plunder. It was Fairfax's intention to seek out the King's army and destroy it; his garrisons could then be easily reduced and his recruiting-grounds quickly overrun.

Charles had marched into the Midlands to engage the Scots army. His purpose was to assist Montrose, who, in the previous summer, had raised the Highland clans on his behalf and was now advancing through the Scottish Lowlands, winning battle after battle against the Covenanters. On 14 June the New

Model, with twice the King's strength, came upon him at Naseby in Northamptonshire. Rupert drove his foes from the field, but, as usual, failed to rein up and return; on the other wing, Cromwell's charge was also successful, but as at Marston, he returned and aided the foot to win a complete victory. The King lost all his infantry and ammunition, and instead of joining his other army under Goring in Somerset, he fled with his cavalry to the Welsh border. But this region could raise no new army for him, and within a few months he had become a fugitive.

Leaving the Scots to watch Charles, Fairfax marched the New Model down into Somerset, and on 10 July came upon Goring at Langport. The last royal army, demoralized by plunder and despairing of its cause, fled headlong from its strong position as six hundred *Roundhead* horse came charging up the hill towards it, and melted away into Cornwall.

Throughout the following year the New Model carted its siege-train round England, reducing piecemeal those castles, *manor-houses* and walled towns over which the King's flag still flew. *Cavaliers*, realizing that all was lost save honour, surrendered on generous terms; there was little bloodshed or bitterness, and Royalist populations laid down their arms more readily when they found that the New Model did not plunder but paid for all it took. In September, Montrose's gallant effort to win Scotland for his king came to an end at Philiphaugh, where his Highlanders broke from the charge of Leslie's Covenanting cavalry; in March 1646, brave Hopton surrendered Cornwall to Fairfax, and on 20 June came the fall of Oxford, the Royalist headquarters. The long struggle was at last ended.

A month before, the King had fled in disguise from Oxford and gave himself up to his Scots subjects, who were besieging Newark.

## VI. Parliament, Army, and King (1646–9)

Nobody—least of all the King—supposed that his defeat would mean the loss of his throne. Most seventeenth-century Englishmen believed that a king, once made, could not be unmade,

and that the government could not lawfully be carried on without him. It was generally assumed, therefore, that Charles would be restored to his throne, but that his authority would be severely limited.

Now Charles was well aware that the Scots, the *Presbyterians* of the English Parliament, and the Independents of the army were far from united on the settlement to be made after the Civil War. Accordingly he hoped, by playing his enemies off against each other, to obtain his restoration with as little loss of authority as possible.

In surrendering to the Scots army and not to the New Model, the King was making his first move in this game. A Scot by birth and King of Scotland, he hoped, by appealing to their loyalty, to persuade the Scots to aid him to regain his power. However, the Covenanters put their religion above their loyalty, and they joined their English *Presbyterian* allies in presenting Charles at Newcastle with peace propositions, by which Bishops were to be abolished and *Presbyterianism* set up in England, while Parliament was to control the Militia for the next twenty years (July 1646). By January 1647, the King had returned no satisfactory answer, and the Scots lost patience; upon being paid for the aid of their army they handed Charles over to Parliament, and returned home. In May, the King, now at Holmby House in Northamptonshire, at last refused the Newcastle terms.

His hopes had been raised by the bitter divisions which had appeared among his enemies. It was clear that Parliament had no intention of making a settlement which all parties could accept. Instead of binding up the wounds of civil war, the intolerant *Presbyterians* had committed blunder after blunder. They had forbidden the use of the Prayer Book, had turned two thousand *Anglican* clergyman out of their livings, and were making the defeated Royalists pay for the war by heavy fines levied on their estates. Thus did they make it certain that if ever the *Cavaliers* came into power there would be no toleration for *Presbyterianism* in England. Not content with gaining the bitter and lasting hatred of the King's supporters, Parliament

proceeded to break up its own party. A *Presbyterian* Church was set up, and Bills were introduced imposing penalties of death and imprisonment for life on Independents; and the New Model, largely composed of members of that party, was ordered to disband without receiving its arrears of pay (May 1647).

The army refused point-blank to disband; the soldiers were determined to secure their back pay, and they knew that if they went home they would never secure the freedom of worship for which they had taken up arms. Parliament thereupon resolved to disband them forcibly, with the aid of its Scots allies. Cromwell, who had honestly striven for peace between Parliament and army, was now compelled to throw in his lot with his men and to take action. The soldiers felt that they would be in a stronger position to secure their demands if they had control of the King's person. Accordingly, Cornet Joyce, with a troop of cavalry, escorted Charles from Holmby to army headquarters at Newmarket (June 1647).

Two months of fruitless negotiation between army and Parliament followed. Then the soldiers decided to show that they meant business. They marched on London, forcibly turned out of Parliament eleven *Presbyterian* leaders, and then encamped at Hampton Court (August). From this moment the rule of the Puritans was doomed, for the *Presbyterians* would never tolerate the Independents, and the Independent army would never disband, for that would mean the loss of the religious liberty for which it had fought. The Puritan movement had fallen apart, and neither part was strong enough to rule England permanently.

The army leaders now offered their terms to the King, whom they had brought to Hampton Court. These "Heads of Proposals" aimed at securing the goodwill of the defeated *Cavaliers* by allowing the Prayer Book and the Bishops to remain and by ending the fines on Royalist estates; the Puritans were to be satisfied by the firm establishment of Parliament's authority and by religious toleration for all Protestants. As we shall see, this statesman-like settlement of the conflict between

King and Parliament was very similar to that adopted after the Revolution of 1688.

Charles, however, rejected the most generous terms he was ever likely to be offered, hoping to obtain even better ones when the conflict between Parliament and army had developed still further. Thinking that he would be in a stronger position for negotiation if he were free, the King made his escape to Carisbrooke Castle (November 1647). He had been led to believe that Colonel Hammond, the Governor of the Isle of Wight, would support him, but he soon found that he had merely exchanged one prison for another. From Carisbrooke, Charles proceeded to make the " engagement " with the Scots (December 1647); in return for the establishment of *Presbyterianism* in England for three years, a Scots army was to march into England, where it would be aided by a Royalist rising to restore the King to his former power.

As a result the second Civil War broke out in May 1648. The King's alliance with the " foreign " Scots brought about a temporary union between army and Parliament, which resolved to hold no further communication with Charles (January 1648). The soldiers, holding the King directly responsible for the renewal of civil war, declared their intention, " if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace ", " to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for the blood he had shed ". The New Model had become strongly republican in its political views, and convinced that the King could not be trusted to abide faithfully by any settlement that might be made.

Within three months the " Ironsides " had brought the Second Civil War to a victorious conclusion. A quarter of the navy went over to the King, but Royalist risings in South Wales and Kent and Essex were soon suppressed by Cromwell and Fairfax. On 17 August Cromwell fell upon the invading Scots army, and in a running fight lasting three days, from Preston south to Warrington, destroyed it completely. A bitterness which had been absent from the first Civil War marked the second, and when Colchester surrendered, its Royalist defenders, Lucas and Lisle, were executed.

Freed by the army from the fear of the King's restoration, the *Presbyterians* in Parliament proceeded to re-open negotiations with Charles at Newport (September 1648). But the New Model had come home from the war determined to be rid of both Parliament and King. Having removed Charles to Hurst Castle on the mainland, the army leaders entered London with their forces, and on 7 December, Colonel Pride " purged " Parliament by arresting fifty *Presbyterian* members of the Commons and preventing a hundred more from taking their seats. The " Rump " of fifty Independents which remained then resolved that, " the people are, under God, the original of all just power " and that the King and House of Lords were no longer necessary.

It remained to call " the man of blood " to account. Cromwell and the army leaders had made up their minds that since Charles could not be trusted to keep to any agreement they might make with him, his death was necessary to secure the religious liberty for which they had fought. Accordingly, the Rump set up a special Court of Justice to try the King for treason to the people, a crime unknown to English law. Of the 135 prominent persons appointed to this Court, less than half attended its sittings in Westminster Hall, and after the King had been found guilty and sentenced to execution, only fifty-eight of his judges signed the death-warrant. Charles bore himself with dignity throughout the proceedings, refusing to make any defence on the ground that the court lacked all power to try him. He was beheaded outside his palace of Whitehall on 30 January 1649. " Nothing in his life became him like the leaving it ", and the high courage with which he met his death did much to conceal the fact that his own defects of character were largely responsible for his fate.

QUESTIONS FOR REVISION, HOMEWORK OR TEST PURPOSES.

(1) Why did the Royalists fail to win the Civil War in 1643?

(2) What were the causes of the victory of the parliamentary forces in the first Civil War (1642-5)?

(3) For what reasons did the Presbyterians and the Independents quarrel at the end of the first Civil War (1645)?

(4) Why did the Independents execute Charles I?

(5) How far, in your opinion, was Charles I himself responsible for his downfall?

## Books for Reading.

*The Three Musketeers*, by A. Dumas (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*Twenty Years After*, by A. Dumas (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*Memoirs of a Cavalier*, by D. Defoe (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*The Legend of Montrose*, by Sir Walter Scott (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*Children of the New Forest*, by F. Marryat (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*When Charles First was King*, by J. S. Fletcher.

*The Splendid Spur*, by Sir A. Quiller-Couch (Nelson).

*Witch Wood*, by John Buchan (Nelson).

*John Inglesant*, by J. H. Shorthouse.

*John Splendid*, by Neil Munro.

# CHAPTER XVII

## THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE (1649-60)

### I. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH (1649)

THE Civil Wars had resulted in the triumph, not of the King or of Parliament, but of the army. Henceforth, England was to be a Republic or Commonwealth, ruled by a Council of State and the Rump of the Long Parliament. But the Commonwealth never represented the views of more than one-fifth of the nation, the Independents. The real source of its power was its superb army of 50,000 veterans, and the ability of Cromwell, the commander. The Independents had seized power and executed the King in the name of the people, only to find that all who had fought for Charles—Anglicans and Catholics, and many of those who had fought against him—the *Presbyterians*—would never support their *regicide* government.

Thus all the appeals of the Independents to the nation were foredoomed to failure, for free elections would only send up majorities determined to overthrow their rule. Yet so bitterly had the Civil Wars divided England into parties and *sects* that the enemies of the Commonwealth were united in nothing save their hatred of it. There was no alternative to the rule of the Independents—save *anarchy*. So England had to be held together by force for twelve years, until, after Cromwell's death, the national demand for a freely elected Parliament swept away the rule of his lieutenants and led to the restoration of Charles II.

The Commonwealth's first task was to prevent the break-up of the British Empire. Scotland, Ireland, and half the colonies in the New World were in revolt from the *regicide* Republic, and the command of the sea, so necessary to England's safety, was endangered. Rupert, as dashing on sea as on land, was in command of that quarter of the navy which had declared

for the King at the outbreak of the second Civil War, and Royalist privateers, operating from the Scilly and Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, were taking heavy toll from *Roundhead* commerce in the Narrow Seas. Indeed, in 1649, the progress of the British peoples, so bitterly divided amongst themselves, seemed at an end, both in the Old World and the New.

OLIVER CROMWELL
*Walker*

## II. THE RECOVERY OF THE EMPIRE (1649-52)

**1. Ireland.** In Ireland, Ormonde, Charles I's Lord-Lieutenant, had used the horror caused by his master's execution to unite against the Commonwealth the Catholic Irish who had raised the rebellion in 1641 and the Protestant English and Scots settlers who had suffered by it. His forces were holding all the island except Londonderry and Dublin, when Cromwell, as the Commonwealth's Lord-Lieutenant, landed at the capital with 10,000 Ironsides, grimly resolved to break both the Royalist power and the national resistance of Ireland, and to avenge the massacre of 1641 (August 1649). In September he stormed Drogheda; the garrison and all priests encountered were put to the sword, Cromwell justifying this policy of "no quarter" on the ground that the fear inspired by it would shorten resistance

and save much shedding of blood in the future. Having crushed resistance in the north of the island, Cromwell marched south into Munster, stormed Wexford—again putting the garrison to the sword—and went into winter quarters at Waterford, having recovered all the eastern and much of the southern seaboard of Ireland. His ruthless methods were now justified—at least, by results—for all the Protestant colonists went over to the Commonwealth. In January 1650 Cromwell took the field again, and by May he had completed his task by the capture of Kilkenny and Clonmel. His two whirlwind campaigns had recovered Ireland in ten months; he now returned to England, leaving Ireton and then Ludlow to complete the reconquest—and ruin—of the land in two more campaigns of guerrilla warfare (1652).

**2. Scotland.** The execution of Charles I, a Scots king, by a small party of English *fanatics*, roused all Scotland to fury, and in Edinburgh his son Charles II was at once proclaimed king of Scotland, England, and Ireland. The new King, however, had no wish to entrust his fortune to the *Presbyterians*, who had controlled Scotland since the Bishops' Wars. Accordingly, Montrose, most selfless of all *Cavaliers*, was sent to discover whether the Scottish Royalists, after their defeat at Preston, were strong enough to carry Charles's cause to success by themselves. He again raised the Royal Standard in the Highlands, but before he could put his fortune to the touch, his master had decided to come to terms with the *Presbyterians*. Thus deserted, Montrose's gallant venture collapsed and he was captured by the Covenanters and hanged (May 1650).

In July Charles landed in Scotland from his exile and took the Covenant, promising to preserve *Presbyterianism* in Scotland and to establish it in England. He had no intention, however, of keeping his promises; he was merely making a virtue of necessity, and hoped that when he crossed the Border the English *Cavaliers* would rise, overthrow the *regicide* government, and free him from his dependence on the Scots.

But it was Cromwell, newly returned from his reconquest of Ireland, who crossed the Border first, with 16,000 redcoats. He

came, not bent on conquest, but on showing the Scots the error of their ways by peaceful argument. Cromwell's great object was always the unity of all the Puritan *sects*, and he saw clearly what the future was to prove—that if the Puritan cause went down in England, *Presbyterianism* in Scotland would not long survive it. However, his efforts to prevent two branches of "God's elected people" from destroying each other for the benefit of their common enemies—kings and bishops—failed completely in face of the bitter national hatred of Scots and Englishmen.

On 3 September 1650, the Scots, skilfully led by David Leslie, caught Cromwell with his back to the sea at Dunbar; but urged on by their pastors, they foolishly left their strong position on the Lammermuir Hills to be destroyed in the plain below by the fury of the Ironsides' charge. Cromwell then entered Edinburgh and made himself master of southern Scotland.

Dunbar broke the *Presbyterian* domination; *Cavaliers* and all who would fight for Scotland had now to be allowed to rally to their King. Anxious to end the struggle, Cromwell marched north to take Perth, deliberately leaving the road to England open. Charles at once crossed the Border and took the Lancashire route southwards, while Cromwell raced back through Yorkshire to head him off. Charles's hopes of a national rising on his behalf were bitterly disappointed; however much most Englishmen might detest the Commonwealth, the Scots were the national enemies, whoever led them. On 3 September 1651, the pursuit closed in, and Cromwell's "crowning mercy" was granted him; the *Cavalier* army was surrounded and destroyed in the streets of Worcester. Few escaped the rout, but amongst them was a dark-haired young man "above two yards high"; Charles made his devious and dangerous way to the Sussex coast and then to France, having created for future generations the greatest of *Cavalier* legends.

Worcester put an end to the Scots' attempt to dictate to England her form of government and religion; it put an end also to the independence of the Scots themselves. Scotland was soon subdued by Monk's redcoats and united to England. But

in spite of the grant of religious toleration, free trade with England, and representation in the Parliaments of the Protectorate, garrisons of Ironsides were necessary to maintain this union by force, which the Scots never accepted.

### III. The Recovery of the Command of the Sea and the Colonies (1649-52)

Having recovered Ireland and Scotland, the Commonwealth's next tasks were to regain the command of the sea and to compel the colonies to recognize its authority. The navy was increased, the conditions of service were greatly improved, and Colonel Robert Blake, formerly a Bridgewater merchant and renowned for his defence of Taunton in the Civil War, took command and began his career as one of the greatest of English sailors. In October 1650, Blake chased Rupert, who had been preying upon Commonwealth merchantmen for the past two years, from the Channel into the Mediterranean, and destroyed all his ships but two.

This was the first successful appearance of English topsails in the Mediterranean, but when he became Protector Cromwell soon learnt that the presence of an English fleet in that sea was a very effective way of making his will felt in Europe. The lesson was not forgotten by later English statesmen; the British fleet remained in the Mediterranean, for with the acquisition of our Empire in India and in the Far East, and with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, sea-power between Gibraltar and Suez became of increasing importance for this country.

After his defeat, Rupert fled across the Atlantic. Blake then recovered the Channel and Scilly Islands and the Isle of Man, and his fleet, appearing in the New World, soon compelled Royalist Virginia, Maryland, and Barbados to recognize the Commonwealth. By 1652 both the command of the sea and the colonies had been regained, and any foreign invasion on behalf of Charles II was now impossible.

## IV. The Dutch War (1652-4)

In order to recover the colonies, the rulers of the Commonwealth had been compelled to double their naval strength; their pride in Blake's victories now led them to challenge the other Protestant republic, Holland, at the height of her power, for supremacy in commerce and the mastery of the seas. Commercial rivalry with the Dutch had been growing in bitterness for the last fifty years, and in 1651 the Rump had passed the Navigation Act, to break down the Dutch monopoly of the *carrying trade*. When the Dutch Admiral Van Tromp, in refusing to dip his flag to ships of a power he held to be inferior on the sea, flouted the English claim that all vessels should salute their flag in the "British seas", the Commonwealth declared war (May 1652).

For Holland, the war became a life-and-death struggle for the command of the Channel. The majority of the Dutch lived by trade, and if the passage up-Channel of their great fleets of merchantmen from Africa, the *Levant*, and the Far East were prevented, they would soon be brought to ruin. But, of the five great sea-battles in which Blake clashed with Van Tromp, de Witt, and de Ruyter, only one was a Dutch victory, and by the spring of 1654, the English fleet was in command of the Channel. The heroic Dutch resolved to continue the struggle, but Cromwell was now Protector. His firm belief that England should pursue a Protestant foreign policy had led him to oppose the war from the start and now determined him to bring it to a close. The Treaty of Westminster (April 1654) secured for England the right of salute for her flag and marked the first stage in the decline of Holland as a great commercial power. The victory of the Commonwealth was a barren one, however, for the crushing taxation made necessary by the war contributed to its downfall, by making impossible that prosperity which alone might have persuaded a majority of Englishmen to support it.

## V. The End of the Rump (April 1653)

After Worcester, the army was free to interfere in politics, and its leaders resolved to get rid of the Rump without delay. There were many matters upon which the Ironsides and the remnant of the Long Parliament were sharply divided. The soldiers demanded instant action to clear up the terrible confusion caused by the Civil Wars in the life of the nation; they wanted a democratic republic and the settlement of religion upon the basis of toleration, and they did not believe that the Rump, which in their view was full of war-profiteers who had waxed fat on army contracts, was capable of carrying out this work of reconstruction. The Rump, on the other hand, was determined to forward the Dutch war which the soldiers hated, and to prolong its own power by Act of Parliament.

Cromwell, as always, strove for Puritan unity, but while he was working for an understanding between the army and Parliament, the Rump leaders, who had promised him not to proceed with the Bill to prolong their own power, were trying to hurry it secretly through Parliament. The news of this—added to the knowledge that the Rump was scheming to replace him by Fairfax in command of the forces—moved Cromwell to bitter anger. Hurrying down to Westminister with twenty files of musketeers at his back, he burst in on Parliament, bitterly reproached members for their breach of faith, pointed to the Mace crying: " What shall we do with this *bauble*? Here, take it away! " He turned out the only representatives of lawful power in England, and himself locked the doors behind them. Thus did the man who had saved parliamentary government in our country forcibly dissolve the most powerful Parliament it has ever known. Cromwell and his army now stood forth as the unmistakable masters of England.

## VI. The Barebone's Parliament (July-December 1653)

The Rump had been so generally hated that " brave Oliver's " deed was hailed with applause, but the army was

equally unpopular, and the rest of Cromwell's life was spent in a vain attempt to persuade the people of England, who hated the force he ruled by, to work with him in making a lasting settlement in government and religion.

Now that the army chiefs were in power they proved by no means united in their desires. General Lambert's party declared for an unalterable written Constitution and an elected Parliament, but Cromwell well knew that such an assembly would contain a majority hostile to the Commonwealth, and he decided to try General Harrison's scheme of an assembly of " Puritan saints ". Accordingly, from the lists of " godly men " sent up by the Independents and Baptist churches in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 140 were chosen to form what is known as the " Little " or " Barebone's " Parliament, after one of its members, Praise-God Barebone, a London leather-merchant. But however godly, these ardent Puritans were completely out of touch with the desires of the majority of Englishmen. They turned enthusiastically to the urgent work of reform, endeavoured to settle religion, make justice cheap, and relieve debtors, but they tried too many things at once and were soon quarrelling amongst themselves and with the army leaders. Perceiving that Cromwell had lost all confidence in these " saints ", Lambert took it upon himself to send them about their business, with the aid of a squad of redcoats.

So Cromwell was once more in possession of the dictatorship he had sought to lay down. " Barebone's " Parliament marks the highest point of the Puritan Revolution, for the Puritan claim that the godly men had the right to rule the ungodly had been found unjustified in practice. The Rump of the Long Parliament had been dissolved because it had not been Puritan enough; " Barebone's " Parliament because it was too Puritan to be able to make a settlement satisfactory to the majority of the nation. England now began to work her way back, slowly but surely, to those of her old institutions which could still serve her need.

## VII. The Protectorate (1653–8)

**1. The Establishment of the Protectorate** (December 1653). Although Cromwell had received many petitions to assume royal power, either with or without the name of king, he now decided to give Lambert and his friends their opportunity of providing England with a settled government. This group of army officers accordingly produced the Instrument of Government. By this written constitution, power was to be divided between an elected Protector—Cromwell was to occupy this office for life—a Council of State, and a Parliament of one House which, in practice, would represent the middle classes of England, Scotland, and Ireland. None who had fought for the late king, however, were to be represented or to take part in the new government, and the religious toleration which the Instrument secured to all Puritans was not extended to *Anglicans* or Catholics.

Thus, even if the dominant Puritans remained united, this constitution would never be accepted by a great majority of Englishmen; it could never end the divisions caused by the Civil Wars and restore national unity, and it would not outlast the army whose swords alone upheld it.

**2. The First Period of the Protectorate** (1653–6). It was now the Protector's task to make a settlement which should gain the support of as many Englishmen as possible. As Parliament was not due to meet until 3 September 1654, Cromwell and his Council applied themselves vigorously to the pressing work of clearing up the confusion caused by the Civil Wars in every walk of life. Great efforts were made to improve education and justice, but the laws closing theatres and forbidding cock-fighting, horse-racing, and swearing failed completely to improve the nation's morals and only made the rule of the Puritans more unpopular than ever. In the settlement of the religious problem, however, Cromwell had considerable success. If he failed to unite the Puritan *sects* in politics, he did persuade them to work together in religion. The Puritan Church he set

up included *Presbyterians*, Independents, and Baptists, but all *sects* of "God's people" were allowed to worship Him as they pleased. Further than this attempt at securing toleration for all men, Cromwell, much as he wished to do so, could not go without endangering his own power, but *Anglicans* and Catholics were not prevented from worshipping in private, and the Jews were allowed to return to a London rapidly increasing in prosperity. Whatever opinions men of other religions may hold of Cromwell, *Nonconformists* must always look to him as "Mr. Greatheart" their preserver, for, thanks to his years of toleration, *Nonconformity* had time to take root and grow so strong in England that the storm of persecution which followed the Restoration was unable to tear it up.

When Parliament met, it soon became clear that the Puritans were hopelessly divided on the political problems of the day. The Protector's appeal for unity went unheeded; Republicans attacked "single-person" government, *Presbyterians* condemned religious toleration. Cromwell thereupon demanded from members a promise to support the Protectorate, and when a hundred Republicans refused to give it they were deprived of their seats. He asked the remainder to pass the Instrument of Government as a Bill; it would then become the lawful constitution of England. But the Instrument was the work of the army, generally hated for its rule of force and for the heavy taxation its upkeep rendered necessary. Accordingly, this assembly proceeded to claim all the powers of the Long Parliament as representatives of the nation against military power; they proposed to halve the army, strike out religious toleration, and reduce the Protector's power. In Cromwell's view this would mean the loss of all the Civil Wars had been fought to secure, and he dissolved Parliament as soon as the five months laid down in the Instrument for its existence were up (January 1655). Once again, the Protector and the army of which he was both the master and the servant, were left without disguise as the dictators of England.

Angered by the opposition of *Presbyterians* and Republicans, the Protector made up his mind to do without Parliament for

a period; at the same time, the hostility of the Levellers and Fifth Monarchy Men to his government and frequent Royalist plots for rebellion and his assassination convinced him that these parties could never be persuaded to support him. He determined to make it impossible for them to endanger the Puritan State.

For the next eighteen months (1655–6) England was divided into ten military districts, and over each was placed a Major-General with the powers of a dictator. His force of cavalry, paid by a special heavy tax on Royalist property, acted as mounted police. Their duties were to detect suspicious activities of *Cavaliers* and to restore order in the countryside after the Civil Wars by rounding up and gaoling drunkards, beggars, and robbers. Cock-fighting, bear-baiting, horse-racing and all the pastimes which had made Merry England, were sternly repressed. The tyrannical interference of these "warrior saints" in the pleasures of the ordinary man completed the popular hatred of Puritan rule; moreover, the reversal of Cromwell's policy of reconciling all parties to his government destroyed the last chance of settling the life of England as he wished. When the Royalist gentry came to power in 1661, remembrance of their sufferings led them to do their best to break Puritanism for ever. In fact, the only good result of the rule of the Major-Generals was entirely unintentional; the nation was inspired with such a hatred of military force that until the kings of England could be trusted, they were never allowed a regular army with which they might threaten the nation's liberties.

3. **The Foreign Policy of the Protector.** Cromwell's foreign policy had three objects. He held it to be the duty of Puritan England to form and lead a Protestant league in Europe, which should maintain the "true religion" and relieve oppressed Protestants; he desired to expand English commerce, preferably at the expense of Catholic states, and he determined to prevent the restoration of Charles II by foreign aid.

Unfortunately, the Protector knew little of foreign affairs and his views were completely out of date. He saw European politics

as a crusade of Protestant against Catholic, but they were no longer so simple as that. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which ended the Thirty Years' War, ended also that period of European history during which states fought each other chiefly because they differed in religion; henceforth, they went to war mainly because they wished to increase their territory. The period of *Gustavus Adolphus*, the Protestant champion and Cromwell's model, was over; that of Richelieu, Frenchman first and Catholic Cardinal a long way after, had begun.

Thus Cromwell never succeeded in forming his Protestant league. As Protector, he soon ended the Dutch war he had always hated (1654), but the peace he made was merely a truce, for the fight to the finish for commercial supremacy between the two nations broke out again as soon as he was dead. He failed to unite Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and the German princes because national and commercial rivalry divided them far more than their common Protestantism drew them together.

In Cromwell's eyes, Spain, the champion of Catholicism and of the Inquisition, was the national enemy, and he regarded it as a religious duty to expand the trade and empire of England at her expense. He demanded from Spain, as the price of peace, not only freedom of trade, but liberty of private worship for Englishmen in her dominions. The Spanish ambassador refused, exclaiming: "It is to ask my master's two eyes!" Cromwell wished to limit the war to the New World; Penn's expedition to the West Indies failed to take Hispaniola—now known as San Domingo—but captured Jamaica (1655) and Spain took up the challenge in every quarter of the world. The Protector felt it wise to ally with France, also at war with Spain; as a condition of the alliance, he insisted that France should compel her neighbour, the Duke of Savoy, to stop the persecution of his Protestant Vaudois subjects, those "slaughtered saints" whom Milton, Cromwell's secretary, in one of his finest sonnets, besought the Lord to avenge.

For England the war was a series of triumphs on sea and land. Blake again sailed into the Mediterranean to protect our

commerce, burnt the Barbary corsair fleet under the walls of Tunis, and laid the foundations of English naval power in that sea (1655). The next year, out on the Atlantic, he captured the Spanish silver fleet, and in the Canaries in 1657 he performed his most brilliant exploit in completely destroying a Spanish fleet, protected though it was by the shore batteries of Santa Cruz. In 1658 Lockhart's Ironsides joined the French in an attack on the Spanish Netherlands, broke the Spanish veterans at the battle of the Dunes, and captured Dunkirk for England.

Yet these were to a great extent hollow triumphs, and Cromwell's foreign policy was largely a failure. Certainly he raised England from the low estate in which Charles I had left her to a position of unchallenged power in Europe, but in doing this he did much to bring about the downfall of Puritanism in England. His great mistake was in making war at all. His Protectorate was a period of continual warfare, and England, after twelve years' internal strife, needed a period of peace to recover her strength. The powerful fleet of the Republic should have been used solely to protect our growing commerce; Cromwell was strong enough to prevent Charles II receiving foreign aid, and to relieve oppressed Protestants by diplomacy alone, as the case of Vaudois proved. No Protestant worshipped God more freely as a result of the war against Spain, and the heavy taxation and the loss of the prosperous Spanish trade it caused turned the powerful commercial classes away from the Protectorate. Finally, by allying with the rising power of France against decaying Spain, Cromwell unknowingly aided in the creation of a danger which, fifty years later, the genius of Marlborough was needed to destroy.

**4. The Second Period of the Protectorate** (1656-8). The need of money for the unpopular Spanish war compelled the Protector to meet his second Parliament in September 1656. He found that the general hatred of his Major-Generals had increased the Republican opposition to his government, and although he put an end to military rule and expelled over a hundred Re-

publicans from the House the old quarrel between Parliament and army at once broke out again.

Most Englishmen, sick of the wrangling rule of soldiers and "saints", desired a settled government ruling through known laws. It was generally realized that the Protector's life alone stood between England and *anarchy*; the constant strain of government had made him old before his time, and he ran grave risk of assassination. The growing demand for him to become king and found a settled government before he died was now expressed in the Humble Petition and Advice, which Parliament presented to him (March 1657). This proposed amendment to the *existing* constitution, the Instrument of Government, took a long stride backward to the old forms of government and the "known laws of the land". In language similar to that used to former kings, Cromwell was besought to take the royal title, nominate his successor and a House of Lords, and restore the old privileges of Parliament. In May, to the great disappointment of many, he refused the kingly title—but not very firmly. His chief reason was undoubtedly the intense dislike of many of the soldiers for kingship; he knew there was no other foundation to the Commonwealth than the army, and he shrank from dividing it against itself. As Protector, he accepted the rest of the Humble Petition, and when he publicly re-entered upon his office in June 1657, it was seen that both the power and the splendour, if not the name of kingship, had returned to England.

Cromwell's authority was now not only much greater; it possessed a lawful basis, for it had been agreed to by Parliament. However, the second session of this second Parliament (January 1658) soon showed that settled government was as far off as ever. Most of Oliver's supporters had been called up to the new House of Lords, and the expelled Republicans, whom he had permitted to return to the Commons upon taking an oath to the Protectorate, at once attacked the powers of "the other house". On 4 February Cromwell dissolved Parliament in anger, calling upon God to judge between him and his opponents.

For the remainder of his life, the Protector ruled by himself,

strong in the support of the army. His prestige in Europe was tremendous, and his power seemed likely to prove permanent when, on 3 September, 1658, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, he died.

**5. Cromwell's Place in English History.** Cromwell believed that God intervenes directly in human affairs; that is the key to a clear understanding of his personality. Every new triumph he won, from Marston to his " crowning mercy " of Worcester, convinced him that God was on the side of his cause and that it must therefore prosper. When he became Protector, his great object was to preserve religious and civil liberty for the Puritans, " the people of God ", whose welfare was undoubtedly of more importance in his eyes than that of the nation as a whole. He sincerely believed: " that which you get by force is nothing worth " and declared: " I am as much for government by consent as any man, but where shall we find that consent? " It was not to be found while the Independents and their army controlled England, and sooner than witness their overthrow, Cromwell was prepared to govern by Major-Generals and harsher methods than any Charles I had dared to use. He was strong enough to preserve " God's people " until he died, but they were neither numerous nor united enough for their power to survive his death.

While he lived and for long after his death, Cromwell was regarded by a minority of the nation as a patriot-hero, by the great majority as a traitor, a murderer, and a *usurper*. We, who are removed by three centuries from the bitter strife of those days, can take a clearer view. At first sight, it seems that all he fought to secure—the Puritan State; religious and civil liberty—was swept away at the Restoration. But the magnificent army he organized and led with such genius prevented for ever the growth of absolute monarchy in England. The Stuarts were restored, but upon condition that they never attempted to rule by the methods of Charles I, and when James II broke the contract he lost his throne. Cromwell gave *Nonconformity* time to make itself strong enough to survive the persecution of the Restoration, and the Revolution of 1688

established by law the religious liberty for which he had prepared the ground. He secured for his country the mastery of the sea—the true road of England's development—and he preserved and increased her Empire. His ideas had a lasting effect upon England's future—the union he desired, but failed to secure, with Scotland came about by consent in 1707—and it is difficult to deny him the title of the greatest man of action our race has produced.

## VIII. The Downfall of Puritan Power (1658-60)

Cromwell's son Richard, whom he had appointed to succeed him as Protector, was a man of considerable character and ability, but only another Oliver could have maintained the rule of Puritanism in the England of 1658. The unquestioning obedience which the army had given to the greatest captain of the age was not extended to his son, and Oliver's lieutenants, Lambert, Fleetwood, and Desborough, were soon scheming to secure power for themselves. They demanded that the army should be given an independent position in the State, under the sole control of Fleetwood. The Protector, however, refused to resign his command of the army and called a new Parliament to support him in his resistance to military dictation (January 1659). His title was recognized, but the Republicans, who had always hated the Protectorate, began to plot with the generals for his overthrow. Having forced Richard to dissolve his Parliament, they recalled the Rump, which at once declared for a Republic, without a Protector or a House of Lords. "Tumble-down Dick" gave way, and the House of Cromwell came to an end (May).

The Rump now sought peace abroad, in order to cut down taxation and disband the army. But most Englishmen were coming to believe that the restoration of the Stuarts was the only way to prevent *anarchy*, and *Presbyterian* and Royalist risings broke out in Cheshire. Lambert suppressed them; the army again demanded its independence; the Rump refused, and Lambert forcibly dissolved it (October). The generals then set up

a Committee of Safety to prepare a new constitution, but the army was breaking up; each general was openly fighting for his own hand, and the nation was in full revolt from military tyranny. Monk's army in Scotland, Lawson's fleet, and London now declared for the Rump; they had no love for it, but it seemed the only alternative to an aimless civil war, and it was again restored, with the Republicans in control (December).

In January 1660, Monk, the only general to put the welfare of his country above his own ambition, crossed the Border. Lambert failed to stop his progress; petitions for a freely elected Parliament poured in on him as he marched south, but he would not commit himself until he had found out what the nation wanted. In London he found the *Presbyterians* in control, and his redcoats restored the members of that party to the Long Parliament from which they had been expelled by " Pride's Purge ". Thus fell the Independents, after eleven years' rule. Monk and the *Presbyterians* in power now agreed that the Long Parliament should dissolve itself on March 16, and that elections should at once be held for a " free Parliament ". While the people of England, including Royalists, were expressing their opinions freely for the first time since 1640, Monk, who had concluded that Charles II was bound to be recalled, advised him to open the way for his return by issuing the Declaration of Breda, promising religious toleration and a pardon to all who had opposed the royal cause. When the Convention met in April, its *Presbyterian* and Royalist majority recalled the old House of Lords and proclaimed Charles II king. The Puritan Revolution had begun with a freely elected Parliament, and a freely elected Parliament was the victor at its close.

QUESTIONS FOR REVISION, HOMEWORK OR TEST PURPOSES.

(1) Give a short account of Robert Blake's achievements for England.

(2) Give an account of the attempts made by Cromwell between 1653 and 1658 to secure a settled government in England. For what reasons did he fail?

(3) What can be said in favour of, and what against the foreign policy of Cromwell?

(4) What were the lasting achievements of Oliver Cromwell?

(5) What were the causes for the overthrow of Puritan rule between 1658 and 1660?

## Books for Reading.

*Woodstock*, by Sir Walter Scott (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*Queen Dick*, by A. T. Sheppard.

# CHAPTER XVIII

## THE RESTORATION AND THE REIGN OF CHARLES II (1660-85)

### I. THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT (1660-65)

ON his thirtieth birthday, 29 May 1660, Charles II rode into London amidst tremendous popular rejoicing, for it was hoped that peace, freedom from the tyranny of "warrior and saint" and the rule of known laws were returning with him. The Ironsides, drawn up in Blackheath, alone failed to join in the general jubilation; and the new government, mindful of the fatal error of the Long Parliament (see page 165), made haste to pay in full the arrears of these stern Republicans, and the most remarkable army in our history quietly returned to civilian life. The King was successful, however, in retaining some five thousand troops as royal guards in case of any disturbance, and his force was really the starting-point of the professional British army.

With the meeting of the *Convention* in April 1660, the old freely elected Parliament, including the House of Lords—abolished in 1649—had been restored. The *Convention* had then made haste to restore the Monarchy by recalling Charles II from exile. Now there was also re-established the rule of the upper classes. In every town and village, Republican politicians and Independent pastors who had controlled local affairs for the last ten years by grace of the New Model, sought refuge in private life; while nobles, squires and parsons, whose Royalist opinions had compelled them to go into retirement under the Commonwealth, resumed their former power and position. The *Cavalier* squires were the greatest gainers by this restoration, and it was clear that they would control the elections to the next House of Commons.

The Royalist exiles had returned eager for vengeance on the men who had murdered their king, destroyed their Church, and despoiled them of their estates. But Charles and his chief adviser, Edward Hyde, realized that if the restored monarchy were to be firmly established, the lives and property of men of all parties must be guaranteed to them. Thus they strove to restrain the *Cavalier* desire for vengeance, and adopted the shrewd policy of passing those features of their settlement which they knew the Royalists would hate through the *Convention*, with its *Presbyterian* majority. The settlement of religion, which they realized would be unfavourable to the *Presbyterians*, was to be postponed for consideration by the next Parliament, in which the House of Commons would be certain to contain a large majority of Royalists.

CHARLES II
*Lely*

Thus the question of vengeance for the past was settled by the *Presbyterian Convention*, which had every reason for wishing to regard the past as a closed book. By its order, the bodies of the mighty dead, of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, were dug up from Westminster Abbey, dragged to Tyburn, hanged there and then buried at the gallows' foot. Then, at Charing Cross, in sight of that place before Whitehall where Charles I had been beheaded, a dozen of those Republicans who had put their hands to his death warrant, were executed. They were

the scapegoats for all rebels, and their blood sealed up the past. An Act of *Indemnity* and *Oblivion* (which the *Cavaliers* bitterly declared to mean "*Indemnity* for the King's enemies and *Oblivion* for his friends") guaranteed the safety of all others who had opposed Charles II or his father.

The settlement of the land question, in which Royalists were bound to suffer, was also carried out by the government through the *Presbyterian Convention*. Since the end of the first Civil War (1646), much landed property had passed from Royalist ownership, a considerable amount of which had since changed hands half a dozen times. Clearly, if the wholesale restoration of such property were ordered, a grave injustice to the existing holders would be committed and the restored government would incur the bitter hatred of a powerful class. In the end, the following compromise was adopted. The Crown lands and those of the Church, which had been seized and sold by the Commonwealth, were restored without compensation to those officers of the now disbanded New Model who had been the chief purchasers of them. In addition, Royalists who had suffered exile and direct confiscation of their property were to get it back; but those who had sold their acres to help Charles I or to pay the heavy fines imposed upon them at the close of the Civil War were compelled to see their estates remain in the hands of *Presbyterian* "rebels", without compensation to themselves.

The Convention was dissolved in December 1660, and the elections which followed returned an overwhelming number of "young men of loyal families" to the House of Commons. This Parliament, which met in May 1661, is known as the *Cavalier* Parliament, because its members were said to be "more Royalist than the King", and as the "Long Parliament of Charles II", because it sat for nearly eighteen years. It was fortunate for the growth of English liberty that the *Cavaliers* came to power as the result of a free election and not by victory in civil war or by foreign aid. They clearly felt that the rights of Parliament as well as those of the King had been restored, and in spite of their Royalism, they had no intention of allow-

ing Charles II to rule by his father's methods of personal government. Therefore all Acts of the Long Parliament up to August 1641 (see page 146; except the *Triennial* Act), which their fathers had joined the Puritans in passing and which Charles I had signed, were accepted; while all Acts of the Long Parliament and the Commonwealth after that date were treated as null and void.

To the King was restored the control of the Militia, but the *Cavalier* squires, with their bitter memories of Cromwell's Major-Generals, made up their minds that there was to be no regular army in England beyond the royal guards already mentioned. The *Triennial* Act was repealed and the King was given back the right to summon and dissolve Parliaments as he wished; in practice, however, he would be compelled to call them frequently, for he was made dependent upon the Houses for money. He was granted a revenue of £1,200,000 a year, but he never received this amount in full, and his income was never sufficient to meet the expenses of governing the country in peace time. Although Charles endeavoured to escape from the control of Parliament by selling his foreign policy to Louis XIV, he never made his father's mistake of levying taxation without parliamentary consent. Monarchy by Divine Right was departing from England and constitutional monarchy was being developed in its place.

The only difference between the Royalists and *Presbyterians* who together had brought about the Restoration was on the subject of religion. All efforts to bring about some agreement between the two parties had failed, and the *Presbyterian Convention* had foolishly allowed Clarendon to postpone the religious settlement to the next Parliament. The *Presbyterians* had not seen that the Cavaliers were certain to control the next House of Commons and they did not realize that common misfortune and persecution under the Commonwealth had bound the squires and parsons, who had no love for each other before the Civil War, closely together in their determination to crush Puritanism in England for ever.

The *Cavalier* Parliament now restored the *Anglican* Church

with its Bishops and its Prayer Book. The King was its head in name, but in fact Parliament was to control the Church and there was to be no toleration for any other religion or *sect*. The Presbyterians, who had denied freedom of worship to the defeated Royalists in 1646, were to receive none themselves now that the Cavaliers occupied the seats of power. The supremacy of Anglicanism was established by the so-called "Clarendon Code" of Acts passed through the *Cavalier* Parliament, against the wishes of the King and in defiance of the promise of toleration made in the Declaration of Breda. The Corporation Act (1661) declared that only *Anglicans* could be members of the corporations which ruled the towns and controlled the elections of their members of Parliament. As a result of the Act of Uniformity (1662), 2,000 Puritan clergymen were turned out of the livings, which they had enjoyed since the Civil War, on St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24), for refusing their "unfeigned assent" to everything in the *Anglican* Prayer Book. Since many of them continued to hold their services in private buildings, the *Conventicle* Act (1664) forbade all religious meetings, except those of the *Anglican* Church. In 1665 Parliament, which had removed to Oxford, learning that Puritan pastors were regaining their old influence by ministering to the plague-stricken Londoners, passed the Five Mile Act, declaring that no clergyman or schoolmaster was to come within five miles of a town unless he promised not to "endeavour any alteration of Government, either in Church or State". The "Clarendon Code", largely the work of the country squires, was vigorously enforced by them in their capacity of *Justices of the Peace* for over twenty years, and by this means the supremacy of Puritanism in Church and State, which had been established as a result of the Civil War, was broken for ever.

However, Puritanism, thanks to its years of freedom under Cromwell, did not die out in England. The "Clarendon Code" divided Englishmen down to our own day into Churchmen and Dissenters, but Puritanism left lasting impressions on the life of the nation. Its habits of family prayer and Bible reading remained, its "sad Sabbath" survived to become the English

Sunday, and England, in face of the Catholic danger manifested in the growing power of Louis XIV, remained strongly Protestant. The wealthy *Presbyterians* conformed to the *Anglican* Church in order to keep their political rights and social position, and in the next generation they became the leaders of the Whig party, which, in 1688, secured freedom of worship for the *Nonconformist sects* which had been its most faithful supporters.

## II. Clarendon in Power (1660-67)

In spite of the Royalist rapture of 1660, the struggle between the Crown and Parliament was bound to be renewed. The character of the restored monarch is therefore of great importance. Charles II was a shrewd, witty, good-natured man of considerable personal charm. Ten years of poverty in exile had determined him " never to go on his travels again ", and he returned with the intention of fully " enjoying his own ". Not being a religious man, he had no sympathy with the *fanatics* of any party; his own inclinations were towards Catholicism, and he favoured toleration as the most sensible way of carrying on the life of a nation in which men's religious beliefs were violently opposed. He was far too sensible to believe in the Divine Right of kings as his father and grandfather had done, but the one principle to which he clung with all his Stuart obstinacy was the preservation of his *dynasty* and kingly power; and when, in the closing years of his reign, he was aroused from his habitual laziness to their defence, he proved himself the ablest politician in his kingdom.

The King's chief adviser during the first seven years of his reign was Edward Hyde, who became Lord *Chancellor* and Earl of Clarendon. Before the Civil War, Hyde had stood with Hampden and Pym against Charles I's personal government, but being a strong *Anglican* he had opposed the Grand Remonstrance of the Puritans and had gone over to the King. He had been the trusted counsellor of Charles I during the Civil War

and of Charles II during his years of exile; in fact, the restored King owed his throne as much to Hyde as to Monk, for the Royalist statesman had succeeded in convincing an England which remembered Charles I's personal government that his master's cause was bound up with the Protestant religion and with rule by "the known laws of the land". Hyde's object was to see the King and the Houses working together in harmony, but ten years of exile had caused him to lose touch with the forces at work in his native land, and he did not see that the undecided struggle of 1642 between Crown and Parliament was bound to break out again after 1660.

The seven years of Clarendon's rule was a period of failure and disaster, the chief cause of which is to be found in the poverty of the government. In foreign policy, the friendship with France which had been maintained for nearly a century was continued, and it was Louis XIV who arranged Charles's marriage with Catherine of Braganza, a Princess of the royal house of the French ally, Portugal (1661). Catherine brought with her a most acceptable dowry of £800,000 in cash, Tangier, and Bombay, destined to be a starting-point of our Indian Empire. In 1662 Charles's urgent need of money led him to sell Cromwell's conquest of Dunkirk to Louis XIV for £200,000; thus saving himself the £100,000 needed each year to maintain its garrison.

The restoration of the monarchy made no difference to the bitter commercial rivalry between England and Holland. In 1661 a new Navigation Act was passed, aimed even more directly at the *carrying trade* of the Dutch; before long, merchants of the rival nations were at each other's throats in the East Indies and in North America, and in 1665 open war was declared. Monk and Rupert steered the fleet to a great victory off Lowestoft, but disaster for England swiftly followed. In the same year, a terrible outbreak of the plague in London brought business to a standstill, and the dread disease had scarcely departed when the Great Fire destroyed the City from the Tower to Temple Bar (1666). These two calamities naturally had a profound effect on the minds of a people still strongly super-

stitious; they were regarded as signs of God's anger against the governors of England, and at the same time the bulk of the nation was firmly convinced that they were the work of the Papists and the French, whom the national instinct had already marked out as the new enemy of England. Parliament was infected by the general fear and suspicion, and the Commons insisted that their commissioners should audit the Government's accounts, to make sure that the money they had voted for the navy was really being spent upon it.

It was unfortunate for Clarendon that the parliamentary supplies having been exhausted, he was now compelled to order the laying up of a large part of the fleet in port. The Dutch seized their chance of forcing the peace they desired, and De Ruyter sailed up the Thames and Medway to Chatham, where he burnt the dockyard and several ships of war. The government had no choice but to make the Treaty of Breda (1667), which secured for England New Amsterdam—renamed New York—and New Jersey, thus establishing firmly her hold on the eastern seaboard of North America. But the roar of De Ruyter's guns off Chatham had put an end to the Royalist enthusiasm of the Restoration and had set men sighing for the days of Blake and Oliver, who had at least known how to guard their country against the foreigner. Fortunately for his own popularity, Charles had a scapegoat in Clarendon, and in spite of his claims upon the King's gratitude, he was sacrificed to the popular discontent with the first seven years of the restored monarchy. The *Chancellor* had many enemies and few friends. The marriage of his daughter Anne to the King's brother, James, Duke of York, had raised him above all other subjects; to the Puritans he was the arch-persecutor; the gay Court disliked him as a *Cavalier* of the old school; with Parliament he was unpopular on account of his perpetual demands for money, while the King saw in his intolerant *Anglicanism* the chief obstacle to the establishment of the religious toleration on which he had set his heart. Every disaster of the past seven years was most unjustly laid at his door in the *impeachment* brought against him in Parliament. Fearing the fate of Strafford, he fled to

France, where he spent the last seven years of his life in writing his famous *History of the Great Rebellion*.

## III. The Rule of the Cabal (1667–73)

For the next fifty years the history of France is so closely connected with that of England that some account must be given of the monarchy of Louis XIV. The work of the great Cardinals, Richelieu and Mazarin, in crushing all opposition to the power of the French Crown enabled Louis to take over the government in 1661 as an absolute king. The great "Age of Louis XIV" had begun, and before long, all Europe had been brought to acknowledge the supremacy of France in war, diplomacy, and culture. It became Louis's object to replace the dominance of the *Habsburgs* in Europe by that of his own *dynasty* of Bourbon, and with Germany, exhausted by the Thirty Years' War, and Spain in rapid decay, his prospects of success seemed considerable. In 1665 Philip IV of Spain died, leaving the throne to his sickly son, Charles II, whose death was expected at any moment. When that should occur, Louis intended to use the claim of his wife, the daughter of Philip IV, in order to seize as much as possible of the vast Spanish Empire for France. For the present, he contented himself with claiming the Spanish Netherlands on her behalf, and when the great Turenne occupied them in 1667, all Europe awoke to the fact that it was threatened by a new dominance, that of France.

The Dutch Republic, then at the height of its commercial power, felt its very existence threatened by the French seizure of *Flanders*, and in spite of bitter rivalry with England it sought her alliance against Louis. The English people, particularly the commercial classes, also viewed the situation with alarm, for Louis, in control of the Spanish Netherlands, might well make Antwerp the successful rival of London and enable France to outstrip both England and Holland in the race for control of the world's commerce. Accordingly Sir William Temple, the English ambassador at The Hague, found it an easy task to

make a triple, Protestant alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden for the purpose of compelling Louis to withdraw from *Flanders* (1668). Content to bide his time, the French king quietly withdrew.

Determined to break up the Triple Alliance, Louis turned to his cousin of England. He found Charles ready to meet him more than half-way. Charles hated his poverty and his dependence upon Parliament for money, and he cherished the hope that some day he might be able to set up in England a *despotism* like that of Louis, who had no Parliament to interfere with his power of raising whatever taxes he chose to impose. Moreover, Charles wished to secure freedom of worship for the Catholics, who had served the Stuarts so loyally. The fall of Clarendon had enabled him to select ministers, who, he thought, would aid him in realizing these objects (1667). The trusted advisers of the King had long been spoken of as the *Cabal*, and by a strange coincidence, the names of the five men who succeeded Clarendon in the King's confidence began with letters that made up that word, and they are known in English history as the *Cabal*. Clifford was an ardent Catholic, and Arlington, like his royal master, favoured that religion; the second Duke of Buckingham liked to consider himself the protector of the Independents, while Ashley, a former *Roundhead*, believed in toleration for all Protestants; Lauderdale, the fifth member, was a *Presbyterian*. All these men had one thing in common; they were opposed, for different reasons, to the intolerant *Anglicanism* of the *Cavalier* Parliament.

Louis had made up his mind to crush the Dutch Republic; it was the chief obstacle to the commercial expansion of France, and he had never forgiven it for having deprived him of the Spanish Netherlands. The alliance of England—with her fleet—would make it possible to attack the Dutch both by sea and land. Accordingly, in 1670, he sent his sister-in-law, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, who was an ardent Catholic, on what was supposed to be a family visit to her brother, Charles II. Charles, whose love for his sister was the strongest affection of his life, met her at Dover, and the Duchess, acting as Louis'

agent, made on his behalf a secret treaty with her brother. In return for a large subsidy, England was to join France in an attack on Holland. Whether he meant to or not, Charles undertook to declare himself a Catholic as soon as he felt the time ripe, and Louis agreed to aid him with money and troops if his attempt to restore the Old Faith in England led to rebellion. Of the *Cabal*, Clifford and Arlington alone were informed of all the provisions of the secret Treaty of Dover; for the benefit of the Protestant members a sham treaty was drawn up, which mentioned no more than supplies from France, an attack upon the Dutch in alliance with the French, and toleration for Catholics and Dissenters.

Since the Dover policy was certain to be deeply unpopular with the *Anglican* Parliament, it was necessary for Charles to make himself financially independent of the Houses before he could proceed to carry it out. Having obtained supplies from Parliament, on the understanding that they would be used in support of the Triple Alliance against France, he *prorogued* it. The King then informed the London goldsmiths, who acted as bankers to the government and advanced it money on the national revenue, that he was compelled to postpone repayment of their loans. This Stop of the Exchequer (1672) ruined many business houses and injured the credit of the government for several years to come. But Charles had secured a supply of ready money, and he was now able to put the "secret treaty" policy into operation. He issued a Declaration of Indulgence, allowing freedom of worship to Catholics and Dissenters. England and France then declared war on Holland, Charles hoping that a speedy victory would make it popular with the country and enable him to carry out the rest of his "great design".

His hopes, however, were disappointed. The Dutch, threatened by land and sea, took desperate measures to preserve their independence; a popular revolution put an end to the rule of the rich merchants under John de Witt, and the 21-year-old William of Orange, the great-grandson of the national hero William the Silent, was called upon to become *Stadtholder* and save

his country from destruction. William soon justified the confidence of his fellow-countrymen in his ability. He ordered the dykes to be cut, as in the days of the struggle against Spain; with the sea flooding in over the countryside, the towns, built on high ground, became impregnable island citadels. The French advance was checked, and ere long the *Stadtholder's* diplomatic skill had secured the alliance of Austria, Spain, and the German princes against Louis (1673). Meanwhile, on the sea, De Ruyter had held his own against the combined English and French fleets in a great battle off Southwold (1672), and in the following year he beat off their attack on the Texel.

The heroic resistance of the Dutch had ruined the "secret treaty" policy. Charles had spent all his money and there was neither victory nor a satisfactory peace treaty to justify his recent actions to his people. Compelled to summon Parliament, he found its members deeply suspicious of his policy, although what had been agreed upon with Louis at Dover could only be guessed at. The Declaration of Indulgence had produced a national cry of "No Popery", strong enough to make Anglicans and Puritans put aside their ancient feuds to unite in defence of their common Protestantism; indeed, the Dissenters had refused a toleration which included the Catholics. The King was compelled to withdraw his Declaration and to consent to a Test Act, which declared that no person was to hold office under the Crown unless he were a member of the Church of England (1673). This measure broke up the *Cabal*; the Catholic Clifford was forced to resign the Treasury, and Ashley, recently made Earl of Shaftesbury, realizing that the King had duped him at Dover, went over to the Opposition in Parliament. Very disquieting to the nation was the resignation from the Admiralty of the Duke of York, the heir to the throne; his recent marriage, after the death of Anne Hyde, to the Catholic Mary of Modena, had caused considerable uneasiness, but this public announcement of his conversion to the Catholic Faith set men thinking upon what would happen in England when he became king.

Parliament then turned its attention to the war, which it now

realized was not a commercial struggle against the Dutch, but a plot to destroy a Protestant nation for the benefit of Catholic France. By the simple process of refusing to grant supplies, the Commons compelled the King to make peace (1674). Thus the "secret treaty" policy and the ministry which had promoted it were completely broken, and if Charles had ever intended to force England back into "the bonds of Rome", he was now wise enough to give up the attempt for ever. He had learned that whatever the people of England might permit their kings to do, they would not allow them to destroy the Protestant religion.

## IV. Danby in Power (1673-8)

In 1673, as a result of his attempt to force the "secret treaty" policy on the country, Parliament had lost all confidence in the King. However, the goodwill of the Houses was essential for Charles; without it, he would be unable to obtain supplies to carry on the government. Since he no longer had any intention of restoring Catholicism, the King's best plan was clearly to come to an understanding with the *Anglican* majority in Parliament, whose motto was still "Church and King". Accordingly, he appointed their leader Sir Thomas Osborne (soon known as the Earl of Danby) as his chief minister. Like Clarendon, Danby wished the Crown and the Anglican Parliament to work together in harmony; he was now particularly useful in restoring goodwill between them because his foreign policy was strongly Protestant; he desired a firm alliance with the Dutch against the growing power of France. Charles himself had no intention of going to war with Louis XIV. His object was to use the national feeling against France to secure a double advantage for himself; he hoped to obtain large subsidies from Louis in return for preventing an Anglo-Dutch alliance by *proroguing* Parliament when one seemed about to be made; and, upon pretence of going to war with France, he hoped to secure from Parliament money for an army which he could use to make himself as absolute in England as Louis was in France.

Danby saw that since the King could not do without the supplies of the House of Commons, the best way to manage it would be to build up within it a party which would vote as Charles desired. The minister accordingly began to form a Court party from his *Anglican* supporters in Parliament, and the many pensions and appointments in the gift of the Crown were henceforth given only to those who could be depended upon to act as the King wished. While Danby was thus trying to win back to the King's side the *Anglican* majority in the Commons which had been driven into opposition by the "Dover policy", Shaftesbury, now established as the leader of the opposition, was endeavouring, by playing on the national fear of Popery and France, to include them in the Country party he was building up in both Houses on the principles of Protestant toleration and parliamentary supremacy.

For some time it seemed that Danby would win this struggle for the control of Parliament. He found many members willing to give their votes in return for pensions and places, and in 1675 he made a strong bid for the support of the *Anglican* majority by introducing the Non-resisting Bill, which, by compelling members of both Houses to swear to alter nothing in Church or State, would exclude Puritans from Parliament. The cry against Popery had died down since the King had taken a strong Churchman as minister; moreover, the *Anglican* majority was alarmed at the number of Puritans who were entering the Commons as a result of the unusually frequent by-elections; it seemed clear that the next Parliament would contain a Country party majority which would demand toleration for *Dissenters*. Shaftesbury and his party naturally fought the Non-resisting Bill with all the strength they could muster, but only a bitter quarrel between the Houses prevented it becoming law. Then, in 1677, Danby scored a great triumph in persuading the King to consent to the marriage of the Duke of York's daughter Mary, who had been brought up a Protestant, to William of Orange, the Protestant champion in Europe. As grandson of Charles I, William had his own claim to the English throne, and this marriage did much to calm the fears of James's

Catholic succession by providing a Protestant succession after him.

By 1678 it seemed that Danby had secured his objects; his Court party controlled the Commons, who were voting generous supplies for a war against France; when he re-introduced the Non-resisting Bill it would certainly be passed, and would break up the Country party for ever. All Shaftesbury's efforts to dissolve the *Cavalier* Parliament had failed; only a miracle, it seemed, could prevent Charles becoming absolute, in alliance with intolerant *Anglicanism*. If only the real truth about the Treaty of Dover or about the frequent French subsidies to Charles II could be revealed . . . In September 1678 the miracle occurred.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1640 | Puritans (Presbyterians, Independents and other Puritan sects and parties) | Royalists (Anglicans) |
| 1673 | Country party | Court party |
| 1679 | Petitioners (Exclusionists) | Abhorrers |
| 1680 | Whigs | Tories |

DEVELOPMENT OF PARTIES 1640–1680

## V. THE POPISH TERROR; THE FORMATION OF THE WHIG AND TORY PARTIES (1678–81)

The saviour of the Country party was Titus Oates, a blackguard with brains, who had been in turn a Puritan pastor, an *Anglican* clergyman, and a Jesuit. In the summer of 1678 he returned from the Continent, penniless and desperate, but with

considerable knowledge of the Jesuits' plans for the forcible conversion of England to Catholicism. In those days, before any police force existed, the government was compelled to rely upon "informers" for knowledge of plots against the State, and Oates hoped to secure a large reward by supplementing his knowledge from his imagination until he had built up a "Popish Plot" to murder the King and put the Duke of York on the throne with the aid of a French army and a general massacre of Protestants. Examined by the Council, Oates was proved a clumsy liar by the King himself, and nothing more might have been heard of his "plot" had he not been saved by two amazing pieces of luck. Among the Catholics he had accused was Coleman, the Duke of York's secretary, and concealed in Coleman's rooms was found his correspondence with Père la Chaise, the Jesuit confessor of Louis XIV, dealing with the dispatch of French troops to aid the conversion of England to Rome. Then, a fortnight later, Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, the magistrate to whom Oates had taken his information, was found murdered in a ditch on Primrose Hill. The mystery of Godfrey's death has never been solved, but at the time few doubted that it was the beginning of that general massacre of Protestants of which Oates had told.

From this moment, belief in the Popish Plot took root in the mind of the nation. Terror reigned in London; barricades were hurriedly thrown up in the streets to resist the French invasion; the train-bands stood guard as in a besieged city, day and night, and citizens provided themselves with "Protestant flails" to defend their lives when the massacre should begin. Catholics were gaoled by the score, and the lives of those upon whom the slightest suspicion seemed to rest were sworn away by Oates at "trials" that were no better than mockeries of justice. The informer himself was richly rewarded, and for the next three years his word was law in England.

The *Cavalier* Parliament met in October, with its members sharing the panic of the nation, and Shaftesbury at once seized the heaven-sent opportunity. He realized that, while the terror lasted, power was his, for Oates's revelations had convinced

the nation that the Court and its supporters were deep in the plot to restore Popery in England. Declaring that the King and the Protestant religion must be defended from the threatened Catholic attack, the Country party took the investigation of the plot out of the hands of the government and conducted it themselves in Parliament. Without a negative voice, the Commons resolved that there was a "damnable and hellish plot" in existence; severe measures were taken against Catholics, and an Act of Parliament (which remained in force for a hundred and fifty years) was passed to exclude them from both Houses. Although the Country party failed to deprive the King of the control of the *Militia* or to persuade him to divorce his Catholic wife by falsely accusing her, through Oates, of attempting to poison her husband, they forced Coleman to confess that the Duke of York knew and approved of his correspondence, and they suggested that, in the interests of the nation's liberties and religion, James should be excluded from the throne. The Opposition also secured the disbandment of that army which had been raised in the spring for a war against France and which they feared the King would use to make himself absolute. Why had that army never been used against France? Louis XIV now supplied the Country party leaders with the answer to that question. He had long desired to ruin Danby on account of his anti-French foreign policy and he saw that Shaftesbury now possessed the power to do so. Accordingly, Louis revealed that Danby, to retain office, had foolishly agreed to make a secret treaty with him on his master's behalf, whereby Charles, in return for a subsidy, had promised to take no part in the war against France. When the Commons were informed of these transactions, members at once cried out: "This agrees well with Coleman's letters!" which had shown that the payment of French money to Charles was to be the first step in the overthrow of Protestantism in England. Danby was impeached; to save his head and to prevent any more of the truth about his own connexion with France from being disclosed, Charles dissolved the *Cavalier* Parliament nearly eighteen years after its first meeting (January

1679). The Country party had at last secured its great object; it could now appeal to the panic-stricken nation, confident of victory as the only defence against "Popery and arbitrary power".

The general election of February 1679 is the first of the modern type to be fought by organized parties upon national issues. From the Green Ribbon Club in Chancery Lane, the headquarters of the Opposition, Shaftesbury directed a vigorous national campaign for the return of his supporters. The *Anglican* squires, believing the Court to be in the Plot, refused to exert their great local influence on behalf of Danby, and Shaftesbury's followers secured an overwhelming majority in the new House of Commons.

Charles now realized that his only possible policy was to play for time until the nation had recovered from the panic of the Plot. Accordingly, he sent the Duke of York into exile, dismissed Danby, and agreed to Shaftesbury and the Opposition leaders replacing him in the government. Much to the King's satisfaction, a bitter quarrel soon broke out between Shaftesbury and his great rival Halifax on the question of the Succession. Shaftesbury was determined to prevent the Duke of York from coming to the throne, while Halifax, suspecting with good reason that Shaftesbury intended to replace James by the Duke of Monmouth, the handsome but weak illegitimate son of the King, declared that the best way of protecting the Protestant religion under a Catholic king would be to limit James's power by law, giving the real authority to Parliament. Charles very shrewdly agreed to this scheme of "Limitations", which all moderate men hastened to support, because it seemed likely to protect them from Popery without depriving James of his right to the throne. The King thus succeeded in dividing the Opposition, but Shaftesbury had secured control of the new House of Commons, in which his supporters proceeded to introduce an Exclusion Bill. Charles, however, was determined to preserve his brother's rights, and when the Bill seemed likely to pass the Commons he dissolved Parliament (July 1679).

Nevertheless, the power of the Exclusionists—as the Country

party must now be called—and the popularity of their candidate, Monmouth, continued to increase. In the summer the Scottish Covenanters, rose in rebellion against the cruel government of Lauderdale, the King's deputy; their revolt aroused great sympathy among the English Dissenters, who were the backbone of the Exclusionists, and Shaftesbury hoped that Charles, like his father in 1640, would be compelled to summon Parliament and agree to Exclusion in return for supplies to put down the revolt. Popular feeling was so strong against the use of English troops to suppress the Covenanters that Charles had no choice but to send Monmouth to deal with the revolt. The Duke restored order with little bloodshed and returned to find himself the most popular man in the island.

At this point, the King suddenly fell ill, and his death was expected at any moment (August 1679). As the Exclusionists were clearly determined to prevent James's succession by force, Halifax, now high in the King's confidence, decided that the Duke must return to England so that loyal men might rally to him if the King should die. However, when James arrived, it was to find his brother recovered. The King's illness dealt a heavy blow to the Exclusionists, for the nation suddenly awoke to the facts that their plans meant another civil war and that Charles's life alone stood between the country and such a disaster. The result was that all men of Royalist and moderate feelings forgot their suspicions of Charles's "Popery" and rallied to the throne. Moreover, the flood of the Popish terror had begun to ebb; the procession of innocent Catholics to the scaffold, after their lives had been sworn away by Oates, was ceasing; the country had begun to recover from its panic.

Thus encouraged, the King resolved to take the offensive against his foes. Monmouth was deprived of the command of the army, and exiled to Holland; at the same time, to give the appearance of fairness, the King sent his brother to Scotland. But whereas James's cause gained by his exile, for his presence in England alarmed all Protestants, Monmouth, whose popularity depended on frequent public appearances, lost considerable ground.

If the King had hoped for the defeat of the Exclusionists at the elections to his third Parliament, he was disappointed. With belief in the Plot still strong, the Country party maintained its majority in the House of Commons. In accordance with his policy of playing for time until the panic had died down, Charles *prorogued* Parliament directly it met, and kept it so for a whole year (October 1679 to October 1680).

During this year the Opposition brought to bear on the King every possible influence to compel him to summon Parliament, in order that they might pass a Bill to exclude James from the throne. To keep up the hatred and fear upon which their power was based, they organized great anti-Catholic *pageants* and processions, in which effigies of the Jesuits, Guy Fawkes, and the Pope were committed to the flames amidst the triumphant shouts of the populace. At Shaftesbury's prompting, Monmouth returned from exile without the King's permission, and shortly after, a rumour was put about that he was really the Prince of Wales; the proofs of his mother's marriage to the King were said to be concealed in a mysterious Black Box. Meanwhile, the Exclusionists had started a national campaign to obtain signatures to petitions for the King to summon Parliament. They hoped, by showing the King that the nation wanted Parliament to meet, to compel him to call the Houses together. It soon became clear, however, that the majority of the nation was not with the "petitioners", but against them, for, although several counties and towns where Exclusionist feeling was strong presented the King with petitions, a large number of loyal counter-addresses soon began to pour in on him, *abhorring* the Exclusionists' interference with his undoubted right to call Parliament when he pleased. During 1680, these "petitioners" and *abhorrers* were first called "Whigs" and "Tories", and England owes her greatest party names to Titus Oates, who branded as a "Tory" any man who ventured to question the Plot. The Exclusionists, with whom he was in high favour, took up the word, and since they called the supporters of the "Popish Duke" after the Catholic bandits who waylaid Protestants among the bogs

of Ireland, it was an obvious retort for the Tories to hurl back the name of the Covenanting "Whigs", who were responsible for similar misdeeds on the moors of Scotland.

Undaunted by the failure of his petitioning campaign, Shaftesbury made his preparations for taking over the government after the King's lack of money had compelled him to surrender to Exclusion. In June 1680 he *indicted* the Duke of York as a Popish *recusant*, and it was generally understood that this was the first step to an *impeachment* of the heir to the throne when Parliament should meet. Shortly after, the election of three of his supporters as Lord Mayor and Sheriffs gave Shaftesbury practical control of the government of London. At the same time, Monmouth was sent on a tour of the West country, to rally the Exclusionist party and to establish his popularity in that region. How well he succeeded was to be tragically shown five years later. These bold measures on Shaftesbury's part convinced most people that the Whig victory, however long delayed, was certain in the end, since the King could not hope to carry on much longer without parliamentary supplies. All the ministers, except Halifax, now deserted their master, and followed by the courtiers, hastened to make their peace with the man who seemed bound to control the country in the near future.

When Parliament at last met, a Bill to exclude James from the throne was carried rapidly through the Whig Commons, but largely owing to the eloquence of Halifax it was rejected by the House of Lords. The baffled fury of the Whig Commons then broke loose. *Abhorrers*, great and small, were punished vindictively for their opposition to petitioning, and the chief opponents of Exclusion were *impeached*; to strike terror into the rest the aged Viscount Stafford, accused by Oates of being a chief mover in the Popish Plot, was brought to trial, and in spite of his obvious innocence was found guilty and executed (December 1680). The Whigs then proposed the formation of a Protestant Association—as in the days of Elizabeth—to prevent the Catholic heir from coming to the throne. Finally, the Commons announced that no supplies would be

granted the King until he had consented to Exclusion. Fearing the effect of its violence on the peace of the nation, Charles dissolved Parliament in January 1681.

At the elections, the superior organization of the Whigs again enabled them to sweep the country, although the majority of the people was actually against them. Flushed with their triumph, they began to discuss whether, if the King dissolved the newly elected Parliament, they should continue to sit in defiance of his command. Charles was well aware of their ability to do so, for they would be protected by the strongly Exclusionist population of London, whose government they controlled. For this reason he summoned Parliament to meet him at Oxford, the most royalist of cities. The country seemed on the verge of civil war as the Whig leaders rode into Oxford with hundreds of armed supporters, wearing blue streamers with the party motto, " No Popery, no slavery ", on them. That the tide of public opinion was running strongly in the King's favour was shown when he entered the city amidst scenes of enthusiastic loyalty such as had not been witnessed since his restoration.

To prove his reasonableness and to safeguard the Protestant religion against a future Catholic king, Charles consented to a scheme whereby James was to be banished and William or Mary of Orange made regent, to govern in his name. The King was confident that the Whigs would reject this proposal, since they had promised their supporters to accept nothing short of Exclusion; moreover, Shaftesbury would have nothing to do with William of Orange, for he was determined to " king-make " Monmouth, through whose weakness he intended to rule England. Charles was correct; the Whigs rejected the Regency scheme and introduced an Exclusion Bill. They were confident that this time it would become law, for they knew that the King's treasury was empty. What they did not know was that Charles had just made another treaty with Louis XIV, whose subsidies would now render him independent of Parliaments for the next three years. The French King was well informed about the crisis in England, and he knew that, if

the Whigs won the struggle, their foreign policy would become strongly anti-French, whereas if Charles gained the day, he would rule in close alliance with France. On the eighth day of the session, the King suddenly dissolved Parliament (March 1681). The Whigs were taken completely by surprise. They had expected Charles to announce his surrender to Exclusion, and they had no plan of action. Shaftesbury strove in vain to hold his supporters together; panic seized them and they fled out of Oxford as fast as coach and horse could carry them.

## VI. The Tory Reaction and the Triumph of Charles II (1681–5)

With the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, the three years of Whig power came to an end. The nation had almost recovered from its fear of Popery, and convinced by the violence of the Whigs that they would not shrink from civil war to prevent the succession of James, public opinion had swung round to the support of the King. The Tory reaction now began. Addresses of loyalty flooded in on Charles, and *Anglican* parsons declared from the pulpit, with the approval of the Tory squires who sat below them, that the King was the "Lord's anointed" and that resistance to his will, even if he were as evil as *Nero*, was the basest of crimes.

Encouraged by this enthusiastic loyalty, Charles resolved to break the Whigs completely, before they could recover from the panic of their flight from Oxford. *Justices of the Peace* were ordered to enforce the "Clarendon Code" with all possible severity, to crush the Dissenters, the backbone of Shaftesbury's party. The Whig leader was himself arrested, but at his trial for treason he was acquitted by a jury of his London supporters (November 1681). This verdict made the King realize that the Whigs could not be crushed until their control over London had been destroyed. Accordingly, in 1682, the government, by a mixture of force and fraud, secured the election of two Tory sheriffs, who would appoint juries from

their own party, eager to dispose of the life and liberty of any enemy of the King.

With their power in London gone and their own lives and property in danger, the Whig leaders in desperation began to plot rebellion. But they failed to produce a well-planned scheme of action, and any chance of their success departed when Shaftesbury, learning that the government was about to order his arrest again, fled to Holland (November 1682), where he died two months later. Meanwhile, some desperate spirits among the *faction* had made up their minds to murder the King and the Duke of York as they returned from Newmarket races, at Rye House, which belonged to one of their number. In the summer of 1683 both plots were betrayed to the government, and the King took the opportunity to crush his enemies once and for all. The Rye House plotters were seized, tried, found guilty, and hanged. The Whig leaders had also been arrested, and one of them, Lord Howard of Escrick, to save his own life, turned King's evidence against the rest. Monmouth was banished; Essex cut his throat in the Tower, and Lord Russell—who disdained to buy his life by agreeing that subjects might never resist their sovereign—and Algernon Sidney were tried by Tory judges, found guilty of treason by Tory juries, and beheaded (1683).

With the Whig opposition completely destroyed, Charles proceeded to make himself absolute. Sixty-six cities and towns, including London—hitherto Whig strongholds—were forced to surrender their charters of self-government; new charters were then issued to them, containing the names of the Tory Mayors and *Aldermen* who were henceforth to control their affairs. Since these loyal supporters of the King would also elect the representatives of their boroughs to any future House of Commons, Charles had put an end, not only to local self-government, but to the independence of Parliament.

However, the King, relying on his French supplies and the great increase in customs duties owing to the expansion of trade, was able to do without Parliaments for the rest of his reign. The Duke of York, who had been recalled from Scot-

land and made Lord High Admiral again—in defiance of the Test Act—was the real governor of the country, and he maintained a close alliance with Louis XIV, who seized the opportunity to advance his power in Europe and to begin his persecution of the *Huguenots*. Charles II died in 1685; on his deathbed, after apologizing in his humorous way for being "such an unconscionable time adying", he was received into the Catholic Church by the old priest who had saved his life in the flight from Worcester long ago. By his own political skill and his firm alliance with the *Anglican* Church and the Tory party, he had crushed all resistance to the power of the Crown. In 1685 it seemed that the long struggle of King and Parliament to control the country had at last been decided, in favour of the throne.

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) What was "restored" in England in 1660 and 1661?

(2) Account for the fact that the Restoration was carried out with such little bloodshed.

(3) What settlement was made of the land question after the Restoration?

(4) What settlement was made of the religious problem after the Restoration?

(5) Account for Clarendon's failure as chief minister (1660–7).

(6) Explain what you understand by the phrase: "The Dover Policy". Account for the failure of that policy.

(7) What was Danby's policy as chief minister? Why did he fail to carry it to success?

(8) Trace the development of the Country and Court parties into the Whig and Tory parties between 1673 and 1681.

(9) Do you agree that Charles II was the "ablest politician in his kingdom"?

### Books for Reading

*Old St. Paul's*, by Harrison Ainsworth (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*The Black Tulip*, by A. Dumas (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*Old Mortality*, by Sir Walter Scott (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*Simon Dale*, by Anthony Hope.

*John Burnet of Barnes*, by John Buchan (Nelson).

*Lorna Doone*, by R. D. Blackmore (Dent: Everyman's Library).

*Two Men See Life* (Pepys and Evelyn), by C. E. Wright (Collins).

# CHAPTER XIX

## THE REIGN OF JAMES (1685-88)

### I. THE CHARACTER AND POSITION OF THE NEW KING

THE new King was fifty-two years old. An unlovable man, with a strong strain of cruelty in his nature, he had none of that charm of manner which had made his brother the most popular of kings; neither did he possess either Charles's ability as a judge of men or his knowledge of what a king could and could not do in the England of that time. James was a bigoted Catholic and a believer in what he called "firm" government and it was his resolute intention to make himself an absolute king and England a Catholic country.

His position was a strong one. Master of an army of 14,000 men, he was supported by the enthusiastic loyalty of the Church and the triumphant Tory party, while the Whig opposition lay broken and powerless. His first acts were very popular; his promise to uphold the Established Church and to regard his own religion as a private matter was generally believed; he formed his government from the Tory leaders; the *Nonconformists* were cruelly persecuted; and the arch-informer, Titus Oates, found guilty of perjury, was twice flogged through the streets of London, miraculously surviving the infliction of 3,000 stripes. James then summoned Parliament (May 1685). His main object was to obtain from it an income large enough to make him independent of all future Parliaments, and the Tory House of Commons gratified his desire by voting him a revenue of £1,900,000 a year. But before he could proceed with his second object, to secure freedom of worship for his fellow-Catholics, Monmouth had landed in Dorset, proclaiming himself the champion of Protestantism against a Catholic king.

## II. Monmouth's Rebellion and the Bloody Assize (1685)

The peasants of Dorset and Somerset rallied to the man whose handsome presence had won their hearts during his tour five years before, and at Taunton, where persecution had rendered the Puritan inhabitants desperate, Monmouth was proclaimed king. On the night of 5 July "King Monmouth" led his rustic army to surprise the royal forces under Feversham and Churchill, who were encamped on Sedgemoor, a few miles from Bridgewater, and although their assault failed, the rebels put up a stout fight and did not break until their powder had all been spent.

The defeat of the rebellion was followed by the cruel punishment of the West Countrymen who had supported it. The brutal, drunken Judge Jeffreys was sent down and held what has ever since been known as the "Bloody Assize"; 300 rebels were hanged and 800 more were transported to forced labour in Barbados. One woman, Alice Lisle, was beheaded merely for giving food and shelter to fugitives from Sedgemoor; another, Elizabeth Gaunt, was burnt alive for aiding one who had been concerned in the Rye House Plot. Most Englishmen were deeply shocked at the bloodthirstiness of James's revenge upon his rebellious subjects, and the "Bloody Assize" recalled unpleasantly the burning of Protestants by "Bloody Mary". Monmouth had not escaped the fate of his humble followers. Captured in the New Forest, he begged on his knees and with tears for his life, but in vain; however, he met his death on the scaffold with courage.

## III. The Failure of James II's Policy (1685–88)

The comparative ease with which the rebellion had been put down convinced the King that he was now strong enough to begin "the great work" of making England Catholic. The Western rising had given him a good excuse for increasing his army to 30,000 men, and 13,000 of them were now encamped

on Hounslow Heath, with the obvious intention of overawing Parliament and London. At the same time, in Ireland, James's Catholic Lord-Lieutenant, Tyrconnel, was busily engaged in raising a " Popish army ", which, if the need arose, could be brought over to England to crush any opposition to the King's policy.

Having dismissed from his government every Tory who would not become a Catholic—replacing them by his co-religionists—James summoned the Tory Parliament and demanded the repeal of the Test Act. But Charles II's alliance between the Crown and the Tory-*Anglicans* was evidently breaking down, for the Houses not only refused the King's demand, but moved by the deep-seated national hatred of *standing armies*, requested him to reduce his forces and to dismiss the Catholics who were officering them in defiance of the Test Act. James angrily *prorogued* Parliament, which did not meet again during his reign.

The King now began a systematic attack on the position and property of the Established Church. When bishoprics became vacant, Catholics were appointed to them; in defiance of the law the Court of High Commission was revived, to silence any *Anglican* attacks on the King's policy from the pulpit or through the printing-press (1686). At this time, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge belonged to the Established Church, and by appointing Catholics to control the various Colleges, James hoped that the clergyman and educated laymen of the next generation would be secured for the Catholic religion, and that in the course of time, the majority of the nation would be brought to follow their lead. When the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, refused to elect the King's Catholic candidate as their President, they were deprived of their positions. This attack on the property of the Church was very disquieting to those powerful landowners whose forefathers had purchased abbey lands from Henry VIII.

Since he had failed to persuade Parliament to repeal the Test Act, James decided, by using his royal *prerogative*, to dispense with it. Having obtained a decision of the Judges that he was lawfully entitled to do this—he had dismissed those whom he

knew would oppose him on this point—he began to appoint Catholics to all civil and military positions under the Crown. It was not long, however, before he made a most disquieting discovery. In the seventeenth century, nobody was sure how numerous the Catholics really were, but James now found that their numbers had decreased considerably since the Civil War; moreover, many English Catholics desired no more than to lead their lives in peace; they knew, better than the King, that his policy was doomed to failure and would expose them to fresh persecution at the hands of their Protestant fellow-countrymen. Thus James had to face the fact that his co-religionists could not give him the support necessary for the success of his policy.

The King soon saw that the only way out of his difficulty lay in alliance with the persecuted Protestant *Dissenters*, hitherto his bitterest foes. Accordingly, he issued two Declarations of Indulgence (1687 and 1688); using his royal *prerogative* to suspend all laws against them, James extended freedom of worship to Catholics and *Dissenters*, and declared that they could henceforth occupy any civil or military position. It was his intention to " pack " his next Parliament with them, in the hope that they would act as he wished. But although thousands of *Nonconformists* were released from prison, their gratitude towards the King did not prevent them from realizing that they were being used merely as pawns in his game. Their hatred of the *Anglican* parson faded before their fear of the Catholic priest, especially when the Established Church, threatened by the King's attack, was compelled to talk in definite terms of " ease for *Dissenters* "; and they refused a toleration in which the Catholics were to share.

The time had indeed come for all Protestants to stand together. The King's order to the *Anglican* clergy to publish his second Declaration of Indulgence from their pulpits was an open challenge to their oft-proclaimed *doctrine* of non-resistance to the King. Fortunately for the Church, neither its leaders nor its rank-and-file were found lacking in courage now that the time of trial had come. The great majority of the clergy refused to

read the Declaration, and seven Bishops, including the *Primate*, petitioned the King to withdraw it. When James ordered their prosecution for "libelling" him, he formally put an end to the alliance of the Crown with the Church and the Tory party. The Bishops passed to the Tower, cheered by the Whig population of the capital, and in spite of the King's efforts to secure their conviction, they were acquitted at their trial (June 1688). Whig and Tory came together in rejoicing at the verdict, and the cheers of London were taken up even by the troops on Hounslow Heath.

Meanwhile three weeks before, an event had occurred which convinced the nation that it must act without delay if English Protestantism was to be preserved. After fifteen years of marriage to the King, Mary of Modena gave birth to a son, who is known in our history as the "Old Pretender"[1]. Non-resistance to James until he died had been all very well while the heirs to the throne were his Protestant daughters, Mary and Anne, but now the prospect of a long line of Catholic kings opened out before the eyes of the nation. Englishmen did not lack evidence at this time to convince them of what might prove the lot of their children, for the country was full of *Huguenot* refugees from Louis XIV's barbarously cruel persecution. On the very evening of the Bishops' release, seven leading men, both Whigs and Tories—including Danby—signed an invitation to William of Orange to come over and save the liberties and religion of England.

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) What was James II's policy and why did he fail to carry it to success?

[1] It was generally believed that the new Prince of Wales was not the Queen's son, but some other baby who had been smuggled into the palace in a warming-pan. A clear case of the wish being father to the thought!

## Books for Reading

*Shrewsbury*, by S. J. Weyman (Dent: Wayfarer's Library).
*Beaujeu*, by H. C. Bailey (Collins).
*The Refugees*, by Conan Doyle (Collins).
*Captain Blood*, by R. Sabatini.
*The Eyewitness*, by H. Belloc, contains a number of very well-written episodes dealing with the history of the period.

# CHAPTER XX

## THE "GLORIOUS" REVOLUTION (1688) AND THE REVOLUTIONARY SETTLEMENT (1689)

### I. THE "GLORIOUS" REVOLUTION (1688)

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE was more than willing to bring over an armed force to defend the liberties and religion of England. If, as a result of his intervention, James II's attempt to establish a Catholic despotism were decisively defeated, William could feel sure of the powerful aid of Protestant England when his struggle in Europe with Louis XIV should be renewed.

It was Louis who made possible William's acceptance of the invitation from England. In September, he sent his armies against his German enemies, and the Dutch, now safe from French attack, agreed to William's venture. James, who had been warned by Louis that the Dutch preparations were directed against England, and who had obstinately refused all French assistance, suddenly awoke to his danger. Hastily preparing his fleet and army, he fearfully endeavoured to rally the nation to his support by declaring that he had abandoned for ever his Catholic and despotic policy.

In October, the Prince of Orange published a declaration to the English nation—that he was coming by invitation to defend their liberties and religion and to ensure that all matters in dispute between James II and his subjects should be referred to the decision of a freely elected Parliament. He then set sail from Holland, and the "Protestant wind" enabled him to avoid James's navy and to land his 15,000 troops at Brixham (5 November).

James's health and character had gone to pieces in the crisis; his courage deserted him, and his inability to decide on any

definite course of action convinced everybody that his cause was lost. In the West Country which had risen for Monmouth, but which had not forgotten the Bloody Assize, William had at first been received with caution. But soon there began a steady stream of desertion to his camp at Exeter; Delamere was raising the Midlands on his behalf; Danby, Yorkshire; and when James fled back to London from the royal army at Salisbury, he learnt that his ablest officer, John Churchill, and his daughter Anne, had gone over to the enemy.

Further resistance on the King's part was clearly impossible, and he declared that he would summon Parliament immediately, abandon his Catholic policy and his friendship with France, and open up negotiations with the Prince of Orange for a peaceful settlement of the situation. But James had no intention of consenting to a settlement which was bound to destroy his absolute power. Moreover, he feared the fate of his father, " the scaffold for beaten kings ". He had determined to escape to France, in the hope that Louis would restore him to his former power by force of arms. Accordingly, having previously sent off his Queen and the infant Prince of Wales, James left Whitehall in disguise for a waiting vessel at Sheerness.

The King's flight left the nation without a government; anti-Catholic feeling in London at once blazed out in rioting and burning, and the magistrates had no choice but to appeal to William, now at Hungerford, to take charge of affairs, for the Prince alone had the forces necessary to prevent *anarchy*. At this, the most critical moment in the Revolution, James, who had been stopped at Faversham by fishermen on the watch for escaping priests, was brought back to London. William, however, was determined not to be cheated of the power which good fortune and his own skill had placed within his grasp. He advanced on London and occupied Whitehall. But James had still no thought save escape, and his son-in-law was careful to see that no obstacles were placed in the way of his second flight from the palace to Rochester and thence to France.

## II. The Revolutionary Settlement (1689)

Once James was gone, most of the questions which had divided Englishmen during the seventeenth century were quickly settled. A *Convention* was elected under the Prince of Orange's supervision, and it met in January 1689. The Whig majority in the House of Commons at once resolved that James had abdicated and that the throne was therefore vacant, a resolution with which the Tory House of Lords unwillingly agreed. The next question was, by whom was the vacant throne to be filled? The Tories wished to make Mary queen, but William refused to accept a position inferior to that of his wife; moreover, he made it clear that he desired to be king. It was impossible to deny his wish; if he took his troops back to Holland, James would soon return with a French army. Accordingly Parliament conferred the Crown on William and Mary jointly.

The Declaration of Right which the new King and Queen accepted made it clear that the Crown would henceforth be held strictly upon conditions. James II's misdeeds were set forth and declared illegal; the succession to the throne was settled[1], and it was provided that no Roman Catholic, or person married to a Roman Catholic, should succeed to the throne.

With William's strong approval, the Whigs succeeded in securing religious toleration for their *Nonconformist* supporters. The Toleration Act of 1689 gave Protestant *Dissenters* freedom of worship, but their friends were unable to obtain for them the right to hold office under the Crown or in a Corporation, or to enter the Universities. Unitarians and Catholics were excluded by the Act from the *privilege* of toleration, but in practice they enjoyed freedom of worship. William III was strongly opposed to all religious persecution, and more and more people were coming to agree with him that a man's religion was his own business provided he kept it to himself.

[1] The joint reign of William and Mary was to be followed by that of the survivor; then by their children, if any; then by Anne and her children; then the children of William, if he should outlive Mary and marry again.

The problem of national finance, which had caused so much conflict between kings and their Parliaments, was at last settled in a satisfactory manner. Hitherto the King had been expected both to maintain his Court and govern the country out of the income voted him by Parliament. These two matters were now separated. An income, known as the Civil List, was voted to William III for life, to cover the expense of maintaining the royal position. Money required for government was before long voted for a year only at a time, and Parliament, which had controlled the raising of taxes since the Restoration, now took over the right to determine how they should be spent. These arrangements made it necessary for Parliament to meet every year, instead of when the king wished, and greatly increased its power.

The question of the army remained to be settled. Opposition to a standing army was as strong as ever, and paper safeguards against absolute monarchy were useless if a king were permitted to maintain such a force. But to disband the army with Louis XIV preparing to restore James II was out of the question. A solution was found in Parliament passing a " Mutiny Act " to continue the army for six months; the army thus came under the control of Parliament, which had to meet every year to renew the Act.

The Revolution of 1688 was called the " Glorious " Revolution by an admiring eighteenth century because it settled the crisis of that year and the long-standing differences of Englishmen without bloodshed in civil war, massacre, or party vengeance. The settlement was by consent, a compromise in which both political parties made considerable sacrifices. The Whigs carried their two great principles of parliamentary supremacy and Protestant toleration to triumph, but they were compelled to forgo vengeance for the blood of Russell and Sidney. The Tories gave up non-resistance when they joined in the invitation to William; they gave up hereditary divine right when they joined in conferring the Crown upon him; and they gave up persecution when they joined in passing the Toleration Act.

The great conflict of seventeenth-century England between

Crown and Parliament was at last closed and in favour of Parliament. Absolute monarchy was ended, the liberty of the subject and local liberties, enshrined in charters, were made secure. With judges no longer removable at the royal displeasure,[1] the scales of justice could now be held fairly, and cruel floggings and enormous fines became things of the past. In 1695 the censorship of the Press was allowed to lapse, and Milton's dream of the freedom of the Press was realized. Certainly toleration was accepted as a necessity in view of the danger from Catholic France, and not because most people believed in it, but the Act of 1689 put an end to a century of bloodshed and cruelty in the name of religion and recognized the great truth that different men will always think differently in religious matters. Finally, the Revolution Settlement put an end both to the internal divisions and the external weakness of England, and made it possible for her to rise during the next century to the leadership of the world in arms, commerce, colonial enterprise, and in political and religious freedom.

### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) Account for the success of William of Orange's expedition to England in 1688.

(2) Show how the chief problems which had divided Englishmen in the seventeenth century were settled after the Revolution of 1688.

[1] Judges were independent in practice from 1688 and independent by law from the Act of Settlement, 1701.

# CHAPTER XXI

## THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLAND DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

### I. AGRICULTURE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

ABOUT the middle of Elizabeth's reign (1580) the price of wool began to fall, while that of corn and meat began to rise. Enclosure for sheep-farming was consequently checked, tillage was increased, and unemployment became less of a problem. Stuart governments, like those of the Tudors, believed that agriculture was the backbone of the national strength, and they were quick to further its revival by imposing import duties on foreign corn and by abolishing export duties on English corn, so that the growing foreign market might be captured.[1]

In contrast to the sixteenth century, there were no violent changes in agriculture during the Stuart period. No doubt farmers grumbled as much as they have always done, but most of them were fairly well off,[2] for there was a constant market for all their produce in the nearest town. As the seventeenth century went on rich merchants, desirous of acquiring land and the social position conferred by its ownership, offered large sums for the holdings of *yeomen* and tenant-farmers. These classes, hitherto regarded as the backbone of the nation, were gradually bought out; large estates became more numerous, and large-scale agriculture increased. This change, which prepared the way for the "*Agrarian* Revolution of the eighteenth century", increased the number of landless workers, but the labourer,

[1] Later, by giving bounties on the export of corn.

[2] Prices rose steadily until 1642 and did not fall sharply after that date; that farmers were fairly well off is also shown by the steady rise in rents during the century.

although his lot was far from comfortable, was much better off in the seventeenth century than he had been in the sixteenth. He was less subject to unemployment, and his wages rose during the Civil War and remained fairly high after the Restoration.

Enclosure continued after 1603, not for sheep-run, but to secure improved and more prosperous farming.[1] Mixed farming also increased and large areas of land, such as the Pennine moor "intakes", were brought under the plough,[2] while the Fens were drained, to become in time one of our richest corn-growing districts.

There was, however, very little improvement in the methods of agriculture. Although farmers were beginning to see the importance of manuring their lands, the use of clover and grasses to clean the fields made little progress. Progressive "gentlemen farmers" like Cromwell, instead of letting their land lie fallow every third year, were raising root crops like turnips between two corn crops, and were thus able to maintain larger herds of cattle.[3] But as a rule, the small farmer lacked the capital and the knowledge necessary for improvements, while, according to Pepys, the poverty of the squire after the Civil War caused him to lose all interest in farming. It was not until the eighteenth century, when an increasing population provided a growing market for the enterprise of large landowners with plenty of capital, that English agriculture experienced changes as violent as those of Tudor times. At the close of our period (1688), five-sixths of the population were still dependent on the land, but agriculture was gradually losing the first place in the life of the people; the greatest of all the changes marking off modern from *medieval* times, the separation of the people from the soil, was slowly gathering pace.

[1] In 1642, more than half the acreage under corn was still unenclosed.

[2] In 1642, the area of "wilderness" was still greater than the area under corn and pasture.

[3] The cattle consumed the root crops.

## II. Trade and Industry in the Seventeenth Century

The seventeenth century was a period of consistent expansion in trade and industry, in preparation for the great changes of the next hundred years.[1] The volume of English trade increased greatly, and many new industries were established;[2] the Civil Wars did not seriously interrupt this progress which Stuart governments made every effort to further by encouraging exports and by safeguarding industry from foreign competition.[3] In industry, the domestic system remained the rule,[4] but so widely were the workers now scattered over the countryside that inspection of the quality of goods and regulation of hours and conditions of labour, according to the Statute of *Artificers*, became increasingly difficult, and exploitation by the capitalist was countered with bad work by the employee. Most people still believed that trade and industry ought to be regulated by the State, but from the beginning of the century, there was a growing demand that the individual should have more freedom in these matters.[5]

This demand was voiced during the struggle between the Crown and the House of Commons over *monopolies*. The commercial classes did not object to the regulation of industry by *monopolies* if they were granted for reasons of State[6] or to introduce new industries or improve existing ones; but they strongly opposed the sale of *monopolies* to favourites, who ran up prices,

[1] These great changes could not come about until the means of communication, roads, and canals, had been greatly improved. See remarks on the iron industry below.

[2] See below; the seventeenth century also produced many inventions, among them " a great loom, so that one man can do the work of ten ".

[3] By imposing high import and low export duties.

[4] See page 101.

[5] See page 106; activities of the " interlopers ".

[6] e.g., to dig for saltpetre, that the nation might be independent in the matter of gunpowder.

turned out poor quality goods, and ruined all others engaged in that particular trade. The Puritans demanded "liberty of trade" as well as "liberty of religion", and most *monopolies* soon came to an end after the Whig triumph over the Crown in 1688.

The manufacture of cloth continued to be England's chief industry and the favourite child of the State, as is shown by an Act of 1666, ordering the dead to be buried "in woollen". As a result of the *Walloon* immigration of 1668, the dyeing processes of cloth manufacture were greatly improved, and throughout the century, the famous broadcloth of the south-west was worn by most of the gentlemen and merchants of Europe, the common folk being clad in the coarser cloths of the West Riding.

The manufacture of cotton, destined to be the great rival of woollen cloth, was developing in the growing town of Manchester, but the mixtures of cotton and wool and of cotton and linen, which could be sold more cheaply than woollen cloth, were frowned upon by seventeenth-century governments. In the same way, the established bay-salt and brine-salt industries[1] called upon the government to prevent the development of the new rock-salt manufacture, cheap and ample supplies of which had been discovered in Cheshire. It is not surprising that by 1688, many people held the view that "vested interests", protected by the State, were strangling industrial progress and that national well-being demanded free and equal competition.

As our export trade, particularly in corn, expanded during the seventeenth century, the shipbuilding industry flourished, especially after England, by the Navigation policy, made her great bid to capture the carrying trade of the world from the Dutch. The determination of Stuart governments to preserve the nation's timber to build the nation's ships had important results for industry. The iron-founders who had moved from the exhausted forests of Sussex and Surrey to seek fresh timber in Sherwood and Dean, were now compelled to fall back upon coal as a substitute. But, although Dudley invented a process

[1] Obtained from the evaporation of sea-water and from salt-pits respectively.

for smelting iron with pit-coal, the iron industry continued to suffer from the lack of a cheap fuel, owing to the expense of transporting coal over the bad roads of the time. The demands of the shipbuilding industry for wood also led to the increased use of coal as a house fuel, and long lines of barges, carrying coal from Newcastle to London, became a familiar sight.

The settlement in this country between 1670 and 1690 of 80,000 *Huguenots*, expelled from France by the persecution of Louis XIV, is yet another example of the great benefits derived by English trade and industry from the immigration of skilled foreign workmen. They soon taught Englishmen the secrets of silk weaving and how to make the brocade and velvets which the fashion of the time demanded, so that by 1688 England was able to compete successfully in the "luxury trade" of Europe. Thanks to the *Huguenots*, England was soon able to make her own paper, instead of importing it, and these skilful Frenchmen founded, amongst other industries, the manufacture of linen, clocks and watches, locks, glass, and surgical instruments. Moreover, since their "manufactories" were established in one spot, they were a considerable factor in the rise of a capitalist industry side by side with the domestic system it was eventually to replace.

The seventeenth century also witnessed the establishment of a banking industry in England. In the Middle Ages, the Church had declared that *usury* was forbidden by the Gospel teaching, to "lend, hoping for nothing to gain" and that it was wrong to take advantage of another's misfortune. But to lend a sixteenth-century merchant money to develop his business was so clearly doing him a good turn that interest was now held to be justified by the risks of lending, and an Act of Parliament in 1545 fixed the rate of interest at 10 per cent. Large sums of capital had been accumulated from the expansion of trade and industry during the two previous centuries, and its possessors were seeking profitable re-investment for it. It was natural that the goldsmiths should be the first bankers, for they had valuable property of their own to guard and their vaults seemed the safest place of deposit for the money of others. When in 1640

Charles I seized the bullion which London merchants had placed in the Tower for safe-keeping, the banking business of the goldsmiths naturally increased. Having obtained large deposits, on which they paid 6 per cent. interest, the goldsmiths were ready to lend considerable sums at 8 per cent.[1] to the governments of Cromwell and Charles II, on the security of the national taxation. They survived Charles's Stop of the Exchequer (1672),[2] and a flourishing system of private banking seemed likely to establish itself. In 1694, however, William III, requiring large sums for his French wars, allowed the subscribers of £1,200,000 at 8 per cent. to incorporate themselves as the Bank of England, and this national bank has ever since played a great part in the commercial and industrial progress of England.

The establishment of a banking system made possible trading on credit, and set free large amounts of capital for the further expansion of trade and industry. Moreover, since merchants could now borrow extensively, they were no longer forced to combine to obtain sufficient capital for trading; thus *monopolistic* companies were soon replaced by the free competition of individual capitalists.

## III. The Unemployment Problem in the Seventeenth Century

In spite of the success of Elizabeth's advisers in dealing with unemployment and poor relief, these problems remained grave enough to tax the brains of every seventeenth-century government.

Between 1603 and 1640, the Privy Councils of James I and Charles I exerted a steady pressure on the *Justices of the Peace*

[1] This reduction of the rate of interest from 10 per cent. showed that capital was increasing faster than the demand for it.

[2] Charles declared that he would repay interest only, on the goldsmiths' loans to the government, for the time being. See p. 197.

to enforce the Elizabethan Poor Law, and their efforts met with considerable success. In addition, employers were forbidden to discharge their men during trade " slumps "; corn was sold to the poor under cost price in times of dearth, and fuel was provided for them in winter; *almshouses* were built for the aged poor, schools and orphanages for the children, while a law of 1609 ordered the building of workhouses in every county, to provide the unemployed with the means of earning a living. Moreover, a serious effort was made to enable some of them to start afresh by providing for their emigration to the plantations.

During the Civil War, the system of poor relief broke down completely. King, Parliament, and Justices were too occupied with the struggle to enforce or to administer the laws. However, the unemployment problem was solved—for the duration of the war. The workless were either conscripted or else were able to take, at high wages, the places in agriculture and industry of those serving with the armies. But with the end of the conflict, the problems of unemployment and poor relief became graver than ever, owing to the distress and confusion in every walk of life. Both the Commonwealth and the Protectorate ordered the strict enforcement of Elizabeth's laws, but to no avail; Cromwell had little time for social problems.

The Elizabethan Poor Law was never again enforced. Seventeenth-century England no longer lived in constant terror of wandering bands of " sturdy rogues ", and as this fear declined, interest in the poor declined also. Parishes no longer provided their unemployed with stock to earn a living and the poor-rate was paid grudgingly. Rich parishes complained that vagrants came out of the poorer districts to " squat " on their commons, destroy their woods and eventually claim relief from them. So in 1662 the *Cavalier* Parliament passed the Act of Settlement, to prevent the unemployed from leaving their own parishes, even if they had obtained work elsewhere. This Act was enforced spasmodically, and had the worst possible effects. It did not prevent the unemployed from overcrowding London, but it chained them to districts where work was unobtainable and prevented them from moving to places where growing in-

dustry required their labour. Thus, at the close of our period (1688), in spite of increasing prosperity, the unemployment problem was as far as ever from solution.

## Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) What progress was made in English agriculture during the seventeenth century?

(2) What developments took place in English trade and industry during the seventeenth century?

(3) What attempts were made during the seventeenth century to solve the problem of unemployment?

# CHAPTER XXII

## SOME IMPORTANT FEATURES OF SOCIAL LIFE IN TUDOR AND STUART TIMES

### I. The Means of Communication

One of the most important differences between the life of England throughout our period (1485–1688) and our life to-day is in the speed of communication. The slowness of communication in Tudor and Stuart times explains many things—the intensely local character of English life in those days, the slow development of internal trade and industry,[1] the high cost of living,[2] and the failure of governments to enforce consistently the Statute *of Artificers* and the Poor Laws.

In Tudor times the roads of England were in a terrible state; apart from the highways built by the Romans and their dependent roads, only tracks existed; bridges were few and signposts almost unknown. In the Middle Ages, the *guilds* had done much to keep up roads and bridges, but the confiscation of so much of their property (see page 95) put an end to their activities in this direction, and the Tudor governments were compelled to tackle the problem of communication. Passable roads were urgently needed to carry the heavy food traffic to London and the towns, and to transport the raw material and finished products of an industry which had spread all over the countryside. Moreover, the efficiency of Tudor government depended upon quick and regular communication between the King's Council and his local "men of-all-work", the *Justices of the Peace.*

So Henry VIII appointed a Master of the Posts, who arranged

[1] See the iron industry, page 228.

[2] In 1660 mackerel cost a penny a hundred at Bridport and two shillings a hundred in London.

for fresh horses to be kept at certain places along the important highways for the use of messengers carrying the Royal Mail. Private citizens were soon allowed to hire " the post " for their letters, and the volume of business done by letter greatly increased. Mary's Act of 1555 then laid upon the inhabitants of each parish the duty of keeping up the roads which ran between their boundaries. Surveyors of Highways were to be appointed annually, and supported by the authority of the *Justices*, they could compel parishioners to work eight hours a day for four consecutive days to render their roads passable for traffic. But this Act failed to secure its object, and the Civil Wars completed the ruin of the roads of England. The Government of Charles II endeavoured to improve the highways from the proceeds of tolls levied for their use; but it was not until the eighteenth century that the problem of communication began to be solved.

Thus travelling during our period was a difficult and disagreeable venture,[1] the excellent inns which abounded being the only compensation. Few people journeyed for pleasure, and fewer still without having made their wills, while all travellers went armed against the rogues and highwaymen, who were too unpleasantly frequent. Most people journeyed on horseback, but coaches came into fashion during Elizabeth's reign, and by Charles II's time were in general use for long journeys, the famous " Flying Coach " covering between 40 and 50 miles a day. From Elizabeth's reign a regular service of carriers, with their wagons and horses, transported passengers, letters and light goods from all the large towns to London. Pack-horses, the trains of the seventeenth century, wound their slow way along with their loads of coal, iron, and wool, and other heavy goods were dispatched along the waterways of England, fleets of barges carrying oil, salt, and tobacco up the Thames from London to the Cotswold villages, and bringing back malt and meal.

[1] It is interesting to note that our word " travel " is taken from the French *travail*, meaning toil.

## II. London and London Life

Throughout our period, London grew steadily in size, population, and wealth, and in the influence it exercised on the life of the nation. The Tudors began the close association of Court and Government with "the City", and from their day to this, the ability, the wealth, and the poverty of the nation have steadily streamed to its capital. Between 1600 and 1660 the population of London rose from 150,000 to 500,000; its limits—the Six Gates[1], the Tower, and the Thames—were extended by the growth of suburbs to Westminster, Barking, Shoreditch, and the Borough.

The river was then London's main highway for business, and on the Thames the citizen spent, as Pepys did, many summer evenings of his leisure. The noblemen, whose palaces stood along the Strand, and the merchants had their own boats, but large numbers of watermen, mostly from Wapping and notorious for their command of bad language, plied for hire up and down the river, past wharves where the shipping of the world was unloading its cargoes. Ferries were also frequent, for London Bridge was the only bridge. This "wonder of the world" stood on eighteen arches, and at the sides of its narrow covered-way were the tall shops and houses of merchants; a drawbridge was raised (like the Tower Bridge to-day) to permit the passage of high-masted vessels, and on the gate-house tower guarding it, the decomposing heads of traitors on poles presented a grim, but familiar sight to the Tudor Londoner.

The City itself was dominated by Old St. Paul's—then, after the Fire, by Wren's magnificent cathedral—and by the spires of well over a hundred other churches; but from the furnaces of brewers, dyers, and soap-boilers the smoky pall of industry was already rising, to create the famous London "fog". Beneath it, the City was a network of narrow, cobbled lanes, wherein, until the Great Fire, wooden houses with overhanging storeys crowded upon each other.[2] Many streets and districts of this

[1] The six gates were Ludgate, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, Moorgate, Bishopsgate, and Aldgate.

[2] After the Fire the houses were re-built of brick.

bustling capital were famous throughout the land; Paul's Yard was the headquarters of the booksellers; the grocers and *apothecaries* were to be found in Bucklersbury, while Fish Street, Bread Street, Milk Street, and Goldsmith Row spoke for themselves. The country visitor, having duly admired the Guildhall,

LONDON BRIDGE

the Royal Exchange—built by the Elizabethan Sir Thomas Gresham for merchants to transact their business—the Old Bailey, the Tower, in which the Mint was situated, and the Halls of the City Companies, could next view the great markets in which the Londoner bought the necessities of life; meat at Hungerford, fish and coal at Billingsgate, cloth at Blackwell Hall, herbs at Covent Garden, horses and livestock at Smithfield, and butter, poultry, bacon, and leather at Leadenhall.

There were many gardens and open spaces within the City, for the open country was still very near; yet, although London had colour and beauty, it was also dirty, overcrowded, and unhealthy,

## TUDOR LONDON

*After Pieter Vanden Keere*

1 Clerkenwell
2 St. Jones
3 Charterhouse
4 St. Androwes
5 Holbourne Conduct
6 Temple Bar
7 St. Dunstons
8 Olde Baylye
9 S. Nic shambels
10 Paules
11 S. Taphyns
12 Lodon Stone
13 The Stockes
14 The Exchange
15 Leaden hall
16 Fanchurche
17 Bassings hall
18 Al hallowes in the wall
19 Aldermanburye
20 Winchester House
21 Battle bridge
22 Bermodsoy streete

haunted by epidemics of small-pox and the bubonic plague[1]. The unemployed seeking work and all the Dick Whittingtons who hoped to make their fortunes flocked to the capital, creating the problems of housing, slums, and sanitation, for in the absence of a scavenging system garbage was just thrown outside the front door; rivers of filth ran down the middle of the streets, and gentlemen gallantly took the outside berth when walking, lest the finery of their ladies be ruined by the contents of slop-pails emptied carelessly from windows above. The narrow streets, periodically choked with drays, private coaches, and hackney coaches waiting for fares on street-corners, were also responsible for the traffic problem of Stuart times.

However, the new London which took the place of the old City destroyed by the Great Fire was a much more pleasant place in which to live. The working day, which began with the dawn and ended at midday, left people plenty of time for social life, and they took full advantage of it. The humbler citizens met to smoke, drink, and talk in the hundreds of ale-houses from the " Hercules Pillar " at Hyde Park Gate to the " Boatswain " at Wapping. The fashionable resort for the middle classes was the coffee-house, of which there were 3,000 in London soon after the Restoration, and so fiercely were party politics debated within them that the government closed them for some time as " centres of *sedition* " (1675). The bitter feud of Whig and Tory was also responsible for the foundation of political and social clubs like the famous Whig " Green Ribbon ". The well-to-do citizen who preferred the drama to politics could now indulge his enthusiasm in visits to the licensed theatres, whilst his employees were taking their pleasure at cockpits or in bear- and bull-gardens.

Life in London after the Restoration was made more pleasant by the introduction of a system of street lighting. Although it was still unsafe to walk at night through Southwark or Alsatia[2], the streets were now lit until 11 p.m. by lanterns placed at regular intervals. Business as well as social life benefited so much from

[1] The bubonic plague was the ancient Black Death; the Great Plague of 1665 was its last serious outbreak.

[2] The district between the river and Fleet Street.

Dockwra's penny post that the government eventually took it over. Finally, the Restoration period saw the rise to power of that "mirror of life", the newspaper. The feuds of party politics produced the news-sheets of Harris and Smith, Thompson and L'Estrange, with their advertisements of books and lost property, their coach time-tables, their portents and omens, and above all, their political information, carefully edited from a party point of view. The great influence of London in the life of the nation was seen in the eagerness with which the squire and his family, in their country home, awaited the news letter, written and dispatched to them by a paid journalist in the capital.

## III. Education

**1. The Educational System in Tudor and Stuart Times.** From Anglo-Saxon to early Tudor times it was the custom for the nobility and gentry to send their sons to the house of some great lord for education. By Elizabeth's reign, however, this custom was giving way to a public school system. Although eldest sons, who would succeed to their fathers' estates, had private tutors in their own homes, the younger sons of the upper classes now went to mix with the sons of farmers and tradesmen in the grammar schools where most of Elizabeth's subjects were educated, as, in 1564, Sir Philip Sidney and his friend Fulke Greville went to Shrewsbury.

Henry VIII and Somerset did precious little for English education with the wealth they seized from the Church, and England did not feel the full force of the Renaissance in education until the reign of Elizabeth. Under the influence of the Renaissance ideal of a good education for all, whatever their social position, many schools were founded by wealthy corporations and individuals—Repton in 1559, Rugby in 1567, Uppingham in 1584, and Harrow in 1590. In these and other grammar schools, the squires' sons and those of their tenants sat on the same benches, and their fathers paid fees according to their station in life, preference in admission often being given to poor scholars, as at Harrow and Merchant Taylors. By the Restoration, however, country gentle-

men were beginning to send their sons to the Latin schools, Eton, Winchester, Westminster, and St. Paul's; education according to class had begun.

**2. School Life in Tudor and Stuart Times.** The schoolboy of our period began his education early. At the age of seven he was sent with his *horn-book* to learn reading and writing in the preparatory department of the local grammar school, or at a *petties* school, often controlled by a woman. If the eighteenth-century poet Shenstone, the author of *The Schoolmistress*, may be believed, the foundations of our schoolboy's education were well and truly laid at these " dame " schools. Some three years later, he set off " with shining morning face " for the " big school ", proudly, if a trifle self-consciously carrying his ink-horn, slate, quill-pen, and paper provided by his father. School began at 6 a.m., an hour to strike terror into a modern schoolboy—and his master. Then followed a nine-hour working day! 6–9 a.m. work; fifteen minutes' break; 9.15–11 more lessons; 11–1 lunch; 1–3.30 still more lessons; fifteen minutes' break; 3.45–5.30 more lessons. There was one afternoon—generally Thursday—a week release from this hard labour, sixteen days' holiday at Christmas and twelve at Easter.

The teaching, with the reading of long treatises on " manners ", and the endless copying of the master's writing models, must have been very dull and mechanical, and attention, if not interest, was held by the enforcement of a brutal discipline. Humanitarian feeling for the schoolboy is of very recent growth, and during this period, teachers, with exceptions like Roger Ascham and Richard Mulcaster, firmly held that to spare the rod was to spoil the child. Religious instruction was naturally the most important subject in the school *curriculum*. Apart from daily prayers and scripture, there was compulsory Sunday church-going for our schoolboy, who was expected to memorize the sermon. But Bible reading was (and still is) a real education, and its effect on the life and thought of the nation during our period was, as we have seen in this book, tremendous. The strong point of Tudor and Stuart education was that it compelled

the reading of the best authors, not for themselves so much as because they furnished the means of expression. Thus grammar, necessary for literature, was the second important subject. There was little Greek, but Latin was well taught as a living language. Boys were compelled to speak Latin in work and play, and Latin plays were acted; Latin gave mental discipline, and good teachers

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL, LONDON

The original school was founded in 1509 12. The building shown is the second of its name.

could and did use it to bring boys into touch with matters of importance in the England of their day. *Rhetoric* was still thought important, and its influence on the literature of the period, which reads so well, is obvious. English was not taught until after the Restoration, but like history, geography, mathematics, music, and drawing, it could be taken as an " extra " if a father was prepared to pay for his son to receive a " liberal " education. The sons of merchants, whose future careers demanded a knowledge of modern languages, were sent to one of the many excellent schools run by *Huguenot* refugees for that purpose.

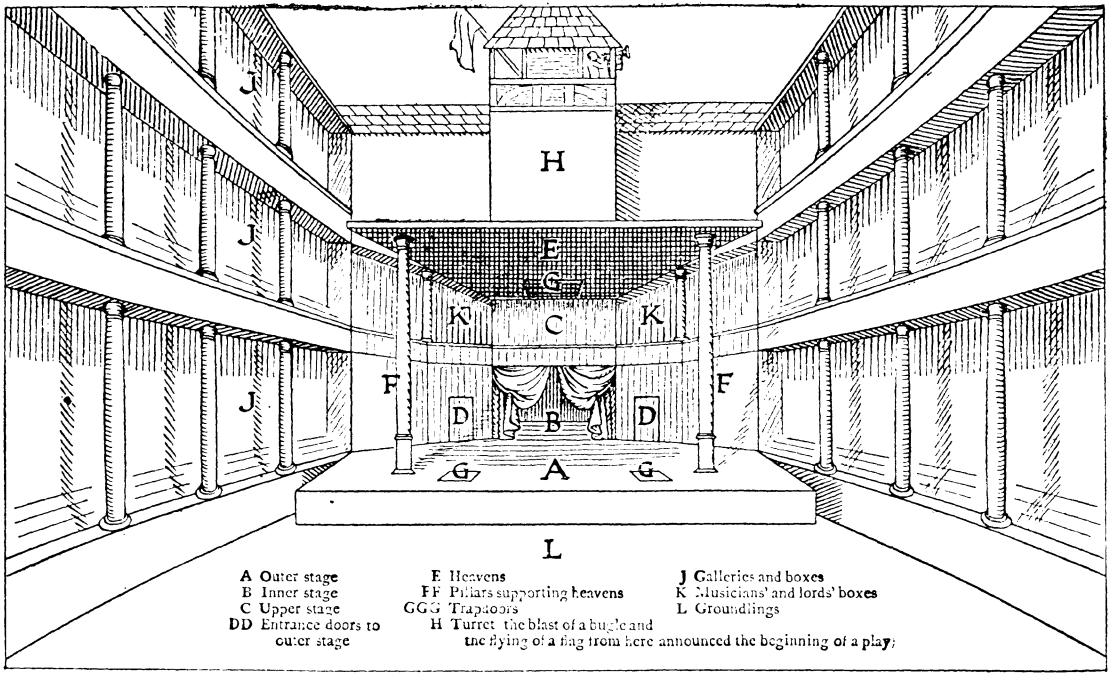
The educational system of our period was clearly a spartan one, and judged by modern standards, brutal, narrow, and backward. But Shakespeare, Ralegh, Sidney, Marlowe, Spenser, Milton, Pepys, and Marlborough flourished on it, and it had an ideal—a good education for all, whatever their social position, that has only been rediscovered in England during the last fifty years.

In spite of the proof furnished by Queen Elizabeth to the contrary, women were held to be inferior to men, and their place was definitely the home. The standard of education, especially of women, declined from the time of Elizabeth to the Restoration, as the grammar and spelling of Stuart ladies show, and seventeenth-century girls went to boarding-schools, where capable women taught them accomplishments, chiefly social—dancing, painting, music, and French, needlework, and the business of household management.

## IV. The Theatre in Tudor and Stuart Times

Throughout the Middle Ages the performances of Biblical mystery plays organized by the *craft guilds* had maintained a strong tradition of acting in England. The splendour of Elizabeth's Court brought to London a swarm of professional actors who gave their plays wherever the landlord of an inn was willing to lend his yard in return for a share of the takings. These performances were so successful that business men hastened to provide capital for the erection of several real theatres; in 1576 James Burbage built his theatre in Shoreditch, and in 1598 the Globe, Shakespeare's theatre, was set up in Southwark.

These theatres were designed like the inn yards which they replaced. The pit, open to the air, was surrounded by three galleries for the audience; into the pit projected the outer stage, at the back of which were an inner and an upper stage (see diagram). The plays were given in the afternoon, for there was no artificial lighting, and although the costumes and scenery, if judged by modern standards, would leave much to be desired, the magic of poetry provided the imagination of the audience with scenery far more lovely than the efforts of electricians and painters. The




A Outer stage
B Inner stage
C Upper stage
DD Entrance doors to outer stage
E Heavens
FF Pillars supporting heavens
GGG Trapdoors
H Turret: the blast of a bugle and the flying of a flag from here announced the beginning of a play
J Galleries and boxes
K Musicians' and lords' boxes
L Groundlings

SKETCH DIAGRAM OF AN ELIZABETHAN THEATRE

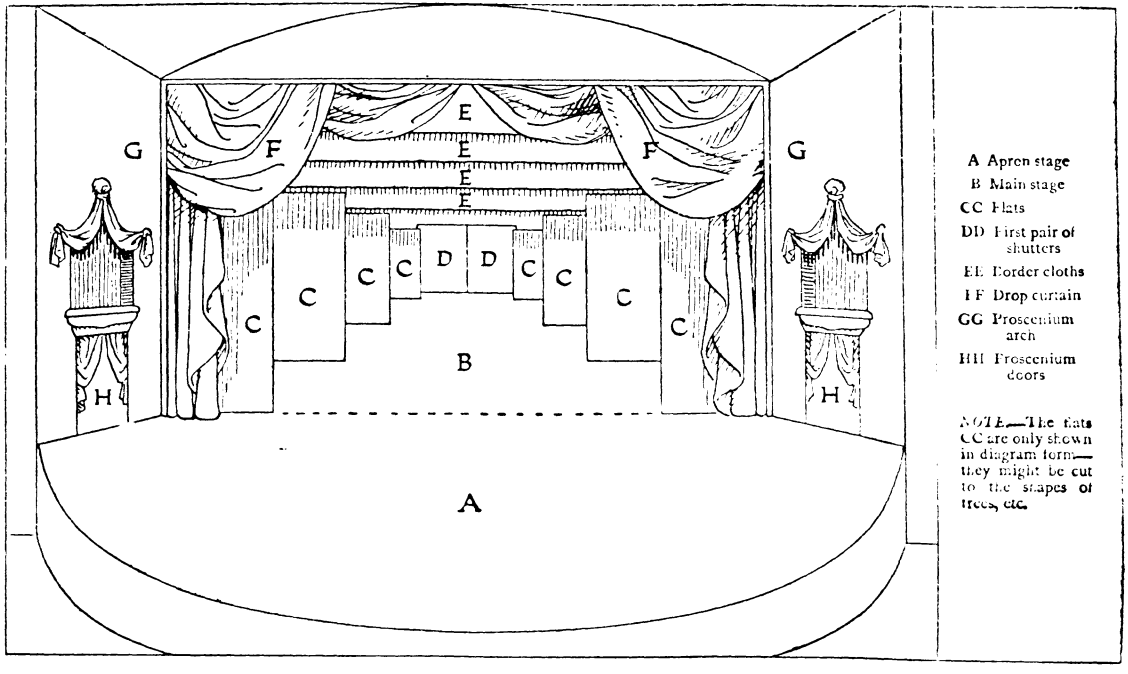
prices of admission varied considerably; the " groundlings " in the pit round the outer stage paid one penny; 6*d.* secured a stool on the rush-strewn stage itself, while a covered seat in the surrounding galleries cost from 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*

The successful actor, such as Edward Alleyn, was held in considerable respect, and was often able to retire with a comfortable fortune. Indeed, acting was a recognized feature of Tudor education, and the companies of boy actors from well-known schools, Merchant Taylors, St. Paul's, and the Chapel Royal were great rivals of the professional companies, as can be realized from the bitter complaints against them in *Hamlet*. Many of these boys joined the men's companies to sing and play the female parts.

In 1608 a number of players, including Shakespeare, took over from a company of boy actors the refectory of the old Blackfriars monastery; henceforth Shakespeare's plays had a winter as well as a summer home in this private theatre, as these smaller enclosed theatres were called, to distinguish them from " public " theatres like the Globe. As more of these " private " theatres were built, the " multiple setting " of the Elizabethan " public " theatre was abandoned in favour of a single setting with an imposing painted background.

The reigns of James I and Charles I were notable for the elaborate series of Masques presented at their Courts. These entertainments were performed by the courtiers and not by professional actors, and consisted of a poetic play interspersed with dancing and singing. They were staged with gorgeous costumes, and their lavish scenery was changed with each new scene by substituting one set of painted canvases for another. Thus, by the beginning of the Civil War, the stage arrangements of the Stuart theatre were not very dissimilar from those of the modern theatre.

But in spite of their popularity the theatres had many enemies. The magistrates of London regarded them as centres of immorality and breeding-places of the plague; consequently they were all erected outside the city boundaries and the magistrates' control. The growing Puritan influence, too, could imagine no greater evil




SKETCH DIAGRAM OF A RESTORATION THEATRE

than the playhouse—" Will not a filthy play, with a blast of a trumpet sooner call thither a thousand, than an hour's tolling of a bell bring to a sermon a hundred? " they indignantly demanded. Between these two, such an outcry was raised against the actors that a royal official, the Master of the Revels, was appointed to deal with them and license their plays; the present power of censorship under the Lord Chamberlain is a survival of this institution. With the triumph of Puritanism in the Civil War, the theatre was doomed, and in 1642 Parliament ordered all theatres to be closed.

After the Restoration of 1660, the old companies of actors were soon reorganized, but Charles II was determined to control the theatre himself, and only two companies were licensed to perform, one under Killigrew at various Theatres Royal in Covent Garden and Drury Lane and the other under Sir John Davenant in Dorset Gardens. The playhouse thus became the property and plaything of the returned *Cavalier* courtiers and their hangers-on. The new buildings differed little from the " private " theatres of 1603–40 (see diagram); the inner stage of the Elizabethan " public " theatre had become the main acting stage and was enclosed within an arch, thus giving the " picture-frame " effect of to-day; scenery became more elaborate, and women were introduced to play female parts.

QUESTIONS FOR REVISION, HOMEWORK OR TEST PURPOSES.

(1) What effects did the slowness of communication during Tudor and Stuart times have on the life on the nation?

(2) (For those who live in London.) In what way does the life of the Londoner of to-day differ from that of the Stuart Londoner?

(3) In what way does your own school-life differ from that of the Tudor and Stuart schoolboy?

(4) Give an account of the many differences between the Elizabethan Public Theatre and the Restoration Theatre.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### THE FOUNDATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE (1603 88)

WITH James I on the throne, English schemes of colonization took more definite shape. The King's peace with Spain meant an end to *buccaneering*, and owners of capital and ships naturally turned to colonial development as a profitable employment for them. In 1606 James set up the Royal Council of Virginia, to supervise the activities of two companies of London and Plymouth merchants who intended to colonize the American seaboard from Florida northwards. In 1607 the London company "planted" Jamestown in Virginia, and after twenty years of hard struggle the colonists, ably led by John Smith, had established their position; a population of 5,000 was busy growing tobacco to meet the increasing European demand,[1] and the success of England's first colony was assured.

In 1609, a relief ship with settlers and stores for Virginia ran ashore on the uninhabited Bermudas, which were annexed; in 1610, merchants of London and Bristol, under James I's grant, established some permanent settlements of English colonists in Newfoundland.[2] Then, after various attempts (including that of Ralegh in 1618) to find the immense treasure said to exist on the banks of the Orinoco had failed, the attention of English colonizers and adventurers was turned to the West Indies. In 1623 Thomas Warner settled St. Kitts; in 1627 the London merchant Sir William Courteen "planted" Barbados; by 1632 Lord Carlisle, holding all the Windward and Leeward Isles by royal charter, had colonized three of them; by 1639 the population

[1] By 1614 7,000 shops in London alone are said to have been selling tobacco, which played an important part in the early history of the British Empire.

[2] The ownership of Newfoundland was in dispute between England and France for over a century.

of the islands had risen to 20,000, and the cultivation by convict and negro labour of tobacco and then of sugar, the staple West Indian product, was ensuring their prosperity.

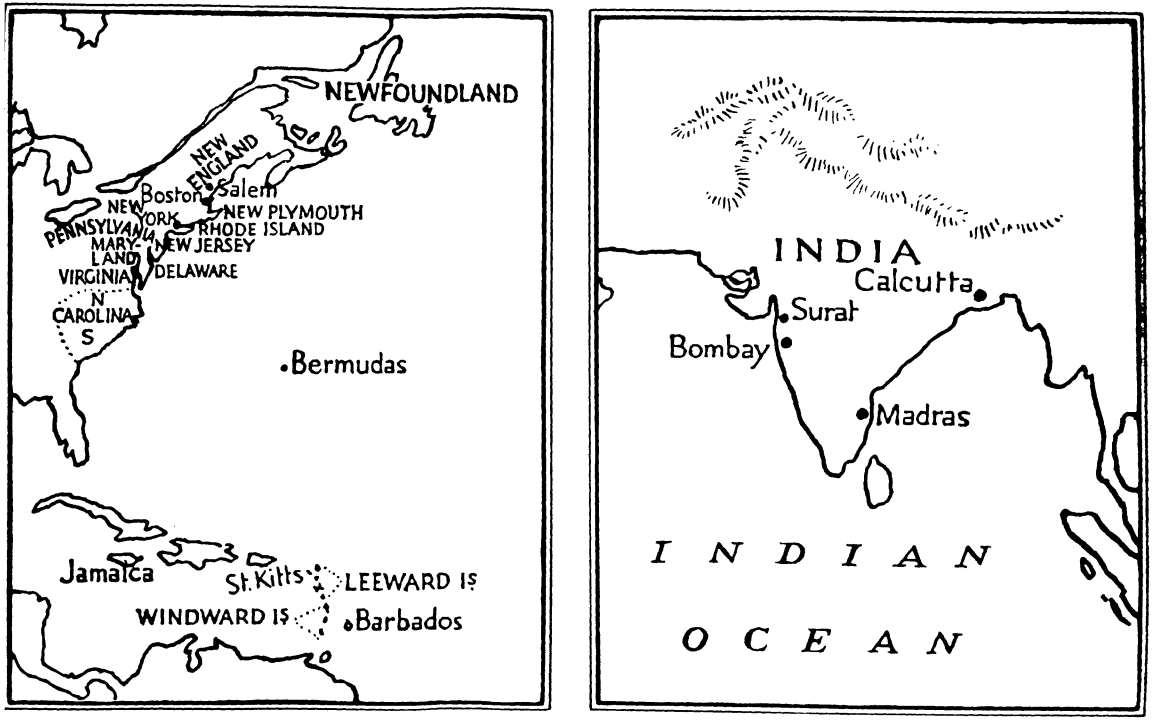
Meanwhile the religious motive had joined the commercial in making for the expansion of England. James I and Charles I, under the influence of Laud, had continued the persecuting policy of Elizabeth against the Puritans, while, after the discovery of the Gunpowder Treason, the Catholics had every reason to despair of their future. Thus the persecuted were led to consider a new life in a new country, where they might worship God as they pleased.

The religious motive for colonization was seen at its purest in the foundation of New England. In 1620 a hundred Puritan farmers and tradesmen, who in 1608 had left the village of Scrooby in Nottinghamshire to find in Holland a refuge from Anglican persecution, obtained leave from the Puritan Sir Edward Sandys to settle in his Virginia Company's northern territory; they crossed the Atlantic in the *Mayflower* and founded New Plymouth.

Then, in 1630, having obtained a grant of the territory now known as Massachusetts, John Winthrop and 900 Puritans landed at Salem. The Laudian persecution of the next ten years peopled the two New England colonies with 20,000 Puritan refugees, but their own religious intolerance led to the foundation of separate settlements in Connecticut (1635) and in Rhode Island (1644), where Roger Williams, the former Puritan minister of Salem, established freedom of worship.

Liberty of worship had also been established by the Catholic Lord Baltimore, who intended to make his tobacco-growing colony of Maryland a "land of sanctuary" for persecuted Catholics and *Dissenters* (1632).

James I and Charles I had taken no direct part in founding this colonial empire; the charters they had granted conferred the widest powers, for colonization (excepting New England) would not have been undertaken without the full control necessary to secure profitable commercial returns. The Crown, however, retained some control over the colonies by the appointment of their




ENGLISH COLONIAL EMPIRE AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

governors and by making commercial regulations to secure for England the colonial trade—raw materials, especially naval stores, in return for English manufactured goods. But all the colonists insisted upon their rights as Englishmen to have representative assemblies to make their laws and vote their taxes; the Virginian House of Burgesses dates from 1620. Thus, from the start, the colonies were democratic communities, for their assemblies really represented the people, in striking contrast to the Parliaments of seventeenth-century England.

During the Civil Wars, Virginia, Barbados, and Maryland declared for the King, while the sympathies of Puritan New England were naturally with Parliament; it was not until 1651 that Blake reduced the Royalist colonies to the obedience of the Commonwealth. Then came Cromwell, the first English ruler to employ the power of his government directly to increase our colonial empire. The Protector warmly encouraged New England, as the seed of a future Puritan Empire in the New World, and for religious and commercial reasons he was bent on the conquest of the Spanish West Indies. In 1655 he dispatched the expedition which captured Jamaica; Cromwell could not persuade his beloved New Englanders to people it, and the island was eventually colonized by the surplus population of our other West Indian possessions. Both the Commonwealth and the Protectorate had a strongly imperial outlook, and the Navigation Ordinance of 1651 established a strict control over colonial trade and navigation. However, a display of naval force was necessary to convince the colonies that England intended to end their trade with other nations, particularly with the Dutch.

The restored Stuarts were no less determined to preserve a close connexion between the Mother Country and the colonies, for their mutual benefit. The Navigation system was strengthened, and a Council for the Plantations was set up under the presidency of Shaftesbury, but the attempts made by Charles II and James II after 1681 to establish a strict royal control over the colonies failed.

Under Charles II a renewed outburst of colonization took place. In 1663 Carolina was " planted ", with a constitution drawn

up by Shaftesbury's friend, the great philosopher, John Locke; between 1664 and 1667 Delaware, New Jersey, and New York were conquered from the Dutch, and in 1681 Pennsylvania was granted to the Quaker, William Penn. These "middle colonies", in which liberty of worship was the rule, were soon well populated with refugees from the "Clarendon Code" and from the renewed persecution of Protestants in Europe.

Thus, during the Stuart period, commercial enterprise and religious enthusiasm had combined to lay well and truly the foundations of the British Empire. Though late entrants in the colonial race, the English had secured control of the Atlantic seaboard of America from Maine to Florida and the richest of the West Indian sugar islands; they held the lion's share of the inexhaustible fishing grounds of Newfoundland; they had obtained most of the trade of India, and a foothold on both shores of the great peninsula of Hindustan.

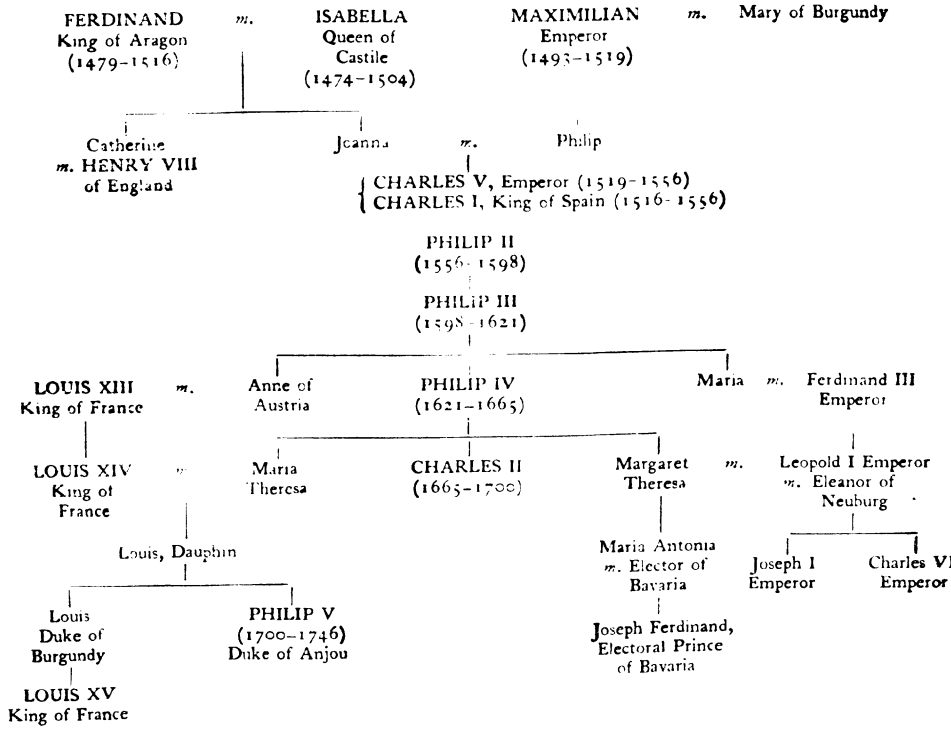
### Questions for Revision, Homework, or Test Purposes

(1) Show how the two motives of commercial profit and religious freedom founded the British Empire during the seventeenth century.

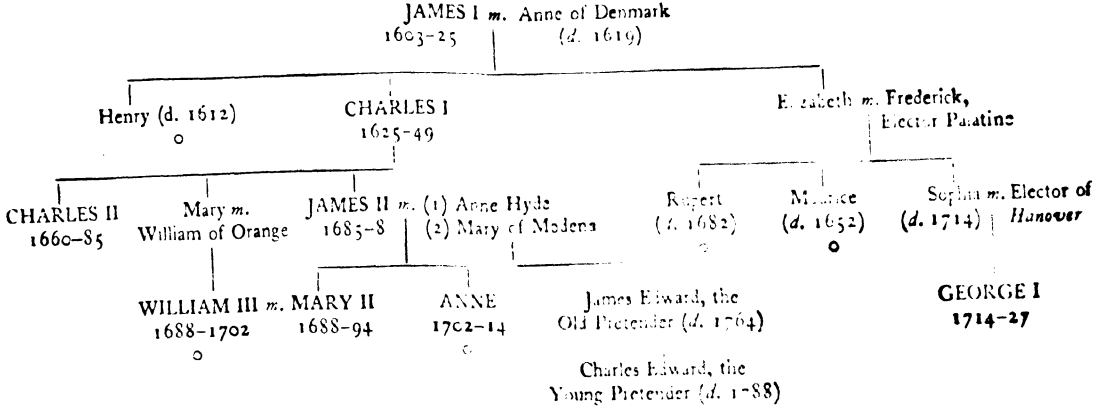
# APPENDIX

# GENEALOGICAL TABLES GLOSSARY, AND INDEX

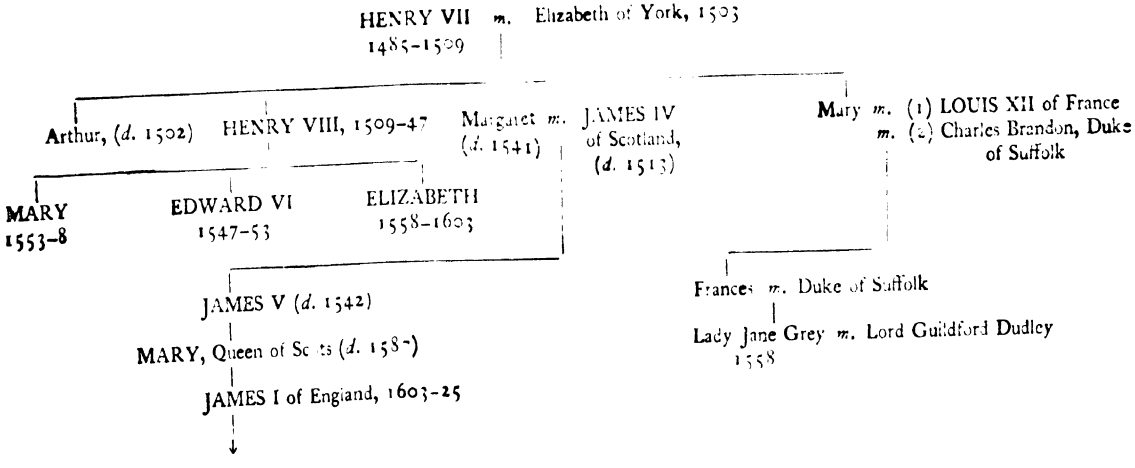
## THE HABSBURGS



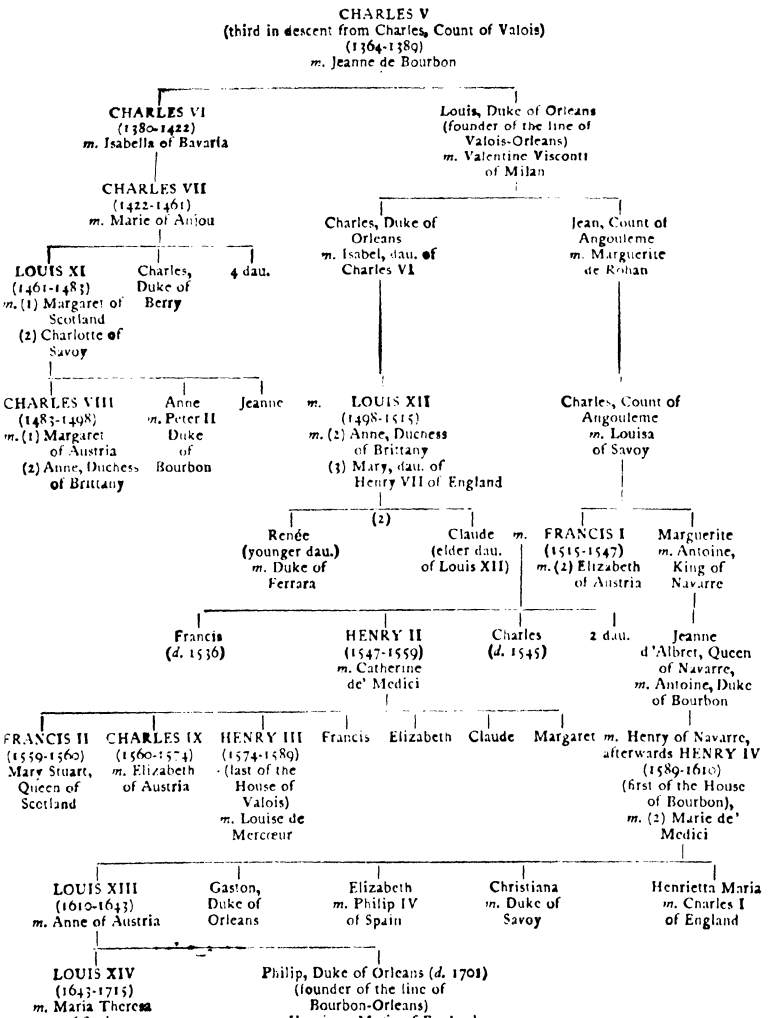
## THE STUARTS


JAMES I m. Anne of Denmark
1603–25
(d. 1619)
Henry (d. 1612)
CHARLES I
1625–49
Elizabeth m. Frederick, Elector Palatine
CHARLES II
1660–85
Mary m. William of Orange
JAMES II m. (1) Anne Hyde (2) Mary of Modena
1685–8
Rupert (d. 1682)
Maurice (d. 1652)
Sophia m. Elector of Hanover (d. 1714)
WILLIAM III m. MARY II
1688–1702
1688–94
ANNE
1702–14
James Edward, the Old Pretender (d. 1764)
GEORGE I
1714–27
Charles Edward, the Young Pretender (d. 1788)

## THE TUDORS


HENRY VII m. Elizabeth of York, 1503
1485–1509
Arthur, (d. 1502)
HENRY VIII, 1509–47
Margaret m. (d. 1541)
JAMES IV of Scotland, (d. 1513)
Mary m. (1) LOUIS XII of France
m. (2) Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk
MARY 1553–8
EDWARD VI 1547–53
ELIZABETH 1558–1603
JAMES V (d. 1542)
MARY, Queen of Scots (d. 158-)
JAMES I of England, 1603–25
Frances m. Duke of Suffolk
Lady Jane Grey m. Lord Guildford Dudley
1558

# THE HOUSE OF VALOIS AND OF BOURBON



# GLOSSARY

## A

**abdicate**, to give up the throne.
**abhor**, to dislike extremely.
**Addled**, the Parliament of 1614 was so called because it sat for two months and failed to pass a single Bill; addled means barren.
**agrarian**, having to do with the land.
**aid**, a feudal tax.
**alderman**, a high officer of a Corporation.
**Alençon, Francis, Duke of**, became Duke of Anjou in 1576; died in 1584.
**almshouse**, a house built for the dwelling of the poor.
**anarchy**, lack of government, confusion.
**anatomy**, act of separating the various parts of the human body, to discover their structure.
**Anglican**, a member of the Church of England.
**Anjou, Duke of**, later King Henry III of France.
**annates**, the first year's income of a church office, paid to the Pope.
**annul** (null and void), to make of no effect.
**anonymous**, without a name.
**apothecary**, one that prepares and sells drugs for medicines.
**arable**, ploughed land.
**arbitrary**, absolute in power.
**artificer**, **artisan**, } a skilled workman.
**Attainder, Act of**, an Act that declares a man guilty of treason, without affording him a trial.
**audit**, to examine and check accounts.

## B

**bauble**, a toy or plaything.
**bays** (baize), a coarse woollen stuff, with a long nap.
**bearward**, a keeper of bears for sport.
**Benedictine**, a member of the monastic order of St. Benedict, who lived A.D. 480-544.
**bigot**, an obstinate and unreasonable believer in a particular religious creed.
**bombazine**, a twilled fabric with a silk warp and a worsted weft.

**Borgia, Cesare** (1476-1507), son of Pope Alexander VI, regarded by some as a national Italian leader.
**bounty,** a generous gift; also a sum of money offered to encourage some object.
**Brief,** a written order from the Pope.
**brocade,** silk fabric, ornamented with gold, silver or flowers.
**buccaneer,** a pirate; a bucan is a wooden gridiron on which the pirates used to smoke their meat.
**Bull,** an order of the Pope.
**bullion,** uncoined gold or silver in the mass.
**burgess,** a citizen of a borough.

**cabal,** from the French " cabal ", a party engaged in secret plotting.
**Calvin, John** (1509-64), the great Protestant reformer, a Frenchman by birth, converted from Catholicism in 1533, soon leader of the French reformers; forced to leave France and settle in Geneva where he obtained great power. Calvinism was adopted in Switzerland, Holland, France and Scotland; it attaches great importance to the Scriptures, to faith in God and to the individual.
**canon law,** the law of the Church.
**carrying-trade,** the transport of merchandise by sea.
**Carthusian,** an order of monks founded by St. Bruno in 1084; the name is taken from their monastery of Chartreuse in France.
**Cavalier,** a term meaning " bully ", when used by the Puritans to describe their opponents, and accepted as a title of honour by the supporters of Charles I. The Latin word from which it is derived mean " horseman ".
**censer,** a pan in which incense is burned.
**chalice,** a communion-cup.
**champion,** open-field cultivation.
**Chancellor,** the chief English legal official and Speaker of the House of Lords.
**chantry,** a chapel where masses are said for the souls of those who founded it.
**client,** one that puts himself under the protection of a patron.
**cloth-yard,** an old measure for cloth.
**communion,** the service uniting those who profess the same religious belief.
**commutation,** an arrangement between the lord of a manor and a villein, whereby the former gives up his claim to the feudal services of the villein in return for a money payment.

**compromise,** when two people are having an argument, and each of them withdraws some of his demands in order to come to an agreement, that agreement is called a compromise.

**confessor,** a Catholic priest who hears confessions and grants absolution, i.e. remission of sins.

**conquistador,** the Spanish word for conqueror.

**conventicle,** an assembly for religious worship.

**Convention,** the name given to a Parliament which assembles without the formal summons of the Sovereign, as in 1660 and 1688.

**Convocation,** the assembly of clergy in the provinces of Canterbury and York.

**convoy,** to accompany for protection.

**copyholder,** one who holds land by copy of court roll.

**cordwainer,** a leatherworker, a shoemaker.

**cormorant,** sea-bird remarkable for its gluttony.

**Cornet,** the officer who carried the colour of a troop of cavalry.

**corsair,** a pirate.

**Coverdale, Miles** (1488-1569), Protestant, whose 1539 translation of the Bible into English was placed in every parish church.

**curriculum,** a course of study.

## D

**Dauphin,** the title from 1364 of the eldest son of the King of France.

**Defender of the Faith,** a title of the King of England; conferred by Pope Leo X upon Henry VIII in 1521 as a reward for the King's treatise against Luther.

**despot,** a ruler with absolute power.

**devious,** out of a straight line.

**Diet,** the assembly of the Electors, princes, nobles and burgesses of the Holy Roman Empire.

**diocese,** the district ruled by a Bishop.

**diplomatist,** one who conducts the relations of his own country with other countries.

**dispensation,** a licence to do what is ordinarily forbidden by the Roman Catholic Church.

**Dissenters,** a term applied to those Protestants who are not members of the Church of England.

**doctrine,** a principle or body of principles.

**Dogberry,** see Shakespeare's " Much Ado about Nothing "; the parish constable in that play.

**dray,** a low-wheeled horse-drawn cart, used for heavy burdens.

**dropsy,** a disease caused by the collection of fluid in any part of the body.

**dynasty,** a family of rulers or kings in a country.

E

**effigy,** an image of a person or thing.
**Elector,** one of the seven princes who, after 1356, elected the German King, who, after coronation by the Pope, became Holy Roman Emperor.
**eloquence,** ability to speak persuasively.
**emergency,** a dangerous situation.
**encroach,** to trespass.
**excommunicate,** to expel a person from the communion and privileges of the Church.
**exploit,** a notable feat.

F

**faction,** a party acting against the established order of things.
**factor,** the agent of a company.
**fallow,** land left unsowed after having been ploughed.
**fanatic,** a person filled with excessive enthusiasm for a creed or cause.
**fastidious,** difficult to please.
**feudalism,** the system in which a lord granted land in return for certain services, such as aid in time of war.
**Fifth Monarchy Men,** a Puritan sect which for some time supported the Commonwealth, believing it to be a preparation for the Fifth Monarchy to succeed the Assyrian, Persian, Greek and Roman monarchies, during which Christ and His Saints would reign on earth for a thousand years.
**Flanders,** the name applied to the coast region from Calais to the Scheldt
**flax,** a plant whose fibre is used for making thread or cloth.
**Flemish,** the language spoken in the northern part of Belgium.
**fraternity,** a brotherhood.
**freeholder,** one who holds an estate for life.
**fuller,** one whose job is to thicken cloth.

G

**Greek Empire,** the successor to the Roman Empire; until 1453 its capital was Constantinople (Byzantium) and it controlled Asia Minor and the Balkans.
**guerrilla,** the word comes from the Spanish "guerra" meaning war. Guerrilla warfare is carried on by small independent bands of fighters, very often not professional soldiers, and consists in attacking convoys of food and ammunition, cutting off stragglers and cutting lines of communication.

**guilds, craft,** a brotherhood of merchants or tradesmen bound by their own laws and united for the protection of their trade.

**Gustavus Adolphus,** King of Sweden (1594-1632), known as the "Lion of the North"; championed the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years' War and won several victories; killed in battle at Lützen.

## H

**Habsburg,** the name of the family which furnished the Dukes and Archdukes of Austria after 1282, the Kings of Hungary and Bohemia after 1526, the Emperors of Austria after 1804, the Holy Roman Emperors from 1438 to 1806 and the Kings of Spain from 1516 to 1700.

**Hanseatic League,** a union of North German towns for the purpose of furthering their trade, which existed from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. "Hansa", a German word meaning a band of men.

**hemp,** a plant whose fibrous bark is used for cloth or cordage.

**heretic, heresy,** opinion opposed to the established doctrine.

**High Commission, Court of,** the Court which from 1559 exercised the authority of the Crown over the Church and in religious matters.

**Holbein, Hans** (1497-1543), famous German painter, who did much of his work in England.

**Holy Roman Empire,** at its foundation in 962, this Empire was intended as the successor of the Roman Empire in the West, to preserve the unity of Christendom in worldly matters as the Catholic Church preserved that unity in religion. In practice, the Holy Roman Empire came to mean Germany and North Italy; it was abolished by Napoleon I in 1806.

**Homer,** the renowned epic Greek poet.

**hornbook,** an elementary text-book, so called because it was formerly covered with horn to protect it.

**Huguenots,** the name applied to French Protestants from 1560; first applied as a nickname to the Protestants of Tours who used to meet at night by the gate of King Hugo.

**Humanism,** the study of all the activities of man; another name for the New Learning.

**Huss, John** (1373-1415), the famous Bohemian (Czech) Reformer; greatly influenced by Wyclif, he attacked the abuses of the Church and was excommunicated. Supported by the Bohemian nation, he was persuaded to go to the Council of Constance to discuss his opinions; in spite of the safe-conduct promised him, he was seized and burnt as a heretic. It may be said that he handed on to Luther the torch which kindled the Reformation.

## I

*immigration*, entering a country not one's own, intending to live in it permanently.

*impeach, to charge a minister of* the Crown with misbehaviour in office.

**impregnable**, unable to be captured.

**indemnity**, compensation for loss sustained; or security against punishment for past acts.

**indict**, (pronounced " indite "), to accuse of a crime.

**indigo**, a blue colouring matter obtained from the stalks of the indigo plant.

**Infanta**, a Spanish princess.

**interloper**, one that engages in a trade without having the right to do so.

**invalid**, having no effect.

## J

**John Company**, a name for the East India Company, from " joint-stock ".

**journeyman**, a man hired to work by the day.

**Justice of the Peace**, from the reign of Edward III to the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, when much of their power was transferred to elected local councils, these members of the county gentry were the unpaid representatives of the Crown in their districts. The Tudor sovereigns made them their " men-of-all-work "; they kept the King's Peace, regulated the Poor Law and the Statute of Artificers, and kept up the roads, the bridges and the prisons. The Justices of the Peace reached the height of their power in the eighteenth century.

## K

**kersey**, (from Kersey, in Suffolk), a coarse cloth woven from long wool.

**Kirk**, the Scottish Presbyterian Church.

## L

**laxity**, slackness.

**legacy**, a gift by will.

**Legate**, an ambassador of the Pope.

**Levant**, a name for the Mediterranean coastlands of Asia Minor and Syria; from the French " lever ", meaning " to rise " in the East as the sun does.

**Levellers**, a Puritan political party, democratic and republican in its views and originating in the New Model Army.

**Lilburne, John** (1614–57), Colonel in the New Model and leader of the Levellers; opposed both the Presbyterians and Cromwell.

**livery,** a dress worn by the servants of a particular person, or by the members of a company, distinguishing them from other people.

**Lollard,** name given to the following of Wyclif. The word may come from a word " lollen ", meaning to sing softly.

**loom,** a frame in which yarn or thread was woven into cloth.

## M

**Mace,** a club-shaped staff, the symbol of the authority of the House of Commons.

**malt,** barley or grain steeped in water till it sprouts and then dried in a kiln.

**manor,** a landed estate; from a Latin word meaning " to dwell ".

**march,** the borderland between two countries.

**martial law,** the law imposed by military authorities.

**martyr,** one who gives his life for any principle or cause.

**mass,** service of the Roman Catholic Church.

**meal,** the eatable part of grain ground into flour.

**medieval,** having to do with the Middle Ages.

**Mercantilism,** the policy of conducting a nation's trade to attract the largest possible share of precious metals.

**mercenary,** professional soldier who hires his services out to the highest bidder.

**militia,** the manhood of the nation, organized in counties, which the King could call out in time of war.

**millenary,** to do with the number " one thousand ".

**Modena,** until 1859 an independent North Italian duchy.

**Mogul, the Great,** the name given to the Mohammedan Emperors of Delhi.

**monopoly,** exclusive possession of, or control over an article.

**Montrose, James Graham, Marquis of** (1612-50), Scots noble who resisted Charles I and signed the Covenant but later turned Royalist. In 1644 he raised the Highlands for Charles and won seven battles against the Covenanters, but, defeated at Philiphaugh in the Lowlands, he went into exile. In 1650, he was sent to rouse the Highlands for Charles II, but failed and was taken and hanged by the Covenanters.

## N

**Nero,** tyrannical Roman Emperor, A.D. 54-68.

**Nonconformists,** name applied to Protestants who are not members of the Church of England.

## O

**oblivion,** a general pardon.
**Ordinance,** name given to those measures of the Long Parliament which did not obtain the sanction of Charles I.
**ordnance,** cannon, heavy artillery.

## P

**pageant,** a colourful spectacle.
**Palatinate,** a part of Germany near the Rhine.
**pamphlet,** a short treatise on a particular subject.
**Papacy, papal, papist,** to do with the Pope and Roman Catholicism.
**pastor,** minister of the Gospel.
**perjury,** crime of giving false evidence on oath.
**perspective,** the art of representing on a plane surface objects as they appear relatively to the eye in nature.
**" petties " school,** for small children; from the French " petit ", meaning small.
**philanthropy,** generous actions towards other men.
**philosophy,** the study of life.
**pillory,** a frame of wood with holes, through which the head and hands of a criminal were formerly put.
**pioneer,** one that goes before to prepare the way.
**pious, piety,** holy, holiness.
**plantation,** colony.
**portent,** a sign or omen foreshadowing the future.
**Praemunire, Statute of** (1393), forbade anybody to uphold the Pope's authority in England.
**prelate,** a high officer—e.g. bishop in the Church.
**prerogative, the royal,** the King's power.
**Presbyterianism,** the Scottish form of Calvinism.
**prestige,** power coming from past success.
**Primate,** title of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the chief officer of the Church of England. The word comes from the Latin " primus ", meaning " first ".
**privateer,** an armed private vessel licensed by its government to prey on the merchant shipping of the nations with which it is at war.
**privilege,** an advantage or benefit enjoyed by one or more, but not by all.
**prorogue,** to adjourn Parliament.
**Provisors, Statute of** (1351), passed to prevent the Pope appointing Churchmen to offices in the English Church before the present holders were dead.

## Q

**Quakers**, the name applied about 1647 to the Society of Friends, because their religious emotions were so intense that they caused their bodies to quake.

## R

**recusant,** one that refused communion with the Church of England, generally a Roman Catholic.

**regicide,** one that murders a king.

**relief,** a sum paid by the tenant to the new lord of a manor for permission to hold and renew his lease.

**repeal,** to annul an Act of Parliament.

**Republican,** one that desires a state in which the supreme power rests in the people or in officers elected by them.

**retailer,** one that sells in small quantities; the opposite to wholesaler.

**retinue,** the attendants of a person of importance.

**rhetoric,** the art of speaking persuasively.

**rite, ritual,** religious ceremony.

**Roundhead,** name applied to the supporters of Parliament after 1641. Some Puritans wore their hair close-cropped round the head.

## S

**sacrament,** a solemn religious ceremony.

**sanctuary,** a place of protection, generally a church, for fugitives from justice.

**says,** a kind of serge used for aprons, linings, etc.

**scapegoat,** one who suffers for the shortcomings of others.

**scavenger,** street-cleaner.

**Schism, the Great** (1378-1417), a quarrel between Urban VI and the Cardinals led to their electing a rival Pope, Clement VII under French protection. For forty years, Europe was divided in supporting the two Popes. "Schism" means "split".

**sect,** a religious party.

**sedition,** inciting resistance to lawful authority.

**see,** the province ruled over by a bishop.

**several,** farming in enclosed fields.

**Stadtholder,** name formerly applied to the chief magistrate of the united provinces of Holland, or to the governor of one of them.

**standing army,** a paid, professional army.

**staple,** the chief article produced by a district or country.

**Star Chamber, Court of,** a committee of the Privy Council whose task was to dispense justice and which sat in an apartment of the royal palace of Westminster, the ceiling of which was painted with stars.

**statistics,** the collection of facts and figures about the people of a country to assist the government in carrying out its policy.
**stock,** animals used or raised on a farm.
**stock,** shares in a company.
**subsidy,** money voted to the King by Parliament, or money paid to an ally.
**surplus,** that which remains over.
**synonym,** a word having approximately the same meaning as another.

T

**temporal,** to do with this world, as opposed to eternal.
**tenacity,** the bulldog virtue, that of holding fast.
**theology,** the study of religion.
**tithe,** the tenth part of the annual profits of a landed estate, allotted to the clergy for their support.
**topographer,** one who describes the features of a town, parish or country.
**transubstantiation,** the conversion of the whole substance of the bread and wine in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper into the body and blood of Christ.
**triennial,** either continuing three years or happening once in every three years
**Tyndale, William** (1492–1536), an English Protestant who lived abroad for safety and was executed at Brussels for heresy. His translation of the Bible is the basis of the Authorized Version of 1611.

U

**unconscionable,** unreasonable.
**usurper,** one who seizes by force and without right.
**usury,** lending money at interest, generally at unreasonably high rates of interest.

V

**Vaud,** a district in south-west Switzerland.
**vendetta,** private warfare; from an Italian word meaning " revenge ".
**vestment,** a religious garment.
**villein,** an unfree landholder attached to a feudal lord; from a Latin word meaning " farm-servant ".

W

**Walloon,** natives of Southern Belgium.
**warp,** the threads extended lengthwise in a loom and crossed by the woof.
**worsted,** (from Worsted, in Norfolk), well-twisted yarn spun from long wool.
**writ,** a written order from a lawful authority.

## Y

**yeoman,** a small landowner. The " yeo " comes from an Anglo-Saxon word " ga ", meaning " a village ".

## Z

**Zwingli, Ulrich** (1484-1531), the Swiss Reformer. Influenced by Erasmus' New Testament, he opposed indulgences and became powerful in Zürich. He was killed in battle during the Swiss religious wars. Zwingli was much more revolutionary than Luther and insisted upon the supreme importance of the Scriptures. The Swiss Protestants, however, adopted Calvinism.

# INDEX

*This Index is not exhaustive, and is intended primarily to supplement the chapter headings.*

T