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BY

KINGSTON DERRY, D.PHIL.

Chief History Master, Repton School
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University of Oxford

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PREFACE

British History is intended to provide an efficient modern text-book leading up to the First Public Examination. It sets out to meet the needs of the present-day teacher in the shape of a clear, orderly, and accurate narrative of events, containing all necessary information, which leaves him free to interpret, to illustrate, and to generalise. The reader's attention is concentrated throughout upon essential facts, to the exclusion of picturesque (and often misleading) anecdotes, detailed descriptions of battles, and all those allusions to persons and things of little importance, which weary without enlightening the learner and are promptly forgotten. The text has, however, been carefully tested by examination requirements, and the pruning of superfluous matter makes it possible to pay more attention than is often given to the history of Europe and of the Empire overseas in relation to that of Britain.

Three features of the book may be specially mentioned. Each narrative chapter is prefixed by a short quotation from some contemporary speech or writing. These are not intended for ornament, but to make the subject-matter of the chapter more real and more coherent in the mind of the reader, who may be encouraged to use them as a basis for essays or discussions. There are also a number of supplementary chapters, devoted to the separate treatment of economic and social history. Wherever these topics have a direct bearing upon political events, they have been introduced in their natural place: but it was felt to be in harmony with present tendencies to have special chapters, grouped at the end of each main historical epoch, in which important developments in economic and

social life could be more completely explained. The third feature is the inclusion of summaries. They have been kept very brief and 'facty'—too brief, it is hoped, to offer any substitute for a thorough study of the text, yet sufficiently full to render the compiling of mere outline notes superfluous, and to be of material assistance, both to teacher and pupil, in the work of revision.

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1485–1603

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

"Truly no country was ever united or prosperous, unless the whole of it passes beneath the sway of one commonwealth or one prince, as has happened in the cases of France and Spain."

Machiavelli: *The Prince*, 1513.

(1) FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Difficulty of Division into Periods. It is impossible to speak with certainty of any date at which mediæval history ends and modern history begins. The reason for this lies partly in the fact that one historical period merges very gradually into another without any abrupt appearance of change: the people who lived in Henry VII's reign, for instance, certainly did not label themselves 'modern' and their fathers 'mediæval,' however much we may be tempted to think they did. But the difficulty is also due to the variety of events, scattered over a long period of years, each of which helped to make history modern.

Effects of the Black Death, 1348. One such turning-point came as early as the years 1348–50, when the great plague known as the Black Death destroyed not less than one-third of the whole population of England. The basis of mediæval life was the manor, where villeins paid rent for their own share of the land by working without wages on the land reserved by the lord—a baron, a knight, or perhaps the abbot of a monastery—who was thus enabled to devote his life to more leisured pursuits, such as war or prayer or the chase. But after 1350 villeins were few

in number, dissatisfied with their half-servile position, and disposed to run away from the manor unless the lord accepted a money-rent in place of work, with the result that in the course of the next hundred years the modern village, whose landlord lived on rents paid by well-to-do and fairly independent tenant-farmers, came slowly into existence.

Effects of Richard II's Deposition, 1399. From the standpoint of purely political history, however, the first decisive event was the Revolution of 1399, in which Richard II was deposed by his cousin, Henry Bolingbroke, who made himself King as Henry IV. For Bolingbroke, having defeated Richard, usurped the throne under cover of an Act of Parliament authorising him to do so, which shows what a large position in the State had been gained by that body, although little more than a century had elapsed since Edward I, the summoner of the 'Model Parliament,' first gave it a regular form. But a still more important result of the Revolution of 1399 was to start a quarrel between different branches of the royal house, which was to last off and on for another hundred years. Richard II's father, the Black Prince, was the eldest son of King Edward III, but Richard, who was therefore the rightful king, died soon after his deposition, leaving no children to reclaim his inheritance. Henry IV, however, was only the son of Edward III's *third* (surviving) son, the Duke of Lancaster (hence the name 'Lancastrian' given to the Henries), so his claim to the throne was liable to be challenged by descendants of the second son. These eventually joined forces with descendants of the fourth son, the Duke of York, and are called 'Yorkists.'

The Lancastrian Experiment. The main struggle was postponed for half a century, during the reigns of Henry IV (1399–1413) and his son Henry V (1413–22) and the long minority of his son Henry VI, who was less than a year old at the time of his accession. One feature of those years was the so-called 'Lancastrian Experiment'—the conferring of wide powers on the Parliament to which the

Lancastrian kings owed their title. Thus Parliament obtained such important privileges as freedom of speech, which were to be vindicated again in the time of the Stuarts; its proposals began to take the modern form of 'Bills,' which the King might veto but not alter; and the King's Council, though it consisted normally of leading barons, was actually nominated in Parliament. But all this was mainly outward show, for in reality Parliament was increasingly dominated by baronial factions, which used it as a convenient instrument to turn into law the wishes of a few noble houses. Apart from a short interlude in Henry V's reign, this was a period of increasing disorder and contempt for law, which reached a climax in 1450, when a certain Jack Cade started a rebellion in Kent, drove the King from his capital, and made himself for a few days master of London. His object was to protest against misgovernment—which meant especially the misconduct of the war in France.

English Acquisitions in France, 1422. For the postponement of the dynastic struggle hitherto had been chiefly due to the later campaigns of the Hundred Years War (1337–1453). That contest had been renewed by Henry V in pursuit of booty, land, glory, and a means of distracting dangerously powerful subjects. His great victory at Agincourt in 1415 taught the same lesson as Crécy in 1346, namely, that the day of feudalism was past, since the plain archer could now give as good an account of himself in the field as the mounted knight in armour. It also brought England to a pinnacle of apparent success. When Henry V died in 1422 his baby son was recognised as heir to the French throne, to which he actually succeeded the following year. All France north of Orleans, together with the district round Bordeaux, lay in the hands of the English; and an alliance between England and the Duke of Burgundy, who was by far the most powerful French noble, made it unlikely that the Dauphin, who was the rightful heir, would be able to maintain for long the resistance of southern France to the English domination.

Their Loss. Nevertheless, the whole scheme was fated to collapse like a house of cards. During Henry VI's minority one of his uncles, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, ruled rather feebly at home, while the other (and more competent) uncle, John, Duke of Bedford, bore sway in France. Bedford showed himself a sound general, though not the equal of his brother the late king: but it is doubtful whether any military brilliance could have held such an unwieldy empire together for long. In 1429, moreover, came the intervention of Joan of Arc, the inspired French peasant-maid, whose leadership drove back the English from Orleans and got the Dauphin crowned, and whose murder by English hands at Rouen gave a tremendous impetus to French nationalism. Henceforth the French hated the presence of the English army on French soil, not only for what they did or might do, but for the mere fact that they were English. Finally, in 1435 Burgundy changed sides, and after that, though other generals followed Bedford (who died the same year), there was no real hope of retaining or regaining conquests. When the last effort was abandoned in 1453, the port of Calais alone remained in English hands.

The Wars of the Roses. Two years later a preliminary bout in the Wars of the Roses was fought in the streets of St Albans. Many soldiers, newly returned from France, were seeking employment as 'retainers' of factious English nobles, some of whom, such as the famous Warwick the Kingmaker, boasted whole armies at their beck and call. For the retainer, in return for his 'livery' (which then included food as well as clothing) and his 'maintenance' (which meant that the lord would 'maintain' his side in a lawsuit by intimidating judge and jury for him), was always ready to fight. Under these circumstances the presence on the throne of a king, whose mind was now known to be unbalanced, was too tempting for his rivals of the House of York. The Yorkists were successful at St Albans, but four years later Henry VI's wife, Margaret, fought again to destroy their power over the King, beat them

at Wakefield and a second Battle of St Albans (1460), but was herself decisively defeated at Towton in Yorkshire the following year. This battle made Edward of York effectively King. There was, indeed, another confused struggle in 1469–71, when Edward's chief supporter, Warwick the Kingmaker, tried to punish his master's ingratitude by restoring the poor puppet Henry VI. For a short time he had his way: then Edward's power revived, and in 1471 he killed Warwick at Barnet and overwhelmed the remaining Lancastrians at Tewkesbury. Accordingly, the years 1461–83 represent substantially the reign of the Yorkist king, Edward IV.

Policy of Edward IV. He has often been described as the first 'modern' king of England. The civil war had largely weeded out the nobility by battle and execution, for a subservient Parliament was always ready to order the death of defeated survivors by naming them in Acts of Attainder, so that in Edward IV's reign the monarchy was modern in its strength. It was also modern in its accumulation of wealth and its ability to do without the support of frequent Parliaments. Again, this king was the first to choose both his personal friends and the Council, through which he governed, from the rising middle class. Edward was also alive to the things that were creating a newer world, such as Caxton's printing-press, which was established at Westminster in 1476. Lastly, he had a modern foreign policy, for at the Treaty of Pecquigny (1475) he let himself be bought off by the French king from any scheme of renewing the traditional struggle for territory in France.

Overthrow of the Yorkists, 1485. Yet the sequel showed that the breach with the past was not yet complete. The accession of Edward IV's young son, Edward V, on his father's death in 1483 caused the revival of the Wars of the Roses. The boy's uncle usurped the throne and killed both his little nephews (the Princes in the Tower): this and other crimes made public opinion quickly hostile to the new king, Richard III. Of the rival Lancastrian house there were by this time few survivors, but an obscure descendant of John

of Gaunt named Henry Tudor eventually landed with a small force at Milford Haven in 1485. His chief advantages were his high courage, Welsh birth (which won him recruits), and the general detestation of Richard. Henry's forces increased as he marched across England, while Richard's deserted their master on the battlefield of Bosworth, where he was defeated and slain. This victory, rather than those of Edward IV or any earlier events, best marks the beginning of modern England, because this time the victor set up both a dynasty and a policy that endured.

(2) THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY WORLD

Scotland Independent. It is also important to know something of the position of those other countries with which Tudor England was to be brought in contact. The list is very different from what it would be at the present day, because on the one hand our attention was confined to Europe, which reduces the length of the list, and on the other hand it must be extended to include Scotland. In the reign of Edward I (1272–1307) it seemed likely for a time that the Scottish and English crowns would be united, but his schemes were frustrated, and it remained for Henry VII (as we shall shortly see) to take the first steps which made British history gradually possible. Meanwhile the history of Scotland, ever since its complete deliverance from English influences by the victory of Bannockburn in 1314, is a miserable record of internal feuds, in which the wealth of a very poor country was wasted: of the Stuart line, which succeeded to the throne in 1370, only one sovereign died a natural death. The foreign policy was based on hostility to England, which found expression in endless Border forays and a French alliance. How Scotland nevertheless contrived in this period to found and maintain two universities for her tiny population, and to produce, on the whole, better literature than England, remains a mystery.

Ireland Disordered. The record of Ireland at this time

is one of unrelieved gloom. It had been in name an English possession since the reign of Henry II, but the area which was really controlled by the Lord Deputy and the Irish Parliament had shrunk to a small strip along the east coast, known as the 'Pale.' The rest of the island was divided between Celtic tribal chieftains and scarcely more law-abiding Anglo-Norman lords, among whom the House of Kildare were the most prominent.

France a Nation. Throughout the Middle Ages France had loomed large in English eyes, both as the home of the language and civilisation which the Normans brought across the Channel—until the fourteenth century English was the language of serfs—and as a traditional enemy. Though bigger and on the whole more civilised than England, France had been at a disadvantage in comparison with her island neighbour, because her provinces were not united in loyalty to the Crown, or her people in loyalty to the nation. But during the later stages of the Hundred Years' War the French became united, as we have seen, in a national feeling of hatred towards the English invaders; and after the war King Louis XI, who ruled from 1461 to 1483, had shown great skill and persistence in bringing the provinces and the semi-independent nobles who governed them under the direct authority of the Crown. At the time of his death only Brittany remained to be secured, and France thus strengthened might have begun to extend her frontier eastwards towards the Rhine—had she not become involved instead in a largely barren struggle with her neighbour, Spain.

Growth of Spain. About the same time as the consolidation of France, another new 'nation-state' made its appearance beyond the Pyrenees. Spain is little heard of in the Middle Ages, because most of it was then in the power of Mohammedan conquerors, the Moors, who were slowly driven southwards, as generation succeeded generation, by bands of Christian warriors, which formed the territory they recaptured into tiny kingdoms and provinces for themselves. Two events then created modern Spain

—the marriage in 1479 of Ferdinand and Isabella, by which the two most important of the separate kingdoms were joined together, and the flight of the last Moors across the Straits of Gibraltar thirteen years later. Spain therefore entered upon the modern period of her history with a great pride as well as a great opportunity: for did not Spain and her tiny neighbour Portugal face the Atlantic, which was to carry their explorers westwards to unknown America and southwards to almost unknown Africa? Already the Portuguese mariners, instructed by Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), were pushing south year by year in the direction of the Cape of Good Hope.

Decline of Burgundy—Rise of the Hapsburgs. But, besides these nation-states, there were other important Powers in Europe, which were built up solely by the genius of their rulers. Of these the outstanding example, in the earlier fifteenth century, was the Duchy of Burgundy, whose duke was master, not only of Burgundy in Eastern France, but of the Netherlands (modern Belgium and Holland), which industry and commerce had rendered probably the richest provinces in the whole of Europe. That is why Burgundy was able to play such a prominent part in the Hundred Years' War; and even after the end of that struggle Charles the Bold, who ruled from 1467 to 1476 and married Edward IV's sister Margaret, remained the most magnificent of European sovereigns. But in the latter year he was overthrown and killed by the wiles of Louis XI; his dominions fell asunder; and the most valuable of them, namely, the Netherlands, went to establish the fortunes of another House. For Charles's daughter and heiress, Mary, became the wife of Maximilian of Hapsburg. The House of Hapsburg already possessed a twofold importance—the sovereignty of Austria and the neighbouring regions of Central Europe, and the title of Holy Roman Emperor. The holder of this great office, whom the three hundred petty states of Germany looked up to—and sometimes obeyed—was nominally chosen by the seven principal German rulers or Electors, but their

choice now fell invariably upon a Hapsburg. Thus by 1493, when Maximilian succeeded his father as Emperor, this family was well on the way to becoming the most powerful in Europe.

Weakness of Italy. Scandinavia, Poland, and the yet remoter Russian Czardom of Muscovy, played little or no part in the general affairs of Europe at this time. Meanwhile the whole south-east of the Continent lay in the power of the Ottoman Turks, a Mohammedan fighting race, which had destroyed the Eastern Empire at Constantinople in 1453, and seemed likely, at various epochs in the next two centuries, to use its superior military strength for the complete overthrow of European civilisation. Nevertheless, such was the force of national rivalry that Italy —the one important country which we have hitherto omitted—was fated to become the mere battleground of the two chief Christian Powers. France and Spain were to fight in Italy because the five leading States of the Peninsula, to the sovereignty of one or other of which they laid rival claims, were too divided and too demoralised to make any effective resistance. Yet Italy was the centre, not only of the Roman Catholic faith, which all Western Christendom had long since accepted, but of the new intellectual movement of the age, namely, the Renaissance.

(3) THE RISING TIDE OF CHANGE

Use of the Compass and Gunpowder. Both England in the time of the Wars of the Roses and Edward IV, and still more the Europe in which the new nation-states were beginning to appear, were being deeply influenced by a change of ideas and outlook—a rapid modernisation of men's minds. One aspect of this change, comparatively easy to describe and understand, was a series of inventions which spread westward from the more highly civilised East. The mariner's compass, brought from Constantinople in the fourteenth century and gradually perfected, made long voyages out of sight of land for the first time plannable,

thus encouraging the work of exploration under the auspices of Henry the Navigator and others. Gunpowder, again, became known in the West before the Battle of Crécy (1346), at which it was used by the French. It was soon available to blow in the walls of hitherto impregnable castles, rendering feudal nobles unwontedly submissive to any monarch rich enough to own a siege train; and by the end of the fifteenth century a primitive type of musket was superseding the bow and arrow, with the result that warfare in the end was completely revolutionised. But the most important invention, without a doubt, was that of printing.

Importance of Printing. For many reasons the Middle Ages were a time of general ignorance, when the sum of human knowledge was small and what there was of it was very slowly diffused. It was not until the fourteenth century that paper began to replace the terribly expensive parchment, and even then the books all consisted of laboriously copied (and therefore costly) manuscript volumes. Yet printing by movable wooden blocks, as well as the manufacture of paper from rags, had been known in China for many centuries, nor were they difficult discoveries to make when men were once sufficiently eager to make them. The invention of printing, then, which spread from Germany and the Netherlands to Italy a little before 1450, shows that there already existed a desire to shake off ignorance, such as there had not been in the Middle Ages proper. Now from printing there sprang the cheap diffusion to the multitude of knowledge, new and old; debate and interchange of information among the learned; political argument and the spread of news; and a common heritage in every nation of poetry and prose. It is only necessary to consider how our own everyday life depends on print to realise what a gulf the presses, which by the sixteenth century had advanced from experiment to everyday use, made between the Tudor days and those of a bare hundred years before.

Rise of the Middle Class. The printing-press benefited especially the rising middle class, which desired knowledge.

In some parts of the Continent its power, based on trade and expressed in the creation of the 'communes' of North Italy and the Netherlands, had long been great. But the mediæval English boroughs were comparatively weak, and their oversea commerce was conducted by foreigners. This position was now being changed by the growth of the woollen industry. Rich graziers contributed one new element to the middle class, large-scale cloth manufacturers a second, and the Merchant Adventurers, who marketed the cloth abroad, yet a third. Many of the existing boroughs, indeed, decayed, because rising men would not submit to restrictive rules and set up business elsewhere; but the London from whose citizens Edward IV extracted the first 'benevolences' was already a thriving modern city.

Decline of the Mediæval Church. This rise of the middle class, we must notice in passing, was associated with the decline of the mediæval Church, which did not harmonise well with men who read and thought and made money. In England a grave dissatisfaction with the authority of the Pope and the taxes he levied had been expressed by Wycliffe, who, before his death in 1384, had found a multitude of supporters united in resenting the wealth and idleness of the clergy at large. The 'Lollards', as they were called, continued to exist throughout the fifteenth century, and helped to inspire a greater movement on the Continent, where John Huss likewise attacked the Papacy. But although Wycliffe denied the truth of Catholic teaching about the Sacrament, the general position still was that doctrines were quietly accepted, while hostility to the wealth of the clergy and to the use which the Pope made of his vast powers to obtain money from the faithful was widespread. Moreover, the growth of nation-states also marked a decline in the Church's authority, for during the Middle Ages, when religion was supreme in men's lives, Europe had been consolidated, in theory always and at times in practice as well, as a single 'Christendom' under the authority of Pope and Holy Roman Emperor, whereas now the nation-state regarded only its own interests.

The Renaissance. Behind all the other movements of change there lay the Renaissance. The word means the 'rebirth' or revival in arts and letters. It began with the abandonment of the dog-latin of the Middle Ages in favour of classical Latin, which in turn prepared the way for the study of Greek, begun at Florence in 1397. During the fifteenth century all the treasures of Greek literature, and many of the masterpieces of their sculpture, were one by one revealed before the delighted eyes of a world which for a thousand years had had to content itself with the mediocre art of Rome or its own crude productions, dominated by the religious motive. The movement was further stimulated in 1453, when the fall of Constantinople to the Turks drove many Greeks westwards with their precious manuscripts (which were scarcer than teachers); and reached its climax in Italy with the great painters, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Michelangelo, who span the century from 1450 to 1550. For in painting, of their skill in which the Greeks left few traces, the new enthusiasm took the form of original work of exquisite beauty. In literature it was too often a matter of mere imitation and reverence for the genius of the past, as at first in England, where the gift of Greek books to the Bodleian Library at Oxford by Henry V's brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, marks the beginning of Renaissance influence.

Results of the Spirit of Inquiry. But Renaissance influence meant something more than beautiful pictures and classical education. In the Greeks the Christendom of the fifteenth century made the acquaintance of a people which had no Christianity with its elaborate system of beliefs, but possessed instead a boundless spirit of inquiry, leading it on to explore every idea, and a profound belief in the value and importance of human beings and human life. Consequently, all modern history is the history of the impetus which the example of the Greeks gave to the European mind. Politics shook off the influence of religion and became a struggle of nation

to outwit nation, the results of which have often caused people to regret the end of mediæval Christendom. Religion was subjected to the spirit of inquiry, whence sprang the Reformation. And in science, the first faint beginnings of which belong to the age of the Tudors, we have something that derives from the Greek spirit which is still reshaping, with or against our will, the destiny of the whole human race. Such is the fabric of which modern history is made.

CHAPTER II

HENRY VII

1485–1509

"His politic wisdom in governance it was singular; his counsels fortunate and taken by wise deliberation. Leagues and confederacies he had with all Christian princes, [and] his people were to him in as humble subjection as ever they were to king."
Bishop Fisher on the occasion of Henry VII's funeral, 1509.

(1) SECURING THE THRONE

The First Tudor. Although the accession of the first Tudor king marked, as we see, the beginning of a new era in British history, the situation from which Henry VII started was not in any way particularly promising. No previous king had had so little claim to the throne in respect of blood, since on his father's side he came of the decidedly unroyal Welsh family of Tudor, while his mother was nothing more than the granddaughter of an illegitimate half-brother of Henry IV, the first Lancastrian king. So only Lancastrians would feel any loyalty at all, and they would be likely to regard him as a poor substitute for a direct Lancastrian heir. Nor was his character likely to win men's hearts, for the first Tudor was a sad and secretive being, who loved nobody and trusted nobody. Thus the surprising success of this all-important reign must be ascribed entirely to policy, in which the new king excelled, as the great philosopher, Bacon, was quick to point out, when he wrote a century or so later the life of the man who had made possible the glories of Elizabeth.

Yorkist Rebellions. The victor of Bosworth Field was

promptly proclaimed King by Act of Parliament, and early the following year he did what he could to improve his position by marrying Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV and therefore sister to Edward V, who had been murdered with his brother in the Tower. The remaining Yorkist claimant was the young Earl of Warwick, the son of Edward IV's youngest brother, Clarence. He was safely lodged in the Tower, so the Yorkist attacks, which fill the history of the next dozen years, had to be based on the setting-up of impostors, pretending to be the real claimants. Their chances of success were at first good, because the unruly elements in the Kingdom, ready to fly to arms on the slightest provocation, were still large; and they could rely for help upon Ireland, where the great Anglo-Irish families were at least half-independent, Scotland, which was traditionally hostile, and the Netherlands, where Edward IV's sister, Margaret, had her court as Dowager-Duchess of Burgundy.

Lambert Simnel. Accordingly, the first attack was launched in 1487 from Ireland. An Oxford tradesman's son, Lambert Simnel, was accepted by Margaret as her nephew, the Earl of Warwick, who was in fact in prison in London. She furnished him with men and money, and sent him to Ireland, where he was generally recognised as king. To crush the conspiracy the real Earl of Warwick was produced and shown to the public, but in vain. An expedition crossed the Irish Channel to Lancashire and was trying to capture the fortress of Newark in Lincolnshire, when Henry came up with and destroyed it at the village of Stoke. The King, who was always inclined to be merciful, spared Simnel's life, and made him a turnspit in the royal kitchen, just to show what unlikely persons the Irish and their confederates were prepared to treat as royalties.

Perkin Warbeck. Nevertheless, a more serious and prolonged rebellion on similar lines broke out in 1492. Perkin Warbeck was a handsome Fleming, who happened to come to Ireland as a silk merchant's assistant, and was

persuaded to play the part of the younger of the sons of Edward IV, who were murdered in the Tower. For several years he was a danger that cropped up wherever the English were in disfavour—in Ireland, in Flanders, and finally at the court of King James IV of Scotland. In 1496 James crossed the Border, using Warbeck's claims as pretext for a raid, which was quite unsuccessful but had an unexpected sequel. The English king demanded money from Parliament to fit out an expedition to punish his neighbour, whereupon the Cornishmen rebelled and marched on London, saying that they would not pay a tax for a purpose that did not directly concern their remote county. For a moment Henry's throne was in imminent danger, but James of Scotland and his ally Warbeck, who was now back in Ireland, delayed their attack until after the King had won a complete victory over the Cornishmen encamped upon Blackheath outside London. The Scottish War soon fizzled out, while Warbeck, landing in the West a few weeks too late and failing in the siege of Exeter, gave himself up at last and made a full confession of the imposture. For two years he remained in prison, but in the end he involved the hapless Earl of Warwick in one of his plans of escape, and the King took the opportunity to rid himself of the real, together with the pretended, claimant to his throne—his one act of cruelty.

Poynings' Law; Act against Livery and Maintenance. The double execution of 1499 ended the menace of a new Wars of the Roses. It had been stayed by other measures at the same time as those military episodes which we have been recounting. To checkmate Warbeck's schemes, Henry made treaties successively with France, Flanders, and (after his capture) Scotland, on terms which it will be convenient to consider later. In Ireland, which at this time so nearly cut itself adrift from England, he reduced the Parliament (which had voted a Pretender to be king) to order by his administrator, Sir Edward Poynings. He had no force adequate to the proper conquest of the country, but he asserted the king's

authority in the Pale and got a law passed, whereby no Irish Parliament could be summoned and no Irish Bill brought forward without the previous approval of the King in Council. In England likewise the king had set about the suppression of the general lawlessness and disorder, which did so much to foster rebellion. One famous example is Henry's law against Livery and Maintenance—that is to say, the keeping of retainers by the factious nobles and their practice of 'maintaining' their dependants' lawsuits through illegal pressure on the courts to give favourable decisions.

Court of Star Chamber Reorganised. This was not the first law against these practices, which had done a great deal to foment the Wars of the Roses, but it was the first to be enforced. For in the same year in which it was passed (1487) Henry made his great Star Chamber law. The ordinary law courts had been proved, time and again, to be too timid to deal effectively with great causes or great criminals, but the king had always retained, and sometimes used, the power to try people in special courts under his own immediate eye and authority. Such a court was that which had long sat in the Star Chamber at Westminster, to which a statute now gave the specified right to try cases of turbulence and rebellion, while it kept also its older powers, which were directly derived from the prerogative or personal authority of the Crown, which had established it. This prerogative court was immensely effective, because its members were mostly royal councillors, whom 'overmighty subjects' could not intimidate; it was hampered by no rules, used any means of investigation it liked (including torture), and inflicted any penalty it liked (excepting death); and its only concern was to carry out the wishes of the king, with whom it was in close contact. At first this court, and others like it, were very popular with all who desired good order and prompt justice, such as the rising middle class.

(2) THE NEW RULE

The Tudor Council. Once he was securely established on the throne, King Henry VII devoted himself to a policy which should avoid the chief misfortunes of his predecessors. By so doing he laid the foundations of the Tudor monarchy broad and deep. In the first place, he followed up his development of the Star Chamber, which checked the illegal activities of the nobles, by checking also those legal activities, through which they had often had an undue influence upon the government of the country. The moment was favourable, because so many of the great houses had lost their chief members in the Wars of the Roses, and, although the membership of the House of Lords soon rose to normal again, the nobles were much poorer than they had been in the Middle Ages. The King's plan was to choose the members of his Privy Council from lawyers and other typical men of the middle class. Picked out for their brains and efficiency, the new councillors might be relied upon to devote themselves to the King's interests, because their position in the world—unlike that of a proud and factious noble—depended entirely on the royal favour. Such men we shall see advising and assisting all the Tudors, supervising the whole administration of the country, consulting on policy, and drafting legislation, which they themselves brought before the House of Commons when they had secured election as Members of Parliament.

Justices of the Peace. Furthermore, Henry VII chose as the main link between his Council and his subjects another middle-class type of official, the Justice of the Peace, who had been of minor importance until this period, when almost every statute heaped new duties upon him. These country squires punished criminals, built roads and bridges, licensed alehouses, enforced attendance at church, fixed wages, watched the disaffected, and were, indeed, both the eye and the mouthpiece and the strong arm of Tudor government. They did their work loyally for the most part, and received the respect of their neighbours

for their chief reward. What a change from the local anarchy of the earlier fifteenth century, and what a shrewd device of an economically minded sovereign, who obtained their services virtually for nothing! We may reckon in under the same count the support of London, which was freely given to all the Tudors, important both as a vast reservoir of men and as the chief centre of public opinion in the country.

Treaty of Etaples, 1492. In the second place the new dynasty was immensely strengthened by a prudent foreign policy, which specialised in a new sort of alliance—alliances for peace. Only once did Henry let himself be drawn into war on the Continent, when he took up arms to prevent Brittany, the last of the independently ruled provinces, from being absorbed in France. But this was the exception that proves the rule, for having obtained military subsidies from Parliament, Henry followed up a very half-hearted campaign by an eager and profitable peace. At the Treaty of Étaples France paid England a sum of money without precedent in French history.

Magnus Intercursus. Thus Henry turned his back upon 'glory' and barren conquests such as had delighted earlier kings, seeking practical profits for himself—and his subjects. For the second most striking event in his foreign policy was a trade treaty, the Magnus Intercursus of 1496, whereby the Netherlands abandoned their championship of Yorkist claimants, and the trade with England was completely freed from all the duties that had been imposed as reprisals. This was very advantageous, as Flanders was the chief market for English cloth, and ten years later the commercially minded monarch seized a chance to get a fresh treaty with bigger advantages for English traders, which the Netherlanders angrily christened the Malus Intercursus as harmful to their interests. This latter agreement was cancelled within a couple of years, but the two together reflect Henry's keen interest in the increase of the national wealth: this king, says Bacon, "could not endure to see trade sick." [See Economic Section, p. 104/1.]

Marriage Alliances. The prudent foreign policy took yet another form in the arrangement of marriage alliances. Henry's daughter, Margaret, was given to James IV of Scotland in 1502, to mark a solemn peace between the two neighbours. The peace barely outlasted the reign, but the marriage in the fullness of time led to the union of the crowns, when Margaret's great-grandson inherited the English throne as James VI and I. A still more important wedding, on which Henry expended large sums of money, had been celebrated the previous year between his elder son, Arthur, and Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. This was the outcome of a great European event, the long series of wars between France and Spain, which opened with the French invasion of Italy to claim possession of Naples in 1494. In spite of the Treaty of Étaples, England chose the Spanish side against her hereditary foe (though she gave Spain no active help in the war), and thereby secured a powerful ally, whom she retained for some forty years. But it was also the cause of great English events, for on Arthur's death in 1502 a papal dispensation was obtained to enable his widow to marry the younger brother, Henry, in his stead: hence the long story of Henry VIII's divorce suit. So cheap and successful were these two marriage-alliances that, on the death of the Queen in 1503, the King himself sought all over Europe for a profitable bride, and even thought of suing for the hand of Joanna, the mad heiress of Spain.

Accumulation of Treasure. But, as a matter of fact, Henry was fated to remain a widower, which probably helped him in the last—and least permanent—of his strokes of policy, namely, his economies. The Lancastrian kings had suffered greatly from their poverty, which enabled wealthy nobles to despise, and importunate Parliaments to control, them: money alone could buy siege-trains to overawe baronial castles or render the summons of the Commons unnecessary. Henry's money came from three main sources: the restoration to the Crown of all lands alienated by it since 1455, together with confiscations from traitors;

the customs duties, voted him for life and increasing with every growth in the volume of trade; and the 'benevolences,' which he took as a kind of extra taxation from the rich. Since Henry was by nature thrifty, the money accumulated so fast that Parliaments entirely ceased to be held in the last six years of the reign—a mark of royal power; and he left his son a record hoard, estimated at £4,500,000 in modern money.

Financial Exactions of Henry's Last Years. The darker side of the picture was the miserliness of Henry VII's later years. His great Chancellor, Cardinal Morton, was dead, leaving inferior men like the lawyers Empson and Dudley to extort vast sums of money from the King's unfortunate subjects. When his time came, it cannot be pretended that this great ruler, merciful and sagacious as he was, died in possession of his people's love.

(3) ENGLAND AND THE NEW WORLDS

Portuguese and Spanish Discoveries. The reign laid solid foundations for great days to come, but it must not be imagined that the England of Henry VII was the most important of States. While he was struggling against the Pretenders, Portugal and Spain, free from such internal squabbles, were altering the future of all European countries by discoveries East and West. In 1487 the Portuguese ended a long search by rounding the Cape of Good Hope, and ten years later a Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, sailed to India. Thus a sea-borne direct trade with the Far East, in which even bulky goods might be handled, was for the first time made possible. Meanwhile, in 1492, an Italian mariner in Spanish pay sailed westwards to outstrip the Portuguese by finding a route to the fabled East the other way round. All unknown, America lay in Columbus's path: striking land, probably at the Bahamas, he made his Spanish masters heirs to the wealth of a mighty continent. The following year the Pope divided all newly discovered lands between the two rivals by means of an imaginary

line drawn down the Atlantic—Portuguese territory lying to the east of the line, Spanish to the west. [See Map, p. 69/1.]

Voyages of the Cabots. While the Portuguese were importing spices from the East Indies and establishing their trading-posts all through the Eastern seas, while Spanish soldiers were embarking on the conquest of Mexico and Central and South America and bringing home their immense hoards of precious metal, England stood aside, remote and poor. Her only maritime exploit was the voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot, father and son, Italian sailors who fared from Bristol with the King's authority. In 1497 they made their landfall in North America and explored its coast-line to the southwards. Probably it was Newfoundland that they reached, but what is certain is that they found neither spices nor gold, but only fish. Thus the Cabots were the first modern Europeans to reach the American mainland—in 1497 Columbus had not yet penetrated farther than the islands—but the part that they discovered was then the least valuable, and the exploitation of the great cod-banks by English (and French) fishermen was the only result.

The Italian Renaissance at its Height. There was also another New World, into whose inheritance England entered with equal slowness, namely, the new outlook of mind and artistic riches which the Renaissance was producing elsewhere. In Italy this was the age when Leonardo da Vinci painted, when Raphael created his frescoes, and Michelangelo shaped his immortal sculptures. It was the age when every Pope wrote classical Latin and steeped himself in Greek. It was the age when the freeing of the mind from the good as well as the bad things of the Middle Ages was clearly seen in Machiavelli's *Prince*. This book, published in 1513, deserves at least a passing mention on account of the enduring influence of its doctrines. Discarding the notion that Christianity governed or should govern the relations of the different States in Christendom, Machiavelli boldly claimed that the ruler of the State was

justified in any action, however wrong by the standards of private morals, if only it would benefit his State. In other words, treachery and violence could be justified in the public interest by their success.

Greek in England. The new ideas of art and freedom penetrated very slowly into northern climes. But in the course of Henry VII's reign the first two Englishmen, Grocyn and Linacre, returned from Italy to Oxford with a knowledge of Greek, then the foundation of all things. Grocyn lectured upon Greek literature, Linacre upon Greek principles of medicine, and in 1497 they were joined at Oxford by a third teacher, John Colet, who startled the learned world by expounding the meaning of St Paul's Epistles on the basis of the Greek language in which they were written. Colet, who also founded St Paul's School to further the new ideas of education, became the centre of a circle of scholars known as the Oxford Reformers, which included the Dutchman, Erasmus, who found in Oxford a congenial home for his wide studies of the humanities, and the brilliant youth, later Sir Thomas More.

Figures of the English Renaissance. Two figures especially point the contrast to the gloomy, narrow intellectual outlook of the ageing King. One is the author of *Utopia*, the political satire which More published in 1516, discussing with a new freedom how an ideal State might be organised. The other is Henry, Prince of Wales, athlete, musician, poet, and scholar, the very type of those Renaissance princes who, in lands farther south, lived in the sunshine of the arts which they patronised, and the shadow of Machiavelli's principles which they practised.

CHAPTER III

HENRY VIII AND WOLSEY

1509–1529

"The Cardinal of York by reason of his excellent qualities governs everything alone, so that foreign envoys fancy themselves negotiating not with a cardinal but with another king."

From a report made to the Pope, 1517.

(1) THE GREAT CARDINAL

Character of King Henry VIII. The new king was one of the most remarkable men in English history, gifted with an energy and determination which enabled him to wrench the nation's life into a wholly new course, to change a parliamentary monarchy into an open tyranny, and to trample on the feelings of the best and noblest among his subjects—yet he died after a reign of thirty-eight years unshaken on his throne. But the dark future was for long concealed. In his first phase 'bluff King Hal,' the idol of his people, lived the care-free life of a Renaissance court, his time divided between pursuits athletic and artistic. His ministers, so soon as he found one he could trust, should do the dreary business of government for him: meanwhile, he added to his popularity by the easy device of executing his father's extortioners, Empson and Dudley.

Battles of the Spurs and Flodden Field. There was, however, one kind of politics fit for a king, and that was the prosecution of some glorious war abroad. A good opportunity soon offered, for the struggle between France and Spain for power in Italy suddenly turned into a less

equal contest, in which the Papacy and Venice joined Spain and the Holy Roman Empire (not yet united under one sovereign) to drive the French out of that country. It was called the Holy League because its creator was Pope Julius II, and the devout Henry hastened to become a member of such a pious body, with the intention of reviving the old policy of conquest in France. His first campaign in 1512 aimed at the conquest of Guienne and was an entire failure, though Henry's allies in the League succeeded (temporarily) in the main object of expelling the French from Italy. But the following year the English armies did much better. The King in person headed an invasion of France on the Flemish border; a rather easy triumph was obtained at Guinegate, where the speed of the French retreat won for the battle the nickname of 'The Spurs'; and Thérouanne and Tournai were surrendered, representing the first English conquests abroad since the Hundred Years' War. Furthermore, during the King's absence the Scots had taken advantage of the Regency of Queen Catherine, whom they supposed unwarlike, to cross the Border; but she proved her mettle by her promptness in despatching the Earl of Surrey with the levies of all the northern counties to meet the invaders. At Flodden Field, just south of the Tweed, they won a tremendous victory: James himself and all 'the flowers of the forest' were slain, to the number of 11,000 men. The kingdom of Scotland sank into confusion and the threat of invasion was for a whole generation removed.

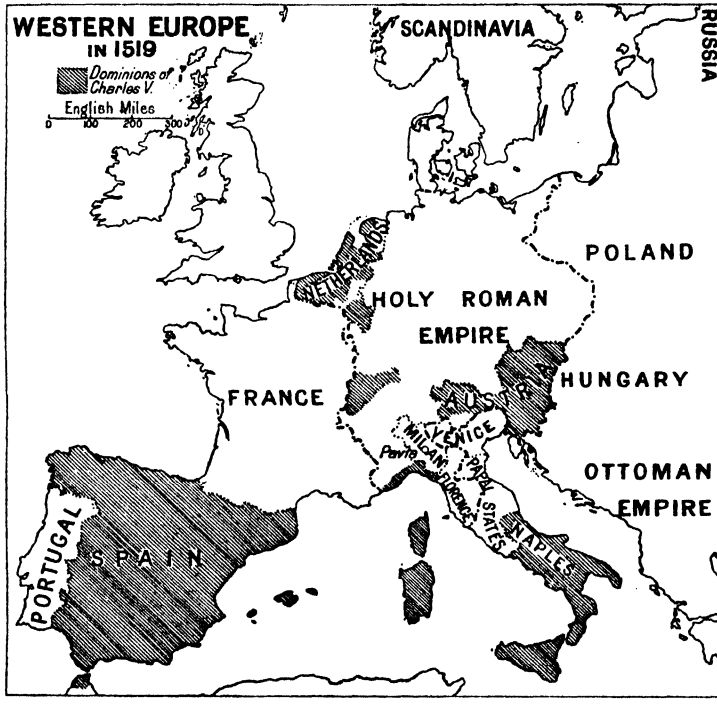
Peace with France, 1514. The moment of triumph was followed by an immense disappointment for Henry, since the Holy League began to break up just when things were going so well, and the King of Spain, disregarding England, toyed with the idea of a French alliance. Henry met this situation by a bold reversal of his own policy. In 1514 he made peace with France, acquiring Tournai and an increase in the subsidies that the French still paid to England under the Treaty of Étaples; and the King's sister, Mary, was given in marriage to Louis XII of France.

The last provision was the least successful, as Louis' death the following year set Mary free, and before her all-powerful brother could intervene she married an old admirer, the Duke of Suffolk, an event which was later to cause complications in the succession to the throne.

Thomas Wolsey. But by this time the King, finding so little glory, had largely surrendered the administration of affairs into the hands of a minister, whose capacity had been revealed in organising supplies for the war and making arrangements for the peace. Like most Tudor ministers, Thomas Wolsey was of humble birth, the son of a grazier in Suffolk, but, unlike the other leading statesmen of the age, he was an ecclesiastic, who had risen from a college fellowship and a country rectory to be the servant of Henry VII's ministers and finally the servant of that King himself. Under Henry VIII he quickly obtained the highest offices because of his ability as a statesman, his industrious ambition, his imposing dignity, and—last but not least—the dexterity with which he got the King to prefer pleasure to politics. For ten years at least this man's will was law: Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of York, Cardinal, and Papal Legate, Wolsey was equally powerful in Church and State and gave audience to trembling ambassadors, when the proud words "*Ego et rex meus*" might preface his decisions.

European Predominance of Charles V. The main problem of policy was still that of the rivalry of France and Spain, which entered on a new phase soon after Francis I, as daring and eager for action as Henry himself and equally young, had followed Louis XII on the throne of the former Power. By two successive deaths Spain waxed greater and greater. [See Genealogical Table, p. 89/1.] In 1516 its crown, which already included among its possessions Naples and much of the New World, passed to Charles, son of Philip I and Joanna, who had previously inherited the rich Netherlands from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy. Then in 1519 Charles's grandfather, Maximilian of Hapsburg, also died, bequeathing him

the vast Austrian dominions. Charles's power was the greatest Europe had seen for many centuries. Since, moreover, Maximilian's death left vacant the throne of the Holy Roman Empire, to which both Charles and Francis aspired,



the question was definitely posed—which side should England support? Since 1514 the peace with France had been uneasily maintained—by the sacrifice of Tournai among other expedients—and, as France was now obviously the weaker, to continue to support her would be the best means of avoiding the tyranny of one predominant Power in Europe. Unfortunately, two factors pulled England the other way—war against France was popular by reason of the traditional hatred of English and French, whereas the marriage-alliance with Spain had held good for twenty

years; and the all-powerful monarch, Charles, was the more likely of the two to enable Wolsey to achieve his last ambition, the papal throne.

Alliance with Charles V, 1521. In the Imperial election Henry offered himself as a third candidate, but stood no chance: in the end, the seven German Electors gave Charles his fourth throne as the Emperor Charles V—in Spain he was Charles I—and the French prepared for war. Accordingly, a meeting between Henry and Francis was staged near Calais on the Field of the Cloth of Gold—a scene of gilded pavilions, tournaments, banquets, and pageantry, worthy of two such monarchs in their gallant prime and that pride of human life and achievements which the Renaissance taught. But the meeting effected no lasting alliance, partly because of the cunning with which Charles V had already offered Wolsey his help when the Pope died. Next year (1521) Henry met Charles without any ceremony at Gravelines, became his ally, and on the outbreak of the expected war made two more expeditions against France.

Battle of Pavia, 1525. However, in 1525 a great battle, fought under the walls of Pavia in Italy, which the French were besieging, altered the whole situation. The French army was destroyed, Francis I was a prisoner in the Spanish camp, Charles was master of Europe, and France lay open to invasion. The King and Wolsey wished to seize this opportunity for decisive gains from their fallen foe, but, as Parliament had already shown great reluctance to sanction war taxes, they decided to finance the forthcoming campaign by means of an 'amicable loan'—forced gifts from the rich, which would offend the rich alone. The Cardinal, who was a by-word for a temper which would brook no opposition to his will, attempted to browbeat his victims, but in vain: Parliaments had given less than he asked, but the 'amicable loan' produced nothing at all except rebellion. As the Tudor kings had no regular army and no police force, it was necessary for the Government to submit.

Alliance with France—Balance of Power. The policy of England was thereupon reversed, a fact for which Wolsey has been given great credit by later observers, who see in his manœuvre a recognition that England's main interest lay in preserving the Balance of Power, *i.e.* in shifting her weight to the support of the weaker side in any great European quarrel. Such a policy, it is said, prevents the preponderance of any one Power, which might endanger the liberty and independence of England, and, when two greater Powers were evenly matched, would secure for English diplomacy the maximum importance. If so, Wolsey should surely have changed sides in 1521, but it is doubtful whether he saw so deeply into things. Shortage of money compelled him to give up old-fashioned schemes for annexing French provinces, but, although he duly made peace with France in the year of her defeat, the recovery of France in the next four years was due to other causes than English help, which was of the slightest. In 1529 France and Spain made peace at Cambrai, but England's intervention had mattered so little that she was not consulted in the arrangements decreed between the two great combatants; nor, finally, had Wolsey come any nearer to the papal throne, for which Charles, though full of promises, had never really favoured Wolsey's candidature, albeit the office had twice fallen conveniently vacant—in 1522 and again in 1523.

(2) THE DIVORCE QUESTION

Wolsey's Magnificence. The Battle of Pavia was the first link in a long chain of events which brought Wolsey's supremacy to an end: but meanwhile, how great that supremacy was! Few men have left behind them such an impression of outward splendour and magnificence as this grazier's son, with his two processional crosses borne ever before him, his household of five hundred, and his palace at Hampton Court. But Wolsey was also a child of the Renaissance, interested in learning; and, if the revenues

of his offices were swallowed up in personal expenditure, he used the powers which they gave him to suppress a few ill-kept monasteries and to found a great college in their place. This institution, intended to train up better clergy, survived Wolsey's downfall with only a change of name, Cardinal College becoming Christchurch, Oxford. The great school which he also planned in his native town of Ipswich was less fortunate.

Domestic Policy. The Parliament of 1523, alluded to above, dared, indeed, with Sir Thomas More as its Speaker, to insist on its privilege of free discussion and to refuse a part of the war-taxation which the Cardinal demanded. But this was the only Parliament held during Wolsey's period of power—he was the one Tudor minister who was definitely hostile to parliamentary institutions—and in the absence of the people's representatives his authority matched his magnificence. In domestic affairs, such as we are now considering, that authority was not ill-used. Wolsey's government was strong, as was clearly shown in his firm suppression of a monstrous riot against alien workmen, of whom the Londoners were jealous, which took place on the long-remembered Evil May Day of 1517. On its legal side, this Lord Chancellor's administration was likewise humane: he made the law cheaper for humble suitors, and it is believed that his decisions of cases showed enlightened views. Moreover, in the great social question of the day he did what he could for the poor. [See Economic Section, p. 96/1.]

Attitude to Enclosures. That question was the enclosure movement, a complex series of changes which had begun in the fifteenth century, as soon as shortage of labour made sheep-farming more profitable than the tillage of the open fields. The main grievance was that many arable farms, each of which had formerly maintained a family, and sometimes whole villages at once, were being thrown together into a single sheep-run, requiring only a hedge and a shepherd. The resulting unemployment alarmed Wolsey, who appointed a commission of inquiry in 1517 and tried

to enforce laws, such as had been vainly passed before, to check all such enclosures, whether for deer-parks or sheep-pastures, as resulted in depopulation—the displacement of ploughmen and the destruction of villages. Enclosures, however, were a paying proposition, and the justices of the peace were in many places the worst offenders, so the Cardinal had to be content with inflicting fines in some bad cases, leaving the grievance to fester for many years: but there is no doubt that his sympathies lay with the poor.

Nature of the Divorce Question. As long as his position with the King was safe, Wolsey could afford to disregard the jealousy and dislike of the rich. It was a court question that eventually shook him from his pedestal: the succession to the second Tudor king was uncertain. All Queen Catherine's children had died in infancy except one daughter; she was now ailing and ageing, and unlikely to increase her family; and no woman had ever yet been allowed to inherit the English crown. Further, a lady of the court, named Anne Boleyn, had attracted the fancy of the King, who was already tired of his wife and far from being a faithful husband. Henry therefore longed to woo Anne as his Queen; but the main question was that of a male heir, a matter of such moment that the King began to believe that a curse rested upon his unlucky marriage, and that it had been no lawful marriage to begin with, because Catherine had been his brother's widow. It was therefore a religious as well as a political and a personal question, for which Wolsey had to find a solution.

Attitude of the Papacy. The only authority which could annul the marriage of King Henry or any other Catholic was the Pope, who would normally have acceded to the request. Kings not infrequently asked such a favour, and in this case a suitable legal pretext was available in the papal dispensation which had originally allowed the marriage with a brother's widow and which might have been wrong: if it were wrong, there had been no legal marriage. Unfortunately for Wolsey, the position was not normal. In 1527 the Emperor Charles V followed up his victory at Pavia

by the capture and sack of Rome, a terrible orgy in which reverence for the Church and for the papal office seemed to have utterly vanished. Pope Clement VII now lay virtually a prisoner in Charles's hands, quite unable to risk offending a man who recognised in Catherine, not only his aunt and a member of the royal house of Spain, but a firm supporter of the former Anglo-Spanish alliance. Neither could Wolsey look for help in this matter to his new ally, France. Henry rejected a scheme by which he should use the divorce as a chance to marry a French princess himself, so that from the French point of view the only result of putting pressure on the Pope to carry out the King of England's wishes would have been to render Catherine's daughter, Mary, who was betrothed to the Dauphin of France, illegitimate, and therefore no suitable match for him.

The Legatine Trial, 1529. For two breathless years (1527–9) the Pope tried to avoid committing himself. A special legatine court, to consist of Wolsey and an Italian legate, Campeggio, was appointed to try the case. Campeggio journeyed to England with politic absence of speed. The court held long sessions, at which the injured Queen defended herself with spirit. It then adjourned for a summer vacation. Finally, towards the end of July 1529, it became known that the Pope had recalled the case for his own decision—and Charles's hold on Italy, newly confirmed by the Peace of Cambrai, made it certain what that decision would be. Henry saw that diplomacy had failed to get him what he wanted, so a Parliament was summoned to try other methods, and his diplomatic minister fell from power.

Fall of Wolsey, 1529–30. Once he had lost the King's favour, Wolsey proved an easy victim. His duties as a churchman he had consistently neglected, rarely even visiting his various dioceses; his pride had aroused the jealousy of all the great men in the State; and, since Henry VIII had long since spent his father's treasure, Wolsey was the object of general dislike when he sought to squeeze out taxes and benevolences for his master. He was dismissed from the Chancellorship and stripped of his wealth on the

specious plea that he deserved prosecution under the second Act of Præmunire (1393) for accepting the office of papal legate—that Act having been designed against persons who accepted papal decrees without the king's permission, permission which in this case had been tacitly given by the king's recognition of his office. He retired humbly enough to his see of York, which was still left him, but towards the close of the following year (1530) he was summoned to London to answer fresh charges of high treason, and died at Leicester Abbey on the way. Great changes were now on foot, for which the career of the Cardinal had been the preparation. But we miss its true significance if we consider only his tortuous foreign policy, which left no permanent mark on history, since the pursuit of the Balance of Power was not a wholly new idea, and, in any case, Wolsey largely failed to carry it out. What mattered was that for more than a decade one strong man had held supreme power in both Church and State: those powers Henry himself now strove to concentrate in his own person. With Parliament assisting, he meant to be fully sovereign of his realm.

CHAPTER IV

THE BREACH WITH ROME

1529–1547

"You have no authority without the common consent of all Christendom to make a law or act of parliament against the union of Christendom."

Defence of Sir Thomas More, 1535.

(1) THE NEW POLICY

New Ministers—Thomas Cromwell. After the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, the failure of diplomatic means was recognised and the King tried new methods of getting the divorce. This stage was marked by the employment of new ministers. Sir Thomas More, whose liberal outlook we have already noticed, became Chancellor; and a cleric named Thomas Cranmer obtained favour by a suggestion that the experts in ecclesiastical law should be canvassed in all the universities of Europe and invited to settle the case instead of the Pope. Nothing was gained by this scheme, but Cranmer was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1533 and remained at the King's side for the rest of the reign. The King's chief adviser, however, was a completely self-made man, the son of a blacksmith, Thomas Cromwell, who had been a faithful servant to Wolsey in such difficult matters as the spoliation of monasteries for his Oxford college and had extricated himself with great cleverness from being involved in the Cardinal's downfall. Cromwell had no religion and no scruples, but he served a principle enshrined in Machiavelli's *Prince*, namely, that the power of the king ought to be absolute: a breach with Rome, an accumulation of treasure, and a ruthless suppression of

any resistance would make it so. Step by step Cromwell became the King's agent for carrying out this policy, not least in his dealings with the newly summoned Parliament.

Reformation Parliament not Lutheran. The Reformation Parliament, which sat from 1529 to 1536 and marks a revival of parliamentary power and authority, effected a great revolution; but it is important to notice at the outset that, under the King's and Cromwell's guidance, what it effected was only one-half of the change that was then possible. The old grievance against the Church concerned its excessive wealth and its dependence on a foreign ruler—the Pope. But there was also a new grievance, that its teaching was actually wrong, as was now being vigorously asserted on the Continent by followers of Martin Luther. At Wittenberg in 1517 he took his stand against the sale of papal indulgences—pieces of paper which were supposed to entitle the purchaser to the remission of so many years in Purgatory; and by 1521, when he was finally denounced by the authorities of the Church, he had extended his opposition to such important doctrines as transubstantiation. This was the belief that the bread and wine of the Sacrament underwent an actual physical change into the Body and Blood of Our Lord—a miracle which inculcated an immense reverence for the priest as the person who performed it. When the Reformation Parliament met, the Lutherans already formed a separate Church in many of the German States, defying both the Pope and the Emperor Charles V, and basing their beliefs on Luther's writings and on a German translation of the Bible, which he had made for their use. Lutheranism resembled Lollardry, which had revived in strength at the end of the fifteenth century; and the new teaching, having crossed the Channel, found favour with enthusiasts whom the Renaissance studies had taught to discuss questions on their merits. Such scholars as Tyndale, Latimer, and Cranmer thus learnt to sympathise with Lutheranism at Cambridge. But King Henry, like the vast majority of his subjects, was strongly opposed to it, and in 1521 the Pope awarded the title of *Fidei Defensor*

to the King and his heirs after him as a reward for a book he wrote to combat Luther's heretical opinions.

Anti-clerical Measures. The Reformation Parliament followed the King's lead: it did not attack doctrine, but the privileges and organisation of the Church. The clergy were quickly taught that valuable privileges existed only on sufferance: in 1529 clerical fees were reduced and pluralism (the holding of several church offices by the same person) was restricted. Then in 1531 and 1532 Parliament aided and abetted the King in a further attack on their independent organisation. First they were threatened with the severe penalties (forfeiture of goods and imprisonment for life) of the Act of Præmunire because they had recognised Wolsey as papal legate. The King had also recognised him, but no one dare protest, and an Act of Parliament pardoned this imaginary offence on consideration of a clerical payment to the King, amounting to £118,000. At the same time the clergy were forced to recognise Henry as their 'Supreme Head, so far as the law of Christ allows.' Then Parliament was encouraged to put this vague recognition to the test by laying complaints against the canon law or regulations of the Church, with the result that in May 1532 the Convocation of the Church in England, which acted as its legislature and made the canons, undertook to submit all existing canons to the King's approval and to make no new ones without his consent.

Anti-papal Measures. Thus the clergy in England, confronted with the jealousy of Parliament, were rendered incapable of resisting the royal will, if it should be turned against the Papacy. Would the Pope take the hint and surrender? The year 1532 was the last of doubtful manœuvrings, in which the main factor was the Act of Annates, providing that the customary first year's revenue of their sees was not to be presented by new bishops to the Papacy, and that, if the Pope then refused facilities for their consecration, they might be consecrated against his will. This stringent measure was suspended for a year, in the hope that the Pope might still be induced to give

in, and during the truce (if we can call it such) Henry secured something that he still lacked for effective action —due papal confirmation of Cranmer's elevation to the see of Canterbury.

Act of Appeals (1533); Act of Supremacy (1534). In 1533 came the breaking-point. Parliament passed the Act of Appeals, forbidding any appeal from the English Church courts to Rome; and Archbishop Cranmer, sitting in the highest English Church court, obediently declared that Henry's marriage, though it had lasted more than twenty years, was never legally valid. Thus Anne Boleyn became Queen, and even the loyal Londoners pitied the ill-used Lady Catherine, who died in 1536: but the important fact was the deliberate defiance of the Pope. From this step there was no retreat possible. Annates and all other payments to the Papacy were diverted to the Crown, and the Crown likewise received the right to nominate all bishops for election by their cathedral chapter. Finally the Act of Supremacy confirmed the King in his new dignity as 'Supreme Head in earth' of the Church of England and gave him full powers for its supervision. In the same year (1534) a monstrous Statute of Treasons, against which even the faithful Commons murmured, made it high treason to suggest that the King was a heretic. Thus Henry VIII became the first king in English history to hold complete sovereignty over his subjects, ruling churchmen as much as laymen, dictating to men's consciences as well as to their political activities.

(2) THE ROYAL TYRANNY

Cromwell's Reign of Terror. During the next half-dozen years England experienced a Reign of Terror, in which Cromwell, who was soon to be appointed the King's Vicegerent for the government of the Church, showed what it meant to put His Majesty outside all restraint. Queen Anne Boleyn, who had borne the King only a daughter, Elizabeth, perished within three years of her triumph on

a charge of unfaithfulness; but before that time reluctance to accept the sudden upheaval of which she was a cause had brought better lives than hers to an end. In May 1535 some monks of the Charterhouse were executed for refusal to accept the Royal Headship of the Church, and a few months later Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and the King's former friend, Sir Thomas More, suffered the same fate. Fisher was a cardinal and More an ex-Lord Chancellor and, what was more, a person of exceptional piety and purity of life: to kill them would not only stifle resistance, it also made the breach with Rome irreparable.

Dissolution of Lesser Monasteries, 1536. But that which chiefly safeguarded the constitutional change was the social change, which Henry inaugurated in virtue of the papal powers that he had seized. Through Cromwell, he carried out a strict visitation of the monasteries, casting covetous eyes on their land and riches. The visitors knew their business and reported voluminous evidence, not merely of frivolity and idleness (to which very many of these ancient institutions had no doubt descended), but of flagrant immorality and vice, such as are unlikely to have been at all common. But public opinion had long been hostile to the monks, who led such easy lives, and the Reformation Parliament in its last session (1536) readily obliged Henry by an Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries, whereby the property of all monastic houses with an income of less than £200 a year was confiscated to the King.

Further Measures. There were between three and four hundred of these scattered up and down the country, so the actual work of transferring and selling their property would take time to accomplish. Meanwhile, a new Parliament was summoned in the same year, which marked the drift of events by an Act for extinguishing the authority of 'the Bishop of Rome' and another which obediently declared both Henry's previous marriages void in favour of his new Queen, Jane Seymour. While it was sitting, the King issued the Ten Articles, a confession of faith which was

almost wholly Catholic (though it followed Luther in condemning indulgences and some other ancient superstitions), but which was nevertheless a great innovation, because it was a settlement of church doctrine issued, not by a clerical authority, but by the King.

Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536. The cumulative effect of these events was to provoke a conservative rebellion, the Pilgrimage of Grace, which had for its object the restoration of the old order in Church and State. Its two centres were Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the two counties which contained the largest number of lesser monasteries. The Lincolnshire rising was quickly disposed of, as the gentry who professed to take the lead were very half-hearted, and the King met the armed religious protest of his subjects (for it was little more) by gathering the militia of neighbouring shires: there were about fifty executions. Further north the rebellion was a more serious affair. It found a real leader in the lawyer, Robert Aske, and had a large following, not only among the nobles of the northern shires and the great abbots, but among the devout in every class. The programme included various social items, such as a demand for the enforcement of the statutes against enclosures; but the main points were a return to Rome, the restoration of the dissolved monasteries, and the dismissal of the upstart, Cromwell. Henry, it must be remembered, had no regular army, and the rebels numbered nearly 40,000 men. He therefore saved the immediate situation by promising many concessions, and then, when most of the rebels had dispersed, used a small further rising as excuse for breaking his promises and executing the ringleaders, including Aske.

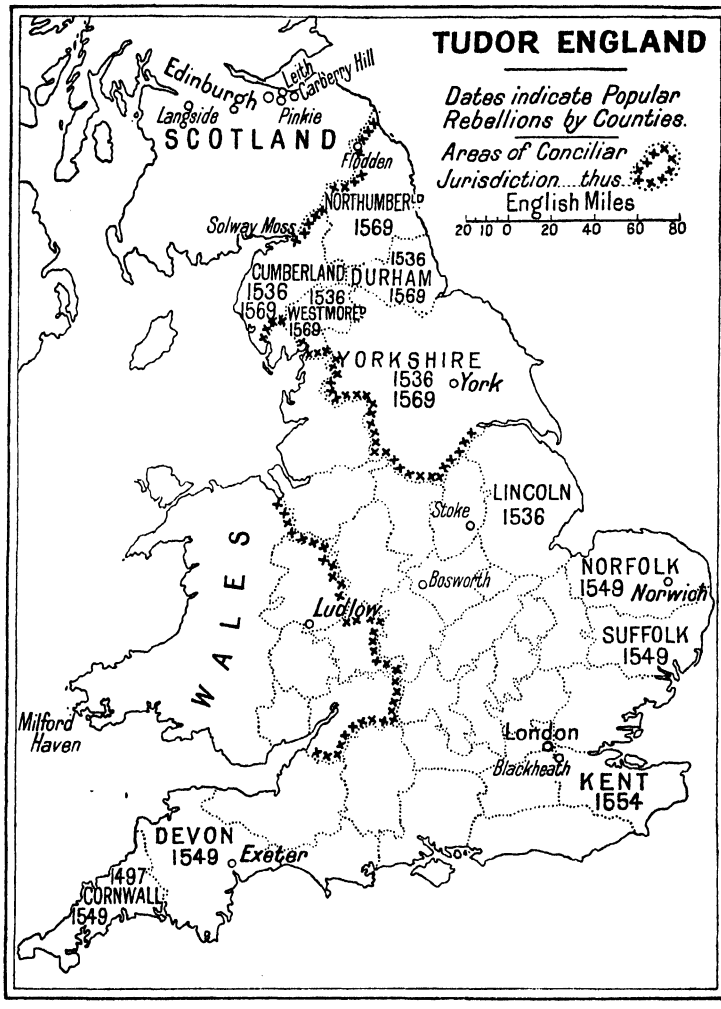
Results of Dissolution—What was Destroyed. One result of the Pilgrimage was to provide a suitable pretext for dissolving the greater monasteries, on the ground that many of their heads had committed treason in the rebellion; so in 1539 a new Act of Parliament merely recognised the second stage in this great revolution, which had actually been accomplished already. The effects of the

Dissolution were manifold. The monks (7000 in number) were turned loose in the world, and, though some received small pensions, others went to swell the numbers of unemployed vagabonds, for whom there was less provision than ever, now that the great abbeys ceased their regular distribution of alms. Desolate regions of the north became more desolate through the destruction of communities which, there at least, had continued to be real centres of civilisation.

What was Created. On the other hand, the King got a great deal of money, which he badly needed. It was soon spent, but a part of it went to the foundation of new bishoprics, such as Oxford and Chester, and to another national object, the building of warships. For Henry VIII, who originated so much, was the first creator of a Royal Navy in the sense of special war vessels acquired by royal order to defend the realm against invasion. He also founded the Royal Dockyards; gave the ships their modern proportions (length three times width); and by mounting a row of cannons at the portholes devised the broadside which won the naval battles of the next three centuries. Most of the monastic land, however, passed by gift of the King or by quick sale, so that he might have ready money, into the hands of courtiers and merchants, self-made men, who thus became the founders of new landed families. Some of these families were ennobled, sooner or later, and replaced the abbots in the House of Lords, which now became predominantly a lay body and therefore more dependent on the Crown. But, nobles and gentry alike, the families that had acquired the lands of the Church would never let them go, and constituted, from generation to generation, a body of opinion which could always be relied upon to oppose a return to Catholic institutions.

New Prerogative Courts. The danger through which the country had just passed also gave an impetus to certain administrative changes, which had for their object an increase in the local effectiveness of the government. In 1534 enhanced powers for enforcing the Royal Council's

orders in the West had been entrusted to the Council of Wales, which sat to hear cases at Ludlow, with authority



over the border shires as well as the Principality itself. Two years later the Union of England and Wales was enacted by a king who was himself the son of a Welshman.

This meant that Welsh counties and boroughs for the first time sent Members to Parliament, and a year or two later the rule of local J.P.'s was likewise extended to the Principality: nevertheless, the Council long continued its beneficent work of enforcing law and order upon high and low alike. In 1537 a similar Council of the North was set on a permanent footing to deal with the recently disturbed counties and to pacify the turbulent region of the Border. Both these Councils, we may notice in passing, resembled the Star Chamber (to which they were responsible) rather than any ordinary law court—interfering in the general administration of their district, trying cases as they saw fit without any regular system of law and procedure, and executing invariably what they believed to be the will of the sovereign.

Act of Six Articles, 1539. That sovereign's power was now approaching its zenith. For a year or two after the Pilgrimage, with its ardent clinging to ancient doctrine, Henry had appeared to lean in the opposite direction, especially when he ordered the Bible in English to be set on view in the churches—albeit neither he nor Cromwell realised that the translation which they sanctioned was substantially the one made more than ten years before by one of the first English Lutherans, the heretic Tyndale. Yet in 1539 Parliament agreed to the important Act of Six Articles, which called a halt to any tendency towards Lutheranism by requiring belief in six essential Catholic doctrines, the first being transubstantiation, and decreeing a death sentence for obstinate disbelief in any one of them. The pious king, whose own views had previously appeared to be wavering, displayed his orthodoxy by having a man hanged for eating meat on Friday.

Statute of Proclamations, 1539. Nor was this all. The same subservient Parliament passed a Statute of Proclamations, which declared that proclamations by the King's Majesty should have the force of law. No doubt it was intended chiefly to apply to Henry's proclamations about matters of religion, issued as Supreme Head of the

Church; but until this law was repealed at the beginning of the next reign there was no legal obstacle left to a complete tyranny, since all laws could apparently be enacted as proclamations without any intervention of Parliament. Thus Cromwell had made his master as supreme as the ideal despots of Machiavelli.

(3) THE CLOSING YEARS

Foreign Policy; Fall of Cromwell, 1540. Henry VIII's breach with Rome had not failed to attract the attention of Catholic Europe. Given some measure of agreement between the great rivals, France and Spain, it might serve as pretext for a very profitable crusade against the heretical Power, but until 1539 the quarrels of Charles V and Francis I left England in peace. In that year, however, an attack seemed imminent, so, in spite of the Catholicism of the doctrine enshrined in the Six Articles, Cromwell persuaded his master to ally himself for safety with the Lutheran States in Germany. Henry's third wife, Jane Seymour, had died soon after the birth of her son, Edward: the alliance could therefore be marked by a fresh marriage between the King and a Lutheran princess, Anne of Cleves. By the time the wedding took place in January 1540, the danger of a Franco-Spanish invasion had, however, died away. The lady was ugly, and her presence in England suggested that Cromwell wished to favour a Lutheran doctrine as well as a Lutheran alliance: Henry decided to divorce her and rid himself of the irksome minister. Once he lost the royal favour, the ruthless Cromwell had no friends, so the King, whom he had made absolute, and Parliament, which had readily followed his guidance in the religious changes, united to decree his death by Act of Attainder.

Ireland. For the last seven years of his reign Henry conducted his own policy, especially in foreign affairs. On whatever he touched he left the impress still of a strong hand. In Ireland, for instance, he had some reason to fear the influence of the Pope, since it was the Pope who had

originally granted the title 'Lord of Ireland' to Henry II. He therefore took for himself the new title 'King of Ireland,' and made the revolt from Rome acceptable to the chieftains by letting them take the monastic lands: but he also showed who was master by imprisoning the Earl of Kildare (a former Lord Deputy) and suppressing with severity a revolt by the other members of that great Irish house, six of whom were executed on the same day in 1537.

Scotland—Solway Moss, 1542. The breach with Rome had likewise altered the position with regard to Scotland, where a Reformation party was growing up, hostile to the Catholic king, James V, and therefore friendly to England. But Henry's imperious nature led him to lose his chance. Instead of waiting patiently for the favourable situation to develop, he made demands upon the Scots which provoked a war. In 1542 his army won a great victory over the Scots at Solway Moss; James V died soon after; and the baby Queen, Mary, who inherited his throne, was demanded as an eventual bride for the English Prince, Edward. The triumph was an empty one. Scottish national pride resented such a proposal following such a defeat; the war continued, with such brutal episodes as the sack of Edinburgh and the murder of Cardinal Beaton, the Catholic leader; and, though the Scots were always beaten, they never gave in.

French War—Capture of Boulogne. But Scotland was the ally of France, a tradition recently renewed in the marriage of the luckless James V to a French princess, Mary of Guise. So the Scottish war was one cause of another French war; the other was fresh overtures from Henry's old ally, Charles V, who was ready to join forces even with a heretic to get his revenge on France, which had strengthened its position by inciting the Lutheran princes to resist him in Germany. This struggle lasted only two years (1544–6). It gave Henry a chance to show the merits of his new navy, which fended off a great French invasion in 1545, and he captured Boulogne, which was retained at the peace; but the main result was to use up his stores of treasure,

so that by the end of the reign he was debasing the currency in order to save bullion at the expense of his subjects.

Religious Policy, 1540–47. Such a policy spelt social confusion some day, but Henry himself remained too strong to suffer. In the very last days of his life he condemned to death the Duke of Norfolk, the greatest nobleman in England, and, though he was saved by the change of sovereign, his son, likewise implicated in high treason, was actually executed. This staving-off of confusion is particularly remarkable, however, in the matter of religious policy. The King's fifth marriage, celebrated about the time of Cromwell's fall from power, marked a movement towards the old faith, for Catherine Howard was the niece of the Duke of Norfolk, a devout Catholic. But his sixth marriage, twelve months after Catherine's execution in 1542, was with the Lady Catherine Parr, a modest follower of the Reformed faith, who survived her lord. These two events epitomise the slight deviations in the royal opinions, which under a weaker king would certainly have thrown the realm into confusion. The chief concrete change of these years tended to create the same uncertainty. In 1544 and 1545 Archbishop Cranmer, whose views were moving gradually away from Catholic doctrine, was allowed to issue the Litany and forms for Morning and Evening Prayer in the English tongue. Already the English Bible was sinking into the minds of the laity: might not the change of service into a form that they could understand portend an appeal to the individual judgment in matters of faith?

Death of Henry VIII, January 1547. The second Tudor king passed away at Westminster in January 1547. When we remember how the first Tudor had with difficulty safeguarded his throne, it becomes obvious that Henry VIII, for all his selfishness, brutality, and lust, could never have carried through the changes he did, had he not possessed the sympathy and devotion, as well as the awe, of his subjects. The troubled years that follow are the measure of his wisdom: lesser men gave more heed to opinion, but were less successful in preserving national unity.

CHAPTER V

THE REFORM OF DOCTRINE

1547–1559

"Be of good comfort, Master Ridley: we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as I trust shall never be put out."

Hugh Latimer, October 16th, 1555.

(1) SOMERSET AND NORTHUMBERLAND

Somerset as Protector. Henry VIII had been authorised by Parliament to decide the succession to his throne: he placed his three children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, in that order, and appointed a council of regency to rule on behalf of the first-named, who was only nine years old in 1547. The Council of Regency included a number of friends of the Reformation, which suggests that Henry had been contemplating some further religious changes: but in any case their power passed almost immediately into the hands of a single individual among them, the King's uncle (brother of Queen Jane Seymour), who became Protector with the title of Duke of Somerset. He held advanced views about many matters, including religion, which he prosecuted with a generous vigour but no real prudence or statesmanship. This is well illustrated by his one venture in foreign policy—an invasion of Scotland, which was intended to help the party of Reformers. A victory was won by Somerset at Pinkie, but it offended Scottish pride, which retaliated by sending their child-queen Mary, the promised bride of Edward, to be educated and eventually married in France.

Preaching of the Reformers. In religion, Somerset

showed his generous impulses by repealing all those stern laws by which Henry VIII, however his own views might change, determined that his people's views should obediently change likewise. Now the people were left free to choose for themselves. The teachings of Martin Luther were already well known in England, and his disbelief in transubstantiation, justification by works, and all special powers claimed by the priesthood for themselves, had been secretly discussed in defiance of King Henry, wherever German influences might penetrate. This Lutheranism was the original form of Protestantism (though the latter name did not begin until 1529), but two other great Protestant teachers had since appeared. The Swiss Reformer, Zwingli, influenced many in England by his uncompromising belief that the Lord's Supper was intended as a mere commemoration; but in the long run it was the Frenchman, Calvin, who made more impression both by his doctrine of predestination (that men have no freedom of will) and by his fanatical hatred of everything that savoured of Rome. All these doctrines were now freely preached in England, especially in those southern districts which were more easily accessible to enthusiasts returning from such centres of the Continental Reformation as Calvin's place of exile at Geneva.

Spoliation of Chantries and Gilds. Parliament seized the opportunity for a fresh act of spoliation. There being no monasteries left for greedy courtiers to plunder, it was decided to suppress as superstitious both the chantries (foundations which paid priests to sing masses for the souls of the dead) and the funds of the trade gilds, in so far as they ministered to similar religious purposes. Many of the chantry—and gild—priests also acted as schoolmasters, but only a small part of what was confiscated went to replace them by 'King Edward VI Grammar Schools': part went to fill the Exchequer, which was still dependent on coining base money to make both ends meet; and much was appropriated by those in high position, such as Somerset himself.

First Prayer-book of Edward VI, 1549. But the general confusion, in which 'Popish' images in the churches suffered more desecration than at the hands of Roundhead troopers a century later, made the drawing up of a new standard of doctrine imperative. In 1549, accordingly, Cranmer produced the First Prayer-book of Edward VI, which contained all the services in English and was to a great extent a translation of Catholic prayers from the Latin. In doctrine Cranmer adopted the cautious, moderate Protestantism of Luther, and, as a further compromise, the Act of Uniformity which accompanied the book did no more than make its use compulsory in the churches without compelling people to attend them. Nevertheless, the Prayer-book provoked a small-scale repetition of the Pilgrimage of Grace in Devon and Cornwall, where priests and peasants joined to besiege the less conservative townsdwellers in Exeter.

Kett's Rebellion. This rebellion, with which the Protestant Protector could feel no sympathy, was suppressed by mercenary troops in July 1549: but meanwhile a social upheaval in a wider area had already begun. Somerset was too liberal in outlook not to appreciate the grievances of the peasants, who found that the rich, in defiance of laws and official orders, such as Wolsey had made, steadily continued to enclose the common pastures and convert plough-lands into sheep-runs. There were movements of protest organised in every southern county during this summer of 1549, but the chief events took place in Norfolk and Suffolk, where the rebels found a leader in a prosperous farmer, who himself owned land, named Robert Kett. They made a huge camp outside Norwich, feasted on the offenders' mutton, and took the city, hoping against hope that the Protector might be strong enough to redress their wrongs. But the Council, which included many enclosers, for once overbore him, and sent Warwick, son of the Dudley of Henry VII's reign and the best English general of the century, who completely crushed the rebellion. Somerset had already incurred some odium by procuring

the execution of his own brother—though the latter richly deserved his punishment for an intrigue to get himself power by marrying the Princess Elizabeth—so the Protectorate was now brought to an end. It was followed by the ascendancy of Warwick under the title of Duke of Northumberland.

Ascendancy of Northumberland. No other person became Protector, but the upshot of a long struggle in the Council, between the man who secretly favoured the rebels and the man who resolutely suppressed them, was the triumph of the latter. In 1551 Warwick, who had acquired a great influence over the boy-king, ingeniously arranged for his minority to be declared at an end, knowing that Edward would act under his instructions. A few months later he became a duke—the only entirely unroyal duke of the whole Tudor period—and his rival, who had already been imprisoned once in 1549, was finally charged with treason and executed. It was definitely a change for the worse: Northumberland pretended to be an ardent Protestant, but was really a plunderer and plotter who cared only for money and power.

Second Prayer-book of Edward VI, 1552. King Edward was himself an enthusiast for further reformation of the Church, so Northumberland easily had his way. Such 'English Catholic' bishops as Bonner of London, who accepted the Royal Supremacy but not the reform of doctrine, had been deprived of their sees, which were now filled by men of extreme views, like Ridley and Hooper, while the great Scottish reformer, John Knox, delighted the precocious king by his discourses as royal chaplain. Meanwhile, Cranmer's views were drawing closer to those of the extreme reformers on the Continent, such as Zwingli, with the result that the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI was framed so as to oppose transubstantiation more uncompromisingly than the first had done. The Second Book also did away with many ceremonies, which enabled the watchful Northumberland to despoil the Church of its chalices, candlesticks, and crosses, wrought in precious

metals and stones. A new Act of Uniformity at the same time provided severe penalties for attendance at any other form of worship than that authorised, and the publication of Cranmer's Forty-Two Articles of Religion completed the establishment of Protestantism in England.

Northumberland and Lady Jane Grey. However, the youthful hope of the Reformers—and of Northumberland—was rapidly dying of consumption. If Henry VIII's will was respected, the throne would pass to the Lady Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon and a resolute champion of her mother's Church. But why should Henry's will be respected more than Edward's? Northumberland's fertile brain hit on a scheme. His son, Lord Guildford Dudley, was quickly married to the youthful Lady Jane Grey, the granddaughter of that younger sister of Henry VIII who had defied his wishes by marrying the Duke of Suffolk. As Lady Jane was a Protestant and a woman, Edward was easily cajoled into making a will in favour of her male heirs, which the fraudulent minister altered to a will in favour of Lady Jane herself. If his son were the Queen's husband he would be sure to keep his authority.

Triumph of Mary Tudor. The Council, including even Elizabeth's secretary, William Cecil, were frightened into connivance, but not so the people. When Edward died, Mary fled into Norfolk, where the struggle of 1549 was still in men's minds; and, as soon as Northumberland set out to conquer this region for Queen Jane, Mary was enthusiastically proclaimed in London behind his back. Northumberland then tried to wriggle out of the consequences by acclaiming Mary himself and professing a sudden conversion to Catholicism: but he was quickly executed, and his innocent sixteen-year-old victim, Lady Jane Grey, conveyed with her husband to the Tower. Apart from its personal aspect, the episode showed that the Protestant enthusiasm was not general, and that respect for law—even the law enshrined in Henry VIII's will—was.

(2) THE REIGN OF MARY

Mary's Policy. The reign of Queen Mary turns upon two questions—her religion and her marriage. Had it not been for her action in the second matter, she looked like succeeding over the first, for before the end of the eventful year 1553 her first Parliament had willingly cancelled all the religious legislation of Edward VI, and England was already back at the peculiar English Catholicism of Henry VIII. Then came her fatal proposal to wed her cousin Philip of Spain, the son and principal heir of Charles V, which not only threatened a more complete restoration of the Catholic faith than the country desired, but—and this was the main point—aroused the national hatred for a foreigner, especially a foreigner for whom England would be but a small part of his future dominions.

Wyatt's Rebellion, 1554. The men of Kent, the county where the influence of reformers fresh from the Continent had been specially felt, rose under Sir Thomas Wyatt to stop the marriage and the restoration that might follow. The Queen was in great danger. She went down to the City and by her high courage and honesty prevailed upon the Londoners, in spite of the Protestant sympathies of many among them, to close London Bridge against the rebels. They came round from the West instead, but failed to fight their way in. Wyatt was taken and executed not unreasonably: but Lady Jane Grey and her husband suffered at the same time, though they had nothing to do with the rising, because they might some day endanger the safety of Queen Mary. Lady Jane shares with Sir Thomas More the distinction of being the noblest victim of ignoble Tudor politics. As for Mary, she had learnt nothing by this demonstration of public feeling: in July (1554) the unpopular marriage was duly celebrated, and with Philip at her side the Queen felt strong enough to carry her religious policy a stage further.

Submission to Rome, 1554. To help her she had the 'English Catholic' bishops who had been dispossessed in

Edward's reign, such as Bonner, and the zealot, Cardinal Pole, who had quarrelled with Henry VIII's ecclesiastical policy as far back as his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Parliament, with some reluctance, repealed the laws that constituted the breach with Rome, and Pole—who inherited some royal blood of the Yorkist line—was appointed papal legate to receive with due ceremony the submission of the realm. In one way it was an empty ceremony, since Parliament had absolutely refused to restore the wealth of the Church in the shape of the abbey lands. But from another point of view the submission was real enough, since the members, whose own consciences were pliable, re-enacted the heresy laws, such as *De Heretico Comburendo*, whereby in earlier days the power of the Catholic State had committed the Church's enemies to the flames.

Burning of Protestants, 1555–8. Between February 1555 and the end of the reign some 300 Protestants were burnt to death. Bishop Hooper was one of the first to suffer, followed by two other zealots of Edward's time, Ridley, Bishop of London, and the great preacher, Latimer, who had once occupied the see of Worcester: they died together on October 16. If they were great victims, a greater remained, for Cranmer was kept alive until Rome had formally deposed him from his archbishopric and he himself, weak and old, had been induced to recant—a notable example for other hesitating heretics. But he was to be burnt none the less, and when the fatal day came for him to die at Oxford, on the spot where Ridley and Latimer had preceded him, his courage returned and his recantation was recanted. Apart from bishops, the martyrs of the Protestant cause in England were mostly people of humble birth—quiet tradesmen of London and those counties of the south and east where the preaching of the Reformers had been most heard: they included women and even apprentice lads. That was what was significant. The upper classes had shown that their Protestantism was an excuse for land-snatching and that

their consciences were at the service of the government; bishops might be expected to suffer when fortune turned against them: but a religion for which ordinary people were prepared to die—must it not have some genuine worth?

Its Significance. The story of these years, perpetuated in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, which became a household treasure immediately after its publication in 1563, served to inspire many generations of Protestants with fervour for their creed and a mad hatred of Catholicism. But it is important to keep a sense of proportion. Three hundred martyrs meant three hundred sufferers too many, but it is a trifle by comparison with the wholesale slaughter inspired by religious zeal upon the Continent. In Holland alone a thousand executions might be witnessed in a single year. Moreover, these deeds of blood were not the acts of cruel men, Bishop Bonner of London being probably the only one of Mary's advisers against whom such a charge might be laid. For the idea of religious toleration was practically unknown: both Catholic and Protestant, when in power, considered the misery of those that died was nothing in comparison with the bliss of souls saved from eternal damnation by this dreadful warning. On the whole, the most remarkable fact is the readiness with which the vast majority of English people changed their views at every change of sovereign, as a result of which England was at least spared the horrors of a religious war.

Loss of Calais, 1558. Mary herself is only to be pitied. Her marriage was ruined by the absence of children and the unfaithfulness of Philip, who, though he was made King of England, was jealously excluded by Parliament from the succession and wreaked his resentment on his wife. Even the religious persecution failed to please him, since he deemed it impolitic; and he lived mostly abroad. Indeed, the only result of the union was to involve England in an unprofitable war against France. By his father's resignation, Philip had become King of Spain (1556), in which capacity he quarrelled with the Pope over a matter of territory, and France, inevitably, sided with the Pope

against him. For Mary it was sorrow enough to be forced into a foreign policy that was anti-papal (though that quarrel was soon patched up); but the more prolonged conflict with France brought England no glory and the loss of Calais. As Boulogne had already been surrendered by Northumberland, this was the last English possession in France: and now, after an interval of more than two centuries, it was taken almost by surprise, when its garrison was too small to stand a siege and no fleet was ready in England to relieve it. When Mary died the same year (1558), her husband was already planning a further marriage of policy with her half-sister and inevitable successor, Elizabeth.

(3) THE ELIZABETHAN RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT

Elizabeth and England, 1558. It was to all seeming a very insecure throne which the second Tudor queen now mounted. Her right to it was challenged on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots by all who believed her father's marriage to her mother, Anne Boleyn, to be illegal. Her realm was fighting a losing war against France and was threatened almost equally by the patronage of her suitor and brother-in-law, Philip of Spain. Internally, the country was suffering from trade depression (partly the result of debased coinage) as well as from the grave religious dissensions to which we have directed our attention. Elizabeth faced her troubles with a high courage and three advantages, which she used to transform these inglorious beginnings into perhaps the most glorious age of English history. One was her birth: Anne Boleyn's daughter called herself 'mere English,' and by blood she had more kinship with her people than any other of our sovereigns. The second advantage came from the long years of obscurity and danger from Somerset's brother and other intriguers: when necessary, the young Queen knew how to keep her own counsel, and at all other times she had the service of her long-tried and trusted secretary, Sir William Cecil,

later Lord Burghley. As Lord Treasurer from 1572 to 1598 this master of statecraft became virtually England's first prime minister, and as owner of the monastic estate of Hatfield he typifies also the less noble aspect of the religious changes. Finally, the foreign situation favoured Elizabeth's natural diplomatic talents: France and Spain, whether at war or peace, were mutually too jealous for either to permit the other to get control of England.

The Middle Course in Religion. Peace was made with France as part of a general settlement in 1559, which afforded a breathing space in which to decide the pressing question of religion. Elizabeth chose a middle course, not because she liked it—her own feelings favoured ceremonials of a Catholic type and even the celibacy of the clergy—but because she desired to reunite the nation, which had reacted against Protestantism and Catholicism in turn. The *via media Anglicana*, therefore, was originally a device of the moment: its long duration has been partly due to the English character, to which its illogical nature endears it, but chiefly to the events of Elizabeth's long reign, which gave it a chance to become traditional.

Act of Uniformity, 1559. The new Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity—both of them, be it noticed, the work of a lay Parliament unassisted by clerical Convocation or the bishops (who voted against them)—both passed in April 1559, but it will be convenient to take them in reverse order. The uniformity required was in the acceptance of a new prayer-book under penalty of a moderate fine of 12^{D} weekly from non-churchgoers. The book, which is still the common prayer of the Church of England, was the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI, with three significant changes. In the communion service two parallel phrases were incorporated in the text, one of which implies the Zwinglian doctrine of the sacrament, the other Luther's belief in the Real Presence, while it was not wholly inconsistent even with transubstantiation. Thus the worshipper, in this essential matter, could worship as he chose. The other two changes were similar in effect: the severe Ornaments

Rubric of 1552, which forbade even the surplice as popish, was replaced as a temporary measure by the laxer regulations of 1549; and a harsh petition against the Pope was likewise omitted from the Litany.

Use made of Act of Supremacy, 1559. The same idea of compromise determined the nature of the Act of Supremacy. In declaring the Church of England independent of Rome, as preparation for the Protestant Prayer-book, the law retransferred the papal authority to the Queen, not as Supreme Head, but with the lesser title of 'Supreme Governor in ecclesiastical causes.' A doubt about the possibility of assigning Supreme Headship to a woman may well have entered into this decision, but the use which Elizabeth made of her powers as Governor was certainly to conciliate opinion. In 1559 an ecclesiastical Court of High Commission was established to administer the affairs of the Church, but during the early years of the reign it did not require absolute conformity from the clergy, and the lay fines for non-attendance at the parish church remained small and were not methodically exacted. This may help to explain the fact that only one-eighth of the parish clergy failed to accept the new Protestantism—half as many as had been deprived of office for refusing to accept Catholicism in the previous reign. In 1571 the edifice was completed by the enactment of the Thirty-Nine Articles as a standard of doctrine. Cranmer's Articles were thus reduced by three, and the changes were all in the direction of moderation and compromise. Given a season of peace and prosperity, it might well be expected that a new generation would grow up, trained by Protestant pastors and schoolmasters to shun both ancient superstitions of Rome and modern exaggerations of German reformers, as adherents of a Church that was essentially English, supported by the English Bible and melodious English prayers.

CHAPTER VI

ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND ON TRIAL

1559–1585

"By the looseness of the time no other remedy is left but by awe of law to acquaint men with virtue again, whereby the Reformation of religion may be brought in credit, with the amendment of manners."

William Cecil, Considerations delivered to the Parliament, 1559.

(1) THE RESTORATION OF PROSPERITY

Economic Troubles of England in 1558. Second only in importance to the religious issue was the economic collapse which the new queen and her advisers must somehow stave off. [See Economic Section, pp. 93/1–112/1.] Among its more obvious causes we may reckon the unabated evil of the enclosures; the decline of the trade gilds, which had formerly done much to regulate conditions of work; the dissolution of the monasteries, regarded as centres of charity; and the decline in the value of money, due partly to debasement of the coinage and partly to the spread through Europe of the American silver brought home by the Spaniards. In town and country alike, the sixteenth century was a commercially minded age, when masters of every kind were out to make money without much regard to the interests of their inferiors, whom it was the obvious business of a fatherly government to protect. The promptness with which Cecil acted is well shown by the recoinage—the calling in of all the old bad coins and the issue of good new ones at a slight profit to the Treasury—which was accomplished as early as 1560, to the great

advantage of all buyers and sellers, who were freed from the fear of being defrauded in every bargain.

Statute of Apprentices, 1563. The first main measure, however, was a labour code issued in 1563, which is generally called the Statute of Apprentices after one of its principal features, the requirement of a seven years' apprenticeship from all persons who wished to set up as workers in any trade or handicraft. The long period of training would ensure skill at the end of it, while its expense would prevent so many young people from deserting agriculture for life in the towns with consequent unemployment and vagrancy. Many other clauses in the Act had the interests of agriculture in view: if rural labour was cheap (and corn prices kept high) the enclosures would cease to be such a formidable problem. But the other principal feature was an attempt to settle all wage disputes by providing that the justices of the peace in every county should publish an annual schedule of the wages to be paid in every different employment. Such arrangements were not wholly new, but in the past it had usually been the business of the separate towns to maintain their own rules in such matters. Now they had the Council and the prerogative courts to see that they were carried out, with the result that the Statute of Apprentices, which was not repealed until 1813–14, really had some effect in ordering the lives of the workers.

Poor Law, 1601. The famous Poor Law of Elizabeth likewise was not wholly new: the towns had conducted their own experiments in the urgent task of relieving the poor, and a law had been passed as early as 1536, requiring each parish to succour its own inhabitants. But the Elizabethan legislation on this subject, developed gradually throughout the reign and made permanent in 1601, is immensely important, because it fixed the system for two and a quarter centuries. Three classes of paupers were distinguished: orphans, sick, and aged—those who could not work; genuine unemployed—those who could not find work; and the 'sturdy beggars' or vagabonds—those

who would not work. The first two classes were to be dealt with through the levying of a special tax or 'poor rate' in every parish, which was to be expended by special parish officials, the 'overseers of the poor,' in maintaining the unable-bodied and in providing a 'workhouse' and raw material on which the unemployed could be set to work for their living. As for the 'sturdy beggars,' who were a great danger in a country that had no police force, they were to be severely flogged, when they were caught, and compelled to return to their native parishes, which could deal with them as unemployed.

Other Features of Cecil's Policy. Cecil also took steps to stimulate industry by direct encouragement. He approved of the granting of charters to many new trading companies which, like the earlier Merchant Adventurers, carried English goods to new markets overseas: this had much to do with the business of exploration and buccaneering, which we shall see presently to be a feature of the reign. But the chief thing he did was to grant trade-monopolies and other privileges, such as remission of taxes and freedom to practise their own religion, to all foreigners who could bring some new industry over, and would teach it eventually to English subjects. One result was a better supply of munitions, in which England had been deficient ever since gunpowder rendered the long-bow obsolete. But the foreign immigrants were mostly Flemings, expert wool-weavers who settled in such towns as Norwich and created the 'new draperies'—a better quality of cloth than any that the English weavers had previously been able to export. This was a great source of wealth; but we must notice its political significance as well. For nearly thirty years England, though feeble in comparison with the great Catholic Powers of France and Spain, was able to offer a safe refuge to persecuted Protestants—Flemings from the Netherlands and Huguenots from France—because the adroit diplomacy of Elizabeth kept England clear of war, while she gained strength year by year. Such is the main theme of this period.

(2) ELIZABETH AND MARY STUART

Protestant Crisis in Scotland, 1559–60. The year of the religious settlement confronted Elizabeth with a new problem of foreign policy. France and Spain made peace, but their rivalry continued. If Spain coveted control of England for the sake of the English Channel, up which the galleons passed to the Spanish Netherlands, France would never let her have it, because the North Sea was the line of communication by which she hoped to hold sway over her ancient ally and dependant, Scotland. It was in Scotland that the new problem arose. By the sudden death of a French king, Mary Stuart, who had been married to the Dauphin to spite the English, became Queen-consort of France, and her mother, Mary of Guise, who ruled Scotland in her absence, felt strong enough to attempt to stamp out the Scottish Protestants—a body of nobles who styled themselves 'Lords of the Congregation of Jesus Christ' and had possessed themselves of the Church lands, together with the humbler and more sincere following of the great Calvinist preacher, John Knox. But the resisting Protestants won an early success and besieged Mary of Guise's French soldiers in Leith, where a French expedition might, however, at any time relieve them and reverse the situation. Dare Elizabeth risk the enmity of France on the chance of securing the lasting friendship of a Protestant Scotland?

English Help at Siege of Leith. On this occasion she took decisive action. An English army and fleet were sent to help the Lords of the Congregation capture Leith while there was time. The presence of the English fleet made it impossible for the French to raise the siege, so by the Treaty of Edinburgh (1560), which immediately followed the fall of Leith, it was agreed that the French should cease to interfere in Scotland, should permit the Protestant faith to be established there, and should recognise Elizabeth as Queen of England. Thereupon John Knox proceeded to organise the Presbyterian Church—more democratic

than the English (every parish elected its own minister); controlled, not by bishops, but by a General Assembly, which included laymen among its members; distinguished, finally, by its interest in the education of the poor and by its fatalist doctrine of predestination. But what mattered to England was its Protestantism, which rendered Scotland at last her ally—or would have rendered it, had not Mary Stuart been suddenly left a widow and thereby induced to return to rule her native land in person.

Mary Stuart in Scotland, 1561-8. A widow of nineteen, with all the charm of a French princess, Catholic in religion, and in policy a claimant to the English throne, Mary by her mere arrival inevitably altered the whole situation. In 1565 she took for her second husband Lord Darnley, a worthless wretch, as the sequel showed, but a grandson of James IV's English wife, Margaret, and therefore an asset in any scheme for ousting Elizabeth. [See Genealogical Table, p. 88/1.] A year later the Queen's husband joined forces with the exiled Lords of the Congregation to murder Mary's secretary, Rizzio, jealousy being his motive and theirs the belief that Rizzio was the enemy of their faith. Within twelve months Mary avenged her secretary by conniving at the murder of her husband, and then proceeded to marry Bothwell, who had committed the murder for her. The country rose in horror against the rule of such a Queen with such a consort. Mary was defeated at Carberry Hill in June 1567, and forced to abdicate. A year later she escaped from captivity in Loch Leven Castle; was defeated a second time at Langside; and rode for safety over the Border, leaving her kingdom to the tender mercies of the Lords of the Congregation, who had charge of James, her infant son and heir, born between the murder by, and the murder of, his unhappy father, Darnley.

Rising of the Northern Earls, 1569. Elizabeth treated her rival as a prisoner but also as a royal personage, which latter fact meant liberty to scheme and immunity from the death sentence. No such immunity, however, safeguarded the common people of the northern shires, whom

the arrival in England of the Catholic claimant inspired to a new effort on behalf of the old religion, which they still dearly loved. The Northern Earls who led this last 'feudal' rising of 1569 escaped with their lives, which it was policy to spare, but 500 of their followers were executed under martial law. They had planned to start by rescuing Mary, but the only result was her removal from Derbyshire to a place of security farther south. A purely English rebellion of the type of the Pilgrimage of Grace was evidently impracticable, but there were forces at work on the Continent which suggested other possibilities.

The Counter-Reformation. After several decades of 'defeatism,' the Catholic world was at last organising itself to repel the religion of Luther and Calvin. The great Catholic Council of Trent (1545–63) had resolved that no portion of Catholic doctrine should be modified or abandoned, and a series of Popes were being elected who did not hesitate to use every weapon at their disposal in the Holy War against Protestant monarchs. The dread office of the Inquisition for the punishment of heretics was being more widely employed, especially by the Spaniards. A new religious Order, the Jesuits, had been founded by the Spanish soldier, Ignatius Loyola, in 1539, to train young men of high intelligence and high courage to re-enter the territories that the Church had lost and reclaim them, whatever the risk and whatever the means. Elizabeth could watch the Counter-Reformation at work on the Continent. In France it took the form of nine bitterly contested Wars of Religion (1562–95), in which the Protestant Huguenots were nearly extinguished; and in the Spanish Empire it was the basis of the stern measures, including the rigours of the Inquisition, by which King Philip tried to suppress the Dutch Protestants and provoked the Revolt of the Netherlands (1572). England sent a highly unsuccessful expedition to help the Huguenots at Le Havre in 1562, and the Netherlanders at least benefited by the unofficial activities of English privateers against the Spaniards in the Channel. [See below, p. 67/1.]

But for Elizabeth the Counter-Reformation meant chiefly the support which Spain, less hampered than France by the internal struggle, gave to every scheme for establishing the Catholic claimant, Mary Stuart, on the English throne. For her subjects, accordingly, the Counter-Reformation, backed by Spain, was the force which really confirmed their Protestant faith by making it the badge of patriotism—especially among the sailors, who were sent to the Inquisition if the Spaniards caught them in unlawful trade.

Bull of Excommunication—Ridolfi Plot. The Counter-Reformation first attacked Elizabeth through a Papal Bull of Excommunication, issued in 1570, which released all her Catholic subjects from obedience to her and made it a meritorious action to plot her deposition. Hence the second of the conspiracies entered into on behalf of Mary, the Ridolfi Plot (1571), a scheme for marrying her to the only English Duke, the Catholic Norfolk, and bringing over a Spanish army to set her on the throne. It was betrayed and Norfolk executed.

Jesuits in England — Throckmorton Plot. Just ten years later the Counter-Reformation began to employ its second weapon—the Jesuits, who followed the Seminary Priests (a body of Catholic priests, equally devoted but lacking the prestige of the Order) across the Channel, to risk and often to lose their lives for the reconversion of England. Elizabeth retorted with an Act of 1581, which threatened Catholic 'recusants,' who refused to attend church, with a greatly increased fine of £20 a month. This was not rigorously enforced, but it was accompanied by a very active search for Jesuits, nearly 200 of whom perished, many of them under torture. For their mission was, of course, treasonable as well as religious, seeing that they sought the death of the Queen as a heretic. Thus in 1584 the Throckmorton Plot was unearthed by the indefatigable Secretary, Walsingham (younger and more bitterly anti-Catholic than the cautious Cecil), who showed that the Spanish ambassador, a Jesuit, and the Cheshire gentleman from whom the Plot gets its name were in league to murder

Elizabeth. This was the very year in which the other great champion of Protestantism in Europe, William the Silent, who led the struggle in the Netherlands, fell by an assassin's bullet. There was therefore some justification for popular feeling, which expressed itself in the formation of a Protestant Association, whose members swore to procure the death of any person benefiting by the murder of the Queen. Throckmorton and the Jesuit were both eventually executed, and the Spanish ambassador was ordered to leave the country.

Babington Plot—Execution of Mary, 1587. The next year (1585), in which open hostilities against Spain were begun, belongs obviously to a new period. Yet the last stage in Mary Stuart's sad history may as well be included here, both for the sake of completeness and because her removal from the scene merely strengthened the resolve of the Spanish king to fight, seeing that he could at last plan to seize the English throne for himself without ousting a Catholic claimant. Since Mary was obviously the person aimed at by the Association, her position was at best precarious. She very foolishly took part herself in fomenting a further plot, in which her former page, Babington, figured as leader. It was found out, and Mary herself was for the first time definitely implicated. After much hesitation Elizabeth signed her cousin's death-warrant, though afterwards she tried (characteristically) to shift responsibility for the odious action upon a secretary, who had actually despatched the document. Mary's execution at Fotheringay in February 1587 ended nineteen years of captivity for her and of anxiety for her unwilling hosts.

(3) THE ADVENTURERS

Elizabeth's Marriage Projects. *Philip II* of Spain was in the background of all the conspiracies, the history of which we have been relating, though he stood to gain more for himself, as distinct from the Counter-Reformation

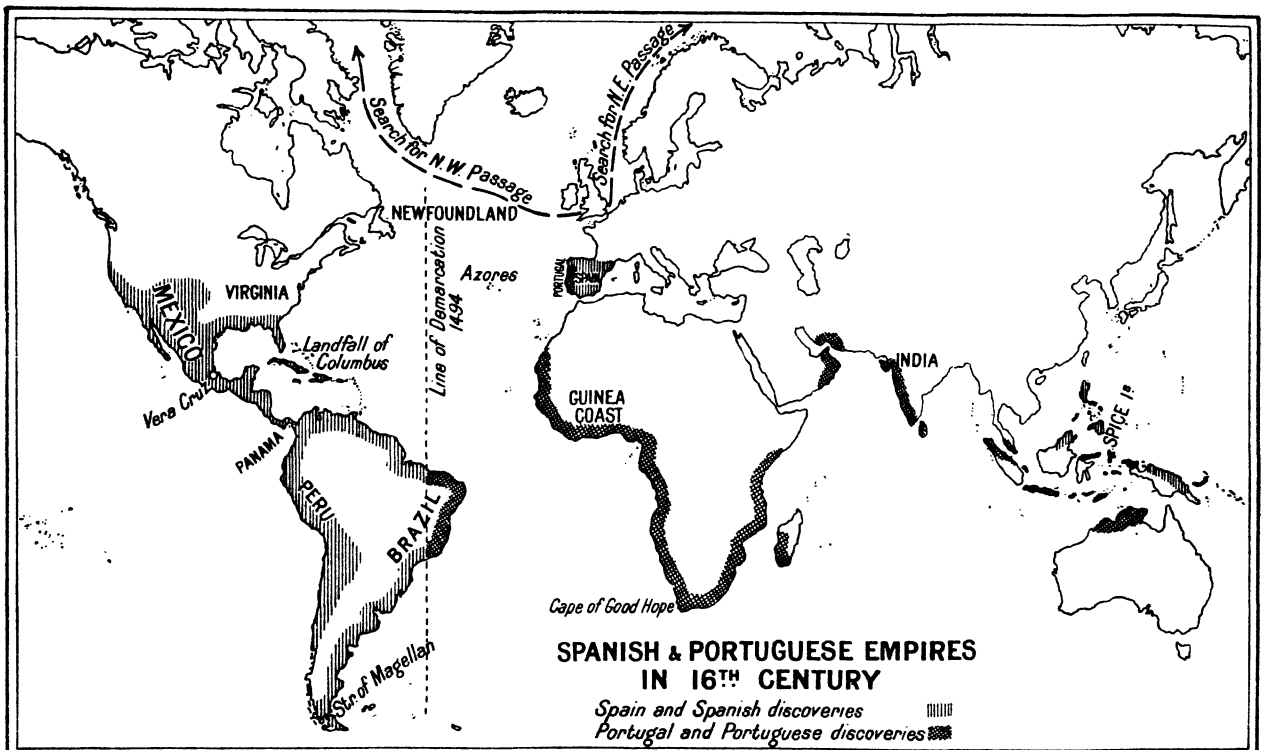
which he championed, if Mary's death preceded the murder of Elizabeth. But against him Elizabeth had other cards to play, which help to account for this long period of peace. One was the possibility of her marriage—it will be remembered that Philip sought Elizabeth's hand at the very moment of her accession. It is likely that the great Queen never had any serious intentions in the matter and knew that she was incapable of having any children, which may account in part for her indignation whenever Parliament in its anxiety to secure the succession dared to broach the matter to her. But the secret, if there was one, was well guarded. Philip himself was soon married again, but his diplomatic schemes were constantly held up because of the possibility that Elizabeth might marry another of his family; or was contemplating a union with one of her own subjects, such as her favourite, the Earl of Leicester; or was actually affianced to some French prince, who would bring England onto the French side in European quarrels. The French alliance, indeed, was so earnestly pursued that the terrible Massacre of St Bartholomew (1572), when in a truce of the Wars of Religion several thousands of Huguenots were brutally murdered, was not allowed to interrupt at all seriously the good feeling between the Catholic and the Protestant Power.

The Revolt of the Netherlands. The other factor which helped Elizabeth was Philip's resolve to suppress Protestantism in his Netherland possessions before taking England in hand. There the Inquisition had been doing its grim work for a decade or so before 1568, when the persecuted Calvinists first tried (in vain) to rebel against Philip's agent, the Duke of Alva. In 1572 the 'Sea-Beggars,' as the sea-rovers who took the lead were called, captured the island of Brill on the Dutch coast, whence they preyed upon Philip's ships with the active assistance of English and Huguenot privateers. This event marks the true beginning of the long struggle known as the Revolt of the Netherlands. Resistance upon the mainland was never again entirely crushed, and four years later

a terrible mutiny in Philip's own army, known as the Spanish Fury, by which Antwerp was laid in ruins, created a further diversion. In 1578 Parma, greatest of Spanish soldiers, took up the task of repression; but although he won back the southern provinces (modern Belgium), the nothern part (or Holland) continued to resist him, encouraged by the presence of a French prince as nominal leader. But in 1584, as we have seen, the murder of their real leader, William the Silent, made the situation desperate, and it became necessary for Elizabeth to do more than send secret financial assistance. Up to that date, however, the heroism of the Netherlanders had kept England free from war.

Voyages of Exploration. The thirty years' respite had been used to build up a great naval tradition. After Cabot's discovery of Newfoundland, the English record in exploration was for long a meagre one. Apart from some trading in the Portuguese preserves on the Guinea Coast, the only noteworthy voyage was that of Chancellor and Willoughby, who in 1553–6 opened the way by sea to Russia at Archangel, though both lost their lives in the doing of it. Their real object had been to find the North-East Passage, that is to say, an eastern route round the north of Asia to China and the Spice Islands, which would have the merit of not infringing the monopoly of Spain and Portugal, to whom the Pope in 1493 had allotted the newly discovered lands both east and west of Europe. In Elizabeth's reign the same object was pursued by Frobisher, who made three voyages into Arctic waters in search of a North-West Passage, which might bring him round the north of North America to the self-same coveted lands of the far and fabled East.

The Slave Trade. But the accession of Elizabeth especially marks the moment at which the half-concealed hostility of the government to Spain, and the wholly unconcealed hatred of Protestant seamen towards a Catholic Power, produced a regular practice of infringing the Spanish (and Portuguese) monopoly of the New World and its


Search for N.W. Passage
Search for N.E. Passage
NEWFOUNDLAND
Line of Demarcation 1494
Azores
PORTUGAL
VIRGINIA
MEXICO
Landfall of Columbus
Vera Cruz
PANAMA
PERU
BRAZIL
Str. of Magellan
GUINEA COAST
INDIA
SPICE Is
Cape of Good Hope
SPANISH & PORTUGUESE EMPIRES
IN 16TH CENTURY
Spain and Spanish discoveries
Portugal and Portuguese discoveries

wealth. One method was by the development of the slave trade. The unfortunate natives died from the unwonted labour of South American mines and West Indian plantations, so from a very early date the Spaniards had begun to kidnap the negroes of West Africa and carry them across the Atlantic into slavery. Realising its evils, the Spanish Government was trying to restrict the trade, whereupon it was taken up by the Englishman, John Hawkins. On his third slaving voyage to the West Indies, Spanish warships caught him at San Juan de Ulloa near Vera Cruz, and, although they used treachery in their attack on him, it cannot be denied that he partly deserved his losses. Among those who escaped with Hawkins was a young captain from Devon, Francis Drake: slave-trading was abandoned for the time being, but they were resolved on revenge.

Privateering in the Channel. Meanwhile an almost equally disreputable and profitable trade was being plied in the Channel, where English 'privateers'—virtually pirates—harassed the almost defenceless Spanish galleons on their way to the Netherlands in retaliation for the Spanish monopoly of the wealth of the New World. Year by year the small vessels grew more expert in navigation and gunnery; Elizabeth professed her inability to check their activities; and the number of their prizes became steadily greater. In 1568, for instance, they compelled a Spanish fleet laden with borrowed gold to take refuge at Southampton: Elizabeth promptly borrowed the gold for her own use, which left Alva without money for his troops. The tax which he levied on that occasion was one cause of the outbreak of the Revolt of the Netherlands, which in turn brought the Sea-Beggars to co-operate with the English privateers in their attacks.

Drake's Voyage round the World, 1577–80. The great tradition, however, arose from longer and more hazardous expeditions into Spanish waters across the ocean, which Hakluyt recorded in one of the greatest and most glowing records of patriotism and daring, his *Principal Voyages*

and Navigations of the English Nation: and the unvarnished truth was that only a minority of adventurers usually returned from one of these expeditions alive. As early as 1572 Drake made his way to the Isthmus of Panama, caught his first glimpse of the Pacific, and vainly lay in wait for the great treasure which was there carried overland on its way to Europe from the silver-mines of Peru. Then came an interval, in which relations with Spain were less strained, until 1577, when the Queen herself, in return for a share in the booty, secretly backed an expedition, led by Drake in the *Golden Hind*, which navigated the Straits of Magellan and plundered the Spaniards freely on the Pacific coast of America, where only their own ships had previously penetrated. But that which gives his voyage its greatest distinction is Drake's return route. Finding no entrance to a North-West Passage, he turned his tiny vessel westwards across the Pacific, made a valuable trade treaty with the sovereign of the Spice Islands, and was thus the first Englishman in history to circumnavigate the globe, where the Spaniard, Magellan's, expedition had led the way in 1519–22.

Attempts at Colonisation. Elizabeth showed her approval—he had brought back £800,000—by knighting Drake on his own quarter-deck, so his voyage was quickly followed by other such buccaneering expeditions across the Atlantic, less famous because their achievements were no longer a novelty. But the early 1580's also witnessed two less successful voyages, momentous in their bearing on later English history. In 1583 Gilbert attempted to plant a colony on the inhospitable shores of Newfoundland: the men he left behind perished there, and Gilbert himself died nobly on the return voyage in an Atlantic storm. Two years later the courtier, Raleigh, despatched an expedition to colonise a milder region farther south, plumb on the homeward route of the Spanish treasure-ships, which he christened in the Queen's honour, Virginia. This was likewise a failure, though twice attempted, and the survivors had eventually to be brought home. But the

dawning ambition of empire surely marks the point at which England and the English adventurers, trained in a less honourable warfare, felt themselves to be potentially the equals of Spain with her flag planted far and wide overseas.

CHAPTER VII

ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND IN TRIUMPH 1585–1603

"Though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my crown: that I have reigned with your loves. For myself, I was never so much enticed with the glorious name of a King, as delighted that God hath made me His instrument to maintain His truth, and to defend this Kingdom from peril and oppression."

Queen Elizabeth to Parliament, November 30th, 1601.

(1) THE ARMADA

Intervention in the Netherlands; Zutphen. The assassination of William the Silent in July 1584, following upon the implication of the Spanish ambassador in the Throckmorton Plot in England, drove Elizabeth into open hostilities against Spain. The sea-adventurers provided her with her main weapon of offence, but the immediate situation required that she should also do something to help the discouraged Dutch in their resistance to Parma. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1585, a small army was sent to the Netherlands under the command of Elizabeth's favourite suitor, the Earl of Leicester. Unlike his father, the Northumberland of Edward's reign, Leicester was no general; Elizabeth kept the troops short of supplies; and Parma's progress was unchecked. Indeed, the expedition is only remembered by the deed of Leicester's nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, who received a mortal wound in an unsuccessful struggle to save the town of Zutphen: dying himself he gave his cup of water to a dying comrade in the ranks.

Drake in the West Indies, 1585. Meanwhile a more fortunate enterprise was undertaken by Sir Francis Drake, with Frobisher as his second-in-command. They were given a considerable fleet carrying soldiers on board, and received the Queen's instructions to damage the possessions of Spain. Vigo in Spain itself—San Domingo in the West Indies—Cartagena in South America—St Augustine in North America, at each they landed and attacked, gaining some booty and creating great consternation.

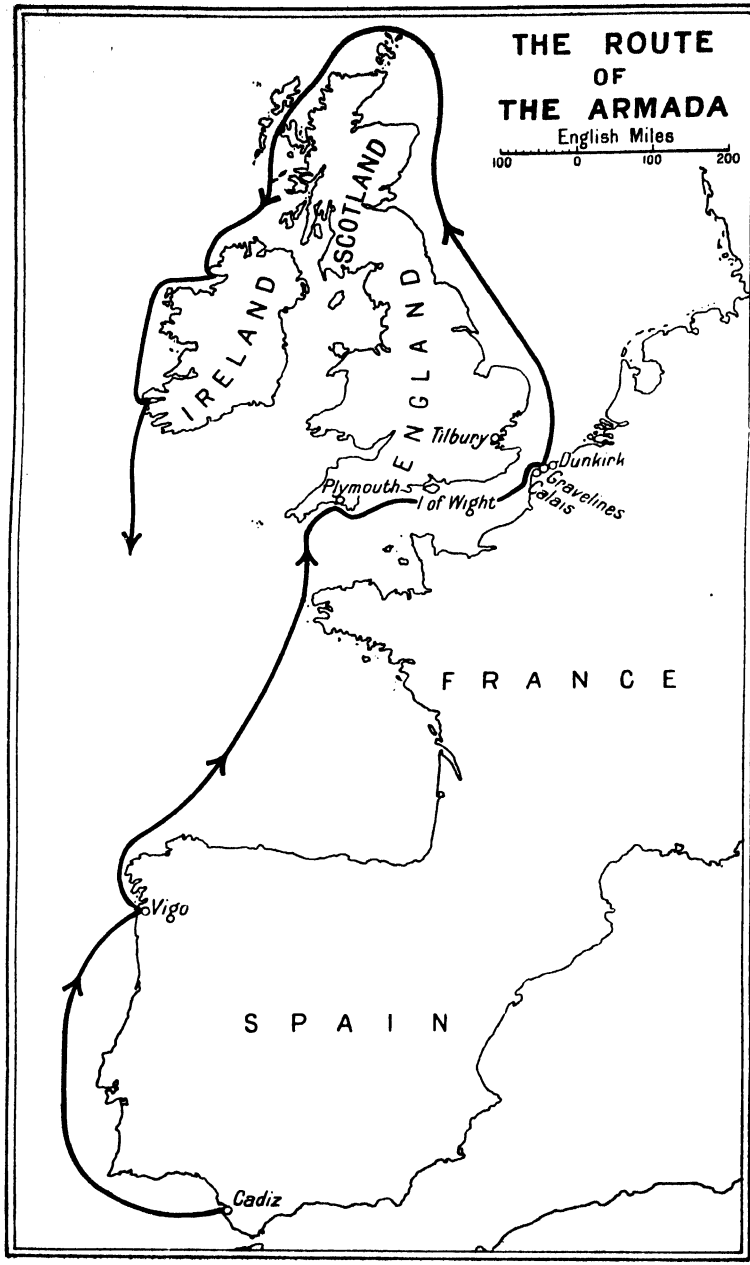
Drake at Cadiz, 1587. These actions were intended to show the Spaniards that a life-and-death struggle against England, if fought at all, would have to be fought on equal terms. At the beginning of 1587 the execution of Mary Stuart, who bequeathed her claims to Philip, made that struggle really imminent. Spain began to gather together a great war fleet or Armada in Cadiz harbour, but Drake in his most intrepid exploit forced an entrance and destroyed a great many of the ships. This 'singeing' the King of Spain's beard,' as Drake called it, set an example to later admirals of the importance of treating the enemy's coast-line as our frontier in time of war; but its immediate significance was that it postponed the sailing of the Armada for a year, during which England could make her own preparations.

Prospects of the Spanish Armada. The outlook was dark. If the Spanish fleet got control of the Channel, it would be easy to convoy over the large army that Parma commanded in the Netherlands. Parma and his men were veterans, likely to give a good account of themselves against the raw English militia which awaited their coming at Tilbury—even if the Catholic rebellion against Elizabeth, which was confidently expected, should somehow fail to occur. Thus everything depended upon keeping control of the Channel. The Spanish ships were a good deal bigger than the English and they conveyed a large number of soldiers, ready for boarding. The English ships, on the other hand, were easier to manœuvre and they carried better guns and ammunition, in preparation for a running

fight. The Spanish commander, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, was a fresh appointment during the year's delay and had no qualification for the position except the indispensable one of high rank. He had opposed to him another great nobleman, Lord Howard of Effingham, but the English commander had the assistance of such men as Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, who had vast experience and knew the waters of the Channel. The other main advantage of the English was their larger guns, which were sure to be of use, whereas the Spanish soldiers would be a mere encumbrance unless they got a chance to board. The numbers of the two navies were about the same, for Elizabeth's economies had reduced the size of Henry VIII's Royal Navy, while Spain had never had a war fleet outside the Mediterranean (where galleys were used) before. Each side had a great many armed merchantmen to swell the total, but it is probable that they made very little difference to the result.

The Armada in the Channel, July 19, 1588. When the fatal day came, the English fleet was in Plymouth harbour revictualling, which gave the Spaniards an initial advantage had they chosen to attack, since they were on the windward side. But they kept to their main object, which was to attach themselves to Parma's army in the vicinity of Dunkirk, and swept straight down the Channel, letting the English get to windward of them as they slowly struggled out of Plymouth harbour. The next stage was a running fight such as the English wanted. For nine days they hovered round the huge Spanish vessels, heading them off from the English coast (a landing was feared on the Isle of Wight) and destroying an occasional straggler. As the guns on the Spanish ships were mounted too high to hit the deck of a smaller foe, which might meanwhile pour shot into their vitals and nevertheless evade any attempt to board, such a contest was bound to be demoralising for them.

Battle of Gravelines, July 29. Worse was to follow. The Armada anchored at last in Calais Roads, not very far


THE ROUTE
OF
THE ARMADA
English Miles
100 0 100 200
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
Tilbury
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Calais
Plymouth
I of Wight
FRANCE
Vigo
SPAIN
Cadiz

from Parma, whom they vainly besought for help, since his transports could not possibly put to sea until all hostile warships (including those of the rebel Dutch) had been safely driven away. Now, therefore, it was essential for the Armada to make a stand, but the very night of their arrival eight fireships (the early equivalent of torpedoes) were floated into their midst down the wind, with the result that the Armada, panic stricken for the moment, drifted farther east towards Gravelines. This brought them nearer than ever to Parma, but the fleet was in a state of confusion which enabled the English, in the one big action of the campaign, fought on July 29, to destroy a part of the Armada and drive the rest eastwards past the rendezvous. Thence they fled northwards before the wind. The English, though they had not lost a single ship, were too short of powder and supplies to make any effective pursuit; but the stormy coasts of North Scotland and Ireland destroyed far more of the ill-found Spanish vessels than the eleven days' fighting, and only half ever made their way home to Cadiz. "*Flavit Deus et dissipati sunt*" was the inscription on the medal struck in honour of the occasion: it was the efforts of English seamen, however, that drove the Spaniards to their fate in the North Sea waters.

Consequences of Victory over Armada. The triumph not only displayed the new expertness of English seamen, but crowned Elizabeth's policy of putting off the evil hour. It made a Spanish conquest of England unthinkable and put new spirit into the kindred struggle in the Netherlands. More generally, it showed that the Counter-Reformation in Europe had passed its high-water mark of success. Perhaps it is not too much to see in it also the seed from which our later Empire sprang. Yet we shall fail to understand the history of the next years unless we clearly distinguish two things. For the great Power of Spain the defeat of her fleet was a heavy blow, but by no means a mortal one—her real period of decline does not begin for another half-century after 1588. For the small Power of England the victory of her fleet was a great triumph—but some years had to

pass before Englishmen of that time could see in it the complete deliverance from Spain which we can see.

(2) LATER STAGES OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN

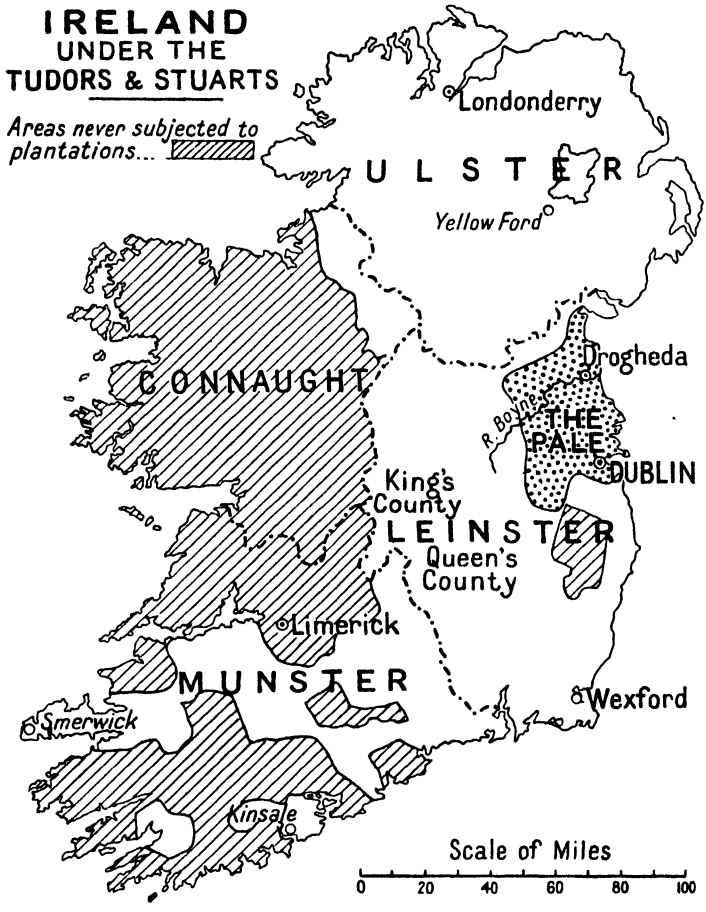
Alliance with Dutch and Huguenots. The war against Spain outlasted the reign of Elizabeth, though the long struggle produced no further triumph on the scale of the victory over the Armada. England was, indeed, able to help the Protestant cause both in Holland and in France. In the former country Maurice of Nassau, son of William the Silent, had the assistance of a small English detachment in his long campaign against the Spanish at Nieuport (1600) and elsewhere, while English seamen collaborated with Dutch in various other ventures overseas. In 1589, for instance, an ambitious attack was launched on Portugal, which had been subjected to Spanish rule since 1580, but the Portuguese showed no disposition to rebel, and the whole affair was a miserable fiasco. But another joint attack, directed against Spain itself in 1596, resulted in the capture and plunder of the city of Cadiz, from which the Armada had sailed. As for France, the prospects of the Huguenots became much brighter than they had been in the earlier Wars of Religion, when in 1589 their great leader, Henry of Navarre, inherited the throne of France, and the war became a struggle to assert his claim. English troops were sent to help him, and, after Henry had secured the throne—which involved his becoming a Catholic—he nevertheless joined in a triple alliance against Spain, which lasted from 1595 to 1598.

The Struggle Overseas. Thus in Europe the Counter-Reformation, personified in Philip II, was definitely though slowly losing ground. But overseas Spain suffered fewer reverses than might be expected, and the English adventurers gained glory and experience rather than any tangible advantages. A favourite exploit was to make for the Azores, hoping to plunder the islands and waylay the Spanish treasure-ships, which called there homeward bound.

This was brisker work than attempting to establish colonies: Raleigh sent another (unsuccessful) expedition to Virginia in 1589, and after that his chief exploit was a voyage to the Orinoco in search of gold. But of the many voyages of this period two are especially memorable. In 1591 Grenville was retreating from the Azores when he fell in with fifteen Spanish warships, which he fought single-handed for a whole day before he surrendered the *Revenge* and died of his wounds: this was Spain's first naval success, if success it can be called. The other remembered episode was in 1596, when Hawkins and Drake attacked the West Indies and tried to plunder Panama. They found the Spaniards better prepared than when such enterprises were a novelty, gained nothing, and died in those waters where they had played their part in gallant and shameful scenes alike.

Condition of Ireland, 1547–84. But in the closing years of the war the struggle was largely transferred to a new sphere—Ireland. Many reasons combined to make this a danger-spot, besides the permanent factor of geographical position. Henry VIII, as we have seen, began the Reformation in Ireland, and Mary was the first sovereign to adopt the fatal practice of attempting to crush rebellion by settling loyal colonists on confiscated land—in this case King's County and Queen's County were the areas affected. Nevertheless, during the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign the only trouble was rebellion of the usual feudal type. But by 1568 Papal and Spanish agents were actively at work: a much more serious revolt broke out in Munster, spread to the other provinces, was suppressed with difficulty, and broke out afresh as the great Desmond Rebellion of 1579–84. In 1580 this was stimulated by the arrival at Smerwick (in Munster) of a small Papal and Spanish army, the members of which were eventually captured and killed in cold blood. At the end Munster was a desert, vast numbers of Irish had been slain, and the settling of colonists from England—Raleigh and Spenser among them—on the stricken land prepared the way for another outbreak, as

soon as the native population had recovered from the intimidating effects of this Reign of Terror.



Tyrone's Rebellion, 1595–1603. After eleven years of quiet Tyrone's rebellion flared up in Ulster, where his was the leading family, and spread to each of the other provinces. In 1598 the English suffered a big defeat at the Yellow Ford

on the Blackwater, after which the whole island would have been lost had not England devoted her full military resources to its reconquest. A large force was sent out next year under a young favourite of the Queen, the Earl of Essex, but this was a complete fiasco. Instead of marching against Tyrone in Ulster, Essex lingered in Munster. Peremptorily ordered north by his royal mistress, he did no fighting but accepted Tyrone's terms for an armistice, so he was recalled and the agreement repudiated. He was replaced by Lord Mountjoy, who proved to be a most successful commander. When the Spaniards landed (too late) at Kinsale they were beleaguered by land and sea, and compelled to surrender in January 1602, four months after their arrival. Tyrone himself did not submit until just after Elizabeth's death, but the war was a forlorn hope a year before that event.

Results of the Conquest of Ireland. The tale is quickly told, but four facts about this, the first effective, conquest of Ireland deserve to be remembered. It made the old religion a part of his patriotism for the native Irishman: he therefore clung to it henceforth with a new tenacity. It involved a big redistribution of land and many acts of ferocious cruelty, which the small English armies, surrounded by enemies no less ferocious, may often have deemed necessary for their safety. Hence the bitterness which found vent in the great rising of 1641. Then on the English side the main feature of the conquest was the huge expenditure which it involved. In the last four years of the reign Ireland alone was costing more than the whole revenue of England, which meant that Elizabeth's successor started his reign with a burden of debt and a fatal need of improvising new financial resources for the Crown. Nor was this the only legacy of these events to England, for the next generation learnt to hate the Irish as the friends of Spain in the great Armada struggle.

(3) THE GREATNESS OF ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

Elizabeth's Court. The defeat of the Armada gave security and enabled England to feel itself a Great Power, the champion of Protestantism in Europe. But the greatness had its roots deep in the life of the age, epitomised in Elizabeth's court. She was a true child of the Renaissance, highly educated and loving splendour and pageantry. She had her stern, industrious ministers, like Burghley and Walsingham, men for the most part of merchant families which aspired to enter the ranks of the landed gentry. Both Burghley and Walsingham died before their mistress (in 1598 and 1590 respectively), but to the very last Elizabeth had also her favourites to amuse her lighter moments. Such were Leicester, who welcomed the Queen with sumptuous revels at his castle of Kenilworth and is supposed to have murdered his wife in the hope that she would marry him, and the gallant Raleigh, who left others to lead his famous Virginian enterprises because he could not be spared from the court. But the most remarkable of them all was Leicester's stepson, the Earl of Essex, upon whom the Queen showered favours in her old age. He it was whom she sent to command with such disastrous results in Ireland: having failed, he returned to England without permission, fell into disgrace, and, like the spoilt child he was, started a rebellion to get himself reinstated at court. He and his few friends were arrested within twenty-four hours, and Essex himself was executed. After that sombre happening in 1601 the life of the court lost most of its gaiety and charm.

Its Influence on the Country. But Elizabeth's court, besides ministering to her womanly love of flattery and admiration, has a real bearing on the history of her reign. The splendour of the court enhanced the dignity of the sovereign, enabling the Queen to figure in her subjects' eyes as a being half-divine. The progresses about the country, from one loyal subject's manor-house to another, stimulated enthusiasm for Elizabeth and made her almost a national

possession. Above all, the court, where the Queen bandied Latin tags, listened to Italian airs (though this was a great age of English music too), and conversed with ambassadors in strange tongues, was the link between the politics of the reign and its marvellous writers.

Elizabethan Literature. The magnificent country-houses, which are the chief glory of Elizabethan architecture, are a direct product of the internal peace and prosperity of the reign: but it cannot be claimed that a particular political achievement in a country produces a literature to correspond. The sixteenth century, for instance, was the great age of Spanish as well as of English letters. What we can say is that the literary movement in England was the result of the Renaissance, working slowly upon the northern mind, and that the eager patriotism and adventurousness of the day gave it a part of its inspiration. At all events, the writers, who begin with Spenser (*The Shepherd's Calendar*, 1579), had their personal connections with the court. Sir Philip Sidney, who was sent to die at Zutphen, was one of the best sonneteers in an age of great sonnets. Spenser made Elizabeth the central figure in his patriotic allegory *The Faerie Queene*, from which later poets have derived so much. Among the prose-writers Bacon, who published his *Essays* full of wise social observations in 1597, was an actual politician, vying for the aged Queen's favour with Robert Cecil (who had come to occupy his father's place); and the judicious Hooker devoted his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Policy* to affairs of state in which Queen and minister were alike interested. As for Shakespeare, his genius transcends all considerations of time and race; his historical plays reveal no special interest in current politics; and the drama found support far beyond Court circles. Yet who would deny that this finest flower of the Renaissance and its freeing of the human spirit, beginning his career in 1587, shared the new confidence and pride of the later Elizabethan Age, personified in the Virgin Queen?

Trade Enterprise. Another aspect of the same confident

self-assertion was the advance of English traders into new markets, typified in the foundation of the East India Company in 1600; in an Eastland Company, which tried to oust the Hanse merchants from the northern seas; a Levant Company, which sought markets in the Turkish Empire; and even an African Company. [See Economic Section, p. 105/1.] These ventures had their counterpart in the growth of the seaports, especially London, which became more and more completely the centre of the national life. There was, indeed, a great depression in the woollen industry during the last years of the reign, but this was partly atoned for by the diminution of enclosures, which made employment more plentiful in the rural districts. The fact that the new Poor Law was not found too burdensome also implies prosperity.

Nature of Elizabeth's Greatness. At the outset of Elizabeth's reign the throne was insecure, the country was divided in religion, its foreign policy was contemptible, its commerce negligible, its sailors unenterprising. At the end of the reign the first Stuart king succeeded to the throne without opposition; an anti-Spanish policy and Protestantism seemed to be securely established; and the trade of the country was already large, with a maritime tradition which promised more in the future. Such was the greatness of the Elizabethan Age.

(4) THE GROWTH OF OPPOSITION

Elizabeth and Parliament. Nevertheless the Elizabethan Age also witnessed the small beginnings of the two movements which were eventually, in the time of the Stuarts, to shake the throne which the Tudor sovereigns had made so strong. One of these was the growing independence of Parliament, due to the action of a prosperous middle class of squires, lawyers, and merchants, who sought to be elected members of the House of Commons in order that they might have a say in the government of the country. Elizabeth's ministers tried to deal with the situation by

having spokesmen of their own among the members—such as the younger Cecil, who was the first prominent English statesman to style himself M.P.—and by the obvious method of avoiding expense, so that it was not necessary to hold frequent Parliaments. There were, in fact, only thirteen sessions during the whole forty-five years of the reign.

Its Claim to Decide Policy. But the Parliaments which met so infrequently were all the more insistent on their right to discuss all matters of public interest when they did meet. This right of free discussion was warmly denied by the Queen, and its most ardent champion, Peter Wentworth, suffered more than one term of imprisonment in consequence. In the early years the burning topic was the Queen's marriage and the succession to the throne, about which she gave them no satisfaction: down to the day of Elizabeth's death she would never tolerate the official recognition of James—or anyone else—as her heir. But in the middle years what Parliament wanted was discussion of a new Prayer-book: this was considered to be an infringement of the Queen's rights as Supreme Governor of the Church, so Parliament achieved nothing, but it is of the utmost significance that already at this early date (1571) parliamentary ambition had joined forces with the second demand for change in the Tudor system.

Growth of Puritanism. The name 'Puritan' was applied quite soon after the enactment of the religious settlement to describe those Calvinist enthusiasts who thought that the settlement did not go far enough in its rejection of the doctrines and, still more, the forms of the Roman Church. From the outset they objected to the ceremonies, such as the use of the surplice, kneeling at Holy Communion, and even the ring in marriage, which the Church of England retained. In 1568 Matthew Parker, Elizabeth's first Archbishop of Canterbury, issued his Advertisements, under which those who denounced these ceremonies were punished. Then in 1570 a Cambridge Professor of Divinity, Thomas Cartwright, gave Puritanism a definite doctrine, the denial of Episcopacy, which was held to be of Roman

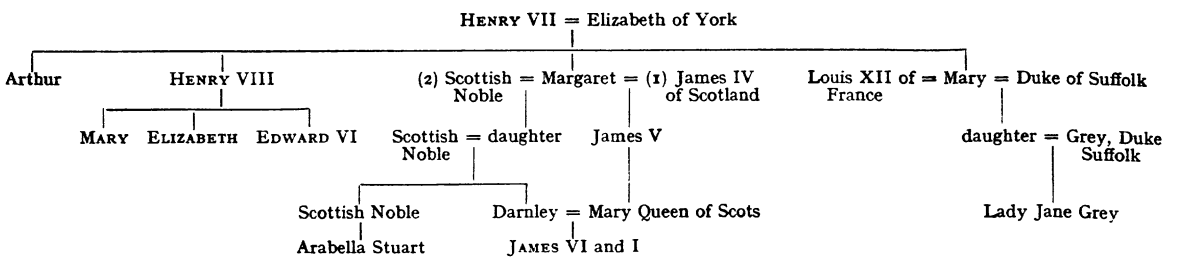
origin and not countenanced by the New Testament. We may add that these 'Presbyterians,' to give this type of Puritan his proper name, had a further reason for their hostility to bishops in the fact that the bishops were the officials mainly concerned in the enforcement of conformity over such questions as ceremonies.

Attitude of Parliament: Whitgift's Articles and the Act of 1593. The bishops had to act for themselves, because Parliament, under the influence of such leading members as the brothers Wentworth, took the side of the Puritans. So far from passing any legislation against them, it was busy encouraging schemes for a revision of the Prayer-book in accordance with Puritan requirements. A bitter conflict then ensued with the bishops. In 1583 a new archbishop, John Whitgift, resolved to put down the movement by Articles more stringent than Parker's Advertisements. All clergy were to obey the Prayer-book and the Advertisements or resign; there were to be no more of the extra Puritan services, called 'Prophesyings'; and the Court of High Commission was specially invoked to deal with offences. The reply of the Puritans took the form of secretly printed and highly scurrilous pamphlets, the 'Martin Marprelate Tracts' of 1588, the author of which was never traced, but which so outraged moderate opinion that the next Parliament passed an Act against Seditious Sectaries (1593). Persons who obstinately refused to go to church could be expelled from the kingdom, a method of settling the question which was chiefly applied to the new and unpopular sect of Brownists, who were preaching the rather anarchical doctrine that every single congregation should independently decide its own form of worship. But most Puritans decided to bide their time until the Queen, who was resolutely opposed to any concession, should die, when a new reign would bring new hope. Meanwhile, the spread of the habit of Bible-reading, which made infinitely more impression upon the minds of humbler folk than all the wealth of secular literature, added new recruits to their cause year by year.

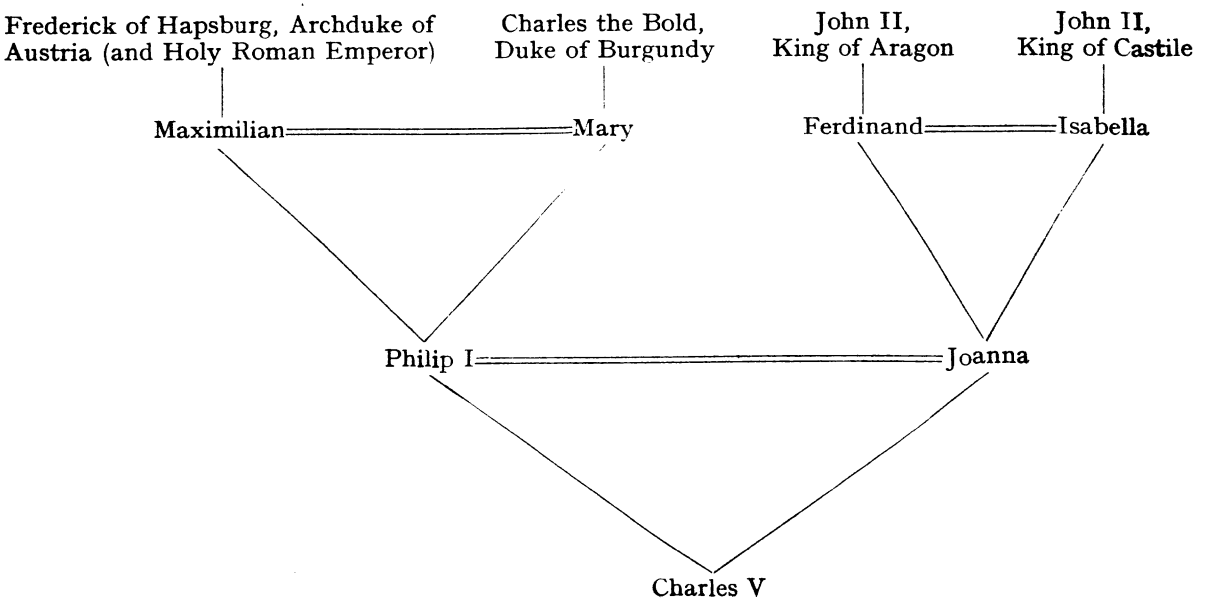
Parliamentary Attack on Monopolies. Accordingly, in Elizabeth's last Parliaments the formidable problem of religious change fell into the background, and the question of Parliament's financial powers—without which it would have no powers at all—took its place. How difficult the Queen's position was may be judged from the fact that, even in time of war, her total income for all purposes of government was less than half a million pounds sterling, and of that meagre sum perhaps a quarter came from the 'subsidies' which Parliament reluctantly voted. Under these circumstances she had found a device for enriching herself and at the same time rewarding her servants, which was to issue them patents of monopoly, not for genuine inventions but for the sale of some everyday article, receiving herself some share in the profits made by raising the price. [See Economic Section, p. 112/1.] Richard Drake, for example, was given a vinegar monopoly for his help in one of Sir Francis's voyages. It was a kind of unofficial excise duty, but obviously open to grave abuse. The subject was raised by the Parliament of 1597, but when its successor assembled four years later, nothing had been done to curtail the grants. There was strong feeling about the increase of prices all round, and one member prophesied that bread would soon be added to the list: but to act was difficult, since the right of giving such patents was clearly part of the royal prerogative. But Elizabeth wisely bowed to the storm by issuing a proclamation which revoked the monopolies, while Robert Cecil conveyed to the House Her Majesty's new-found indignation with the monopolists for misuse of their patents.

Policy of Elizabeth. The sudden and successful action in a crisis and the lying statement that accompanied it were both characteristic of the great sovereign whose rule was now drawing towards its close. So also was her own speech to the Members a few days later, when she uttered her own epitaph: "Though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my crown: that I have reigned with your loves."

DESCENDANTS OF HENRY VII



THE INHERITANCE OF CHARLES THE FIFTH



ECONOMIC SECTION

The Sixteenth Century

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE TUDORS

(1) THE ENCLOSURES

Changes in the Agrarian System. At the end of the Middle Ages rural life, which had never been entirely unprogressive, was undergoing more rapid changes. These were due to two factors in the main, the first of which was the disappearance of villeinage. This meant that each villein-holding, which consisted of scattered strips in each of the great arable fields of the village, and for which the lord had formerly received payment in labour services, was now let to a tenant-farmer, who paid a money rent instead. The lord's own demesne, which the labour services had once been used to cultivate, was likewise let out—usually as a single large holding. As for the communal system of tillage, under which all the strips were cultivated according to the same ancient routine of the village, that still continued; but free farmers who paid money rents were more likely than villeins to question its wisdom and desire to strike out on a line of their own. The second factor was the growth of the woollen industry. This made sheep-grazing so profitable that already in the fifteenth century sheep crowded the common waste of many villages, where lord and villein had pastured their cattle together according to strict rules (for the villeins, at least) from time immemorial. But the sheep were easier to keep—and certainly easier to keep in condition—if the flockmaster could place them in a separate field of his own; and, most important fact of all, one shepherd could then do the work of a whole staff of ploughmen and farm-hands.

Motives and Types of Enclosure. We can now see some of the motives for enclosure. A farmer might wish to till

his share of the common arable fields by improved methods, and therefore separately; a farmer, or more commonly a landlord, might decide to launch out into sheep-grazing on a large scale, and therefore wanted extensive private pastures; or a landlord might even desire to enclose for no commercial reason at all, but in order to create a handsome deer-park. As the motives for enclosure varied, so did the methods. The arable farmer must usually have been content to exchange strips with his neighbours or rent extra pieces in convenient positions when they happened to fall vacant. The farmer-grazier, likewise, would rent the demesne, if he could, because this usually lay in one piece and was therefore easy to enclose, and otherwise he waited patiently for vacancies. It was the landlord whose superior power led him to adopt the more high-handed methods, which are generally understood by enclosure. He might begin by fencing off large portions of the common waste for his private use, since the law regarded the waste as his to take, provided he left 'sufficient' unenclosed for the use of his tenants. He might continue by putting up rents, whenever a lease fell in, and cajoling or frightening those whose rent was fixed into accepting a lease instead: thus many farms would fall vacant, when the rent was too high to be paid, and could be added to the fenced-in waste. Finally, a resolute landlord might even succeed in ousting all his tenants, when the very land on which their houses had stood could be turned into pasture (or park).

Their Small Extent. Nevertheless, the total area, which was actually enclosed in all these ways put together, seems at first sight extremely small. The movement began in the middle of the fifteenth century, yet, when James I came to the throne—and long after—England was still for the most part a country of open fields and strip-farming, even in the East Midlands, where the Tudor enclosures chiefly occurred. Moreover, the amount of enclosure has been calculated with some probability to have been less than 3 per cent. of the whole surface of the twenty-four

counties for which we have records. Why, then, did the movement attract so much attention at the time as to earn it the later name of the 'Agrarian Revolution' of the sixteenth century?

Their Importance. In the first place, rapid enclosure was a new phenomenon, to which the mass of people, who still regarded land as a common national heritage rather than as the property of an individual, did not easily resign themselves. Secondly, a small percentage of the whole surface represents a much less small percentage of the area actually under cultivation and a really considerable percentage in those districts—Leicester, Northampton, and a few counties south and east of those named—in which the enclosures, as we have seen, were largely concentrated. There the movement may well have presented the appearance of a general upheaval. Thirdly, the Tudor Governments, which relied on popular support and were not the mere tool of the aristocracy, lent a ready ear to protests against the enclosers. They thought the change profoundly undesirable in any case, since it displaced yeomen farmers and rural labourers, who were the backbone of the country in time of war. It was also extremely dangerous, since enclosures provided the main grievance in Kett's rebellion, a partial cause of the earlier Pilgrimage of Grace, and the motive for other smaller disturbances as late as the reign of Charles I. For while it may be true that revolts in those days were started as easily as indignation meetings now, and meant little more, a government which had no standing army was bound to go in fear of them.

Policy of the Government. Nevertheless, the Tudor governments did nothing really effective. Persons in official position were not, indeed, backward in proclaiming their hatred of enclosures, witness More's *Utopia* (1516), written when its author was a rising Privy Councillor, which contains a picturesque outcry against the way in which sheep have been suffered to eat up the livelihood of men, or the sermon of denunciation that Bishop Latimer preached before King Edward VI. Two commissions of

inquiry were also appointed, by Wolsey and Somerset respectively, but great landowners often prevented their tenants from giving evidence before them. The nation was likewise admonished by numerous proclamations, to say nothing of statute law. Between 1489 and 1598 a whole series of statutes was passed, requiring pasture land that had been arable in the former year to be brought back to its original use; limiting to 2000 the number of sheep to be owned by any one person; and otherwise encouraging tillage. Thomas Cromwell even contemplated a measure to forbid merchants (who were considered incorrigible enclosers) to buy land under any circumstances. Yet the laws, when they were not entirely ignored, were often circumvented—a single furrow was driven across a field to reconvert it to arable, or an excess number of sheep was explained away on the ground that every member of the family owned a share of the flock!

Why it Failed: Justification of Enclosures. The failure of the Government was partly due to its administrative weakness. It had no agents through whom to work except the justices of the peace, who were very often themselves among the worst offenders against enclosure laws, so that it was hardly possible to do more than assert the principle by making an occasional example of some notorious malefactor. But there are several other reasons why the Government appears to have been fighting against the inevitable. The lesson that wool paid better than corn derived additional force from the fact that in the Middle Ages, when each village grew its own food, unsuitable land had often been used for arable, and this land was now exhausted and required to be rested as pasture. Again, those landlords who might have been deterred from substituting pasture for arable by fear of creating unemployment found themselves on the horns of a dilemma: wages were going up, while the purchasing power of money (*i.e.* the value of their own incomes) was going down. How could they economise except by employing fewer wage-earners? Finally, there is the position of new landlords to be con-

sidered. Many merchants were buying land at this period, and they naturally sought profit from their new investment, especially if their purchase came from the monastic estates, many of which changed hands several times during the hectic days of the Dissolution, so that the last owner had a high price to pay. Such men naturally were less conservative than the monks, for instance, had generally been. They put up rents, as leasehold farms (which were let for a term of years) fell in, and were not above bullying the customary tenants or 'copyholders'—a very numerous class whose rent and tenure were permanently fixed by custom but might be unfixed again by a determined lord, since the law courts did not fully protect their rights.

Final Results. We are now in a position to understand what the changes were which caused so many heart-burnings under the Tudors. On the one hand, agriculture had ceased to mean mainly the growing of food for the needs of those who grew it—the self-sufficiency of the mediæval village. At the moment, sheep-grazing was the chief visible sign of this change; but when corn-growing became equally profitable again, as it began to do in the reign of Elizabeth and under the Stuarts, the corn like the wool was destined for a wider market. Thus agriculture had become a business run on commercial lines—to the horror of all who regarded an estate as a nursery of men, and its owner as a person whose duty to his dependants should come first. On the other hand, pasture-farming (and, to a much smaller extent, enclosed arable-farming) reduced the number of farms and the number of labourers in employment. Hence the dramatic spectacle of ruined houses and, very occasionally, a deserted village—and the problem of their evicted inhabitants.

(2) PAUPERISM

Rise in Prices. The enclosure movement, by evicting farmers and reducing the demand for agricultural labour,

was one main cause of the problem of pauperism which confronted the Tudors. Another was a great rise in prices, which made people with fixed (or very slowly increasing) incomes and wages poorer, because the same amount of money purchased fewer goods than formerly. At first this rise was mainly due to the bad policy of Henry VIII and his two successors, who saved treasure for their own use by putting more alloy into the silver coinage: by 1544 the proportion of base metal had been increased from one-twelfth to one-half, and in 1551 it reached three-quarters. When this debasement was suspected, sellers of goods naturally put up their prices so as to give them the equivalent (in silver) of the old price in the new coins. In 1560, however, Queen Elizabeth remedied this. She first obtained a large supply of silver by means of a loan, which was raised at Antwerp by the financier, Sir Thomas Gresham, who later founded the Royal Exchange. People were then compelled to surrender the bad coins, which ceased to be legal tender after a certain date, and they were replaced by good silver at such a rate that, when the bad coins were melted down, the Queen was left with a slight profit on the whole transaction. But this did not stop the rise in prices, because by this time the vast hoards of American silver, which the Spaniards extracted from the treasure chests and mines of the New World, were coming into circulation all over Europe. As silver became more plentiful, while the quantity of things to be bought remained much the same, more silver was given in payment for any one article—and prices kept mounting for about a century.

Trade Depressions. If the rise in prices made wages less valuable, another economic change might stop them altogether, namely, trade depressions. So long as English trade depended mainly on the home market, the demand for goods did not vary very much from year to year, but under the Tudors the export market was becoming very important. In 1586, for example, the conflict with Spain, which prevented the sale of English cloth in many parts of the Continent, caused so much unemployment that it has been doubted

whether the capture of treasure ships could compensate for the losses. This depression lasted until the end of the reign.

Dissolution of Monasteries and Attacks on Gilds. Besides purely economic causes of poverty, we must notice also the decline of those institutions which had formerly helped the poor without the intervention of the State. The monasteries, for whose inmates almsgiving and hospitality were a sacred duty, are the obvious illustration, though their charitable activities—fondly exaggerated in the popular mind after the Dissolution—often meant merely a perfunctory distribution to the beggars who thronged at their gates. The craft gilds in their prime may well have been equally important in this respect. Their regulation of wages, prices, and conditions of labour in every town where they were established tended to make employment regular, and they also devoted part of their funds to the relief of sick and aged members. But in the early sixteenth century the gilds had fallen on evil days. On the one hand, their attempts to restrict trade in the interests of their members caused Parliament (1504) to require the submission of gild regulations to the judges for approval, while the newer and expanding industries were moving out of the towns to country districts so as to avoid rules by which the gilds tried to limit the size and scope of each man's business. This increased unemployment in the towns, while on the other hand Somerset's law of 1547, which confiscated a large part of their funds on the pretext that they were used for 'superstitious' (*i.e.* religious) purposes, made the gilds less able to relieve their out-of-work members than before.

Other Bases of Tudor Poor Law. More generally, Tudor policy swelled the total of unemployed with the retainers, whom they forbade the nobles to keep; the inhabitants of the monasteries, whose home was taken from them with little compensation; and other smaller groups, ranging from chantry priests to Puritan 'lecturers,' who fell foul of the various religious changes. Again, some of the greatest Tudor ministers—Wolsey, Somerset, Cecil—had a genuine sympathy with the poor, while both they and

their royal masters dreaded popular tumults and agitations, which they had no adequate means of quelling. It was therefore natural that in this, as in other matters, the relatively strong Tudor Government took over control of what had previously been left to local enterprise.

Growth of Poor Law System. There were three main stages in the growth of the Poor Law, the first being that of municipal experiment. London levied a compulsory poor rate upon its inhabitants as early as 1547, and before Elizabeth came to the throne it had its own Christ's Hospital for poor children, other hospitals for the sick and aged poor, and Bridewell for the punishment of vagrant beggars. Norwich likewise had a compulsory rate and an early workhouse for the unemployed; and the same sort of thing is true of so many other principal towns that the problem before the Government can be stated as one of extending municipal enterprise into rural districts. The second stage covers the years from 1536 to 1572. During this time general measures for the relief of the poor were supposed to be in force, and in the matter of vagrancy, at least, the laws reached their climax of severity, for in 1547 the sturdy beggar who wandered abroad a third time was sentenced to death. Nevertheless there was no workable system, because the money for poor relief still depended upon voluntary offerings in church. The final stage began with the establishment of the compulsory rate in 1572, which provided funds to look after the sick and aged; and four years later definite arrangements were enacted to provide work for the unemployed and punishment for vagrants in Houses of Correction. The Act of 1598 gathered together the fruits of experience throughout the reign but established no new principle, while that of 1601 made the system permanent.

Special Features. We may now fill in some details of the picture. The class of those who could not work included not only the sick and aged, a good many of whom were accommodated in almshouses built by private charity, but the orphans and other helpless children of very poor families. For their benefit Elizabeth developed a system

of parish apprenticeship, by which the parish allotted such children to householders as apprentices for a long period of years, the boys to learn a humble trade, the girls (usually) to do housework, receiving board and lodging with instruction in return for their services. This gave them a start in life, though they were often cruelly treated. The class which could not find work was commonly dealt with by the provision of such raw material as wool for spinning; sometimes there was also a workhouse to work in, or even a teacher to give necessary instruction. But the Government also attempted to get at the root of unemployment by requiring employers to keep their men at work, even when a loss was involved in doing so. This was the policy of Cecil towards the clothiers in the foreign crisis of 1586 referred to above, and Wolsey had adopted the same attitude towards the merchants when they refused to buy the clothiers' cloth on a similar occasion sixty years before. As for the class which would not work, their treatment appears severe, but it must be remembered that there was a twofold urgency to keep them from wandering: so long as they stayed in their several parishes they would be too few to endanger the peace, and it was in the several parishes that the Poor Law expressly established overseers under the authority of the J.P.'s to shoulder the parochial—and therefore manageable—burden of poverty.

Part of the Tudor Plan. The Elizabethan Poor Law merits separate description because of its unique interest—few countries at that time had any system whatever to prevent unfortunates from starving—and because of its long life of two and a half centuries. But we shall see in the next chapter that logically it is only one part of the elaborate schemes by which the Tudors, and especially Queen Elizabeth, sought to control the whole economic life of the nation. From that point of view it is significant that the administration of the Poor Law—alike as regards appointment of overseers, amount of assessments, and conduct of the Houses of Correction—rested finally upon the shoulders of those ubiquitous Tudor officials, the justices of the peace.

CHAPTER IX

STATE CONTROL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY

(I) THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM

A Policy of Power. The Tudors had a well-defined policy with regard to the economic life of the country, which they sought to develop by State control so as to give England the maximum of power and independence of other countries. In the Middle Ages each manor and borough had largely controlled its own economic life, and, so far as the Government was concerned at all, its object had often been to secure, not power but plenty. In any case the Tudors, with their prerogative courts and generally obedient J.P.'s, living in an age of great national rivalries (for instance, with Spain), had both the motive and the means for enforcing a policy of power. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, throughout the long period in which he was Elizabeth's chief adviser had these economic questions constantly in mind, so, although Henry VII and others had anticipated some features of the policy, it is dated especially from the accession of Elizabeth. The policy was to a considerable extent carried out instinctively, as being obviously required by the situation, but later writers have given it the name 'mercantilism.'

The Accumulation of Treasure. One prime necessity for a powerful country was plenty of treasure, which could be used to get men and material in time of war. Even in peace time it had its uses, for the recoinage of 1560 could only be carried through with borrowed reserves of treasure, and in 1566 Antwerp, then the principal money-market, refused to lend more, so that Elizabeth's Government lacked the means to stabilise either the exchanges or internal prices. Nevertheless, Cecil was content to pursue this aim

quietly by developing the internal resources of the country and encouraging exports rather than imports, so that there might be an automatic flow of money-payments from abroad. It was not until after Cecil's death that this 'favourable balance of trade' was allowed to become a fetish.

Provision of Men and Munitions. He was keenly alive to the fact that men are a better defence than money, and encouraged those occupations that bred a warlike stock. Hence his opposition to the enclosures, which depopulated the country districts, whose inhabitants made the best soldiers, and his occasional attempts to keep up corn prices for the benefit of those who grew it. For the same reason everything possible was done to help the fisheries, including the insistence for many years on the observance of three Fish Days every week to replace the (less numerous) Catholic Fasts. Moreover, the men required munitions, so Cecil induced foreign experts and other enterprising men to mine iron and copper, manufacture gunpowder, and cast cannon. More especially he developed shipbuilding and aimed at maritime power. Navigation Laws were, indeed, largely abandoned, because Cecil thought that in some cases export trade would be hampered if English ships had to be employed: but he gave bounties on every ship built by private enterprise and watched over the production of naval stores, such as timber and hemp. One of the very first Acts of Elizabeth's reign forbade for this reason the felling of trees as fuel for iron-smelting in any place within fourteen miles of the sea or estuaries, where they would be accessible for shipbuilding.

Self-sufficiency. The heart of the system, however, which continued to actuate English policy for two centuries, was an aggressive self-sufficiency. Through the trading companies England sought to impose her wares upon the foreigner, while regarding imports, even in Cecil's day, as at best an unfortunate necessity. Meanwhile, through a State-controlled industry England sought also to provide for all her own needs—from corn and other food supplies to every foreign luxury which could be imitated at home.

(2) THE OVERSEA TRADING COMPANIES

Beginnings of English Trade. In the Middle Ages the foreign trade of England had been conducted mostly by foreign merchants, such as the Venetians and more especially the powerful Hanseatic League of German towns, which had its London headquarters at the Steelyard. During the fourteenth century, however, the Merchants of the Staple, who included natives as well as aliens, rose into prominence. These were the official exporters of wool to the Continent, required by law to convey it all through the same place of sale or 'staple,' which was fixed at Calais from 1354 until the loss of that port in the reign of Mary. But in the course of the fifteenth century raw wool became a less important export than woollen manufactures, which were conveyed abroad by the first purely native organisation, the Merchant Adventurers. Such was the position when the Tudors set about the great task, appropriate to the policy of power, of bringing all English trade into the hands of English merchants.

Commercial Policy of Henry VII. Under Henry VII the power of the foreigners began definitely to decline. He encouraged English merchants to take up trade with the Levant (formerly monopolised by the Venetians), thus establishing them in their first long sea-route. He also passed a Navigation Law (of value as a principle) requiring the importation of wine from Bordeaux to be by English ships. Against the Hanse, indeed, Henry struggled without much success, and they kept their privileges of entire freedom of trade in England; but he helped the native Merchant Adventurers, who had their headquarters at Antwerp, both by the Magnus Intercursus, which restored the wholesale cloth trade with the Netherlands after its interruption by war, and by the short-lived Malus Intercursus (1506–7), under which the English merchants were also allowed to sell by retail. Lastly, Henry VII negotiated other trade treaties with more than half a dozen different Powers, ranging from Iceland to Spain.

Its continuation from 1509 to 1558. During the next three reigns, while Spain and Portugal harvested the fabulous gains of the great Discoveries, English policy, restrained by the Anglo-Spanish alliance, which lasted from the marriage of Henry VIII to that of Mary, continued quietly along lines already laid down. By 1547 the Merchant Adventurers were doing twice as much trade as in the early years of Henry VII, and the Venetian merchants had finally disappeared from English soil. Henry VIII not only passed fresh Navigation Laws, which, like those of his predecessor, were not very faithfully observed, but founded Trinity House to encourage shipping by the preservation of beacons and harbours. Meanwhile the expeditions of the Cabots were followed up by attempts to rival the Portuguese in the Guinea trade, which started with the West African voyage of John Hawkins's father in 1530. Even in Mary's reign the closure of woollen markets by religious war on the Continent sent Chancellor and Willoughby on an adventurous expedition to find the North-East Passage to Cathay, which resulted, as we have seen, in the opening-up of trade with Russia. But the foundation of a Russia Company, as of other companies which exploited openings elsewhere, waited for the greater confidence and love of adventure which marked the reign of Elizabeth. [See Map, p. 258/1.]

Basis of the Chartered Companies. Trade conditions at that time were by no means easy. The Spaniards drove out the English from many commercial centres on the Continent, including the Netherlands and, eventually, Spain itself; hampered our trade in the Levant and the Barbary Coast of North Africa; and completely excluded English ships—as far as rules went—from the harbours of the New World. High prices added to merchants' troubles, particularly as they made the Queen's Government too poor to give them any direct assistance. Hence the advantages of the regulated companies. On the one hand, a company duly organised under Royal Charter to conduct some particular trade was in a position to employ diplomacy, impress barbaric rulers, withstand hostility, and win respect

in a strange land—all of which was very necessary in days when there were no proper ambassadors and the Queen might be quite unable to protect her subjects by force of arms, even if she were willing. On the other hand, a company, which always possessed a monopoly of trade with the region it served, was believed to have the best chance of making a profit in spite of difficulties. The essence of the system was limitation of members by requiring a large entrance fee or a costly apprenticeship, and limitation of trade by regulating from time to time the amount of the transactions in which each member might engage. By this means it was hoped to make the foreigner buy dear and sell cheap. Finally, we must add that the elaborate system of self-government, by which the companies controlled the residence and behaviour of their members in foreign ports, harmonised well with the general ideas of the day, which did not favour the unhampered liberty of individuals.

Importance of the Merchant Adventurers. The greatest of the regulated companies was the Merchant Adventurers. It was, as we have seen, the oldest. It held a monopoly of the export to the nearest Continental markets of woollen cloth, now the main product of England and so eminently saleable in almost any clime that it eventually gave England the advantage over Spain in its dealings with natives in distant parts of the world. Moreover, in Elizabeth's reign the Adventurers were the protagonists in the final struggle with the German Hanse merchants of the Steelyard, through whose hands the cloth export to German lands still passed.

Their Struggle with the Hanseatic League. Soon after the Queen's accession the Adventurers lent money to the Crown, in return for which they got a new charter with extended privileges in 1564: but the Hanse merchants retained their ancient liberty of trading as freely (with regard to customs duties) as the native English. A crisis came when the Spanish Fury in 1576 ruined Antwerp as a commercial centre, with the result that the Merchant

Adventurers moved their headquarters to Hamburg. For in 1578 the Hanseatic League, of which Hamburg was a member, compelled that city to withdraw the privileges which it had readily granted, and Queen Elizabeth proceeded to cancel the privileges of the Hanse in England by way of retaliation. From that date until the end of the reign the Merchant Adventurers were driven from one place of residence to another, and were for a time expelled from Germany altogether; but, though permanently weakened by the struggle, they won back their position in Hamburg in 1611 and kept it until the dissolution of the company two centuries later. As for the Hanse merchants, they were restored to their Steelyard but never regained their privileges or importance. Thus English export trade passed entirely into the hands of English traders.

Lesser Companies. Numerous other companies received their charters in the reign of Elizabeth. Two of the earliest were the Russia Company, which grew out of Chancellor's expedition, and the first of a long series of unsuccessful African Companies, intended to exploit the slave trade originated by John Hawkins's voyages or, failing that, to deal in gold dust and ivory. Others, such as the French and Spanish Companies—neither of which lasted very long—attempted to bring ancient lines of trade under stricter control. But the most important object companies could serve was the substitution of English for foreign enterprise in those directions in which a large new trade might be developed.

Eastland and Levant Companies. Several companies, including two of the most prominent, were founded during the decade that ended with the Armada—a period when the feeling for national independence had reached its height. Moreover, one bold enterprise helped the next: thus the profits of the Eastland Company and some of the plunder from Drake's voyage round the world were used to establish the Levant Company, which in turn (at a rather later period) put up money for the East India

venture. The Eastland Company, founded in 1579, rendered great services to England in the countries bordering on the Baltic. Firstly, it supplanted the Hanse merchants, who had controlled this branch of trade for centuries, and did its best to rival the Dutch in the markets of Denmark and Sweden. Secondly, it exported chiefly fully finished cloth, on which English manufacturers made more profit than on the unfinished—the only sort which could find a sale in Germany or the Netherlands. Thirdly, its main imports were timber, tar, and hemp—invaluable raw materials for a naval Power. The Levant Company of 1581, though its charter was withdrawn once or twice during Elizabeth's reign, was almost as meritorious as the Eastland Company. It traded in Turkey and the Mediterranean lands for currants, cotton-wool, and spices, commodities which had previously been purchased from foreign merchants, who bought the goods in the East and distributed them from Antwerp: thus the foreigner was deprived of profit. This Company also developed the export of finished cloth to the Near East, becoming eventually a very stable organisation.

East India Company (Founded December 31, 1600). To tap the trade of the Far East was the object of many voyages of adventure and the unfulfilled ambition of several companies, including the Russia and the Levant. But no effective steps were taken until towards the end of Elizabeth's long reign, when the subjection of Portugal to Spain, followed by our naval triumph over the greater Power in 1588, drew the attention of the English to the possibility of direct trade with India, where the Dutch were already establishing themselves in defiance of the Portuguese monopoly. Two unsuccessful expeditions were sent out (1591 and 1596) before the East India Company received its formal charter on the last day of the sixteenth century. The charter entitled it to trade anywhere eastwards from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, but for our present purpose the noticeable feature is that this was not a regulated company but—with the excep-

tion of the African—the first important joint stock company. Thus the members of the Company were the people who subscribed the capital, with which the Company (through its agents) traded in India as a single unit, no private enterprise being tolerated; and the profits were divided out in proportion to the amount of the subscriptions. At first the scale of operations was so small that a new joint stock was raised for every fresh voyage, and its later expansion is in any case a part of Stuart rather than Tudor history.

(3) THE REGULATION OF INDUSTRY

Regulation of the Corn Trade. The regulation of industry, so as to increase the power of the State in preference, when necessary, to the wealth of the individual, produced many different kinds of action. For instance, in the case of corn-growing the Tudor Governments desired to maintain a large and prosperous population on the land, which would result from a high level of prices: therefore they passed laws from time to time in principle encouraging exportation. But since they also desired to maintain a large and prosperous population in the towns as well as in the country, which would result from a low level of prices, they frequently forbade exportation and did all they could to make corn cheap. Elizabeth, in particular, allowed corn to be exported when prices were low, but defined a low price at a figure which was seldom reached. But her efforts to force down the price in bad seasons (such as 1586) were much more determined: then importation from abroad was unrestricted, and the profits of all corn-dealers and middlemen (a hated class) were closely watched by justices of the peace in accordance with a special 'Book of Orders' from the Privy Council. Nevertheless, corn-growing remained a sufficiently prosperous business for the enclosure movement, based on the greater profitability of sheep-grazing, to slacken somewhat: between 1593 and 1598 the laws against enclosures were actually suspended.

The Domestic System of Industry. But the main problem concerned the new 'domestic system' of industry which was now growing up. In the Middle Ages, when most goods were produced under the supervision of a craft gild for a local market, the typical craftsman bought his own raw materials (such as the shoemaker's leather), worked them up at home with his own tools (his last and hammer, etc.), and himself sold the finished product (the shoes) to the person who wished to wear them. But by the sixteenth century the market had begun to widen, that is to say, in some industries—particularly the woollen manufacture—the goods produced in one district were sold all over the country and abroad: Cotswold and Kendal cloth, for example, were well known everywhere. These larger transactions encouraged the emergence of a new kind of master in the craft, who did things on a big scale. Thus the typical clothier, or woollen manufacturer, bought his wool in large quantities, paid both spinners and weavers to work it up at home with their own spinning wheels and looms, collected and sold the finished article, which had remained his property throughout. The main difference was that under the Domestic System the ordinary craftsman, though still in a far freer position than the modern factory employee, had lost part of his independence —he still worked at home with his own tools, but was paid a piecework wage by the big master or capitalist for the labour he expended on material which he no longer owned. Another difference, already alluded to, was that the wider market was less stable than merely local sales: hence periods of general unemployment.

Decay of Corporate Towns. The craft gilds, which had grown up as part and parcel of the old system, were naturally hostile to these new developments. But when the gilds, whose authority, as we have seen, was already weakening, tried to hamper the new capitalism, the chief result was that industry moved away from the corporate boroughs, where restrictive gild regulations were in force, to suburbs outside the official boundaries or right into the

country, where new towns were often gradually created. Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield all sprang up in this way under the Tudors, and there was a huge growth of population in London suburbs, where the rules of the City companies did not apply. At this epoch the seat of government probably boasted a third of a million inhabitants and conducted three-quarters of the trade of the country. Indeed, the increase was so rapid that the capital depended on imported corn-supplies, and in 1593 the building of more houses was forbidden by law.

Government Policy—Weavers' Act of 1555. The Government, concerned for the strength and well-being of the State as a whole, also tried to bring the new, and perhaps dangerous, Domestic System under control. In the woollen industry the size of a business was normally limited by the number of weavers who happened to reside in the clothier's neighbourhood, but some of the most enterprising—such as Jack of Newbury, who is supposed to have headed a hundred of his own men at Flodden Field—gathered the weavers together to work in their own loom-sheds or factories: the buildings of the dissolved monasteries, for example, were sometimes used for this purpose. This practice was forbidden by an Act of 1555, which laid down that, except in corporate towns, no person might keep more than two looms.

Statute of Apprentices—Hostility to Innovation. The same policy of attempting to prevent dangerous innovations runs through the great Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices. The term of apprenticeship, which the law made compulsory for all crafts, had to be served in a corporate town in the case of the better trades and in a corporate or market town in the case of all but the meanest. Agriculture, again, was given a preference over industry by providing that the unemployed at any time, and during harvest the employed as well, could be compelled to 'labour in husbandry.' So also the law restricted the mobility of labour by requiring that workers should be hired by the year and, when seeking new employment,

should carry with them a certificate from their previous master. None of these clauses appear to have been well kept, even in the first years after their enactment, which suggests that the ideas enshrined in them were already obsolete.

A National System. But there is another side to the Statute of Apprentices: it established a national system. The seven-year apprenticeship rule, which systematised what boroughs and gilds had exacted with countless local variations for centuries, can fairly be regarded as an attempt to improve the quality of English goods by raising the standard of skill in those who made them. But there is another section of the law which clearly looked at industry from the point of view of national strength rather than private gain, for it laid down that the justices of the peace in every county should fix annual wage-rates for every kind of workmen, varying them so that the recipients should have enough to live on, whatever the level of prices might happen to be. Unlike earlier wage regulations, these justices' assessments were intended as a minimum, not a maximum. It is true that employers tended nevertheless to treat the fixed sum as an upward limit, and that in later times justices frequently shirked their task (which was supervised at first by the Privy Council): yet the Elizabethan Government had tried to establish a most important principle.

Existing English Industries. Apart from the cloth manufacture, English industries in the sixteenth century were mostly small, and in many trades, such as tin-mining and the making of cutlery, the large employer, characteristic of the new Domestic System, existed side by side with the small independent worker. Exports included large quantities of raw materials—lead from Derbyshire and the Mendip Hills, Cornish tin, herrings from the coast, and hides from all the cattle-breeding districts. Coal, which was brought by sea from Newcastle and the Tyne valley to London, was just coming into prominence as a domestic fuel, thanks to the increasing use of proper fireplaces and

the chronic shortage of wood, which was consumed in the iron manufacture. The smelting of iron ore and its refining into bar-iron was another important industry, and was spread over most of the counties of England; but the stringent laws by which Elizabeth tried to preserve woods, which, as we have seen, date from 1559, had already begun to drive it away from some districts, such as the Sussex Weald; and the Forest of Dean gradually became the chief centre instead. Nevertheless, much iron was already being imported as raw material for the flourishing hardware trades. Cutlery, for instance, expanded greatly during Elizabeth's reign, a special measure being passed to prevent the importation of foreign steel goods, which might have competed with it.

New Industries established by Foreigners. With this exception, protectionist measures (a great feature of mercantilism in later centuries) were not yet of much avail, since what England lacked was the inventions and skill with which to compete against the foreigner. Lee's knitting-frame for hosiery provides, it is true, one conspicuous example of an English-made invention during this reign, but on the whole the country was so backward in industrial arts that, when Gresham built the Royal Exchange in 1566, almost every item of the work had to be performed by foreign craftsmen. Hence Cecil's famous policy of encouraging foreign immigrants. The prospect of religious liberty, as we have seen, induced the Dutchmen to bring over the New Draperies, as the finer qualities of cloth were called, by which Norwich, Colchester, and other centres recovered and extended their prosperity. But in most cases the main inducement was the patent of monopoly, by which a group of immigrants—joined occasionally with some enterprising Englishman—were assured of the sole profits for a term of years of some new manufacture which they promised to establish in England. Germans started copper-mines at Keswick and an ordnance factory at Woolwich; Flemings were invited to manufacture salt and glass; and another German began a native

industry of paper-making. The monopolies were not always successful, and they often degenerated into the acts of sheer favouritism which were so hotly condemned by Parliament, but without them Elizabethan England would not have had the wide variety of industries which served to increase her economic independence and wealth. [See Map, p. 266/1.]

Elizabethan Prosperity. For, although the aggressive nationalism of the mercantilist policy was far from being a perfect recipe for prosperity—witness the long depression in the woollen industry which resulted from the long war with Spain—the fact remains that an increase in prosperity was one great gift of the Tudor regime, apart from which its other measures would have had little effect. Among the aristocracy its most obvious token was the great Elizabethan manor-houses, into which men turned their money the more readily because they lacked other safe (and showy) investment. For the same reason the yeomen of 1600 were building the solid farmsteads which are still to be seen in such favoured districts as the Cotswold Hills. But if we looked only into the cottages of Queen Elizabeth's humbler subjects, there too we might see chimneys, glazed windows, and flock-beds quite unfamiliar to their ancestors of a century or so before.

1603–1714

CHAPTER X

JAMES I AND PARLIAMENT

1603–1625

"Kings [are] accountable to God only. They have power to exalt low things and abase high things, and make of their subjects, like men at the chess, a pawn to take a bishop or a knight, and to cry up or down any of their subjects as they do their money."

King James I to Parliament, March 21st, 1610.

(1) OPENING YEARS

Accession of James VI and I. The death of the great Queen Elizabeth was followed by the immediate and peaceful accession of James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England and founded the unfortunate House of Stuart. As the child of Mary Queen of Scots and Darnley he was descended on both sides from Henry VII, but the ease with which the new King won the English throne was chiefly due to the ability of Robert Cecil, the son of Elizabeth's greatest minister, who had succeeded to his father's post of authority shortly before the death of the latter in 1598. He had used his influence to prepare the way for James and now became his principal adviser, so the country was secure for the time being against any violent breach with the Elizabethan policy in Church and State. Freed from the fear of civil war and a Catholic invasion, England had leisure to take stock of her new ruler.

Character of James. The character of the first Stuart king is a matter of great historical importance, because it immediately involved him in a series of quarrels with his subjects, which both survived James to create trouble for

later kings and accustomed the nation to the general idea of disputing its sovereign's wishes—an idea which had been almost forgotten in the days of the Tudors. James's outstanding quality was his unkingly love of theorising: he was a writer of books and expounder of arguments, who took more pleasure in a shrewd phrase or an apt quotation than in a timely action or a sensible compromise. This was not, indeed, his fault, any more than he can be blamed for the fact that, having reigned in Scotland for forty years, he knew nothing of English customs. But there were three things which made it impossible to hide these deficiencies. Firstly, he was unkingly in his bearing—fat, slobbering, and awkward—so that people were unfavourably impressed by him at the outset. Then he was too fond of lecturing to learn anything, so that whatever was not written in books remained a mystery to him all his life. Finally, James was no judge of men, but doted on friends whose pleasing faces and graceful manners were their only recommendation to favour. The King of France therefore dubbed him 'the wisest fool in Christendom.'

Peace with Spain, 1604. One good quality, indeed, James did derive from his preference for theory rather than the practice of the world outside, for he had a genuine love of peace: but it was his misfortune that this pacifism increased the dislike which his new subjects already felt for his lack of dignity and his Scottish birth. Perceiving that the Elizabethan war with Spain, which still dragged on, could bring no further advantage to us, James opened his reign by making terms with the Spaniards in 1604. As the country then remained at peace for twenty years it will be convenient to resume the study of foreign affairs in a later chapter. Meanwhile we may notice that throughout the reign hostility to the King's domestic policy was reinforced by the resentment felt against his foreign policy by the two powerful groups of religious enthusiasts, who wanted an anti-Catholic crusade, and sea-adventurers looking for further plunder. [See below p. 129/1].

Puritanism. Although the new King was by disposition

a peacemaker at home as well as abroad, he was fated within the first three years of his reign to open up each of the three big questions about which the nation was to dispute all through the seventeenth century. The first of these concerned the Puritans, a name which at that time covered at least three distinct types of religious believers —the Brownists (later known as Independents), who thought that every congregation of worshippers should choose how they would worship; the Presbyterians, who wanted the Church to be governed by a democratic assembly of ministers and laymen (as in Scotland) instead of by bishops; and a more moderate section, who merely requested that the bishops should allow those who wished, to modify the form of service. What was common to all the Puritans was their belief that the Elizabethan religious settlement did not go far enough in denouncing the doctrines, the ways of worship, and even the way of living which the Roman Catholic world approved. Hence they believed in a preaching ministry which should vehemently expound the teachings of Protestantism, opposed even the most innocent ceremonial, and longed to make Sunday a day of sober reflection rather than a holiday. The accession of a king who had been reared in the Scottish Church of John Knox, more Calvinistic and austere than any English Puritanism, therefore raised their hopes, and a petition was at once presented.

Hampton Court Conference, 1604. The Millenary Petition was neither Brownist nor Presbyterian, for Elizabeth had driven the extremists into silence or exile. It represented only the desire of some hundreds of clergy (who claimed to be a thousand) that the regulations of the Church of England should be altered so as to enable those who wished to give up such ceremonies as still existed—for example, the wearing of the surplice and the bowing at the name of Jesus—and to devote themselves to a preaching ministry instead of to elaborate services. James readily agreed to call a conference between these Puritan clergy and the bishops at Hampton Court, where he would

have a good chance to air his learning. But when the abolition of bishops was suggested he lost both his temper and a great opportunity, crying "No bishop, no king"—by which he meant that where there were no bishops (as in Scotland) there was less deference to royalty—and vowing that he would harry the Puritans out of the land.

Authorised Version of the Bible, 1611. The Hampton Court Conference therefore did little good: the more resolute of the Puritan clergy lost their livings for disobedience to the prayer-book order of service strictly interpreted, and a much more numerous body both of clergy and laity were driven to think that Presbyterianism or even the Brownist congregation was preferable to Episcopal tyranny, which was the more important as the gentry of the House of Commons and the merchants who paid the King's taxes were many of them Puritan sympathisers. Nevertheless, one great achievement stands to the credit of the Conference, inasmuch as it ordered a new translation of the Bible to be made, which was issued as the official 'Authorised Version' of 1611. In the seventeenth century books were still scarce and dear, and many people thought it wrong to spend time in reading secular literature, however noble. It was therefore of particular importance that the one book, which was then read by all who could read and furnished texts and arguments for every dispute, should be rendered in the noblest style of all, to mould the thought as well as the speech of Milton and his fellow-countrymen.

James and the Catholics. Although James had failed to please the Puritans, there was still the chance that he might succeed in reconciling the Catholics, the more so as they were themselves divided at this time by a bitter feud between the Jesuits, who favoured extreme measures, and the ordinary secular priests, who taught the families which still clung to the old faith that more was to be gained by a policy of submission. In principle, the new King was tolerant and opposed to religious persecution; in practice, the experiment of relaxing the recusancy laws (under which Catholics were fined for not attending the Anglican Church)

alarmed him by revealing how numerous the Catholics were. He hastily withdrew his concessions, whereupon the disappointed Jesuit agents designed a plot: King and Parliament were to be blown sky high, and an armed rising of the Catholics was to coerce the nation, thus left leaderless, into the path of the Counter-Reformation.

Gunpowder Plot, 1605. The famous 'Gunpowder Treason' was originated by Robert Catesby, a Catholic gentleman of good family, half approved by the Jesuit priests in whom he confided, and put into execution by a professional soldier of courage and resource, known to history as Guy Fawkes. The story of how the conspirators laid their barrels of gunpowder in the cellar beneath the Parliament House, with intent to fire them when the King was opening the Parliament, is a familiar one. But it is still uncertain whether discovery was really due to a letter in which one of the plotters warned a kinsman to stay away from the ceremony, or whether Cecil had long been aware of the scheme and was playing with his victims. At all events Fawkes was arrested among the barrels, and his accomplices were taken trying to raise the open rebellion in the provinces which was to have followed the catastrophe in the capital. They were tortured and killed, but what is important is the fact that the story of the Plot, with all its vivid details, came to rank with Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* as a national Protestant tradition. James himself was content to increase the severity of the laws against Jesuits, treating the rest of the Catholics as gently as might be, and towards the end of the reign the pro-Catholic trend of his foreign policy brought actual toleration nearer. But the nation at large, less ready to forget than the philosopher King, fiercely resisted all attempts at legal toleration in this and succeeding reigns.

James and Parliament. James was no more successful in dealing with Parliament than with the religious factions which rent the country. The members of the House of Commons were already becoming very restive in the later years of Queen Elizabeth. During the long Tudor peace

they had ceased to follow the lead of the Lords, who were no longer a fighting baronage, and had come to have views of their own about policy, which only respect for the aged Queen had induced them to hold in check. Some members attended more than one Parliament, and thus became experienced Parliamentarians; a few had a legal training, enabling them to quote alarming precedents for the powers which their House had exercised in name, but not in reality, during the Lancastrian Experiment of the later Middle Ages; a large proportion were men of wealth, with wide knowledge gained in organising commercial ventures overseas; probably a majority were Puritans, champions of a religion which their King detested; and almost every representative, whether of county or borough, was a gentleman born, with the pride and independence of his class. James, on the contrary, supposed the English Parliament to be as unimportant as the Scottish, which was a mere court for registering royal decrees with due formality, and he never lacked wordy arguments to support his case. He did not even bother to continue the Tudor practice, by which important Privy Councillors sought election to Parliament in order that they might explain the King's wishes in the matter of legislation.

Goodwin's Case, 1604. It is not, therefore, surprising that the first, and by far the longest, Parliament of the reign opened with a quarrel about the respective rights of King and Commons. Trivial in itself, it was a straw which showed the way the wind blew. A certain Sir Francis Goodwin had been elected for Buckinghamshire, although he was technically an outlaw and the election of outlaws had been prohibited by royal proclamation. The King demanded that the House should not receive him as a member, while the House claimed an exclusive right to decide all questions of membership for itself. In the end, it was agreed to hold an entirely new election in this case, and the King refrained from challenging their claim again. But what stuck in the memory was James's blunt reminder that "They derived all matters of privilege

from him": what one sovereign had granted, another sovereign might take away.

Bate's Case, 1606. Two years later a more serious dispute developed over a matter of taxation. A large part of the royal revenue was derived from duties on imported goods, known as Tonnage and Poundage, which Parliament granted the king for life at the beginning of every reign. These customs duties, unlike the ordinary direct taxes, increased automatically with the increasing wealth of the country, which caused it to import more goods every year. Accordingly, the kings obtained a valuable addition to the revenue by imposing extra duties on certain goods as well as the Tonnage and Poundage allowed by Parliament. These 'Impositions,' as they were called, had been tolerated on the ground that they were part and parcel of the king's right to control foreign policy, for he might employ them to damage the export trade of a particular trade rival or to prevent harmful imports. In 1606, however, a merchant named Bate refused to pay an Imposition levied on currants, and, although the judges upheld the King's claim, the attention of Parliament was directed to the question, and they began to perceive that any tax not subject to their votes weakened their hold over the King and his policy. Parliament therefore supported Bate, and as the King replied by issuing a new Book of Rates (or list of customs duties), in which the Impositions figured as a regular part of the system, the quarrel continued until the King angrily dissolved Parliament in 1611.

The Great Contract, 1610. Cecil, indeed, had endeavoured to help matters by proposing a general financial settlement between King and people, known as the Great Contract. The King was to give up all the antiquated feudal dues, which landowners were still liable to pay; Parliament was to grant a fixed annual sum in return; and Impositions were to be quietly dropped. This idea was broached in 1610, by which date ill-feeling about the ejected Puritan clergy and the new Book of Rates had gone too far for

a reasonable settlement to be welcomed, so nothing came of it. Instead, James resolved to rule without Parliament, and for the next decade (1611–21), with one short-lived exception, England had a foretaste of what unparliamentary government meant under the Stuart House.

(2) ROOTS OF THE QUARREL OF KING AND PARLIAMENT

Privileges of Parliament. Three great quarrels had now been launched—the King would have liked to, but dare not, tolerate the Catholics; he wished to persecute the Puritans; he resisted the demands of Parliament. The motives of the two former disputes are fairly obvious, but it will be worth while to consider just what it was that Parliament wanted and why the King felt bound to object. In the first place, Parliament insisted upon its privileges—the right to control elections, the freedom of members from arrest during its sessions, the power of regulating its own debates, and the liberty of members to say what they liked. All these privileges Parliament claimed as a right which could not be taken away from it, hoping in this way to make itself independent of the King. The King, on the other hand, said that his predecessors from the time of Edward I had allowed Parliament to exist, that he summoned it to meet, and that therefore he could control all its proceedings.

The Financial Problem. Parliament, again, cherished its ancient and acknowledged power of granting or withholding taxes as a means of supervising the King's actions: if he did what pleased them, money would be forthcoming —but not very much, for fear he might be too independent. But the Stuarts had two reasons for expecting more generous treatment. One was the falling value of money: every year the fixed sums which Parliament granted bought less and less, and whatever reserve funds there had been were quite exhausted by the Irish wars at the end of Elizabeth's reign. This factor in the situation might conceivably have been realised by Parliament, had not the first Stuart been

a spendthrift, who lavished more money on his court in time of peace than his predecessor had expended in time of war. The other point was the undoubted existence from ancient days of certain unparliamentary taxes, such as forced loans, impositions, and feudal dues, ready to be developed if Parliament behaved meanly. These arguments were reinforced from the King's point of view by the obvious need for money, if the navy, army, and government of England were to pass muster side by side with those of despotically ruled Continental monarchies like France.

Common Law *v.* Prerogative. Then there was the difficult question of law. Parliament, which makes statute law in the form of Acts of Parliament, had an inevitable belief in their supreme importance, and in that of the courts of common law, whose judges upheld the supremacy of law over all persons, whether king or subject, and interpreted the Acts in accordance with long-accepted common law principles. The King, we can well believe, was very far from recognising the superiority to himself of any kind of law. He therefore supported the ever-increasing activities of the prerogative courts of Star Chamber, High Commission, and Councils of Wales and the North because, as their name implies, these courts depended mainly on royal authority for their existence, and the law which they administered represented the wishes of the King rather than any statute. These courts were, as a matter of fact, quicker, cheaper, and more efficient than the courts of common law, so that people readily resorted to them, and, in James's reign at least, they cannot be said to have constituted a genuine grievance. A more serious consequence of the King's attitude was that he expected the judges to judge as his servants, wherever royal interests were concerned—as in Bate's Case, for example. The whole duty of judges, it was said, was to be 'lions *under* the throne,' in which event a king might override his subjects' liberties as he pleased, especially as legal precedents would nearly always make it easy for

an ingenious judge to justify his decision, however wrong.

Bacon and Coke. The author of the above phrase and the grand exponent of the system was Francis Bacon, the author of the pithy *Essays* and the first great English History (his *Life of Henry the Seventh*) as well as of philosophical and scientific works, which render him probably the most learned Englishman that ever lived. It is very significant that so great a man served James's cause, in the belief that progress lay along the lines of despotic government. Bacon became Lord Chancellor in 1618, two years after Sir Edward Coke, the foremost champion of common law, had lost his judgeship for thwarting the royal wishes and become the firm ally of the parliamentary opposition. Coke's character is equally typical of the mixture of good and evil in men and policies, for though a great master of legal learning he was a toady, a bully, and a miser, some of whose indignation was certainly caused by the fact that the existence of prerogative courts lessened the fees of all who practised the common law.

Problem of Sovereignty. Lastly, there was a conflict of theory which underlay the disputed practices. Parliament was slowly feeling its way towards the doctrine that, in the last resort, the right to decide how the country should be governed was to be shared between King and Parliament. This is a modern idea, which we can easily appreciate, but it is important to remember that in the seventeenth century despotic kings were the rule in Europe and parliamentary assemblies the exception. Despotic monarchies, moreover, were showing themselves, especially in France, to be the most efficient form of government. Under such circumstances there was nothing perverse or even remarkable in the fact that James I, and his son Charles after him, were firm believers in the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, which had been quite recently developed in Protestant countries in order to counteract the Catholic teaching that the Pope may authorise a people to depose its lawful sovereign.

Divine Right of Kings. In order to make the king's position more secure, the new theory said that, when he inherited this throne, it was God who gave it him: he was therefore answerable before God for every action as king; and, with equal reason, he was answerable to no one else. For precedent, the theory turned to the Patriarchs of the Old Testament, whom God appointed: like them, the modern king was to be the father of his people, and his subjects had as little right to criticise or resist him as children their parents. This was a capital theory—for kings; and James's love of long words enabled him to make the best use of it whenever he was confronted with parliamentary privileges, resistance to taxation, or appeals to the majesty of common law.

(3) THE RULE OF FAVOURITES

Death of Salisbury, 1612. These high-sounding claims consorted ill with the folly which marked James's conduct of affairs in the ten years that intervened before he came to another reckoning with Parliament. The dissolution of 1611 was followed by the deaths in the next year of James's faithful counsellor, Robert Cecil, whom he had made Earl of Salisbury, and of his promising and prudent elder son, Henry, Prince of Wales. This was especially unfortunate, because at this time, when the baronage had lost power over the King and the House of Commons had yet to win it, the personal characters of the few who surrounded the King practically determined whether the country was well or badly governed. James now relied upon the advice of a young Scotsman of humble birth, whose good looks and good humour, which were combined with a quite worthless character, commended him to the doting king. In 1616 he had his reward, for this Robert Carr, whom he had created Earl of Somerset, was implicated in a murder which his wife, also a favourite at court, had actually committed. They both fell into disgrace, but James learnt no lesson: worse was to follow.

Rule of Buckingham. Carr had already begun to give place to George Villiers, later Duke of Buckingham, a much more attractive young man, who tried to act wisely, so far as an impulsive nature and the circumstances of his rapid rise to power would allow. But as he was a pleasanter person, so his influence lasted longer. Not content with the absolute control over James and his policy, which he had established by 1619 and retained until the King's death, he became the dearest friend of his only surviving son, Prince Charles, thus prolonging his term of authority into the following reign. It has been aptly said of Buckingham that, if he is to be judged as a favourite, he ranks among the best in English history, but if as a minister, then he must be reckoned the very worst. He was a capable administrator of routine business and a brave, if incompetent, soldier, but he had no political principles or properly thought-out policy, taking (and changing) sides on every question in accordance with his personal likes and dislikes. This was especially conspicuous in foreign affairs, but for the moment we may be content to notice how inevitably the rule of favourites, prolonged over sixteen years, damaged the Stuart dynasty. Buckingham's flippancy, no less than the flagrant immorality of Carr, angered the Puritans; their rapid rise and mediocre attainments offended both the ancient nobility and the sober middle-class families that had served the Tudors; and all reasonable men resented a system under which a Bacon and a Raleigh had to curry favour with minions in order to enjoy any share of power or influence.

Suppression of Monopolies, 1621. From what has been said it will not appear surprising that the first Parliament which met under the rule of favourites, instead of granting the Crown money, launched into an angry discussion of Impositions and was dismissed for its pains. This was the 'Addled' Parliament of 1614, so called because it resulted in nothing. The next, which is far more important, was summoned in 1621, when money was urgently needed because of the imminence of war, and the King was there-

fore prepared to redress grievances. As was only natural, the Parliament turned its attention first to the oppressive devices by which a small revenue had been made to suffice for a large and extravagant court. The chief of these was the revival of those patents of monopoly, which Elizabeth had so wisely forgone. [See Economic Section, p. 253/1.] All kinds of articles in everyday use had had their price raised, because some courtier obtained a charter giving him the sole right to sell it. A share in the profits went to the Crown as payment for the patent, but indirect taxation of this kind, irregularly levied for the support of a corrupt court, could not easily be defended. James yielded to the demands of the Commons and cancelled his grants. One leading monopolist was impeached and others were imprisoned; and finally in 1624 a law was passed which forbade the granting of patents to individuals except in the case of actual inventors.

Impeachment of Bacon. But what was chiefly remarkable in the episode was the revival of impeachments, that is to say, the practice by which the House of Commons prosecuted prominent offenders and they were judged by the House of Lords. During the Tudor period they had been abandoned in favour of attainders, which were special Acts of Parliament declaring a person guilty without trial and prescribing his punishment, usually death. An Act of Attainder, however, required the King's assent; hence the return to impeachments marked the fact that King and Parliament were no longer united. It was not only the monopolists that were attacked in this way, for, believing that they were shielded by great men at court, the Parliament turned on Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, and impeached him for taking bribes when he sat in judgment. Bacon was a mean man, for all his intellectual greatness, so it is quite likely that he had gone rather far in following the usual custom, by which judges and all other officials received presents for their services from interested parties. He was deprived of his chancellorship and did not long survive the disgrace: thus the King had sacrificed one of his most

prominent, though not his best-loved, supporters to the demands of the parliamentary opposition.

Protestation of December 1621. Not content with the redress of particular grievances, the Parliament of 1621 desired to discuss policy. Though they did not as yet claim the right to control the King's actions, they regarded it as their business to talk freely about what the country wanted, namely, a vigorously Protestant foreign policy and a Protestant marriage for Prince Charles. As these views did not harmonise with the course which Buckingham was actually pursuing, James in anger ordered the discussions to cease; and, when the Parliament refused, dissolved it. But before the dissolution the Commons had drawn up a memorable 'Protestation' of their liberties, alleging that their privilege of freedom of speech entitled them to discuss all public affairs at their discretion. James's answer was to tear the document from the Commons' Journal with his own hand, an act of rash violence which, more perhaps than any other single event of the reign, paved the way to civil war.

Parliament of 1624. Nevertheless, James's last Parliament in 1624 met in an atmosphere of calm. Aged and weary, the King had surrendered his own desire for peace to the eagerness of Buckingham, who was busy organising a popular Protestant war, for which Parliament readily voted the first supplies. The next year the first Stuart king passed away, almost unnoticed it would seem, while foreign affairs reached the crisis he had done so much to postpone. Accordingly, we must now retrace our steps to see what effect the coming of the Stuarts to England had had upon foreign and colonial policy.

CHAPTER XI

THE POLICY OF THE EARLY STUARTS OVERSEAS

1603–1640

"That your Majesty would not omit this just occasion speedily and effectually to take your sword into your hand."

Petition of the House of Commons, December 1621.

(1) THE POLICY OF PEACE

Treaty with Spain, 1604. The treaty with Spain, which James had made in 1604 and adopted as the basis of his foreign policy, allotted no fresh territory to either side and did not even settle the claim of the English to trade in Spanish America and the West Indian islands. The peace was bitterly attacked by every one of James's Parliaments as a disgrace to England's proud position as the Protestant champion, and the King was freely taunted with his subservience to Gondomar, the able Spanish ambassador; but he was not to be moved. It must be admitted that in this matter James showed himself much wiser than his clamorous opponents, who were guided by traditional prejudices rather than by any accurate knowledge of the state of Europe. To prolong the war would have strained the resources of a small country like England past all endurance. It was an unnecessary effort in any case, because the power of Spain had been curbed, which was all at which the wiser statesmen of Elizabeth's reign had aimed. A period of peace was now essential to the future prosperity of England, since the plans for building up an empire overseas, which the war had interrupted, could not otherwise have been resumed.

Execution of Raleigh, 1618. Indeed, James is more truly blameworthy because of the one occasion on which he half abandoned his policy. A king who would make peace with Spain inevitably disliked, and was disliked by, such a veteran sea-dog as Sir Walter Raleigh, who was plausibly supposed to be implicated in the absurd 'Main Plot' of 1603 for deposing James in favour of his cousin, Arabella Stuart, who might prove more pliable. [See Genealogical Table, p. 88/1.] The plot was discovered, with the result that Raleigh passed the first part of the reign in the Tower of London under sentence of death for high treason. In 1617, however, James and Buckingham, being sorely in need of money, released him in order to organise an expedition up the Orinoco to El Dorado, in a region of South America which was then a great centre of colonising activities. From this he promised to return with the profits of a gold mine and without meeting hostile Spaniards. Unfortunately, Raleigh found plenty of Spaniards but no gold, and returned, having had the worst of it. Thereupon, James earned himself undying unpopularity by executing in 1618, under his former sentence, a man who was still a national hero, because he was not prepared to lose the goodwill of Gondomar and the Spanish court unless the gains were substantial.

Proposed Union with Scotland. Another aspect of James's peace policy, which does him greater credit, was his attempt to merge his two kingdoms into a single 'Great Britain,' which would be both stronger and richer than its two parts could hope to be in isolation. His accession to the English throne had put an end to the useless border forays between Scots and English; it also rendered the traditional alliance between Scotland and England's foes across the Channel impracticable. This was all to the good, but the English Parliament, in its jealousy of the thrifty and industrious Scots, vetoed his statesmanlike plans for a closer union, and the King had to content himself with a ruling by the judges to the effect that children born after his accession to the English throne

were citizens of both countries: but commercial barriers remained in existence for another hundred years. At all events, James had the satisfaction of knowing that his two crowns made him far more powerful than earlier Scottish kings had been, and he used his power to bring back the system of Episcopacy (which he had championed at the Hampton Court Conference) to the northern kingdom, which dare not now resist.

Plantation of Ulster. James's Scottish policy also left its mark upon Ireland, the conquest of which had been completed just after Elizabeth's death. But Ireland, though conquered, never ceased to hate the conqueror and to regard his Protestant faith as the badge of slavery. In 1607, therefore, a pretext was found for confiscating the lands of seven northern counties; and the new rank of baronet was sold to all comers in order to finance a new settlement of the land or 'Plantation.' The City of London took over the town of Derry and the surrounding district, but most of the immigrants were hard-working Presbyterian Scots, who, when all the smaller English plantations in Ireland had disappeared, gave Ulster the un-Irish character it still retains.

Massacre of Amboyna, 1623. The period of peace also encouraged the plantation of Englishmen and English trading-posts across more distant seas, the policy which had been largely abandoned on the outbreak of war with Spain. James I, indeed, gave little direct assistance to the adventurers. For one thing, the Royal Navy, still under the nominal command of Lord Howard of Effingham, who had fought against the Armada, was in a deplorable condition owing to the malpractices of highly placed officials, who stole the money which should have paid for crews and supplies. During this reign the light on the Lizard was actually extinguished for fear it should guide the Barbary pirates who infested the English Channel. In any case, the Elizabethan tradition was still respected, which regarded hostilities between the merchant ships of rival powers as no cause for public war, so long as their

conflicts were fought outside European waters. That is why so little indignation was felt at James's apparent callousness in 1623, when the Dutch found a pretext to torture and kill the English merchants with whom they shared the East Indian island of Amboyna. No vengeance was attempted, with the result that control of the Spice Islands passed wholly into the hands of our rivals: such was the sequel to the trade treaty which Drake had voyaged round the world to make.

The Chartered Companies. The Scottish-born king, who was the only Stuart to neglect the navy, was likewise unfitted by his upbringing to sympathise with the aims of the Chartered Companies, much less with those of private adventurers, such as the traders who sold slaves to the Spanish settlers in the West Indies whenever they could escape the guns of Spanish warships. [See Economic Section, p. 257/1.] In 1623, however, Englishmen obtained territorial possession of half the island of St Kitt's, to which Barbados was added about 1625: this soon became the centre of the sugar trade and a most valuable property. Meanwhile, in the other hemisphere, the East India Company engaged in a long and doubtful struggle against the Dutch for possession of the ancient Portuguese trading-posts, on which Portugal, now the dependant of Spain, was fast losing her grip. In distant oceans, where the noise of conflict could never reach the ears of governments, English, Dutch, and Huguenots continued the struggle against Catholicism; rival Protestant nations began a newer and baser conflict with each other; and the Chartered Companies did battle even against their fellow-countrymen in the shape of unlicensed 'interlopers.' From the English point of view the chief success was won on the Indian mainland. The declining power of Portugal was worsted in various naval encounters, the most important of which was fought off Surat in 1612 and was immediately followed by a grant of permission by the Mogul Emperor to open the first English trading-post or 'factory' at that centre on the north-west coast.

Foundation of Virginia, 1606. King James took a rather larger interest in the schemes for a regular colony on the American coast, which were also revived at this time, the name of the proposed settlement being still Virginia. In 1606 a royal charter set up two companies, composed chiefly of merchants who were willing to finance an expedition of emigrants in the hope that it would start a valuable trade in fish and in tropical products. There were also fantastic expectations of gold and the discovery of the North-West Passage. The merchants lost their money, and many of those who were sent out, their lives; but the heroic leadership of Captain John Smith kept the colony in existence until it eventually found in tobacco a crop which it could both grow, transport to Europe, and sell. Then in 1624 the original company came to an end, and Virginia, in the territory which still bears the name, became the first important crown colony, governing itself under a charter granted directly by the King.

Voyage of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1620. But an offshoot of the Virginia Company's activities was to prove of still greater importance. An expedition to the northern part of their very extensive lands having failed, the Company in 1620 gave a licence to settle there to a small body of English Puritans. These were some Lincolnshire families which had migrated to Holland in search of religious liberty but were dissatisfied with what they found there. Setting sail in the *Mayflower* about one hundred strong, they were driven far to the north of the vaguely defined region of Virginia, and founded, amid the hardships of icy winters which the warmth of their faith taught them to endure with fortitude, the first of the Puritan colonies of New England. For this great event the policy of the Hampton Court Conference was at least indirectly responsible.

(2) ENGLAND AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The Thirty Years' War, 1618–48. How long James's peace policy might have been continued with success it is

impossible to say, because in 1618 an event took place which upset all calculations. The forces of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, which had been predominant in Europe for many years, launched their final attack upon Protestantism in Germany, where the existence of more than 300 separate States, some Catholic, some Lutheran, and some Calvinist, made it easy to begin and to prolong a struggle. The immediate pretext for the war was the refusal of the Protestant people of Bohemia to allow the Catholic House of Austria to continue to provide their king. Instead they chose the leader of the German Calvinists, Frederick Elector Palatine, who journeyed from his own Palatinate, which lay in the Rhine valley round Heidelberg, to rule over the Bohemians at Prague. He was defeated and driven out within a year, as might have been foreseen, since the Austrian sovereign, who, as Holy Roman Emperor, was nominal overlord of all Germany, was much too strong for him. Soon a great Catholic alliance had overrun the Palatinate as well, with the result that for many years to come the hopes of German Protestants lay in the help which might be forthcoming from the Protestants of neighbouring lands.

Marriage of Elizabeth, 1613. James I of England was more closely affected by these events than anyone. Like Henry VII, he had combined a peace- with a marriage-policy, as a result of which his only daughter, Elizabeth, had become the wife of this Frederick. Frederick had looked to his father-in-law to help him retain Bohemia; he was now sure that he would regain for him his own realm of the Palatinate: what was James to do? At the same time, the Puritan ardour of his own subjects was driving him towards war, for when the Parliament met in 1621 neither monopolies nor judicial corruption excited such profound emotion as the plight of their fellow-Protestants in the heart of Germany. This was the first occasion on which that sense of moral responsibility for the welfare of oppressed peoples was aroused, which both kings and ministries in England have disregarded at their peril.

The Spanish Marriage. The King's response was not to declare war against the Catholic alliance but to attempt to bring his marriage-policy to completion, hoping that the second part of the programme would counteract the effects of the first. In the lifetime of his son Henry, James had contemplated a Spanish marriage for him, which he had stoutly resisted. This scheme he now renewed for the benefit of his more pliable younger son, Prince Charles, in the fond belief that, if the Spanish royal house were numbered among his kinsmen, they would display the loyalty of a Scottish clan by saving the inheritance of his son-in-law. James's motive may have been good, but the plan was not, since Spain was too devoted to the Catholic cause to allow the marriage without full toleration for the Catholics in England, which James dare not grant; and even then Spain would never have championed the Protestant cause in Germany.

Charles's Visit to Spain, 1623. The result was that for years Gondomar the ambassador played with James, and the negotiations dragged on, the only benefit being reaped by the English Catholics, whose persecution was relaxed. Finally, in 1623, Charles and Buckingham, who had now made this policy his own, obtained the King's reluctant consent to let them travel to Spain and prosecute Prince Charles's suit in person. This proved fatal, for the Infanta loathed Charles, and everyone else in Spain loathed the haughty Buckingham. In the autumn they returned home empty-handed amid universal rejoicing, whereupon Buckingham, who loved popularity, joined the Protestant war-party, and the weary James resigned control of policy to the favourite. The years from 1624 to 1628, covering the close of James's, and the opening of Charles's, reign, mark a distinct period with a new supremacy in foreign affairs, that of Buckingham, and a new policy, one of war.

War against Spain, 1624. A popular foreign policy meant war with Spain and intervention on the Protestant side in Germany—but it did not remain popular long. In 1624 an army was collected in England to reconquer the

Palatinate for Frederick, but owing to Buckingham's mismanagement most of its members did not live to reach Germany at all. The following year a joint military and naval expedition was sent to Cadiz, but it failed to capture either the town itself or the Spanish treasure-fleet which was expected there, pointing the contrast between the great days of the Elizabethan 'sea-dogs' and the Stuart reigns, the second of which was now beginning. It has been said that this marks the lowest depth to which our military and naval power has ever sunk in modern times; but Buckingham and his young master were so far from being deterred by the situation, that they chose this moment to embark on an additional war against France, the origin of which we must now examine.

Marriage of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, 1626. The year before James died a plan had been formed to get French help in the war by marrying Charles to the French king's sister, Henrietta Maria. The marriage duly followed upon Charles's accession, and saddled England with a rigidly Catholic queen, but the expected benefits were not forthcoming. For one thing, Charles had agreed to lend English ships to his father-in-law for the suppression of the rebellious Huguenots, but the crews refused to do effective service against an enemy whom they regarded as fellow-Protestants, rightly struggling to be free. Then there was trouble about the position of the English Catholics when Charles, having solemnly undertaken in the marriage treaty to free them from all penalties, failed, not for the last time, to carry out his promises in full. Finally, the great French minister Richelieu hesitated to commit himself to war as the ally of the irresponsible Buckingham, who both resented the distrust and showed how amply it was justified by allowing the two countries to drift into hostilities against one another instead.

Expeditions to Ré, 1627–8. Having failed in Germany and Spain, Buckingham turned against France, and resolved that the campaign of 1627 should centre upon a great expedition to the Isle of Ré, off La Rochelle. If we

captured the island, it would serve as a base for privateering raids along the French coast, and at the same time the great Huguenot fortress of La Rochelle would be saved from falling into the hands of Richelieu and the Catholic Government. However, the great expedition was a great failure: Buckingham did not lack courage or enthusiasm, but the nation was now engrossed in a new political struggle, his soldiers were a mere riff-raff, and reinforcements never arrived. A second expedition set sail with the same object the following summer, but meanwhile Richelieu had piled a great mole across the mouth of the harbour to bar the way to our ships, which made little effort to surmount the difficulty, so that La Rochelle surrendered within sight of rescue. But whether La Rochelle stood or fell, the war policy had now come to an end with its author, Buckingham.

(3) THE POLICY OF INACTION

Murder of Buckingham, 1628. In August 1628 the Duke had reached Portsmouth on his way to join the expedition, when he was murdered by a discontented officer named Felton. The event had a double significance. On the one hand, the memory of the popular rejoicing among all classes of society, which followed news of the outrage, did more than any other single episode to give Charles a deep-rooted contempt for his subjects' opinions. On the other hand, the loss of his dearest friend, who had been his confidant far more than the young wife he had not chosen, left Charles without any clear and consistent ideas on which to base a foreign policy. Moreover, before he had had time to develop any, England was involved in the final stages of the quarrel between Crown and Parliament, which meant that he had neither the money nor the energy to spare for a vigorous conduct of foreign affairs. We find, therefore, a sudden change from a policy of great activity to one of entire inaction.

Later Stages of Thirty Years' War. The Thirty Years'

War, accordingly, dragged on to its conclusion in 1648 without further intervention on our part. This made less difference than might be expected for two reasons: the Swedish hero, Gustavus Adolphus, was shortly to revive the Protestant cause with such force that it could never again be in danger of extinction; and, as it was the House of Austria, rather than Spain, which now aspired to be dictator of Europe, the Channel was a sufficient safeguard for purely English interests. By 1639, indeed, our naval prestige had sunk so low that Dutch and Spanish fought a great battle in English territorial waters without remonstrance on our part. But the Continental struggle affected us chiefly through its attraction for Protestant enthusiasts from England and Scotland, who fought in the regiments of Gustavus Adolphus and other champions of the cause, and there received a training which was to stand them in good stead in the English Civil Wars.

Growth of the Empire. But the years in which foreign policy almost disappears from sight because the Government is preoccupied with domestic problems were by no means unfavourable to the growth of those imperial ventures, of which James's reign had seen the beginning. The fact that the Government was otherwise preoccupied encouraged the independent activities of chartered companies: in India, for example, a new trading-post was established at this time which expanded eventually into the great city of Madras. Two forces, however, made the development of self-contained agricultural colonies, rather than trade-centres, the feature of these years. One was the Thirty Years' War, which had weakened the demand for English woollens on the Continent, with the result that many graziers, especially in the Eastern Counties, found their sheep unprofitable and wished to move. The other and better-known cause was the persecution of the Puritans, many of them being yeomen farmers, by Charles's Government, which was one of the domestic problems referred to above. Colonies of this kind were to be sought, not in Virginia or the West Indies, where capital was needed to

grow and sell a staple crop, such as tobacco, but farther north, in the track of the Pilgrim Fathers.

New England. In 1629 a chartered company of rigid Puritans was formed, under whose auspices Massachusetts came into existence, and within twelve years the stream of adventurers arriving at the New England port of Boston had given this colony a population of 18,000 souls, the great majority of whom came from the same counties of South-East England. The adjacent territory, once the forest had been cleared, provided ample quantities of fertile farm-land, such as they had been accustomed to till at home, and the Puritan merchants of London and other towns furnished what capital the colony needed. Moreover, the system of government under the Company directly encouraged expansion, for the Puritan religious discipline was far more rigid than anything seen in England, rights of citizenship being wholly confined to church members: hence the formation of freer settlements, such as Connecticut and especially Rhode Island, by discontented migrants from the original colony. New England, accordingly, came to number six colonies in all, of which Massachusetts was much the most important, but Rhode Island, where full religious toleration was first practised under the British Crown, the most genuinely remarkable. In addition to these, the colonising energy of the time peopled a refuge for Catholics farther south in Maryland, so called after Charles's Queen, the patroness of their religion; but this also subsequently became Puritan in outlook.

Importance of Royal Policy. This was one of the greatest events of history, because the Puritan emigrants, being sober, law-abiding men who worked hard and did not expect too much, prospered from generation to generation, so that in the end their descendants, as we shall see in a later chapter, became the dominant class in an independent and very powerful American nation. At that time, however, what seems most surprising is the attitude of Government towards the emigration. In all other centuries, except the nineteenth, respectable citizens such as these have

been prevented, or at least discouraged, from emigrating, because their departure will weaken the home country. The Puritans were suffered to depart because their religious principles were deemed to be harmful; yet the colonies to which they went in order to set up a forbidden religion were regarded on both sides of the Atlantic as part and parcel of the King's possessions. Only in their trade, which remained relatively small, did Charles and his Council attempt to enforce their wishes upon the colonies, which were expected to confine their commercial relations to the English market—a principle which was then accepted by every colonising power.

Wentworth in Ireland, 1633–9. Such indifference towards distant possessions must be contrasted with the treatment which the same Government was meting out to Scotland and Ireland. Scottish affairs became for the time being so closely related to those of England that we must consider them in connection with domestic policy. In Ireland, even, a course was pursued which in a few years changed the island almost permanently from its position as an outpost of English power to make it a cockpit for the quarrels of future English parties. This was the work of Charles's great minister, Wentworth, who ruled Ireland from 1633 to 1639 upon his own principle of 'Thorough,' which meant a complete disregard for the sentimental traditions of the conquered race, for the intrigues of corrupt English officials, and even for the letter of the law. He compelled the Irish Parliament to furnish him with a proper revenue and a regular army. He gave the country an unwonted prosperity by suppressing the pirates who preyed on the commerce of the Irish Sea, as well as by his great achievement in starting a linen industry. Finally, Wentworth showed in the attempted plantation of Connaught with English landholders that, although his efficiency made him a comparatively just ruler, he would let no considerations of mercy prevent him from mastering the whole island in the interests of the English Crown. Wentworth's economic measures were deservedly successful, but the

result of his general policy was to alienate both Catholic and Protestant, and the sequel was the great rebellion of 1641. We must now turn to trace the domestic fortunes of the system of government which raised up this mighty proconsul.

CHAPTER XII

CHARLES I AND PARLIAMENT

1625–1642

"As for the church, it is so bound up in the forms of the common law, that it is not possible for any man to do that good which he would, or is bound to do. And for the state, indeed, my lord, I am for 'thorough,' but it is impossible for me to go thorough alone."

Laud to Wentworth, September 1633.

(1) THE FIRST THREE PARLIAMENTS

Character of Charles I. What we have so far learnt of the reign of Charles I all goes to suggest that he was scarcely more likely than his father to retain the loyalty of his subjects. At his accession his youth and a Protestant war had rendered him popular, but his favourite had led the country into a series of military disasters, and when the struggle was abandoned its chief legacy was found to be a Catholic queen. But as a matter of fact Charles's character was itself more certain to provoke the strife than his father's had been. The new King's best quality was a quiet dignity, which contrasted favourably with James's pompous argumentativeness; and where the father dabbled in philosophy, the son had perhaps a more genuine appreciation of art than any other king of England. These qualities, however, made it easier for Charles to become the leader of a party, whereas only favourites and hangers-on would have followed James; while the lack of James's shrewdness, and his habit of making promises with a mental reservation that as king he could not be bound by them, rendered it certain that Charles would lead his party to destruction.

Connection with the High Church. Charles also inherited a difficult situation from his father, in whose reign Parliament had shaken off its ancient respect for the person of the monarch, had learnt to challenge the royal policy on all occasions, and had acquired the habit of watching financial matters as the basis of its own authority in the State. To these issues the son's character added a further bone of contention. Whereas James's hostility to the Puritans had been due mainly to a belief in the political usefulness of bishops, Charles, though very far from becoming a Catholic, was a conscientious adherent of the rising High Church party, conspicuous for its delight in ceremonies and abhorrence of the typical Puritan doctrine of predestination. The Puritans followed the teaching of the sixteenth-century French Reformer, Calvin, that whatever happens is foreordained to happen, whereas the High Churchmen accepted the less rigid, less anti-Catholic view of the Dutch professor, Arminius, who allowed of free will in man. A king who could be denounced as an 'Arminian'—High Churchman is a more modern phrase—would never win the loyalty of Puritans.

First Parliament, 1625. The urgent need of money for the war led Charles to summon two Parliaments in the first twelve months of his reign, and in each case Parliament's anxiety on the score of Arminianism in the Church helped to create ill-feeling. But in 1625 and 1626 two other topics were uppermost. The first Parliament failed to understand much of the involved policy of these years with regard to France, and what it did understand it disliked. Insufficient supplies of money were voted to the King, which was unjust in view of the fact that Parliament had encouraged the Crown to start a war. Furthermore, they insulted the King by refusing to grant Tonnage and Poundage for more than a year at a time, although it had long been customary to grant it at once for life. By this measure they hoped to keep Charles under control, but the only result was that he levied the tax at the ports without parliamentary sanction—and neither side forgot the insult.

Second Parliament, 1626. In 1626 the second Parliament made a direct attack upon Buckingham, whose conduct of affairs the first had wished to censure. In the meantime the precaution had been taken of choosing Coke and other opposition leaders to be sheriffs for the year, who could not legally sit in the House; but this device only cleared the way for a more doughty champion. The name of Sir John Eliot, a Cornish squire, lives in history less on account of what he did, though he accomplished much, than because of the singular nobility of character revealed in his life and death. Although an old friend of Buckingham's, he now deemed it his duty to impeach him for the disaster at Cadiz and his general maladministration, and a breathless Parliament heard the favourite boldly compared to Sejanus, the infamous servant of Tiberius. Charles well knew that the policy thus assailed had received his royal approval, and Buckingham was, moreover, a friend who commanded whatever loyalty the King had in him. He therefore dissolved the Parliament before the Lords had had time to pass judgment on the detailed charges which were brought against the favourite.

The Five Knights' Case, 1627. In the two years which elapsed before another Parliament was summoned, the realm had a foretaste of confusion. Tonnage and Poundage was levied unlawfully. Further taxation was imposed in the form of a Forced Loan, those who could not or would not pay being cast into prison. Whatever was still wanting for the purposes of the war was made up by billeting soldiers on private persons without compensation; and when civilians complained of the unruly behaviour of these unwanted guests they were intimidated by the summary use of martial (or military) law, which the officers were disposed to apply to them as well as to the troops. Matters came to a head when Five Knights, who were among the eighty gentlemen then lying in prison for their refusal to contribute to the Loan, came before the judges upon the ancient writ of Habeas Corpus. For the judges, whose duty it was to find out why the gaoler 'held their

bodies' in prison, offered no opinion about the legality of the Loan, considering that 'the king's special command' was sufficient warrant for allowing them to remain in captivity. Such was the situation when the disaster at the Isle of Ré induced Charles to summon a third Parliament in order to raise quicker and more regular supplies of money. The prisoners were then released as a measure of conciliation.

The Petition of Right, 1628. A mere list of the chief members of the 1628 Parliament would suggest that strong action was sure to be taken, for it included both the orator Eliot and the lawyer Coke; leaders like Pym and Hampden, who had followed the struggle from the Parliaments of the preceding reign and would follow it to the bitter end; and a host of resolute new members, among whom later history has rendered the silent representative of Huntingdon, the plain squire Cromwell, conspicuous. Accordingly, it refused to grant money to the King until he had agreed to a law redressing the grievances of the past two years, which the Commons drew up, at the suggestion of the legal-minded Coke, in the form of a Petition of Right. Its four points were sufficiently comprehensive. In future 'No gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge' was to be levied without consent of Parliament; no person might be imprisoned 'by the King's special command' without a proper trial; there was to be no more billeting in private houses; and no one was to be tried by martial law in time of peace. The House of Lords followed the policy of the Commons, to whom, indeed, the new peerage of Tudor and Stuart creation played second string throughout this period; so Charles, who badly needed money, had no alternative but to accept the Petition, which is still the law of the land. But when the Commons tried to complete their victory by opening the question of Tonnage and Poundage, the King abruptly closed the session.

Session of 1629. The same Parliament met in a second session the following year, by which time the murder of Buckingham (August 1628) had removed one great stumbling-block. But two things stood in the way of a

reconciliation between the representatives of the people and their monarch, who must now take full responsibility for his policy. Having failed to pass any special law on the subject, Parliament dishonestly pretended that the wording of the Petition of Right covered the indirect tax known as Tonnage and Poundage, and accused Charles of breaking his word when he continued to levy it without their consent. The other obstacle was more formidable because more general. In the interval between the sessions the King had republished the Thirty-nine Articles with a new preface, in which unauthorised persons were forbidden to dispute about their meaning. As Charles at the same time was busy promoting Laud and other High Churchmen to important offices in the Church, Parliament took this as a declaration of the King's support for Arminianism. Indeed, whatever might be Charles's opinion of predestination, he had every reason to favour the party which preached the Divine Right of Kings and had even approved the Forced Loan from the pulpit. For the same reasons Parliament was the sworn enemy of the High Church, the suppression of whose activities it now demanded. This was a direct attack upon the Royal Governorship of the Church, leaving the King with no alternative but to dissolve the Houses and rule alone for the future.

Protestation of the House of Commons, 1629. But the years of prerogative government had an ominous prelude. The Petition of Right had been the first limitation imposed by law upon the royal power since the accession of the Tudors; but on the eve of their dissolution this Parliament went further. Holding Speaker Finch (a royal nominee) in his chair by force, the Commons, including such unriotous members as Oliver Cromwell, passed three final resolutions, in which they formally condemned as enemies of their country anyone who should introduce 'Popery or Arminianism,' anyone who should advise the King to levy Tonnage and Poundage without their consent, and anyone who should voluntarily pay that tax. On Eliot's motion

they had asserted, not merely the right to control the King by legal process, but the power to give force of law to their own wishes: this has been called 'a declaration of constitutional revolt.'

(2) CHARLES I'S PERSONAL GOVERNMENT

Prerogative Government. Between 1629 and 1640 no Parliament met, which is the longest interval there has been since Parliaments began: but it would be wrong to suppose that it was therefore an age of wicked tyranny. Sir John Eliot and some of his friends did, indeed, suffer for their riotous conduct at the time of the dissolution: but even they were allowed to go free if they begged the King's pardon, with the result that only one of his companions, a Devonshire member, William Strode, remained at the side of the unyielding Eliot, who died a captive in the Tower. Otherwise no man suffered death for his opinions as regards either Church or State, and relatively few were punished for them. This was because Charles thought he could afford to wait. In omitting to summon Parliament, he acted within his legal rights, and time would show whether his subjects would learn their lesson and choose to co-operate with him in future; or whether it was wiser to follow the example of the foremost Continental monarchies, such as France and Spain, where similar assemblies had already entirely ceased to meet.

Enforcement of Social Legislation. Moreover, the King had good reason to hope that prosperity might lull to sleep the political passions of the nation. When there were no Parliaments stirring up trouble, the Privy Council and the judges had ampler leisure for administration, while the justices of the peace knew that slackness on their part might mean a summons to appear before the Star Chamber. Accordingly, this was the time when such measures as the Poor Law of 1601 and the Act of Apprentices of 1563 were most efficiently executed throughout the country. [See Economic Section, p. 247/1.] The poor were cared for;

wages were regulated; apprenticeship was insisted upon; enclosures causing depopulation were thrown down—in fact, the labouring masses long had cause to look back upon it as a golden age. We view it from a political or religious angle, but it is important to remember that it would be mainly the gentry, well-to-do shopkeepers, and thriving yeomen who had either the leisure or the understanding to resent the royal policy from such a point of view. The rest of the country must have been glad of a Government that really governed.

Archbishop Laud. Three things were needed to make prerogative rule a success—first-rate ministers; a regular, if modest, supply of money; and the good fortune or good sense to avoid any action that might rouse general indignation. As regards ministers, none succeeded to the place the murdered Buckingham had held in Charles's affections, but there were two who stood out from the general run of time-serving courtiers, upon whom the King had perforce to depend. These were William Laud, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in August 1633, and Sir Thomas Wentworth. Laud was an Oxford don who had been a great success as head of his college and now tried to apply the same ideas of the value of orderliness and strict discipline to the more complicated organisation of the Church of England. He was a kind man at heart, but rather petty and narrow-minded, so that it is doubtful if his name would ever have been held in such reverence as a hero of the High Church party, had he not been executed by the Puritans with wanton cruelty during the Civil War. As a Privy Councillor, Laud shared in the secular administration of the kingdom, but he was not big enough to play the part of a clerical prime minister like Wolsey.

Sir Thomas Wentworth. Wentworth is a much more impressive figure. This Yorkshire squire had been a fierce enemy of Buckingham and a leader of the Parliamentary opposition in the debates over the Petition of Right; but shortly after the close of the session of 1628 and before the

Duke of Buckingham's murder he entered the King's service and, in the name of efficiency, proceeded to carry out the very policies he had hitherto denounced. The reason for his sudden change of sides may have been his lack of sympathy with Puritanism, or he may have despaired of any efficiency in Parliamentary rule: but, be that as it may, he never thereafter failed the King in loyalty, vigour, or determination. Unfortunately for Charles, he did not appreciate him at his true value until too late. After a short period as President of the prerogative Council of the North, Wentworth was sent to continue his policy of 'Thorough' in Ireland. He was eminently successful there, as we have seen, but the years from 1633 to 1639, which he spent largely overseas, were the crucial ones when 'Black Tom Tyrant' might else have placed despotism upon a permanent footing at home.

Prerogative Taxation. But without money no modern system of government can exist, so one big problem of administration was how to raise taxes without either summoning Parliament or openly breaking the law of the land. Tonnage and Poundage and Impositions of course continued to be levied. Fines were extracted under obsolete laws from landowners whose acres entitled them to the costly honour of knighthood, which they had shirked, or who had encroached upon the ancient and forgotten boundaries of a royal forest; and feudal rights of wardship over minors were zealously exacted on behalf of the King. Monopolies, which it had been forbidden in 1624 to issue to individuals, were issued instead to companies, which paid heavily to the Crown for their privileges. The fines affected only a limited class, albeit that was the most influential section of the community, and though the monopolies gave more general annoyance, they could be regarded as a clumsy kind of excise. Unfortunately for himself, Charles also decided upon a direct money tax, which forced itself upon everybody's attention.

Hampden's Case, 1637. This was the famous levy of ship-money, which the Government justified on the ground

that earlier kings had forced seaports to furnish them with ships, while in any case it was the King's bounden duty to provide for the defence of the realm. Ships were, indeed, needed at this time, both to police our coasts against Barbary pirates and for the more temporary purposes of a Spanish alliance, which Charles was trying to negotiate. Some were in fact built: but the main point was that this payment for shipbuilding, demanded on three separate occasions, threatened to become the permanent basis of prerogative taxation. John Hampden therefore represented the feeling of the whole country when he refused to pay, and, although he lost his case by the vote of seven judges against five, the episode left behind it a swelling tide of indignation, which was not allayed by the dictum of one of Hampden's judges, Finch: "No Acts of Parliament make any difference."

Persecution of the Puritans. Nevertheless it was the religious policy, which the High Church party was now free to pursue, that chiefly underlay and provoked the final crisis. For one thing, there was more machinery available to enforce the royal will in Church than in State. Charles and Laud together drew up lists of clergy, so that only those whom Laud regarded as 'orthodox' could obtain preferment. When Laud was made Archbishop of Canterbury he used his authority to send commissions of inquiry into every bishopric south of the Trent, which, while checking slackness among the clergy and irreverence in the laity, made it their principal task to enforce ceremonies and silence the Puritan preachers. If these measures proved insufficient, resort could be had to the prerogative Court of High Commission, where Laud and his fellow-judges could order the Puritan divines to answer upon oath a series of questions concerning their religious views and practices. Even the Star Chamber, nine-tenths of whose work dealt with quite ordinary crimes and lawsuits, shared the unpopularity of the Laudians because it was called upon to inflict signal punishment upon their enemies, a climax being reached in 1637, when Prynne and two other

pamphleteers, who had published scurrilous attacks on the bishops, had their ears cut off in the pillory and were sentenced to solitary imprisonment for life.

Dread of a Catholic Revival. In the plenitude of his power Laud was striking at that which a majority of his fellow-countrymen held most dear. For the replacing of the Holy Table at the east end of the church, the elaboration of the music and the order of service, and the denial of Calvinist doctrine were not unnaturally regarded, not as a change in Protestant practice, but as the first steps towards reconciliation with Rome. Neither Charles nor Laud intended for one moment to bring back Catholicism; but there is no denying that Puritanism was the surest safeguard against its return, and that the suspension of fines for recusancy, together with the open favour with which Henrietta Maria was allowed to receive Catholics (and especially Catholic converts) at Court, made suspicion reasonable. Yet neither the vexatious methods of ecclesiastical discipline, which extended to the censoring of laymen's morals by Church courts, nor the return of bishops to high secular office, nor even general fears for the safety of the national religion, induced the English people, trained by a century and a half of internal peace, to revolt, until Laud unwisely resolved to extend his policy to the more turbulent northern half of the island.

Outbreak of Resistance in Scotland, 1637. Charles, who had been brought to England as an infant, lacked his father's experience of conditions in Scotland, with the result that, at the very outset of his reign, he had offended the nobles, formerly supporters of the monarchy, by attempting to endow the new bishoprics with the Church lands, which they had appropriated for themselves at the Reformation. On top of this Laud ordered the Scots to use a new service book on the English model. At its first reading in the great Church of St Giles, in Edinburgh, a market-woman struck the first blow for freedom by hurling a stool at the reader's head. This was symbolic of what was to follow, for every class of people from lowest to highest came

forward to defend John Knox's religious system, which they rightly thought to be in peril. They were united by the National Covenant, in which every 'Covenanter' swore to restore the full Scottish Presbyterianism of the days of John Knox, and by the meeting of the General Assembly of their Church—which occupied much the same position as the English Parliament—at Glasgow in the summer of 1638. Moreover, the Scots were well able to resist, because they had strong leaders like the Earl of Argyle and the more moderate Montrose, and because they had at any rate a leaven of men who had seen military service as mercenaries on the Continent. Accordingly, when Charles refused to accept the entire abolition of the English Church practices in Scotland and marched against the rebels with the raw militia of the northern shires, he was confronted by a nation in arms under the veteran Alexander Leslie. He had no alternative but to beg a truce (June 1639) and fetch his one resolute servant, Wentworth, home from Ireland to suggest how money for a more adequate army was to be raised.

The Short Parliament and Second Bishops' War, 1640. Thus Wentworth, who was promoted to an earldom in 1640 as Lord Strafford, enjoyed the King's full confidence at last; but he could only propose to summon a Parliament, hoping to bully it as he had bullied Parliaments in Ireland. But he met his match in the parliamentary leader, Pym: the Short Parliament in April lasted only three weeks, for it granted no money and loudly asserted a right to control the State. The Scots then marched into England in what is known as the Second Bishops' War. A regular army of mutinous recruits could make no headway against them, so Charles was forced to make a second truce, leaving the northern counties in their hands and pledging himself to pay them nearly £1000 a day until a final agreement was signed. But where was the money to come from? In that fatal question lay the necessity for summoning the Long Parliament of November 1640, whose prime object it would be to overthrow the whole edifice of personal rule.

(3) THE REFORMS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT

Unanimity of the Parliament. During the greater part of its first session, which lasted nearly a year, the members of the Long Parliament were practically unanimous. There was no Royalist party then in existence, and that is why so many lasting reforms were so quickly made. Accordingly, before describing the reforms themselves we must see how the agreed policy came about. In the first place, thinking men all over the country had taken to heart the lesson of the past eleven years—that liberty could only be safe if large and hitherto unheard-of restrictions were placed upon the powers of the King. Secondly, a group of like-minded friends, of whom Hampden is a typical specimen, had met together during those years to form what is really the first political party in English history: they were now ready to follow 'King' Pym, not only in such an attack upon abuses as had marked earlier Parliaments, but in an attempt to gain for Parliament the chief power in the State. Furthermore, it was just possible that Parliament might exercise that power without falling into a state of hopeless confusion, because during the past eighty years or so there had silently grown up the modern committee system, whereby some urgent matters might be left to the decision of a few members instead of the whole House. Finally, we must notice that, whenever enthusiasm for extremist measures was on the wane, Charles himself would unintentionally revive it by means of the intrigues to which he constantly lent his authority throughout this period. On the one hand, his Catholic Queen, offended by the renewal of persecution, was begging for help from every Catholic court in Europe. On the other, there was the army which lay in the North of England watching the Scots. Throughout 1641 there were rumours of an Army Plot, in execution of which the troops were to march on London for the King; and in August the King in person visited Edinburgh with an alternative plan

for bringing in his late enemies, the Scots, against his English Parliament.

Execution of Strafford, May 1641. The first point in the parliamentary programme was to overthrow the instruments of despotism. Some, like Finch, fled the country, but both Laud and Strafford were taken, scorning to flee. Laud remained five long years in the Tower. No prison, however, was deemed strong enough to hold the proud earl, whom the Commons proceeded to impeach for high treason. Treason against the State is an idea with which we are now familiar, but in those days the offence had to be aimed against the King's person, and of this it was hard to convict his most loyal friend. The prosecution also languished for want of evidence, the most important being some advice which Strafford had given Charles to employ his Irish army "to reduce this kingdom," but whether rebellious Scotland or peaceful England was intended no man knew. But Parliament was not to be baulked of its prey. A Bill of Attainder, which merely declared the prisoner guilty without trial, was passed instead of the impeachment, and when a howling mob was said to endanger the Queen's life Charles made it law. Strafford died on the scaffold without stooping to reproach his unfaithful master—a great man, whose memory may serve to remind us that the cause of despotism, though it failed in England, was not necessarily ignoble or unpatriotic.

Constitutional Changes, 1641. Thus the responsibility of ministers to public opinion, as expressed by Parliament, was dramatically asserted, after which it could safely proceed to assert the power of Parliament in other spheres. Only one important measure preceded the Act of Attainder. That was the urgently needed Triennial Act of February 1641, which prescribed the actual machinery for summoning the Houses if the King, on any future occasion, omitted to summon them during a period of three years. Then came a whole series of laws, which rendered the Crown entirely dependent upon Parliamentary supplies. Ship-money and knighthood fines, with other similar devices,

were expressly declared illegal; and Parliament was given the right by statute to grant or withhold Impositions, as well as Tonnage and Poundage. Lastly, the supremacy of common law was vindicated by the abolition of such prerogative courts as the Star Chamber and High Commission, whose workings had made it easier for the King to rule without Parliament.

End of First Session, September 1641. When the session ended in September 1641, all these measures had taken their place as permanent features of the English constitution, and the existing Parliament had even consolidated its own position by wringing from Charles, at the time when he signed Strafford's attainder, a special Act forbidding him to dissolve it without its own consent. Thus Parliament seemed to hold all the winning cards—hence the King's mission of intrigue in Scotland; but in fact a difference of opinion, fatal to the peace of the nation, was already making itself felt on that subject which lay nearest to the Members' hearts, namely, religion.

Root and Branch Petition and Bill. The release of Prynne and his fellow-victims from prison, which was one consequence of the meeting of the Parliament, had been promptly followed by the presentation of a Root and Branch Petition desiring Parliament to abolish the system of Episcopacy 'with all its roots and branches.' This was in December 1640, but although the movement had the enthusiastic support of the London mob, upon which Parliament relied to protect it from violence, and of some leading Parliamentarians, such as Cromwell, nothing definite was done until the following summer. Then Pym, who had so far carried all before him, came forward in support of a Root and Branch Bill to turn the Petition into law. The motives of its supporters were various. A few were genuine believers in Presbyterianism; many hated the existing bishops for their meddlesomeness; but most had in mind their twofold activities as champions of despotic rule and enemies of the Puritan faith. On the other hand, it was felt that an attack on bishops endangered

the House of Lords, to which they belonged, and—what was of more general concern—that it foreshadowed the abolition of the Prayer-book and whatever else had made the Church of Elizabeth beloved. For the moment no Bill was passed, but upon this issue many members reluctantly followed the lawyer Hyde (later Lord Clarendon) and his noble friend Falkland into opposition.

Second Session; The Grand Remonstrance. In the second session a new problem arose to drive party divisions deeper. In October 1641 Catholic Ireland, inspired by a long record of injustices, among which the proposed plantation of Connaught was only the most recent, seized the opportunity to revolt, and a great massacre of Protestant English was reported and exaggerated. An army must obviously be raised and sent across the Irish Sea, but once raised it could be used for many purposes, so that the newly won liberties of England seemed to many to hang upon the question of its command. The enthusiasts, who may be largely identified with supporters of the Root and Branch Bill, demanded control of the army for Parliament. Conservatives, who wished to preserve the Elizabethan Church settlement, wished also to preserve the military supremacy of the Crown, which had never before been called in question. Thereupon Pym attempted to strengthen his party by appealing to the sympathies of the country in the Grand Remonstrance. This was a formidable document of 204 clauses, which catalogued the King's past offences, great and small; demanded a thoroughgoing reform of the Church; and required that in future the King's ministers should have the approval of Parliament. The Commons accepted this extreme measure after heated discussions by a majority of only eleven votes.

Attempted Arrest of the Five Members, January 1642. A Royalist party was now obviously in existence, which the imprudence of Charles in provoking war probably diminished but could not destroy. Six weeks after the Remonstrance the Attorney-General was instructed to propose the impeachment of Pym, Hampden, Strode, and

two other leaders of the Commons on a trumped-up charge of high treason. When the Lords proved slow to take action in the case, the King himself, prompted by his foolish wife (herself threatened with impeachment), and attended by the bravoes who had failed to defeat the Scots, entered the House of Commons to arrest his victims. "The birds had flown," as he coolly observed, to the protection of the City, but direct violence offered to Parliament made further violence inevitable. The King left London within a week for the North, and both sides proceeded to gather armies, the Parliament—or rather the two-thirds of its members that remained—issuing an illegal Militia Ordinance, in which it asserted its right to raise and command troops. In April the King was by authority of Parliament refused admission to the citadel of Hull. In June the Nineteen Propositions were tendered to him, requiring him to resign all his royal powers to Parliament except in name. In August, Charles raised his standard at Nottingham.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CIVIL WARS
1642–1649

"Your troops are most of them old decayed serving-men, tapsters, and such kind of fellows. You must get men of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or you will be beaten still."

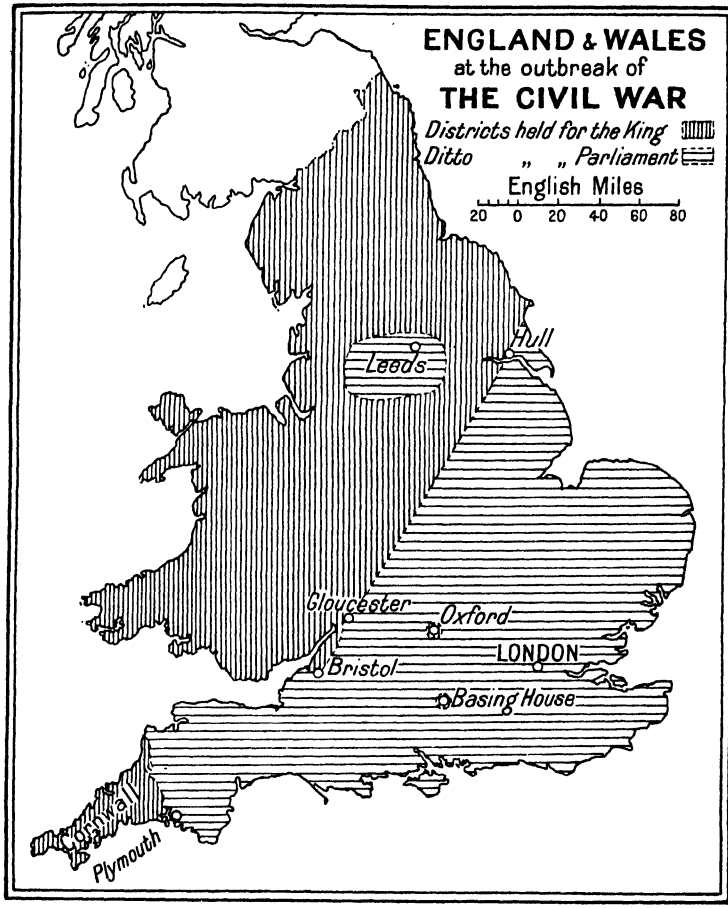
Cromwell to Hampden, 1642–3.

(1) THE FIRST CAMPAIGNS

Resources of the Two Sides. The Royalists began the war with certain definite advantages over their opponents, not the least of which was that they knew what they were fighting for—their King; whereas it was less easy for the ordinary man to vow to live or die in the service of an abstract cause like Puritanism or the liberty of Parliament. Moreover, the North and West (including Wales), which mainly supported the King, were regions of semi-feudal noblemen, who were quick to rally their tenants and melt their plate on his behalf. Parliament, on the other hand, through the control of the South and East, together with London and the other ports, would have far greater resources eventually both in men and money, but was at first dependent chiefly on the metropolis alone.

Type of Warfare. Thirdly, the Royalists had a great advantage in the type of warfare. Muskets were still clumsy weapons, which had to be loaded at the muzzle, mounted on a kind of tripod, and fired—if at all—with a long, trailing match. Muskets could also, of course, be clubbed, but one-third of the infantry was armed with an alternative weapon, namely, a twelve-foot pike,

unwieldy at the best of times and demanding very good discipline in its bearers, if they were to accomplish much in a battle. Where there was good cover, as at Newbury,



the infantry were of use, but in its absence the war was decided mainly by the cavalry-arm, that is to say, by horsemen skirmishing with pistol and sword, or charging each other—and the 'poor foot'—in full career over the unhedged fields and open downs. This suited the King's

men to perfection, since the inmates and dependants of the great semi-feudal houses were ardent horsemen, who made up in dash what they lacked in discipline. But these advantages were partly compensated by the action of the Royal Navy, which, with some want of gratitude, declared for the Parliament, so that it was not possible for the King to end the war at a stroke by blockading London.

Nature of the War. Three provisos must, however, be noted here. Firstly, this was no class war. Apart from the Roman Catholics, whom dread of a Puritan regime drove everywhere onto the side of the King, there was no clear-cut division, though it is believed that families of new wealth, which had risen to prominence by their own enterprise since the Reformation, generally favoured the more enterprising Parliamentary cause. But, if one-third of the House of Lords were for the Parliament, one-third of the Commons were for the King; cathedral cities like Gloucester, where the Laudian party was supreme, contained a Puritan element; and London itself is supposed to have held a one-third minority of Royalists. Secondly, it was not simply a war of North and West *v.* South and East. The King, from the very beginning, had garrisons like Basing House in the heart of hostile territory, and, as the fortune of war ebbed to and fro, almost every shire witnessed a local struggle for power, which may not have affected the result of the war but does show that the quarrel was a national issue and not a mere dispute of one region against another. Thirdly, this was not a war, like the American Civil War for instance, of large armies and universal participation. At Marston Moor each side mustered 20,000, but the usual figures were less than half that size, because the labouring class as a whole and very many individuals of higher rank made it their sole object to stand altogether aside from the struggle.

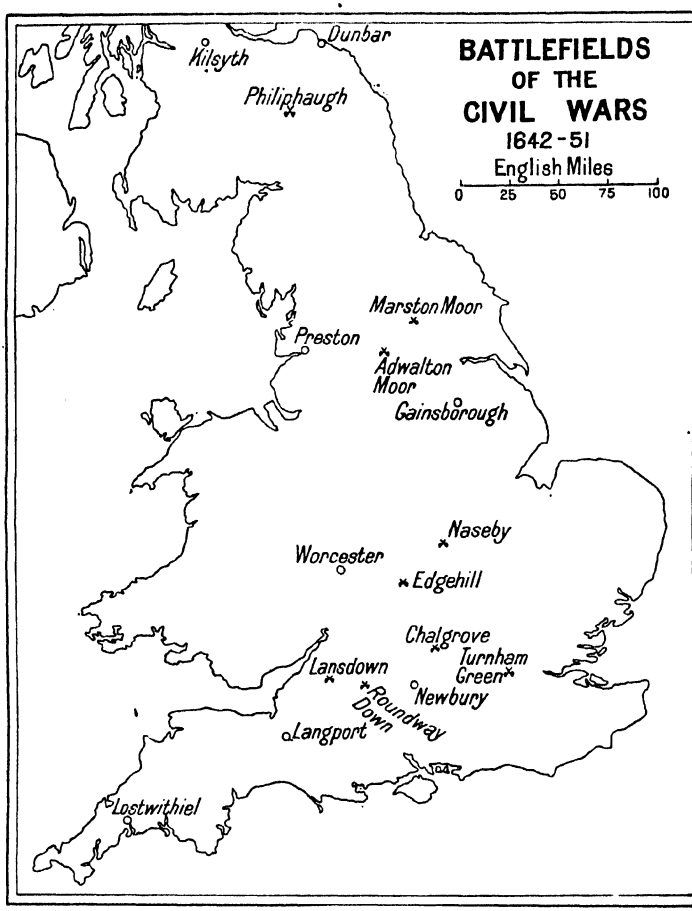
Edgehill, October 1642. The King's best chance, therefore, was to strike a decisive blow quickly, and the obvious place for that blow was London, the Parliamentary headquarters, whose apprentices furnished his enemies with

recruits and whose merchants found them money. From Nottingham he moved westwards to the counties of the Welsh border, where men flocked more readily to his standard than in the Midlands, and then set out for London. Parliament had sent the popular Earl of Essex into the Severn valley to challenge him, but he arrived too late, and had to turn and overtake the King on his line of march. This was accomplished at Edgehill, where a drawn battle was fought, which chiefly showed the lack of discipline on both sides and the irresistible might of the Royalist cavalry under the King's young nephew, Prince Rupert, who had already from the age of sixteen seen service in the hopeless struggle for the Palatinate.

First Advance on London. Charles's army then entered Oxford, which became his headquarters—a large fortified city, passionately loyal (the Colleges even sacrificed their plate), and so near to London that a Parliamentary army spent several anxious years watching the university town from their post on the Chilterns. But a frontal attack on London *via* the Thames valley proved a failure. In November the King advanced to Turnham Green, where he was confronted by the City trainbands or militia, composed largely of apprentices. To attempt to fight his way into a hostile city so well prepared to resist appeared too hazardous, so the King retired to winter at Oxford.

The Triple Advance on London, 1643. For 1643 he planned a triple advance upon London, which three converging armies could either starve out or hope to take by storm. Hopton's brave Cornishmen were fighting their way from the south-west; the Marquis of Newcastle with the men of the Border might be expected to master Yorkshire and push on to the south; while the King himself, as we have already seen, commanded the upper Thames Valley. At first all went well. Hopton marked his progress by victories at Lansdown and Roundway Down. Newcastle won the battle of Adwalton Moor, overran Yorkshire, and made his way into Lincolnshire. Meanwhile, the Midlands were falling piecemeal into the hands of the King: one

memorable episode, calculated to heighten the gloom in which Parliament now sat, was the death of Hampden in a casual skirmish at Chalgrove Field near Oxford.



Siege of Hull and Plymouth. In early September that gloom was suddenly relieved. All the King's armies were held up by a similar cause, namely, their reluctance to leave an enemy post untaken, for fear lest, while they were away attacking London, the enemy should issue forth in their

rear to ravage their home counties. Newcastle had already been experiencing a sterner resistance than usual in Lincolnshire, when his men insisted on returning northwards because Hull, strong in the leadership of Lord Fairfax and the support of the Parliament's fleet, still held out. Much the same story must be told of Hopton's men, who never got beyond Hampshire because Plymouth continued to defy them. This was also due to naval assistance, for Bristol, which could be wholly cut off by land, fell to Prince Rupert in July. But the men of the North and West might nevertheless have been persuaded or cajoled into a renewed advance, had not the third army under Charles's more immediate supervision likewise suffered a reverse.

Siege of Gloucester and First Battle of Newbury. Hence the great importance of the siege of Gloucester, which they were conducting as a preliminary to their final march eastwards. Parliament, realising that importance, sent Essex and the trainbands from London into the West, leaving the capital almost without garrison. The risk was great, but they reached Gloucester at the beginning of September—just in time to prevent its capitulation; and when the Royalists tried to intercept them as they were returning, with their object accomplished, Essex fought a drawn battle at Newbury and came safe home. The trainbands had been away five weeks and had ruined Charles's plans.

(2) THE VICTORY OF PARLIAMENT

Intervention of Armies from Ireland and Scotland. The fighting so far had been wholly indecisive, but the campaign of 1644 opened under changed conditions. Ever since the war began Charles had been trying to get help against his subjects from the French relations of Queen Henrietta Maria; and, though nothing came of it, the attempt, when later discovered, rendered him very unpopular. Nor did he gain anything by his army from Ireland, which, having made a truce with the rebels in September 1643, was now landed in Cheshire and the south-west. For the soldiers

readily deserted to the Parliament, and the chief result of their intervention was to persuade people that an army of wild Catholic natives would soon follow. This drove the Parliamentarians into the arms of the Scots. The last service which 'King' Pym rendered before his death (December 1643) was to conclude an agreement—the Solemn League and Covenant—in which Parliament undertook to maintain the Presbyterian Church in Scotland and to establish something like it in England; and in return 20,000 Scotsmen crossed the Border. By May they had joined forces with Fairfax, released from Hull, and were besieging the Yorkshire Royalists in the northern capital of York.

Cromwell and the Eastern Association. But this was not the only advantage that Parliament now enjoyed: she had found—what the debater Pym could never have been—a military organiser and leader. Oliver Cromwell was a Huntingdonshire squire, who first entered Parliament in 1628 and, though he seldom spoke in its behalf, embraced the Puritan cause with enthusiasm. He was a popular figure in the Eastern Counties, so his energies were already devoted to raising troops in that part of England, when the scene of confusion at Edgehill Fight showed him the need for 'men of spirit.' Next year he set to work to produce some satisfactory regiments of cavalry, which saved Lincolnshire by their victory at Gainsborough and developed a few months later into the famous Army of the Eastern Association, which we must now describe. It was well disciplined, because its men, unlike other soldiers on both sides, received regular pay from its home counties. It was full of religious fervour, for Cromwell, whose own Puritanism, though it provided the dominant motive of his life, was free from any taint of narrowness, refused to tie his regiments down to Presbyterianism or any other single creed. He allowed every man to preach and pray as he liked—an atmosphere of liberty in which the Independents (or Congregationalists), Baptists, and other sects greatly flourished. Lastly, this force was strong in the cavalry arm,

many of its recruits being well-horsed yeomen farmers and their sons, whom Cromwell taught to charge with all the dash of Cavaliers and, having charged, to re-form for further action with all the sobriety of Puritans. The power of these 'Ironsides' was to be exhibited for the first time on a large scale when, in the summer of 1644, the Army of the Eastern Association under Lord Manchester and Cromwell himself moved northwards to join Fairfax and the Scots before the walls of York.

Marston Moor, July 1644. The hope of the Royalists lay in Prince Rupert, whose famous cavalry were at this juncture in Lancashire, helping the Catholic squires of that county to master the clothing towns, whose manufacturing inhabitants espoused the Puritan cause. He hastened over the Pennines and raised the siege of York, Newcastle, emerging from the city, joined forces with the Prince, and then they foolishly offered battle at Marston Moor to the three armies of the Parliament. It was already evening when the struggle began, yet by nightfall Cromwell's cavalry had driven Rupert's from the field; had returned to aid the Scottish infantry, half of whom stood fast when the rest of the Parliament men fled; and by so doing had changed defeat into entire victory. Three thousand Royalists were left dead on the field; the King's main army had been destroyed; and the whole North of England lay at the victor's feet.

Lostwithiel and Second Battle of Newbury. The sequel was a bitter disappointment for the Parliament. The defeat of Hopton earlier in the year encouraged Essex to push home his advantage, as he thought, by marching his army into Cornwall itself—the most royalist of counties, where his retreat was almost inevitably cut off by the King's men. He himself escaped by sea, and his cavalry made their way through, but all Essex's infantry had to surrender at Lostwithiel. The return of the King's forces in triumph from the West put London in danger, so the Parliamentary army from the North under Manchester hurried south, to fight a second indecisive battle at

Newbury, after which the King made good his retreat into Oxford.

Self-denying Ordnance and New Model Army. Disappointment led to a change of system. The King's chief remaining advantage was the reluctance of some Parliamentary commanders (chiefly rigid Presbyterians) to make complete victory their aim, because they did not wish the war to end in the unchecked rule of Puritan sectaries. Lord Manchester, who threw away his chances at the Second Battle of Newbury, was a good example of this half-heartedness, which it was resolved to eradicate by a Self-denying Ordinance, a Bill passed by both Houses of Parliament, under which members of either House had to resign their commissions. By this means they got rid of men like Manchester, and when the next campaign opened the younger Fairfax was put in command, and Cromwell received a new commission in charge of the cavalry. One other important change was made in the same winter, by which the regular pay and discipline, which had worked such wonders in the forces of the Eastern Association, were extended to the creation of a larger national force, known as the New Model Army.

Naseby, June 1645. Accordingly, the campaign of 1645 witnessed the final triumph of the Parliament at Naseby. The New Model Army took for its objective the destruction of the King's main army in the field, which, once they had located him in Northamptonshire hoping to break through to Scotland, was rapidly accomplished by superior generalship, cavalry, and numbers. The New Model then pushed home its advantage by defeating the Royalists of the West at Langport in Somerset—the only battle in which artillery played a decisive part—and dispatched its powerful siege-train to destroy the local centres of resistance, like Basing House in Hampshire, one by one.

Montrose. Meanwhile, the Royalists saw their last ray of hope vanish in Scotland. Montrose, the former Covenanter, disliked Argyle and a Presbyterian tyranny at least as strongly as he had disliked the rule of bishops and the

English Prayer-book, and had therefore taken Charles's side in the war. In 1644, when Leslie invaded England, he was sent to invade Scotland in return. The Highland clans rallied to his support, and twelve months of uninterrupted victory proved Montrose to be second only to Cromwell in all the arts of generalship. In August 1645 a crowning triumph at Kilsyth (near Glasgow) made him absolute master of the northern kingdom. But Charles was in no position to help him, and, when a part of the Scottish army in England returned home to fight him, this heroic exploit came to an end one month later with his defeat at Philiphaugh. The following summer (1646), when the last siege was forming at Oxford (which surrendered in June), the King gave himself up to the Scottish allies of the Parliament, encamped near Newark. These two events ended the war.

(3) THE DOWNFALL OF KING CHARLES

Charles and the Rival Powers. The result of the war, as we now see, was to strike the decisive blow against arbitrary government and in favour of parliamentary institutions in England. But more immediately it ushered in a period of confusion, dominated by the fact that Charles, though defeated, was still King of England—and Scotland. The events of the next three years, which are very confusing, turn upon two main points, namely, that the King's enemies were divided into three groups, the Scots, the politicians of the Parliament, and the Army; and that Charles, whatever he might promise to each, felt no obligation to keep faith with any party among his rebellious subjects.

Negotiations with the Scots. His arrival at Newark meant that he had decided to try the Scots first. Their terms were that Charles should give up control of the Army (as a safeguard for the settlement) and freely accept the Covenant, that is to say, enforce a Presbyterian Church settlement in England and even Ireland, as well as Scotland.

The King tried to avoid committing himself too definitely, as the cause of the Anglican Church was genuinely dear to him, with the result that the Scots exchanged him for arrears of pay, and he found himself lodged in the hands of the Parliament, at Holmby House, Northamptonshire.

The King at Holmby House. 'Parliament,' by this time, meant a body of second-rate politicians with narrow views—all that was left when death and the call of the Army had removed the original leaders of the Long Parliament. Strong in the support of London, they were trying to carry out a threefold policy of land confiscation and general revenge against the Cavaliers (in 1645 they had even stooped to the execution of Archbishop Laud); establishment of a Presbyterian Church with persecution of all other creeds—Baptists, for example, were to be liable to the death penalty for their faith; and the disbanding (without pay) of the New Model Army, in which the Independents and followers of innumerable lesser sects predominated. The terms which they offered to the King closely resembled those already offered by the Scots, but His Majesty was further than ever from accepting them, because he saw the quarrel impending between the Houses and the Army, each of which would then want his help against the other. The Army struck first. When Parliament issued the disbanding order, it refused to obey and sent a troop of horse to Holmby House in June 1647, which carried off the King to Army headquarters. A couple of months later it further demonstrated its strength by a temporary occupation of London.

The Heads of the Proposals. The Army of these years contained two important elements. In the rank and file belief in religious freedom, which the multitude of sects encouraged, was combined, under the stimulus of their triumph over King and Parliament, with belief in the political equality of all men. These views were set forth by the Levellers and their leader, John Lilburne (who opposed every Government in turn), in the 'Agreement of the People.' Some of them demanded economic 'levelling'

as well, denouncing landowners, but this short-lived anticipation of socialism matters less than the Levellers' political beliefs, which mark the first dawn of democratic sentiment in England. The officers, however, were many of them squires like Cromwell and his son-in-law, Ireton, who generally managed to impose more moderate courses upon their men, especially as they sympathised with their grievances about pay and other matters. Cromwell and Ireton, accordingly, were the principal authors of the very moderate 'Heads of the Proposals,' now offered to Charles. In the State they were prepared to give an indemnity to all Royalists, to restore control of the Army to the King after a precautionary interval of ten years, and to subject him only to the advice of a Council of State under the authority of Parliament. In the Church, they would have allowed the restoration of bishops and Prayer-book, provided that all other forms of Protestant worship were also tolerated. These admirable Proposals anticipated in a more democratic form all that was best in the settlement eventually made in 1689, though they were probably not democratic enough for the Army as a whole to have accepted them at this juncture. That point was never tested, however, because the deluded Charles still played for time, having fresh hopes of getting something out of the Scots; and in November (1647) he obtained more elbow-room for the intrigues he loved by escaping from the Army commanders to Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, whose puzzled governor kept him in semi-captivity during the momentous events of the following year.

Second Civil War, 1648. For the King's intrigues with the Scots (who hated the Army chiefs as anti-Presbyterians) and the remaining Royalists were fated to come to a head in a fresh outbreak of fighting, sometimes dignified by the title of the Second Civil War. The veteran forces under Fairfax and Cromwell, however, speedily mastered the outbreak. The former subdued the King's men in all parts of south-east England except Colchester, which he besieged, while the latter dealt with the rising among the

castles of Wales. Cromwell then marched north to face the more serious menace of the Scots, who were advancing across Lancashire. At Preston he boldly threw his men between the enemy and their northern home, and won a complete victory, at the news of which the forlorn venture in Colchester likewise capitulated. Meanwhile, the Army vowed vengeance against 'Charles Stuart, that man of blood,' whom they removed for safe keeping to a lonely fortress on the Solent.

Pride's Purge; Execution of the King, January 30, 1649. The Scots had been beaten, and any hope Charles entertained of a fresh intrigue with the Parliament was destroyed by the ruthless action of the Army, when, in December, Colonel Pryde excluded two-thirds of the remaining Members of the Commons by main force from their House. 'Pride's Purge' left behind a mere 'Rump' of sixty Members, Independents who sympathised with the Army and readily appointed a special High Court of Justice to try the King. The rest of the story is all too familiar—how Charles refused to admit that any court of his subjects had the right to try a king; how they nevertheless condemned him to death for high treason; and with what courage and dignity he met his end. The deed of January 30th, 1649, was of a certainty both cruel and unpopular: but whether it was necessary for this faithless monarch to perish, in order that the new-found liberties of England might survive, is a question that has been much debated from that day to this. A week later, the abolition of the House of Lords completed the series of changes in the chief organs of the State.

CHAPTER XIV

THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE 1649–1660

"Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of war only but detractions rude
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast ploughed
. . . Yet much remains
To conquer still: peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war."

Milton: Sonnet to Cromwell, May 1652.

(1) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC

Position in January 1649. Only two centres of authority survived in the England of 1649—the Rump, which, as we have seen, was a mutilated fragment of the House of Commons summoned in November 1640; and the Army, under its masterful leader, Oliver Cromwell. Neither Scotland nor Ireland, to say nothing of foreign Powers and the colonies overseas, were prepared to recognise the Republic—or Commonwealth, to give it its proper name—as a legal form of government. For the moment, therefore, only the Army counted, for, had it failed to win respect by its victories, the Rump would instantly have been swept aside.

Cromwell in Ireland, 1649. In Ireland the danger, from the Republican point of view, was especially grave. The Catholic native population, which had been in rebellion since 1641, was induced by the Royalist Lord-lieutenant, Ormonde, to throw in its lot with the Protestant colonists and soldiers against the new English government. Thus

in August (1649) Cromwell landed in an island that was almost wholly hostile. The urgency of the situation, together with the fanatical hatred which most Puritans bore towards 'Papists,' probably accounts for his cruelty in his first big action at Drogheda: having captured the town, he killed every soldier and every priest. A rather similar episode was enacted (less deliberately) at Wexford; but the Protestants were already deserting their Catholic allies, and the war resolved itself into a series of sieges and surrenders all along the eastern seaboard. Within a year of his first landing, Cromwell was able to leave the slow work of subjecting the native west in the capable hands of his son-in-law, Ireton.

Dunbar, September 3rd, 1650. His own presence was by this time urgently needed in Scotland, where both the two great parties, Royalists and Presbyterians, were disposed to recognise Prince Charles as his father's heir. The Royalists, under the gallant Montrose, acted first, but they were few in number, and by May 1650 they had been overwhelmed by the Presbyterian Covenanters and their leader hanged in Edinburgh. Even before Montrose was dead Prince Charles decided, lightly enough, that his best chance of winning his throne lay in the support of the Covenanters, so he took the two Covenants—providing for a Presbyterian Church in Scotland and in England—and was duly received as King in the Scottish capital. A month later Cromwell marched north against Edinburgh, but in strategy the Covenanters proved more than a match for him. He soon found himself penned up at Dunbar, with the sea on one side and his enemies, safely ensconced at the edge of the roadless Lammermuirs, on the other. What Cromwell lacked as a strategist, however, he made up as a tactician, as he showed when the enemy gave him his chance, by moving down from the hills to attack him, and were themselves destroyed.

Worcester, September 3rd, 1651. Edinburgh was occupied, but when next year he moved his army up to Perth the road to England lay open. The Covenanters and their

King seized the opportunity to join forces with English Cavaliers, who would surely rise at their approach. As it turned out, however, dislike for the Covenant kept them quiet, and it was still mainly a Scottish army that Cromwell overtook by swift marches at Worcester. Crossing the Severn below the city, his forces surrounded and overwhelmed the Royalists. So few escaped that the Republic remained virtually unchallenged for the rest of Cromwell's life. But among the few was Charles Stuart, whom the loyalty of Catholics maintained during a long flight among oak trees and priest's hiding-holes, until he found safety with other impoverished Cavalier gentlemen in France and the Netherlands. The 'crowning mercy'—the title by which the Puritans hailed the result of Worcester Fight —was followed by the complete subjugation of Scotland, which was left in charge of an army of occupation. Ireland by now lay at the feet of the Commonwealth, which adopted the new policy of leaving the native Irish upon the land, but establishing English settlers as landowners over them by right of conquest. Three-quarters of the whole island was thus confiscated in order to create a permanent garrison, but by accumulation of property this soon became a mere absentee aristocracy. Meanwhile, the three kingdoms were given one Parliament and one trade system, so that the Commonwealth was more completely master of the British Isles than any earlier sovereign had been.

Domestic Policy of the Rump. What authority the Republic enjoyed outside these islands we shall consider later: meanwhile, let us see what use it made of its power at home. For four years (1649–53) the Army, which was otherwise engaged, left the Rump in virtually complete control, which liberty it used to project two important reforms. One of these was a much-needed modernisation and simplification of the legal system, work on which was continued up to the time of the Restoration. But, as all the old abuses were then, unfortunately, restored, even to the use of the Latin language in pleadings, we cannot pause over these changes, though they anticipated some of

the most generally approved reforms of the early nineteenth century. The Rump's main activity, as befitted a Puritan government, was in the sphere of religion. Here the position after nearly a decade of entire confusion was very complicated, but the Rump at least proposed the main lines of a solution. Freedom of worship was to be given to all the innumerable sects of Protestants that had sprung up, and it was not intended to persecute Episcopalians (the former Church of England), except where they caused political disaffection. The endowments of the Church, on the other hand, were to be reserved for the ministers of the three most prominent religious bodies—Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists—to whom livings might be awarded under the supervision of Committees of Triers and Ejectors, whose name explains their functions.

(2) CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENTS

Dissolution of the Rump, April 1653. But these proposals were not fated to be carried out by the Rump. In April 1653 it became known that this fragment of a Parliament, with whose slow methods of work the Army was already out of patience, had a scheme for keeping itself in power by conferring on its members the right to go on sitting for ever and fill up vacancies in their ranks virtually at their own discretion. Thereupon Cromwell, in deep indignation, led his soldiers into the House and, in a famous scene, ejected the members and carried off 'that bauble'—the solemn emblem of the mace, which is laid before the Speaker whenever the House is sitting. The last legal authority having thus been destroyed by military force, all the power of government became concentrated in the hands of Cromwell, who alone controlled that military force, and the chief question of public interest was this: Could military rule be in turn replaced by a new and better system of representative government?

The Barebones Parliament. Between 1653 and 1658 three attempts were made to answer that question by three

new constitutions or forms of government, the first and most short-lived of which may be disposed of rapidly. Within a few months of the dissolution of the Rump the leaders of the Army tried the experiment of a nominated Parliament of distinguished Puritans, some being chosen by the Council of Officers, but most of them by the Puritan congregations of the different churches. This assembly has been greatly ridiculed as 'the rule of the Saints,' with Praise-God Barebones hailed by posterity as the typical member: but as a matter of fact their efforts to improve the legal and ecclesiastical system of the country were very enlightened. However, they were considered by Cromwell to be rash meddlers, and it was with his approval that a moderate group met in the absence of the majority and voted the resignation of the assembly.

The Instrument of Government. After this the Army officers drew up a regular plan for a constitution, under the name of the Instrument of Government, whereby a Lord Protector was to administer the country with the help of a Council of State, a fixed annual revenue, and a standing army, all of which were under his control. But, lest it should be a mere tyranny, a Parliament of one House was also provided, which had the right to sit for five months every three years, to make all permanent laws, to vote any additional taxes, and to nominate some important officials. Moreover, the Parliament was given a firm basis in public opinion by the allotment of a high proportion of seats to county members, who were to be elected under a reformed franchise, a vote being given to any person possessing property of any kind to the value of £200. Finally, this written constitution was declared to be for all time unalterable, and every voter was required to agree that the Parliament had no power to alter the system.

Protectorate Parliaments and Rule of Major-Generals. Accordingly, in December 1653, Cromwell took office as Lord Protector, and the following year he summoned his first Parliament. The result was a complete fiasco, for the members objected both to the degree of religious freedom

guaranteed by the Instrument and to the withholding of the Army from their control, so that, to save the constitution, Oliver was constrained to dissolve the Parliament after the minimum session of five months. Discontent was by this time so rife that he was compelled to divide the country into military districts under the autocratic rule of Major-Generals—a far cry from the constitution. But in 1656 he called a second Parliament, which had at least learnt the lesson from the first that its demands would be more acceptable to the Lord Protector if framed as a 'Humble Petition and Advice.'

The Humble Petition and Advice, 1657. This document proposed such extensive changes in the Instrument of Government that it really involved a new constitution, which should embody the desire of the country to return to accustomed forms. There was to be a Second Chamber, chosen by the Protector, and Oliver himself was to be King —or, if not King, a hereditary ruler with increased powers. The royal title Oliver dare not accept if he would, for fear of the Army, which would be jealous; but the other provisions of the Petition he did accept, with no better result than before. When the Protector's friends in the Commons had been raised to the new Upper House, his enemies again began to criticise the whole scheme of government, so the second Protectorate Parliament had to be dissolved prematurely, like the first; and the Protector himself did not live to call another.

Domestic Policy of the Protectorate. Nevertheless, it must not be supposed that this period of disputes was entirely barren as regards reform. The Protector pushed on steadily with the legal improvements already foreshadowed, entirely reorganised the Court of Chancery, and abolished the death penalty for many minor offences. He set about the improvement of morals in small matters as well as great, with a variety of measures that ranged from the condign chastisement of Sabbath-breakers to the establishment of new—and, it was hoped, more godly—schools and colleges, of which a proposed northern university at

Durham is the outstanding example. Above all, he insisted, in defiance of most Puritan opinion, upon a general principle of religious toleration. The great Protector persecuted even Catholics as little as he dare; Episcopalian worship was permitted so long as it was not combined with political plotting; and the unhappy race of the Jews was tolerated in England for the first time since its expulsion by Edward I. Perhaps the best thing that we inherit from this age of fervour and liberty is the sect of the Quakers, which was founded by George Fox's preaching in 1647 and might never have survived at all, so great was the popular hostility aroused by the strange ecstasies of its early members, had not Cromwell cared for its welfare in his days of power.

Its Failure. But, for all the good it accomplished, the Protectorate never found a basis in popular support. Many besides the Cavalier gentry resented the Puritan code of morals, which interfered with their private lives. The high-handed actions to which opposition drove the Protector—as when he dismissed the judges in Cony's Case because they denied him the right to levy customs duties without consent of Parliament—made admirers of Hampden wonder what they had gained by the war. Still more did the police regime of the Major-Generals in 1655–6 convince ordinary men and women that they were in imminent danger of sacrificing what was left of their liberty to the demands of military rule. Is it surprising, then, that the subjects of the Lord Protector began to long for the milder yoke of a King and for a return to the traditional forms of government that they understood?

(3) THE REPUBLIC OVERSEAS

Blake and the Navy. The numerous domestic changes that we have just described had for their accompaniment a singularly resolute and successful foreign and colonial policy, born of the dire necessity in which the Republic found itself in 1649. England at that moment had not

a friend abroad, so it was necessary to make full use of naval power for defence, especially as Prince Rupert endangered trade in the English Channel and haunted foreign ports with a squadron composed of some ships of the Navy, which had left the Parliamentary side at the time of the Second Civil War. The rest of our naval forces was placed by the Rump under the command of another soldier turned sailor, Admiral Blake, who quickly drove Rupert away from the English and Irish Channels, smashed a Portuguese fleet which tried to defend him, and pursued him eventually into the Mediterranean. In those waters, to which no English warships had ever penetrated before, Rupert's vessels were duly sunk. From this good beginning the Republic built up a great war fleet on a permanent footing, doubling the number of ships and more than doubling their efficiency. With this weapon it proved possible, not only to prevent foreign intervention on behalf of Prince Charles in the critical years of Dunbar and Worcester, but to reconquer revolted colonies. Both Virginia and Barbados had declared for the King, while Puritan New England, though favourable to the Parliamentary cause, was eager to show its independence of Old England. But naval pressure brought all alike into subjection to the Rump and its successors.

Navigation Act, 1651, and First Dutch War. These achievements quickly brought England into conflict with the Dutch, then the leading commercial and maritime nation, who had enjoyed command of the Channel and North Sea during the Civil War and—what was more important—had captured almost the whole of the trade with the English colonies. To remedy this, a Navigation Act was passed in 1651, which, following upon the lines of earlier regulations, restricted the importation of goods into the Commonwealth and the colonies to English and colonial ships, except that European goods might be imported in the ships of the country where they were actually produced. Thus the carrying trade of the Dutch, on which they chiefly throve, would be entirely cut out. Under such

circumstances a trivial quarrel about the salute alleged to be due to our ships in 'the British seas' easily provoked a war. Eight naval battles followed in three years, chief among which were Tromp's victory over Blake off Dungeness (1652) and a three days' battle off Portland, whereby Blake regained command of the Channel from the same great adversary. This was a vital matter to Holland, which lived by the commerce of her ships passing up and down the Narrow Seas, so the blockading of the Channel made her eager for peace. The terms included acceptance of the Navigation Act and the salute, together with the payment of long-overdue compensation for the Amboyna massacre, but the main results of this even duel were two: the English fleet was proved to be on an equality with the strongest naval power, and the price paid for it was a dangerous increase in taxation.

Foreign Policy of the Protectorate. When Peace was signed the rule of the Rump had already given place to the Protectorate. Cromwell's first plan, which gave him an excellent reason for ending the war against the Dutch, was to form a general alliance of all the Protestant Powers. This was a complete failure, because the Thirty Years' War had been concluded by the Peace of Westphalia (1648), and the era of religious wars had since then been superseded by one in which the main struggle was between two Catholic Powers, France and Spain. Since, moreover, those two Powers were still not unevenly matched, there was no real occasion to throw England's sword into the scale in order to redress the Balance of Power. Cromwell nevertheless decided to make the military and naval prestige of England and her commercial enrichment his objects: the first would prevent foreign countries from helping to restore the Stuarts, the second would make the regime popular with the middle class. Hence an important commercial treaty in 1654 with Portugal, which had been struggling since 1640 to regain its independence from Spain, and a series of naval expeditions, one of which inflicted long-overdue chastisement upon the Barbary corsairs of North Africa. But the most

famous episode was the elder William Penn's unsuccessful attack on Hispaniola in the Spanish West Indies, because this was promptly converted into a descent on Jamaica, by which Cromwell secured possession of the island—still the centre of our West Indian power.

War against Spain. As this island was also Spanish, it is not surprising that these naval exploits led to a general war against Spain, merging into the wider Franco-Spanish contest. Blake pursued a Spanish treasure fleet to Santa Cruz in the Canaries and there achieved the novel exploit of destroying it in face of powerful shore batteries, which the intrepid admiral silenced. This was in 1657, and the following year an English army won a like fame at the Battle of the Dunes, where they played a decisive part in a great allied victory. When France and Spain made peace (1659) England received the near-by port of Dunkirk as her share of the spoil. By this time the great Protector was dead. By suppressing for a moment the long drawn-out internal struggle for power between Parliament and the executive he had made it possible for England to reach a high pinnacle of naval and military success, in marked contrast with the humiliations she had endured under her Stuart kings: but the price was high taxation and a mounting debt. The methods of raising money had been vastly improved during the Civil War—as by Pym's introduction of excise duties, never since abandoned—but discontent among taxpayers and the shadow of the debt marked the beginning of the end of republican institutions in England.

(4) THE COLLAPSE OF THE REPUBLIC

Death of Oliver Cromwell, September 3rd, 1658. The death of Oliver Cromwell on the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester, September 3rd, 1658, was followed by the peaceful accession of his son Richard, who summoned a new Parliament, the third of the Protectorate, in January 1659. But Richard was not a strong man, and, if he had been, he necessarily lacked the military prestige

which had enabled his father to keep the Council of Officers under control. He was forced, first, to dismiss his Parliament; second, to recall the Rump; and thirdly, to resign his office into its hands. Richard passed the rest of a long life in quiet obscurity (he died in 1712), but the sequel was not the lasting triumph either of the Rump or of the officers who had demanded its return.

Revolt against Military Rule. For the Army officers had no intention of conceding more than nominal authority to any Parliament, and, when the Rump tried to assert itself, they decided to dismiss it again. The alternative was undisguised military tyranny, which the country would not have, and which various elements quickly united to overthrow. These included the Royalists, for whom any change might be a change for the better; the moderate Puritans, actuated by dread of religious fanatics in the Army; the Scots, who hated the Army chiefs as their conquerors; and all reasonable men, to whom a renewal of civil war was repugnant. A leader was found in General Monk, a professional soldier commanding the Army of occupation in Scotland, who declared his intention of protecting the rights of Parliament, and with this programme marched on London. He met with little opposition on the way, for many of the soldiers themselves shared the popular fear of military rule, and by the time he entered the capital in February 1660 it was clear to him that what public opinion wanted was a restoration of the monarchy.

The Convention and the Declaration of Breda. In the next few months events followed one another with great rapidity. The Rump, which the Army chiefs had thought it politic to revive shortly before Monk's arrival, gave place to a full meeting of the Long Parliament, so far as its members still survived, which used its legal authority to order a General Election on the old basis. The new Parliament—which was, strictly speaking, a 'Convention,' because, after all, it had not been properly summoned by a king—met in March. In April Prince Charles issued from his place of exile in Holland the Declaration of Breda, promising

four things that might induce his subjects to receive him. These were a general pardon, subject only to any exceptions made by Parliament; a parliamentary settlement of land-purchases arising out of the war; freedom of worship for all Protestants; and his consent to Acts of Parliament for promoting that object and for granting arrears of pay to the soldiers. He was thereupon proclaimed King, and on May 29th rode in triumph into the London that had withstood and killed his father.

What the Restoration did not Restore. Had the Great Rebellion failed? The name 'Restoration' seems to imply that it had, but it is important to remember how much was not restored. Neither prerogative courts nor prerogative taxation was to be revived in face of the unrepealed legislation of the Long Parliament in 1641. Both kings and ministers hesitated to attempt for long the system of unparliamentary rule, which had met with such signal retribution at the time of Stafford's execution and later. And the period of the Republic had enabled the sectaries to get such a hold upon the heart of the country that a completely national church was never again achieved on the pattern of Laud: and religious toleration soon became a question of practical politics. Nor must we forget the constructive work of the 'Rebels.' In the army of Cromwell, the navy of Blake, the fiscal system of Pym, and the commercial code of the Navigation Law (re-enacted in 1660) they left their mark: and all the gaiety and licence of the Age of the Restoration did not prevent the Puritan spirit from living on, alike in the masterpieces of Milton and Bunyan, and in the sternly disciplined lives of many in the obscurer classes of society.

CHAPTER XV

THE RESTORATION
1660–1678

"It is strange how everybody do nowadays reflect upon Oliver and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him."

Pepys' Diary, 1667.

(1) THE RULE OF CLARENDON

The New King and his Ministers. King Charles II was thirty years of age at the time of his restoration. In character he resembled his French mother rather than his father the Martyr, for he was entirely lacking in scruples, principles, and morals, and attracted people by more comfortable qualities, such as his wit, good-nature, and charm. But, young as he was, the years of exile had taught him to watch public opinion with care. When danger threatened—particularly the danger that he might be sent on his travels again—he showed a cleverness and adaptability which exaggerated stories of his laziness and indifference are too often allowed to conceal. In the early part of his reign, however, the new King was well satisfied to devote his energies to the amusements of a gay and licentious court life, which strove by its vanity and excesses to banish all thought of the austere age now gone by. A great importance therefore attached to his choice of ministers. Monk, though held in high honour and created a duke, soon fell into the background, and the men who were trusted were those who had shared the weary years of exile, such as Ormonde of Irish fame and especially the great Lord Clarendon. Under his earlier name of Hyde he is familiar

as a moderate Royalist in the Long Parliament, who had followed Charles I throughout the Civil War and had then become the mentor of his son. As Lord Chancellor, he now presided over the 'inner ring' of the Privy Council, and had the chief share in shaping the settlement of the realm. His daughter, Anne Hyde, was secretly married to the King's brother, James, Duke of York.

Pacific Work of the Convention. So long as the Convention continued to sit, the arrangements made were reasonable and in general accordance with the Declaration of Breda. Only thirteen actual regicides, who had voted for Charles I's execution, and one other were excepted from the general pardon and executed: other rebels were included in a generous Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. The Army duly got its arrears of pay and duly dispersed into civil life, apart from the Coldstream and one or two other small units, which were retained for garrison duty and formed the nucleus of the modern British Army. The terms of the new financial settlement were that Charles surrendered the feudal dues, and in return he was to receive sufficient money from the taxes to make up his income to £1,200,000 a year. This was not really enough to enable the King to carry on the government of the country, especially as the taxes yielded less than was expected: hence subsequent friction between King and Parliament. But it fulfilled the immediate object of facilitating the dismissal of the soldiers. Even the difficult question of the land was settled without any great upheaval by the return of what had been directly confiscated from the Crown, the Church, and private individuals, while persons who had sold their land to pay fines imposed by the Roundheads were treated as though they had acted voluntarily and received no compensation. Only the religious problem remained unsolved, though Anglican and Presbyterian clergy made strenuous efforts at the Savoy Conference to frame a Church settlement in which both groups could unite. But during the session of the Convention, half of whose members were Presbyterians, it seemed that only time was needed to bring

the deliberations of the divines also to a satisfactory conclusion.

The Cavalier Parliament. But in May 1661 the first lawful General Election for more than two decades returned the Cavalier Parliament, so called because nearly all its members were eager partisans of the old cause. Towards the King, indeed, they were more generous in theory than in practice. On the one hand, the Militia Act gave him back command of the Army, and a solemn measure reinforced the old theory of Divine Right by declaring Passive Obedience to the King's will to be the subject's duty under all circumstances. On the other hand, their experience under the Commonwealth had left the Cavaliers with a lasting horror of standing armies, so nothing was done to expand the few units mentioned above into a force which the King could really use. Moreover, they preferred to show their loyalty, not by generous grants either of men or money, but by inexpensive attacks on the Puritans, which combined vengeance for the martyrdom of Charles I and Archbishop Laud with the humiliation of the Roundheads, who had beaten them in the field and ruined their estates.

The Clarendon Code. Accordingly, the most important legislation of a Parliament which lasted eighteen years (1661–79) was the Clarendon Code, in the passing of which Clarendon himself figured, not as an ardent persecutor, but as a politician who consented to persecution because the Parliament must somehow be placated. The Code consisted of four measures. By the Corporation Act (1661) the membership of municipal corporations, which besides governing the towns often elected their Members of Parliament, was restricted to communicants of the Church of England. By the Act of Uniformity (1662) that Church was directly purged of Puritan clergy, no incumbent being retained who failed to consent to the whole contents of the Prayer-book. The two thousand who surrendered their livings rather than conform to this Act began the modern history of Nonconformity, in the strict sense of the word. By the Conventicle Act (1664)

those who, while submitting to the civil and ecclesiastical disabilities already imposed, continued to meet for services in private 'conventicles' were prevented from thus worshipping together. By the Five Mile Act (1665) the Nonconformist clergy (and schoolmasters), many of whom returned to minister to their flocks in London during the Plague, were debarred from approaching any town or any place of their previous ministry, unless they took an oath of loyalty to the existing settlement in Church and State. Thus the Nonconformists were deprived in swift succession of civil rights; their share of livings; freedom of worship; and even (in the case of their ministers and schoolmasters) personal liberty of movement.

Its Results. What were the results? The immediate consequence was the infliction of grave suffering upon a section of the community which, if we set aside the occasional excesses of the 'Rule of the Saints' in 1649–60, had done nothing to deserve it. We do not know the number of persons imprisoned for performing or attending illegal acts of worship, which obviously varied from place to place according to the views of the squires and parsons concerned in the enforcement of the laws. But the experience of John Bunyan, who spent the bulk of the first twelve years of the Restoration in prison, was released by the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, and served another shorter term in 1675, cannot have been exceptionally severe, for of the detested Quakers many died from their sufferings. How the tinker-preacher in Bedford gaol revealed himself to be an untaught master of English prose is familiar to every reader of *Pilgrim's Progress*; but for others captivity surely bore more bitter fruits. It is remarkable that the sufferers, who must have included many veterans of Cromwell's army, made no serious attempt at a rising, and we are left to suppose that they did not lose hope of a Parliament which should some day grant the toleration for which they waited till 1689. For they did not lack sympathisers in the governing classes, because many well-to-do Puritans, especially landowners, though

driven to join the Church of England themselves so as to retain political power both in the corporations and in Parliament, remained eager to help their former co-religionists.

Social Isolation of Nonconformists. This fact suggests the other result of the Clarendon Code, which lasted at least two hundred years longer than any actual persecution, namely, a great social cleavage. Excluded from the dignities and emoluments of the Established Church, from its schools and colleges, and from all political activity, these Puritans became a race apart, with quite a different outlook from that of the aristocracy and its dependants. Townsmen for the most part, their honesty and thrift enabled them to thrive in all kinds of business (almost the only sort of career that remained open to them). Indeed, the prosperity of Nonconformist London merchants was a weighty argument in favour of religious toleration, which, it was thought, would be good for trade. But in morals and manners alike they stood aside from the main current of the national life.

The Restoration in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland, which was now ruled by a nominated Privy Council at Edinburgh, the religious settlement followed English lines, but with a different result. The restoration of Episcopacy was fiercely resisted in arms by the 'Whigs,' as the Covenanters of the south-west were called. In 1666 they were defeated in a skirmish at Rullion Green, near Edinburgh, and Lauderdale, who administered Scotland for the King, felt justified in trying a more conciliatory policy. But neither force nor favour could suppress the conventicles. In 1679 there was a second small rebellion, which was crushed by Monmouth at Bothwell Bridge (near Glasgow) and followed by a terrible period known as the 'killing time,' when the Presbyterian Covenanters were hunted, tortured, and executed, not without reprisals against bishops and government. Only in Ireland did the Restoration bring religious peace, for Ormonde, who became Lord-Lieutenant again, showed no eagerness to persecute the Catholics.

But there the situation was complicated by the enormous confiscations of land that had marked the Cromwellian conquest, much of it passing into the hands of his veterans. King Charles's Government had no reason for dealing tenderly with what they had acquired, but in the end only one-half of what had been taken was restored to Catholic proprietors, the remainder of whom were left to work for Protestants who had usurped their land. Accordingly, in spite of religious peace, 'the curse of Cromwell' remained a bitter imprecation in the mouth of the disinherited nation.

Foreign Policy of Clarendon. In religion Parliament led the minister, but in foreign policy Clarendon was more free to choose the line which would benefit his master. Throughout his reign Charles needed to supplement by fair means or foul the meagre allowance on which Parliament expected him to subsist, and Clarendon's first ventures had that object in view. In 1661 a marriage-treaty was arranged with Portugal, which needed our moral support to retain her weakening empire, and was prepared to give a large dowry and two key positions, Tangier and Bombay, in return. The new Queen, Catherine of Braganza, lived a miserable life, childless and with an unfaithful husband; but, to say nothing of the money, Tangier gave England a Mediterranean outpost (until its upkeep was deemed too costly in 1683), and the island of Bombay provided a basis for the penetration of all the west coast of India. In 1662 Clarendon raised some more money by the unpopular action of selling Dunkirk (too expensive for us to garrison) back to the French, but by this time bigger game was afoot.

Second Dutch War, 1665–7. In the Restoration period the Court, through such prominent figures as the King's brother, James, Duke of York, and his cousin, Prince Rupert, took an active share in colonial and commercial enterprises that might yield a money profit. Already in 1660 they had warned the Dutch away from the carrying trade by the renewal and extension of the Navigation Act [see Economic Section, p. 260/1], and now envy of the wealth of Holland suggested a private war overseas, which soon

developed into a general conflict, known as the Second Dutch War. In 1664 small naval expeditions captured by surprise the island of Goree in West Africa (which was lost within a year) and the more important Dutch settlements in North America, then called the New Netherlands, lying in between Virginia and New England. Next year the fighting became general, with great battles round the English coast that recalled the feats of Admiral Blake. If the English won a smashing victory off Lowestoft, they were defeated again within twelve months in the heroic Channel engagement of the Four Days' Battle (the Battle of the Downs). Such a ding-dong struggle was bound to cost money, yet Parliament not only refused adequate supplies but started the modern practice of allotting what it did grant to specified objects: for it suspected (with some justification) that what it gave the King was misspent by his agents—or by the court. In the end the ships were actually laid up in expectation of an early peace, when the Dutch sailed unmolested up the Thames and burnt the vessels lying in the Medway (June 1667).

Peace of Breda. The Peace of Breda was therefore signed in a hurry in an atmosphere of popular discontent, and took the form, inevitably, of a compromise. England gave up Surinam on the coast of South America, receiving in exchange the Dutch North American settlements, captured during the war. This was not then considered a bad bargain for the Dutch, as Surinam made a good trading-post. But a colony like the New Netherlands, with a climate in which Europeans could thrive and a considerable population of Dutchmen and Swedes, whom English liberty soon reconciled to the English flag, was worth more in the long run. Moreover, New York—the name which was given to our prize in honour of the Duke of York, Lord High Admiral during the war—had the particular merit of closing the gap in the line of English colonies that now stretched right down the Atlantic seaboard of the new continent and, incidentally, making it a little easier to enforce the Navigation Code.

Imperial Expansion. This was a great age in the story

of imperial development. New York expanded into New Jersey, Delaware, and finally (in 1681) into Pennsylvania—an inland stretch of territory granted by the Crown to the younger William Penn in payment of a debt to his father, whereby he was enabled to found a refuge for his fellow-Quakers and their principles. Farther south two new colonies, North and South Carolina, were founded under a Charter of 1663 by a group of proprietors, among whom Lord Ashley, with his secretary, the philosopher Locke, took the lead. A few years later Prince Rupert himself headed the Hudson Bay Company for the acquisition of furs from the Indians of the Arctic north. Meanwhile, in the tropics, both the Africa trade, based on tiny forts along the coast, and the East India trade, with its headquarters at Bombay, Madras, and near the future site of Calcutta on the Hugli, likewise flourished. The American ventures, at least, were peopled largely from the existing colonies, the English contribution consisting chiefly of transported criminals; yet it was a truly imperial movement, in which both the King himself and such leading statesmen as Clarendon and Shaftesbury were keenly interested. Up to 1674 there was a special Council for Foreign Plantations, to which leading merchants were admitted, and even after its abolition a Committee of the Privy Council watched over affairs of trade and empire.

Impeachment of Clarendon, November 1667. But the mainly fortunate ending of the war did not avail to save the minister who began it. An austere moralist, Clarendon was never really liked either by the monarch or by the Court and Parliament. Disasters had not come singly. In 1665 London was wasted by a terrible bubonic plague, by which many thousands perished. In 1666 the Great Fire laid the bulk of the old City in ashes, which ruined many, though it gave a golden chance to the genius of the great architect, Sir Christopher Wren. The episode of the Dutch in the Medway was therefore the last straw: Clarendon was quite absurdly held responsible for these misfortunes, impeached, and driven into exile. There he spent all his

remaining years, busy with his noble *History of the Great Rebellion*, one of the first of the great English historical masterpieces.

(2) THE ROYAL FOREIGN POLICY

The Cabal. After the fall of Clarendon no single minister held office, but a group of the King's friends were appointed to carry out the royal policy. They were a strange assortment of men, including two Catholics (Clifford and Arlington); two sympathisers with the Nonconformists (Buckingham, son of Charles I's favourite, and the many-sided, brilliant Lord Ashley); and the Scottish Secretary, Lauderdale. A 'Cabal' was then the usual name for a small committee of government; but this one became 'the Cabal,' partly because their initials happened to spell the word and partly because their secret intrigues made it a byword for a corrupt confederacy. Charles was tired of the Cavalier Parliament, with its persecuting Anglicanism and niggardly finance, so he had chosen men who might be expected to help him in a foreign policy by which the monarchy, in defiance of Parliament, might become rich and tolerant, at least, of Catholicism,

Ambitions of Louis XIV of France. What made such a policy possible was the devouring ambition of Louis XIV of France. Under his father's able minister, Cardinal Richelieu, France had intervened in the later stages of the Thirty Years' War, supporting the Protestants (though herself a Catholic Power) in the hope of territorial advantages when the war ended. At the Peace of Westphalia (1648) those hopes were fulfilled, and, after a period of civil strife during the young King's minority, Louis XIV came of age the same year as the English Restoration, in a country which was just stepping into the shoes of Spain as the leading European nation. It will be remembered how Cromwell's army helped her to obtain her triumph over Spain in the Anglo-Spanish War of 1657–9. From 1660 onwards the aims of the Grand Monarch, as Louis XIV was

called, were threefold. He sought to extend his eastern frontier to the Rhine, to make the French monarchy the most splendid and the most autocratic in Europe, and—especially in his later years—to render his own religion of Catholicism supreme. With the help of able ministers France rapidly became rich, warlike, and obedient. In the Second Dutch War she was the ally of Holland and fought the English, without any decisive result, in the West Indies; but her first major stroke of policy came in 1667, when she invaded the Spanish Netherlands (modern Belgium), claiming large tracts of territory there on behalf of Louis' wife, who was a Spanish princess.

The Triple Alliance (1668) and its Results. This was the very year of the Treaty of Breda, and England almost immediately formed a Triple Alliance with Holland and Sweden to resist Louis' claims, with the result that he had to end the war with smaller acquisitions than he had planned. This check infuriated the French king. The Triple Alliance was, as a matter of fact, mainly the creation of a brilliant English diplomat at the Hague, Sir William Temple, but in Louis' eyes the worst offenders were the Dutch, whom he had so recently befriended. He hated the Dutch as republicans in any case, so they were now marked down for destruction—and Louis' plan provided his neighbour, King Charles, with a chance to strike an infamous bargain.

Secret Treaty of Dover, 1670. Accordingly, there were complicated negotiations on both sides of the Channel, conducted largely through Charles's favourite sister, Henrietta, wife of the Duke of Orleans; and these issued in two treaties, signed at Dover in 1670 and 1671 respectively. The later of the two treaties, to which the whole Cabal was a party, provided for a renewal of the war against Holland in alliance with Louis XIV, who was to reward England with subsidies and a share in the territory of the Dutch Republic, which was to be virtually exterminated. But this was only a blind for the Secret Treaty, previously concluded by the two Catholic ministers, in

which the French alliance against Holland was combined with a grand plot against English liberties. So far as Charles had any general policy of his own, it took the form of a desire to build up in England a despotic government like Louis', based, like his, upon the Catholic religion, which Charles II had secretly embraced through his French mother's influence while he was still in exile. This general policy the Secret Treaty of Dover would enable him to carry out, for it was thereby agreed that, as soon as the Dutch War, congenial to English commercial interests, had enhanced the strength and popularity of Charles's government, French money and troops were to be sent to England and Charles was to declare himself a Catholic, as a preliminary to a revival of the Catholic Church. Thus Charles would be in a position to rule as a despot without Parliament (thanks to the French subsidies), and Louis would be assured of a faithful and congenial ally.

Third Dutch War, 1672–4. In January 1672 Charles prepared for war by the singular measure known as the Stop of the Exchequer. A large sum of money was, as usual, owing from the Government to the goldsmith-bankers of the City, interest on which had to be paid from the revenue as it came in. This interest, or most of it, the King dishonestly refused to pay, thus obtaining additional funds for a campaign without the necessity of summoning Parliament. He followed this up by taking a first tentative step in the religious policy, in the shape of a royal Declaration of Indulgence, which suspended the operation of the penal laws for Protestant Nonconformist and Catholic alike, though the latter were, for the time being, to enjoy liberty of worship in their private houses only. Finally, he declared war on Holland in alliance with France. England's share in the joint campaign was on the sea, where the great Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, more than held his own, so that there was no permanent blockade of the Dutch ports (as in the First Dutch War) and our enemies were even able to recapture New York. Both when they defended themselves in Southwold Bay (Solebay) in 1672 and when they next

year launched an attack against the Texel, the Anglo-French allies, though more numerous, fought drawn battles that ruined their plans. But the real decision lay elsewhere.

Unsuccessful French Invasion of Holland. Louis XIV had invaded Holland, a country of insignificant resources in comparison with his huge armies, with every expectation of an easy triumph. But the Dutchmen, abandoning their republican institutions in the hour of crisis, gave absolute power as Stadtholder to William, Prince of Orange, a stripling who was destined for a great part on the European stage. He rallied his despairing countrymen; delayed the enemy's progress by cutting the dykes; and sought feverishly for allies. By the end of the year 1672 the French armies had retreated and the whole Continent was involved in the struggle, from which France emerged in 1679 with some territorial gains, but not at the expense of Holland. Meanwhile the lack of enthusiasm for the Declaration, even among Nonconformists, and the failure of the invasion had upset all Charles II's calculations. Had the allies been in a position to partition Holland, he might have been rich enough to leave Parliament in abeyance; as things were, he must summon it in order to pay for the war.

Parliament and the Test Act, 1673. The Members reassembled in the worst of humours. The Stop of the Exchequer had ruined many commercial men, the Indulgence seemed to foreshadow the return of the Catholic Church, which even the most ardent Anglicans heartily dreaded, and the Third Dutch War, unlike the previous two, was much disliked because on this occasion we appeared to be abetting a Catholic Power in an unprovoked attack upon its Protestant neighbour. Accordingly, Parliament destroyed the royal policy with speed and emphasis. The Declaration of Indulgence was stated to be illegal and withdrawn, and the Test Act was drawn up, whereby office under the Crown was restricted to Anglican communicants and—by a special proviso aimed at the

Catholics—involved the signing of a declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation. Under this stringent law James, Duke of York, whose Catholicism had long alarmed public opinion and who married a Catholic princess as his second wife this very year, had to resign his post at the Admiralty. At the same time Parliament showed little enthusiasm for the war, which had soon to be abandoned, and its hostility to the Cabal, one member of which resigned under the Test Act, compelled the King to change his ministers as well as his policy.

Court and Country Parties. Henceforth there was a real division of parties in what had started as a unitedly loyal Parliament, and had only slowly modified its character through bye-elections. Ashley, now Lord Shaftesbury, had been tricked by Charles in the matter of the Secret Treaty of Dover, of which only the Catholic ministers had any knowledge; and his resentment led this brilliant politician to put himself at the head of the Country Party. This group favoured the Nonconformists as much as they hated the Catholics, and would have liked to limit the powers of the King, whose opposition to their religion and liberty they strongly suspected. But for five more years they were relatively insignificant, because the King prudently threw in his lot with the party of the loyal Anglican Cavaliers, which was strong because all the places under government, and all the honours and advantages which might influence votes in Parliament, were given to its members. The leader of this Court Party was Lord Danby, and as long as the King refrained from holding a General Election his position seemed secure.

Policy of Danby, 1674–8. The policy of these years was a moderate one, complicated by the fact that Charles still hankered after French subsidies. These he was able to obtain from time to time by means of secret promises that he would not engage in war on behalf of the Dutch, for which he even used Danby as an intermediary. But in the main the Government followed the popular course of hostility, unaccompanied by action, towards the overween-

ing Catholic Power of France abroad, and persecution of Catholics and sectaries at home—which was all the easier because the Country Party dreaded a war which would provide Danby with an army. But in two respects this lull in a stormy reign was of great importance. In domestic policy the Danby ministry is remarkable as the first to be based on the modern principle that the King's servants must be the persons that command the support of a majority in the House of Commons. And in foreign affairs Danby's Protestant sympathies left their mark in the marriage which he negotiated between the heroic Prince of Orange and the Duke of York's daughter, Mary, from which the decisive Protestant Revolution of 1688 was eventually to spring.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FALL OF THE STUARTS
1678–1688

"The people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the Government in relation to their religion, liberties, and properties (all of which have been greatly invaded) that your Highness may be assured there are nineteen parts in twenty of the people throughout the kingdom who are desirous of a change."

Letter of Invitation to William of Orange, 1688.

(1) THE EXCLUSION POLICY

The Popish Plot. In September 1678 the Country Party, which might otherwise have subsided into insignificance, received its chance as a result of the machinations of one of the most worthless individuals that ever altered the course of English history. Titus Oates had been Puritan, Anglican, and Catholic in turn, and each body in turn had expelled him from its midst as a knave and liar. But in his Catholic period he had resided at an English Jesuit College on the Continent, which made anything he might say about the dreaded Roman faith appear believable. The Jesuits had indeed discussed in his presence their plans for the reconversion of England when the Catholic James should ascend its throne, which fact Oates used on his return home as the basis of a report in eighty-one sections revealing a Catholic plot to murder the King and seize control of the government. It was a poor story, which its principal victim, the King, before whom it was solemnly laid, never believed for an instant, but there were various considerations which rendered the general public more credulous.

Why it was Believed in. On the one hand, the Catholics were still regarded with an insane suspicion. In the absence of statistics and in an age when persecution caused many people to hide their religion, no one knew how numerous they were, while everyone knew about the reign of 'Bloody Mary' and the Gunpowder Plot and had dark suspicions that Catholicism was at the bottom of every unfortunate event, from the Fire of London to the Third Dutch War. Furthermore, the revelation of the Plot by Oates had sequels that appeared to confirm its truth. The Duke of York's secretary had his papers seized for examination, and they revealed a treasonable correspondence carried on in the Catholic interest with the court of the French king. A week or two later the London magistrate, before whom Oates had originally laid his case, was mysteriously murdered. To this day nobody knows whether the crime was committed by Catholics or by persons who wished to incriminate Catholics, but at the time the public, already furiously afraid, had no difficulty in making up its mind that Godfrey was a Protestant martyr to be avenged.

The Popish Panic. For two years, therefore, Oates and other informers, who were quick to take up a trade both profitable and popular, waxed rich on the denunciation of Catholics in every rank of society, whom they chose to inculpate in the 'Plot,' the ramifications of which grew wider and wider. The first person executed was James's secretary, who, as we have seen, was not entirely guiltless. But nearly two score innocent victims were sacrificed to mob fury, which intimidated the law courts and compelled even the House of Lords to condemn one of its own members in the person of the aged Lord Stafford. Meanwhile, in expectation of the promised rising, wary citizens armed themselves with life-preservers, the so-called 'Protestant flails,' with which to strike down a secret assassin.

Shaftesbury and the Impeachment of Danby. The brilliant and unscrupulous Shaftesbury was quick to seize this golden opportunity to advance himself, to humiliate

the King, and to forward the cause of religious toleration, of which this free-thinker was reasonably enough the advocate. When Parliament met, they used his secretary's treason to attack the Duke of York, who stood so near the throne, but only a General Election could give them the parliamentary majority which would render their attacks dangerous. This was the eighteenth year of the Cavalier Parliament, but its dissolution was at last procured—by Louis XIV! Annoyed with Charles for not helping him against the Dutch, and disliking Danby as a firmly Protestant minister, the French king handed over to the Country Party a treaty in which Charles sought a renewal of the French subsidy. The document was in Danby's handwriting, though endorsed by the King, so the minister was impeached for sharing in a betrayal of English interests to a foreign Power. Charles, who knew that Danby had been the mere instrument of the royal will in this matter, saved him from severe punishment by dissolving Parliament in January 1679. Nevertheless, later Parliaments kept him in the Tower for the next five years, while Charles became his own chief minister.

The Exclusion Policy. The three short Parliaments which occupy the next two years are known as the Exclusion Parliaments. The Country Party, with its headquarters at the Green Ribbon Club in Chancery Lane, was so well organised to exploit the panic that it three times secured a majority by electioneering campaigns all over the country in the modern style. On all three occasions it used its power to bring forward an Exclusion Bill; and on all three occasions the King just managed to prevent the Bill from becoming law. What, then, was this policy? In brief, it proposed to use the anti-Catholic feeling to exclude James, Duke of York, from succeeding to the throne after the death of Charles, who had no legitimate children. By making a break in the due line of heirs it would destroy any belief that the King of England held office by Divine Right and not by Act of Parliament; and, by the choice of a weak king in James's place, the Exclusion policy might enable

Shaftesbury and his fellows to become the real rulers of the country. For this last reason they soon selected as their candidate for the throne, not James's daughter, Mary, whose strong husband, William of Orange, would never let her become the tool of a faction, but the Duke of Monmouth, the vain, weak, bastard son of Charles, who won an easy popularity as the victor of Bothwell Bridge, and was even pretended by his supporters to be legitimate. [See Genealogical Table, p. 242/1.] Thus the Exclusion policy aimed at the security of Protestantism, a limited monarchy, and a tolerant government under control of the Country Party.

First Exclusion Parliament, 1679. The Parliament of 1679 witnessed one event of great constitutional importance, namely, the passing of the Habeas Corpus Amendment Act, which made it much easier than ever before for persons who believed themselves to be wrongfully imprisoned to get themselves brought before a judge to be heard under a writ of Habeas Corpus. This was a valuable means of preventing those in power, whether King or ministers, from silencing their opponents by setting them, untried, in remote prisons; and it still has its uses in protecting the liberty of the subject. But the main business of the Exclusion Bill made no progress. It was still being discussed in the Commons when the King safeguarded his brother's interests by dismissing the Parliament.

Temple's Privy Council; Petitioners and Abhorrers. Charles, in fact, was playing for time, because he knew, cool judge that he was, that eventually public feeling would lose its heat, the 'Plot' be exposed, and its promoters—the Country Party—hurled from power. Therefore, while the First Exclusion Parliament was still sitting, he pretended to try the experiment, suggested by the diplomat, Sir William Temple, of ruling with the aid of a reconstructed Privy Council of thirty members, some chosen from each party, with Shaftesbury himself as president. It did not work, of course, for the King made his real decisions privately in the company of a few trusted friends, but it served its turn by humouring the Opposition in the

few months during which the scheme was in force. The King's next expedient was to hold a fresh General Election, and then, finding that the Country Party again obtained a majority, to delay the meeting of the new Parliament for a whole twelvemonth, from October 1679 to October 1680. This episode had one memorable consequence. It gave occasion for great demonstrations by Exclusionists, who petitioned for the Parliament to meet, and by supporters of the Crown, who counter-petitioned, saying that they abhorred the very idea of interfering with the King's free choice in the matter. The Petitioners began to be called Whigs after the Covenanting rebels in Scotland, and the Abhorrers received the name of Tories, which was used for the Catholic native bandits who infested Ireland after the land-confiscations. These names, applied in insult, came to be accepted by the two parties, which, originating in this reign, divided England between them for something like two hundred years. Meanwhile, James himself was kept carefully out of the way in Scotland, where he applied himself with cruel vigour to the persecution of the Covenanters, then at its height.

Second Exclusion Parliament, 1680–81. But, as regards its main object, the delay was in vain. The Second Exclusion Parliament revived the Bill and passed it through the Commons. In the Lords, indeed, it was defeated by the eloquence of Halifax 'the Trimmer,' a moderate Whig who resented the violence of his party and their choice of Monmouth as their candidate for the throne. But the Commons were more furious than ever, and Parliament had to be dissolved again after a three months' session.

Third Exclusion Parliament, 1681. The Third Exclusion Parliament met in March 1681, by which time the mob, whose last victim was Lord Stafford, had begun to lose faith in all the details of the Popish Plot. Moreover, the meeting on this occasion was held at Oxford, where feeling in favour of the King and Divine Right might be expected to be at its height. Nevertheless, the Whig members, still in the majority, thought that the game was in their

hands, because the Royal Exchequer was now empty and they would never refill it until the Exclusion Bill became law. What they did not know was that Louis XIV, being afraid that Charles might at last be forced into subjection to Whig ministers, who would inevitably oppose the schemes of the French monarch, had secretly promised the King a three years' subsidy. Charles was therefore free to take advantage of the change in public opinion for which he had waited so long. A week after its first meeting, he quite suddenly dismissed the Parliament. The Whig leaders, taken completely by surprise, instead of resorting to arms, rode tamely home; and the people, tired of their empty violence, approved of what the King had done.

(2) THE OVERTHROW OF THE WHIG PARTY

The Whigs Crushed: Rye-house Plot, 1683. It was now the turn of the Whigs to suffer violence. Their Nonconformist supporters were subjected to the full rigours of the Clarendon Code; and some of the informers were treated as badly as they deserved. But to get at the leaders proved more difficult. When Shaftesbury was prosecuted for treason, the Grand Jury of London, which was still a Whig stronghold, refused permission for him to be tried, although he had just been held up to ridicule and shame in the bitterest and cleverest of all English satires, Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*. However, in the course of the following years many of them toyed dangerously with plots, one for a general insurrection, which never came off, and another for the kidnapping of Charles and James as they passed a certain rye house on their way from Newmarket. This Rye-house Plot was discovered and made an excuse for executing, not only the unimportant persons actually concerned in it, but two Whig aristocrats who were not really implicated at all. By the deaths of Russell and Algernon Sidney the Whig party obtained martyrs, whose names were used for centuries to consecrate their policy, but at the time it seemed to be the end of all their hopes:

for Shaftesbury, a lifelong invalid, had already perished miserably in exile.

Tory Measures. The Tories now entrenched themselves in power. James returned to Court, and his brother-in-law, Clarendon's son, Lord Rochester, became the King's most prominent adviser, though he also relied upon the moderate Halifax. In foreign policy, England was subservient to France, which, in return for continued grants of money, was left unchecked to increase its power and prepare a fierce persecution of Huguenots. As regards home affairs, the Tories fervently proclaimed the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings with its corollary, the Passive Obedience of Subjects, and demonstrated its meaning by an attack on municipal charters. In an age when most Members of Parliament were elected by the mayor and corporation, or by the freemen of a borough, the way in which those municipal functionaries were themselves chosen had obvious importance. A lawsuit was accordingly brought against the (very Whiggish) corporation of London. Subservient judges, such as Jeffreys, held that it had in certain matters exceeded its powers and that all its privileges were therefore forfeit to the Crown; and they were finally continued on the express condition that the chief officials of the corporation should in all cases be persons approved of by the King. Where London was forced into submission, lesser towns had no hope of successful resistance, and many of them surrendered their charters to be remodelled in the same way without any action being brought against them. We may notice in passing that a similar attack was also launched against the charter of Massachusetts, the least obedient of the New England colonies, which was thereby brought temporarily into subjection. But the main fact is that, through Tory nominees of the Crown in the corporations, the predominance of Tories in all future Parliaments was gradually being arranged; and in the meantime no Parliament was summoned. Thus King Charles II, in the last phase of his reign, quietly ignored the Triennial Act of 1664, which had continued the rule laid down in 1641—that meetings of

the House could not be suspended for more than three years —but had unwisely repealed the machinery for enforcing the rule.

Death of Charles II; Accession of James II. In February 1685, the King died, having on his death-bed privately declared himself a Catholic. The substitution of James, bigoted, stubborn, and stupid, for the cool, unprincipled adroitness of his elder brother was to prove fatal to the House of Stuart; but in 1685 his prospects were rosy. The Whigs were in hiding and almost in despair. The Tories were eager to make up for his past misfortunes—Titus Oates was flogged almost to death—and show their belief in the new King's good intentions. Moreover, from James's private point of view the reign began with two auspicious events. In France, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the charter of Huguenot liberties, suggested that a reaction in favour of autocratic rule and the old religion was everywhere in progress. In England, the first Parliament to be held under the new town charters, though it showed no anxiety to benefit other Catholics, showed its loyalty to a Catholic king by the grant of a large revenue for life.

Argyle's and Monmouth's Rebellions. At this moment two rebellions broke out. In Scotland an attempt was made to rouse the Covenanters against the religious persecution to which they were subject, but only a part of his own clan, the Campbells, followed the Presbyterian Earl of Argyle, when he returned from exile to head this desperate venture. He was captured and executed before the English counterpart was well begun. In June the Duke of Monmouth landed in Dorset, and as he moved slowly through the south-west towards Bath and Bristol, neither of which would receive him, the people of the villages and market towns flocked to his standard, while the gentry held aloof. Not only was this woollen manufacturing area strongly Nonconformist, but widespread unemployment in its staple industry gave the poor an additional inducement to take service under the handsome Duke. Nevertheless, without

better leaders the rising stood no chance of success. When the royal forces, with a certain John Churchill in real, though not in nominal, command, began to close in on them near Bridgewater, the rustic army risked all in a surprise attack by night—and lost all. Missing their way among the dykes of Sedgemoor, they found the Regulars prepared for them, and though his men sold their lives dearly, Monmouth himself was prompt to flee. It did not help him, for he was soon hunted down and condemned to death.

Triumph of James. The rising had three important consequences. It increased the loyalty of an already loyal Parliament, which allowed the King without protest to multiply the numbers of the regular army by five and assemble 13,000 of his men in a camp on Hounslow Heath just outside the capital. It also gave James a chance to demonstrate at close quarters the cruelty of which he was capable. Judge Jeffreys of evil memory was sent to the West Country on his Bloody Assize, which hanged three hundred unfortunates and condemned many more to the virtual slavery of transportation for life to the West Indies. But, finally, the disappearance of Monmouth from the scene meant that William and Mary of Orange would now be everybody's choice to replace James—if he showed other failings besides the cruelty which already alienated the feelings of the more humane among his subjects.

(3) THE UNWISDOM OF JAMES II

His Catholic Policy. Towards the close of the year 1685 the new King revealed his fatal intention of freeing the Catholics from the penal laws as a preliminary—so his subjects believed—to the reinstatement of Catholicism as the national religion. One significant event was the dismissal of the moderate Halifax, who was followed from office, after an interval, by thoroughgoing Tories like Rochester, until the King's ministers consisted solely of Catholics and sympathisers with Catholicism, such as the

ambitious Jeffreys (Lord Chancellor) and the intriguing Sunderland. Parliament, for all its loyalty to the crown, refused to repeal the Test Act which legally debarred the Catholics from office, so the Members were promptly sent home (November 1685), and for the rest of the reign Parliament was left in abeyance. James then proceeded to test how much of his design could be accomplished without any parliamentary statute by a strong use of the royal prerogative. A Catholic Lord-Lieutenant was appointed in Ireland, with instructions to bring his co-religionists into positions of authority and to build up a Catholic army, which might be useful elsewhere. Similarly in England a quantity of Catholic officers received commissions, and when the lawfulness of this was questioned, the dismissal of hostile judges secured for the King the famous judgment in Godden *v.* Hales, acknowledging his right to dispense with penal laws in particular cases.

Attack on the Church of England. Besides these ominous preparations James attacked the privileges of the Anglican Church directly. In 1686 a new Court of High Commission was appointed, in defiance of the prohibitory law of 1641, to take the place of the bishops in exercising the royal authority over the Church. Next year the policy was inaugurated of replacing the Heads of Oxford and Cambridge colleges by known Catholics, a project which would strike at Anglicanism in its very headquarters. The Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, who dared to resist the command to elect a royal nominee as their President, were expelled from office by the High Commission. This deed cost the King the support of property holders of all kinds, for the College fellowships were regarded as the Fellows' freehold property. What was worse, it completed the alienation of the Anglican clergy, once so fanatically loyal, but now shown to be believers only in the 'Divine Right' of those kings that worshipped an Anglican God, and expounders of the duty of 'Passive Obedience' for just so long as it was a pleasure to them and a burden merely for the Nonconformists.

Nonconformists and the Declarations of Indulgence. Those Nonconformists were now coming into the foreground, since James, who had marked his accession by a specially severe enforcement of the Clarendon Code, perceived that they were his only possible allies outside the small and rather cautious body of the English Catholics. The Quaker statesman, William Penn, home from his colonising venture in America, used his friendship with the King to argue the real merits of religious toleration. But there can be little doubt that James's object in what he did was to secure a political triumph, after which the Nonconformists might again be repressed by a Catholic, instead of an Anglican, State Church. Accordingly, the Declaration of Indulgence, which, in April 1687, suspended the penal laws so as to give freedom of worship and admission to civil office to Catholics and Nonconformists alike, had a rather cool reception among the Nonconformists, who—owing to the use already made of the Dispensing Power on behalf of Catholics—were the chief apparent beneficiaries of the measure. Twelve months later, therefore, the Declaration was reissued, while in the interval the King made active preparations to secure the Nonconformists a place in the town corporations and in Parliament. Even so the bulk of them continued to mistrust his ultimate intentions, and the Churchmen were able to withstand the King on behalf of what was almost a united nation.

Trial of the Seven Bishops, June 1688. The new Declaration was appointed to be read in all churches, so that the clergy should be forced to admit their own defeat in the matter of their exclusive privileges. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and five other bishops petitioned the King to be let off the reading, on the ground that they conscientiously believed his action in suspending the laws without consent of Parliament to be illegal. James prosecuted them for this, treating their petition as a seditious libel, but a London jury found them not guilty, amid scenes of tremendous enthusiasm, with which even the royal army on Hounslow Heath was surprisingly affected.

But during the proceedings against the bishops the situation had become more critical than ever, as the King's Catholic wife, Mary of Modena, at last bore him a son. Gone were the hopes that Mary, Princess of Orange, might peacefully succeed to the throne before the Protestant cause was lost. The prospect of a long line of Catholic kings opened before men's eyes, and they vented their disappointment in the pretence, which the Whigs kept up for generations, that the unexpected baby was not a royal son at all.

Invitation to William Dispatched. On the very night of the acquittal, therefore, a decisive step was taken, which had been long in men's minds. Across the sea the situation was being very closely watched by Mary's husband, William of Orange, with the able assistance of the exiled Whig divine, Burnet, whom he later made Bishop of Salisbury. William, though his mother was an English princess, cared nothing for English liberties in themselves, but he knew that a Catholic England under a Catholic king would never support Holland and her allies in their resistance to Louis XIV. James, as a matter of fact, was already in receipt of French subsidies. Nevertheless, William waited with consummate patience, realising that it would be hopeless for him to intervene in England unless his intervention was generally desired. Hence the importance of the coolly phrased letter of invitation which was now dispatched to him, bearing the signatures of the Earl of Shrewsbury and two other peers, of the Bishop of London and the first Tory leader, Danby, together with the Whig family-names of a Sidney and a Russell. William was now willing to come to the rescue of England, if ever the European situation should permit him to leave Holland unguarded. But Holland had just become involved in a new war against Louis XIV, whose relentless ambition drove him on from a cruel persecution of the Huguenots (following his revocation of the Edict of Nantes), the tale of which rang through Europe and now steeled English hearts

against James, to fresh projects of aggrandisement in Western Germany.

Landing of William at Torbay, November 5th, 1688. James's pride, however, in marked contrast to the politic subservience of his brother, at this critical moment estranged him from his only friend in Europe. When Louis warned him of William's plans he took Sunderland's advice and indicated to Louis that he was capable of looking after himself. Louis in annoyance led his army, which had been threatening Holland, on to the middle Rhine, leaving William at liberty to cross to England. Too late, Sunderland—who was one of the craftiest politicans in English history and may have been planning this all along—induced the King to offer concessions and a Parliament. On November 5th, 1688, William of Orange's expedition, which a 'Protestant wind' had enabled—miraculously, as it seemed—to avoid the English fleet, made its landfall at Torbay in South Devon. William, like Monk in 1660, declared the summons of a free Parliament to be the only purpose of his appearance in arms, and set his cosmopolitan army of 15,000 men to march with deliberate slowness towards London. For he hoped to stave off a conflict with James's forces, which greatly outnumbered and might therefore vanquish him; while even a victory would make his coming unpleasantly like a foreign invasion in the eyes of the English. William's hopes were not deceived. Day by day fresh counties took up arms against the English king, more and more persons of consequence paid court to William, and at last the royal army with Churchill at its head began to pass over piecemeal to the enemy.

Situation in December 1688. By the end of December the first stage of the 'Glorious'—because bloodless—Revolution was complete. James, attempting to escape to France, had been brought back by some over-zealous fishermen, but a second effort brought him safely away from the island, which he was never to see again. Rid of this embarrassment, the Prince of Orange remained with his Dutch guards in the neighbourhood of the capital,

and, while the free Parliament that he had promised was being summoned, awaited events with a masterly inactivity. Divine Right and romance were dead; the age of constitutional monarchy and common sense had arrived.

CHAPTER XVII

THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT AND ITS ESTABLISHMENT

1688–1702

"He had a gravity in his whole deportment, and a way that was affable and obliging to the Dutch; but he could not bring himself to comply enough with the temper of the English. The daily diversion of his life was hunting; the governing passion of his soul, the depression of France."

Bishop Burnet on King William III (*History of His Own Times*).

(1) THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT

Flight of James II. The flight of James II to France in December 1688 proved to be the last turning-point in the long struggle about the powers of the English Crown, which had begun with his namesake's journey from Scotland eighty-five years before. But at the time the flight seemed most unlikely to be the decisive event. James had fled to ask help from Louis XIV of France, by far the most powerful of European monarchs and the resolute champion both of kingly authority and of the pro-Catholic policy which had cost James his throne. Meanwhile England, to say nothing of Scotland and Ireland, was left in great confusion, with no king and no lawful government—a fact which was picturesquely emphasised by the departing King, when he threw the Great Seal, which is affixed to state documents, to the bottom of the Thames. Nevertheless, the long wars which followed failed to overthrow the new system of government established in 1689, so

consideration of the wars then so threatening may be postponed until we have seen what the new system—or Revolution Settlement—was.

The Convention. William of Orange, with his army of foreign mercenaries, having once occupied the capital and expelled James, was careful to let the English take the next step of their own accord. He held a conference of those peers and commoners of Charles II's Parliaments who were available in London, which authorised him to arrange a General Election. The free Parliament that followed in January 1689 is among the most important in English history, but it is properly called a Convention—or the Convention Parliament—because it had not been summoned by a king in the ordinary way. Its first business, therefore, was to decide who was to be king, so that its later actions could be duly authorised by him.

Accession of William and Mary. This question was very complicated. The Whig leaders and their theorist, John Locke, were all for William. The Tories, although they had joined the Whigs in opposition to James when he attacked the Anglican Church, and now agreed with them that William of Orange having saved England must be given practical control of the government, still held that hereditary right alone could confer on anyone a claim to the throne. What compromise was possible? One proposal was that William should be appointed Regent for James, but that would surely leave a loophole for James to regain power. A more reasonable arrangement was foreshadowed when the Convention took the preliminary step of declaring James to have abdicated (which was quite untrue). James's infant son was almost universally regarded as an impostor, so it would be easy to make Mary, his daughter, Queen, and she would give practical control to her husband, William. William, however, refused to accept a position which made him, though only in theory, subordinate to his wife. So in the end a solution was found by making William III and Mary II joint sovereigns in name, while the powers of the sovereign were assigned to William alone, and on

February 13th, 1689, their acceptance closed the two months' interregnum, during which England had no king.

Bill of Rights, 1689. The document whereby Parliament offered the crown to the new sovereigns specified also a number of limitations to their power, which they had first to recognise, and this so-called Declaration of Rights was later completed and made into a regular statute of fundamental importance, known as the Bill of Rights. It contained a list of the ways in which James was held to have abused his authority—the Suspending Power, the use made of the Dispensing Power, the standing army in time of peace, the denial of the right to petition, and the rest—and declared them all to be illegal. At the same time the succession to William and Mary, who had no children, was accorded to Mary's sister Anne, and the exclusion of James and his son made more permanent by depriving all Roman Catholics, and all persons who married Roman Catholics, of any claim to the throne. This is one of the two laws by which the present King has his crown.

Mutiny Act, 1689. Nevertheless, the largest restrictions upon the royal powers were those imposed by two other measures of the same period. By the Mutiny Act a necessary exception was made to the Declaration of Rights, the King being authorised to raise and discipline a royal army. But this authority was only given him for a year at a time, so that Parliament must be summoned every year in order to renew it, or else the army itself and the special military law by which soldiers are controlled would (in peace-time at least) become illegal. This important safeguard against the suppression of Parliament by the King, or in later days the Cabinet, has been continued under the name of the Army (Annual) Act down to the present day. The other measure which likewise made annual Parliaments necessary was the practice, started at this time, of voting the King his revenue for one year only, and fixing the objects on which each grant was to be spent. Thus the King could never save money and was bound to call the Houses together to replenish the treasury.

The Religious Settlement. All this served to emphasise the great political result of the Revolution, which had been the setting up of a new king by Act of Parliament, who would be bound to regard the body of men that had appointed him as the predominant partner in the management of the State. But it could not be forgotten that the main factor in bringing about this result was the union of Whig and Tory, Nonconformist and Churchman, to defend Protestantism against the threat of a Catholic restoration. Could not the occasion be used to make a lasting reunion of all English Protestants in a single Church on a wider basis? This was what King William himself would have liked, but differences of practice and still more of sentiment ran very deep and the result was a double disappointment.

Limited Toleration. The Tory Church party was, indeed, weakened at this juncture by the withdrawal of some of its most ardent members, including six of the famous 'Seven Bishops' prosecuted by James II, who formed a separate Church of Non-Jurors rather than swear allegiance to a king who had not succeeded by Divine Right. Nevertheless, the High Churchmen—a name which came into use in Anne's reign for that predominant body among the lower clergy which virulently hated Nonconformists—were strong enough to prevent any concessions which might have made the Church of England more comprehensive by inducing the more moderate Nonconformists to join. On the other hand, the great Toleration Act (1689), which granted freedom of worship to all sects of Protestant Christians, but not to Roman Catholics, made no provision for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts of Charles II's reign, whereby the Nonconformists (and Catholics) were legally excluded from office under the Crown and from membership of municipal corporations. This barrier was not removed before the nineteenth century.

Triennial Act, 1694; Licensing Abolished, 1695. Nevertheless, the Revolution Settlement had rendered England by far the freest of the greater European communities.

In the matter of religion men were given the priceless liberty of following their consciences—for even the Catholics (and the Unitarians, non-believers in the Trinity) were in practice seldom prevented from worship if they did not obtrude themselves upon the public attention. In secular affairs the country was governed by a King who was subject to law and by a Parliament which, after the return of the municipal charters forfeited in the time of Charles II, was freely elected and subject, on the whole, to public opinion. Two other changes, later in date than the great revolutionary year of 1689, increased that power of public opinion. In 1694 a new kind of Triennial Act made it obligatory for the King to hold a General Election every three years, so that the Commons were kept closely in touch with their constituents. The following year Parliament failed to renew the Licensing Act, which meant that anyone could freely publish his views about political and other questions, albeit he ran the risk of punishment afterwards under the severe law of libel, if he offended the great. Such were the conditions of liberty, in that age almost unique, under which the Whig and Tory factions, to the new King's great disgust, renewed their rivalry, half suppressed in the year of crisis.

(2) THE WAR OF THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG

King William's European Outlook. King William's disgust for the English party system was due in the main to two facts, of which we must never lose sight. He was, and remained, a foreigner, friendless (except for his Dutch companions), reserved, and silent: whatever popularity the monarchy still enjoyed resulted from the charm and good sense of his devoted English Queen. Moreover, he had come to England in order to save Holland, and his eyes were always fixed upon the European situation. As early as 1686 he had been busy building up the League of Augsburg, in which most of the rest of Europe united to resist Louis XIV's policy, whereby France was steadily

swallowing up Western Germany. In the winter of 1688–9 French armies were already campaigning in the Rhine valley, but the English Revolution made it desirable from Louis' point of view to postpone the main struggle on the Continent until his Catholic protégé, James, who could be trusted to keep England neutral or friendly to France, had been restored to power.

Killiecrankie, 1689; Massacre of Glencoe, 1692. There seemed to be most chance of achieving this in the other two kingdoms, which were united to England chiefly through their king. In Scotland the public opinion of the Lowlands, where so many Presbyterian Covenanters during the Restoration period had suffered death rather than accept the Anglican Church, was predominantly hostile to James. A Convention at Edinburgh offered the Scottish Crown to William and Mary. The Scottish Parliament, for the first time in its history, claimed a large share in the government of the country, such as the English Parliament had obtained on the other side of the Border; and, most important of all, Presbyterianism was restored, with its minister in every parish—subject only to the control of the popularly elected General Assembly of the Church. Yet even in the Lowlands there was an Episcopalian party, and some of the nobles were actuated mainly by traditional hatred of Argyle, the Presbyterian leader. As for the Highlands, there James had many friends, for Catholicism still flourished and the poor clansmen would welcome any excuse to plunder the Lowlands. Two bloody episodes therefore preceded a general pacification. In 1689 the great persecutor of the Presbyterians in times past, Graham of Claverhouse (the 'Bonny Dundee' of the song), defeated William's forces at the Pass of Killiecrankie by a single Highland charge before they could fix their bayonets. For these were then a new and clumsy invention lacking the ring, which later enabled the musket to be fired with bayonet fixed. But Claverhouse was killed in the battle, so the leaderless clans were gradually persuaded to take an oath of loyalty to the new King. Unhappily, one petty

chieftain in Glencoe took the oath a day too late. Soldiers from Fort William were sent to the Pass, were received as guests by the clan, then murdered their hosts—man, woman, and child—leaving the Massacre of Glencoe (1692) to stain the memory of King William, who may not himself have definitely ordered the deed, but, in his cold way, never seriously regretted it.

James in Ireland. In Ireland the position was far more uncertain. Before the Revolution James had done much to destroy the power of the Protestant English settlers through a Catholic Lord-Lieutenant, a Catholic Parliament, and a Catholic army. In March 1689 he landed in Ireland, bringing with him French soldiers and supplies, and throughout that year the whole island, except parts of Ulster, defied William and acknowledged James as King. There were two outstanding events of this period. One was the meeting of an Irish Parliament at Dublin, which virtually completed the work of restoring Ireland to the hands of the Catholic Church and the Irish nation. The other was the brave resistance of Ulster Protestants, especially at Londonderry, which was hotly besieged for four months, but, thanks to its position at the river-mouth, was never quite starved into surrender.

Battle of the Boyne, July 1st, 1690. In 1690, therefore, the whole course of the war turned upon Ireland. William in person landed in Ulster and marched south, to find his way barred at the River Boyne. Both armies included many foreigners, James having the French on his side and William contingents from almost every Protestant country in Europe. Some skirmishing by the river gave William an easy and momentous victory: he entered Dublin and his rival fled to France. But the war continued for another year, until the surrender of Limerick by Sarsfield, the first national Irish leader, completed the conquest and provided the occasion for a grave breach of faith. Sarsfield surrendered on the strength of the Treaty of Limerick, which allowed the Irish soldiers to retire to France and promised Irish Catholics the same freedom that they had had in the

time of Charles II. The latter promise was disregarded on the ground that the general concerned had exceeded his powers. In 1692 the English Parliament passed an Act restricting membership of the Irish Parliament to the Protestant minority, which proceeded (from motives of fear as much as revenge) to persecute the Catholics by a whole series of Penal Laws, directed against their Church, their schools, and their estates. Thus the 'Protestant Ascendancy' was re-established in an accentuated form. Yet, by a further Act of extreme folly, in 1704 the Ulster Presbyterians were also excluded from civil office, like the Nonconformists in England, with the result that many thousands of them emigrated to America. Finally, even the Anglican minority found itself harshly treated in economic matters, for in 1699 Parliament completed the ruin of the sheep-owner and the clothier by enacting that neither wool nor cloth could be exported from Ireland to any market except England, lest there should be successful competition with the English woollen manufacture abroad. Thus the island was deliberately impoverished, only the linen industry being encouraged, while politically a small minority was incited by statute to treat the native Irish purely and simply as a subject race—with results that are writ large in the later history of Anglo-Irish relations.

Beachy Head and La Hogue. The day before the Battle of the Boyne England encountered a still graver danger. Small English forces were fighting in the Netherlands, but what the English instinctively cared most about was the war at sea: on June 30th the English and Dutch were decisively beaten off Beachy Head. The French, having thus gained command of the sea, might well have invaded England in William's absence. But they failed to take their chance, influenced either by the news of the Boyne or by the fact that our fleet, though defeated, was still 'in being.' Two years later a great invading army was assembled at the anchorage of La Hogue, but this time the French fleet which set out to clear the Channel was beaten near the place of embarkation by the English and Dutch, who outnumbered

them by two to one, under command of Admiral Russell. This encounter practically ended the war at sea, apart from raids upon our commerce.

Campaigns in the Netherlands; Peace of Ryswick, 1697. Thus the English Succession—after which this war is often named—had been made secure. There remained the slow land-warfare in Italy, the Rhine valley, and especially the Netherlands, where the French relied successfully on the rivers and the great fortresses to delay and thwart the progress of the allies. William took command of his few English regiments and the various mercenary troops in person, but he was beaten twice—at Steenkirk (1692) and Neerwinden (1693). [See Map, p. 231/1.] It was not until 1695 that he won his only victory in the capture of Namur: but that was no mean achievement in an age which had long grown accustomed to the invariable triumph of French arms. Louis XIV was now ready for peace on the basis of a restoration of conquests. By the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) the English gave back Acadia, the neighbouring French province which the New England colonists had contrived to capture; and France returned all her more recent gains from European Powers, except Strasburg. Yet William could well feel satisfied with his work, since French power had definitely ceased to advance, while the recognition of his position on the English throne meant that any renewal of Louis' aggressive policy against Holland and other smaller Powers would again bring England in on the side of his enemies.

(3) THE END OF KING WILLIAM'S REIGN

Foundation of Bank of England, 1694. Besides securing William's position—and with it the whole Revolution Settlement—the war had in two other ways left its mark upon the national life. One of these was financial. For seven successive years England had furnished an army to campaign on the Continent; she had maintained a large fleet; and she had even provided subsidies for her allies of

the League of Augsburg. The annual proceeds of taxation could not possibly pay for all this, so it was necessary to find some scheme which would induce people to subscribe to 'long-term' loans, as distinct from the 'short-term' loans which were paid off yearly as the taxes came in. In 1694 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Montagu, solved the problem by providing that the subscribers of £1,200,000 at 8 per cent. should be legally incorporated as the first English joint-stock bank, entitled to engage in all kinds of financial business. The sum of money lent to the Government by investors who want regular interest rather than repayment has, of course, increased out of all recognition since these early days. But the National Debt, as it is still called, has never been more important politically than in the first few years, when it made the Whig merchants who put up the money directly interested in the maintenance of the Revolution Settlement, because they took it for granted that James II, were he restored, would never honour the debts of the usurper's Government. The event was also of great commercial importance, because the Bank of England which was thus originated provided a safe means, such as few countries then enjoyed, of accumulating capital for great enterprises. [See Economic Section, p. 255/1].

The Whig Junto. The war also left its mark in the growth of the Cabinet system. William III's original intention was to govern his new kingdom with the help of ministers drawn indifferently from the two parties, but the war made this impossible. Decisions of vital importance could not be successfully taken by a council whose members hated each other more than the enemy. Moreover, the Whig members, who feared the vengeance of James II, were the only ones that supported the war policy with any loyalty; and the Parliament which they had to control and lead was, for the time being, mainly Whig. The last was the main point, for now that Parliament had complete financial control no ministry could wage war without the support of a majority in Parliament that would vote it supplies. In this way it came about that for a time the King's

ministers were all Whigs and the trusted leaders of a Whig majority in the Houses. The most prominent were Somers, the Lord Chancellor, and the financier, Montagu, who with two others were known as the Whig 'Junto.' This was really the beginning of the 'Cabinet' as an informal committee, chosen from the members of the majority party (or parties) in Parliament and entrusted by the King with the general government of the country.

Tory Reaction, 1697. Their time of success drew to an end with the Peace of Ryswick. The Tories were not so well organised as the Whigs, but popular feeling was normally on their side. People were quick to forget what universal hatred James II had inspired, and throughout the war 'Jacobite' Tories had been in treasonable correspondence with him, while many Whigs, without committing themselves to James, tried hard to curry favour with both sides. The popular Queen Mary died in 1694, and in 1696 the disaffection came to a head in the Assassination Plot against William's life, for which the Jacobite Sir John Fenwick was executed by the last Act of Attainder in English history. The war once over, Tory dislike of a foreigner as king showed itself openly in the dismissal, in spite of William's protests, of all his Dutch guards, and the refusal to recognise the large grants of confiscated land in Ireland which the King had made to Bentinck, Duke of Portland, and others of his Dutch friends.

The Spanish Succession. A larger ground on which to attack the royal policy, for which the Junto were held responsible, disclosed itself over foreign affairs. The vast empire of Spain, whose childless king, Charles II, was drawing near his end, was claimed by both France and Austria. The French rights depended on inheritance through the elder, the Austrian through the younger, daughters of successive kings of Spain. The daughter who married into the French royal house had, however, in each case renounced her claim. But what mattered most was the power and enterprise of the claimant: who could doubt that Louis XIV, in default of any satisfactory

arrangement beforehand, would somehow snatch the prize? Thus England and Holland had a common interest in the question, because they shared a twofold dread—of French government supreme in Europe, of French commerce supreme overseas. William therefore approached Louis, who appeared to have learnt moderation from the last long struggle, and in 1698 and 1699 two secret Partition Treaties were drawn up. By the first the bulk of the Spanish possessions were to go to a Bavarian prince of Austrian descent, who died at the age of six soon after the arrangement was made. By the second an Austrian prince, Charles, who, as a younger son of the Emperor Leopold I, seemed unlikely to inherit the Austrian possessions as well, was substituted for the first choice. Both treaties offered France some compensation in the shape of Spanish provinces in Italy. [See Genealogical Table, p. 243/1].

Impeachment of Somers, 1701. These treaties, which Louis duly accepted, might have been of great advantage to Europe, but the Tories took the standpoint that what happened to Europe did not matter to England, which should keep clear of entanglements. The Tory party, as the result of successive elections under the Triennial Act, now outweighed the Whigs in the Commons, so the King tried to placate it by appointing a new Tory ministry—another step in the growth of the Cabinet system. But the immediate result was an attempt to impeach Somers, who as Lord Chancellor had been responsible for the Great Seal, which William had made him affix to a document in blank, on which the First Partition Treaty was later inscribed without his approving the contents. The Whig majority in the House of Lords prevented Somers from being condemned, but the action showed that ministers were now expected to control on behalf of Parliament the foreign as well as the domestic policy of the sovereign. There was more to follow.

Act of Settlement, 1701. William had remained a widower since 1694, and in 1700 the last child of the Princess Anne died young. It was therefore necessary to decide who

should succeed the last-named on the English throne, as the Bill of Rights had merely specified that it should not be a Catholic. By the Act of Settlement the Tory Parliament, guided mainly by the moderate Tory, Harley, duly settled the Crown upon the Princess Sophia, daughter of James I's daughter Elizabeth and wife of the Elector of Hanover, who had the best claim when all Catholics had been passed over. [See Genealogical Table, p. 242/1]. It is under this Act that her heirs still possess the throne. But as the price of their endorsement of the Revolution Settlement the Tories exacted various concessions from William. Many of these were designed chiefly to hurt his feelings, such as the provision that future sovereigns must be not merely Protestant (which William, of course, was), but members of the Church of England (which he was not).

Independence of Judges. Two features of the Act, however, are of wider interest. One is the scheme, to take effect after Anne's death, by which the King's ministers and other office-holders (or 'placemen') were to be excluded from the House of Commons, and the ministers were to transact all their business at full meetings of the Privy Council. Had this been carried into effect the Cabinet system, which the Tories regarded as a Whig innovation, must have died out. The other, seemingly a mere administrative arrangement, is one of the chief glories of our constitution, namely, the clause which fixed the salaries of judges and made them irremovable except by joint agreement of the Crown and both Houses of Parliament. Thus the Tories of 1701, bent on limiting the sphere of royal influence, made our judges for all time independent of the grosser forms of political influence in their decisions.

Policy of Louis XIV, 1700–01. Meanwhile the public attention was again being concentrated on foreign affairs. In 1700 the King of Spain died, and in deference to the wishes of his proud subjects, who could not brook the idea that their great empire should be partitioned, he left a will bequeathing the whole of his possessions to Louis XIV's

younger grandson, Philip of Anjou: if he did not accept, then the whole was to pass to the House of Austria. Almost inevitably Louis XIV tore up the Partition Treaty and adhered to the will, thereby embroiling Europe in the great War of the Spanish Succession. That England should be involved, at any rate in the opening stages, was less inevitable, for the Tory Parliament had no inclination to follow William's policy in the matter. However, Louis at this point appeared bent on stirring up enmity. By closing the former Spanish Empire to our commerce he threatened English wealth. By refusing to make Philip of Anjou altogether incapable of inheriting the French throne as well, in the event of his elder brother's death without issue, he raised the bogey of a French Empire sprawling across Europe. By recognising James Edward, the infant born in 1688, as King of England on James II's sudden death in 1701, he brought a Catholic restoration of the Stuarts by foreign arms apparently in sight. Louis meant this recognition to be taken as a mere gesture of sympathy, but it was a direct infringement of the Ryswick Treaty, and to the English it was the last straw.

Death of William III. A new Parliament was elected the same autumn, in which the Tory majority was much smaller; and by this time Tories as well as Whigs believed war to be inevitable. King William had already been at work building up a new Continental alliance against France, for which English assistance was now forthcoming. But this was the final triumph of that lonely and splendid career. In March 1702 a riding accident caused the death of the King, in whom the spirit had always been far stronger than the body it inhabited. He left his throne to his sister-in-law, Anne, but his policy to the incomparable Churchill.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REIGN OF ANNE

1702–1714

"I have not time to say more, but to beg you will give my duty to the Queen, and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest."

Marlborough to the Duchess of Marlborough, August 13th, 1704.

(1) THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

Queen Anne a Tory. The new sovereign was a woman of failing health, whose children were all dead, and her husband—a Danish prince—was a complete nonentity. Her main political interest was in the triumph of the High Church party, that is to say, the party of the Tory country clergy, who still preached the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings—with the proviso that it should not include any 'divine right' to tamper with the Church of England—and who were eager to revive the persecution of Nonconformists. The influence of the court still counted for much at a General Election, so the first Parliament of the new reign showed an increased Tory majority.

Godolphin and Marlborough. Nevertheless, the first years of Queen Anne witnessed as their main feature, not a Tory religious policy, but the maintenance of the Whig project of war against Louis XIV. This is to be accounted for by the disposition of the moderate Tory ministers who possessed the Queen's confidence and mainly governed the realm from 1702 to 1710. Godolphin, the Lord Treasurer, who had held high office from time to time since the reign

of Charles II, was the nominal head of the ministry. He raised the money for the war, and during the campaigning season every year it was his task to carry on at home the policy laid down by his great ally, John Churchill, later Duke of Marlborough, whose daughter was married to Godolphin's son. Churchill first came into prominence as the real victor of Sedgemoor in 1685, but he had deserted James at the last moment, after being entrusted with high command against William's invading forces. A few years later he was suspected (with some reason) of preparing to desert William in turn, if he could gain by it. For this reason William had been chary of employing him in high military office, but at the last he had chosen him to carry on his plans for the coming war. Anne, on the other hand, gave Churchill the fullest confidence that sovereign ever gave to subject, for Sarah his wife was the Queen's most intimate friend. They called each other 'Mrs Morley' and 'Mrs Freeman'; but it is more important to remember that Churchill also had for many years been a member of the Princess Anne's household circle.

Marlborough's Place in History. Three points may here be mentioned to indicate Marlborough's place in history. He astonishes us by an almost unique combination of military and political talent—the general whose victories are still remembered throughout Europe was also the diplomat who kept distrustful allies together and the minister who controlled the turbulent English Parliament. He astonishes us no less by defects unexpected in so great a man—his want of openness and warmth; the self-seeking ambition which sometimes replaced patriotism as the motive for his actions; and the financial over-prudence which bordered on avarice. But whatever the astonishment he provokes, the main fact about Marlborough is that his genius, enlisted on the side of a free Europe and a free England, was primarily responsible for the overthrow of Louis XIV and the rise of Britain to world power. That genius, it is fair to add, was ably seconded by the excellence of his cavalry (on which Marlborough usually relied to

deliver the final stroke) and by the good discipline and accurate firing of the 'thin red line' of British infantry—for, with the advent of the bayonet, pikemen disappeared and infantry tactics took a more modern form.

Prospects of the War. Nevertheless, in the first two years of the war nothing of importance was achieved. Louis XIV, whose grandson now controlled the Spanish Empire, was in a far stronger position than at the beginning of the previous war. In Spain itself the people favoured Philip of Anjou against the Austrian candidate, Prince Charles, supported by the Allies. In Italy Louis controlled the Spanish territory of the Milanese, from which the Austrian general, Prince Eugène, was hard put to it to expel him. In South Germany, France had Bavaria for an ally, so that it would be possible to strike a blow at Vienna: if Austria was driven out of the war England and Holland could hardly carry it on alone. Finally, in the Low Countries Louis now possessed the strong fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands, from which it would be almost impossible to drive him out. In the first two years, therefore, Marlborough campaigned in the Netherlands without decisive result, the progress of the allied army under his command being further hindered by the Dutch 'Field Deputies'—civilian officials without whose consent no Dutch troops could be involved in battle.

Blenheim, August 13th, 1704. In 1704, however, the crisis came. A great French army, abandoning the shelter of the fortresses (which had rendered the last war so lacking in decisive encounters), was now concentrated in Bavaria and preparing to join the Bavarian forces in an irresistible march on Vienna, the success of which would strike a mortal blow at the whole alliance. Yet the Dutch 'Field Deputies,' oblivious of the general danger, insisted that their troops should be kept within reach of Holland. Marlborough decided to deceive them and risk both the maintenance of the alliance and his own position at home on a single stroke. Having been authorised to move the army south-

wards for a campaign on the Moselle, he turned up the Rhine valley instead, and, before either the enemy or the Dutch representatives well knew what he was doing, he had interposed his forces between the Franco-Bavarians and Vienna. Bavaria was occupied and a union with the Austrian army under Eugène successfully effected. On an August morning the English general took the momentous decision to attack the main body of the enemy on the left bank of the Danube, the first tremendous onslaught being directed against their right wing, so as to distract attention from the main (and successful) effort against their centre. By nightfall the French commander, Tallard, was a prisoner; British regiments (about one-quarter of the allied force) had won their first great battle honours; and the flight of the French army—or what was left of it—after a battle fought on equal terms proclaimed the end of the French predominance in Europe.

War in the Peninsula. In the same month a great naval success had been achieved. In this war Louis XIV made no serious attempt to challenge the sea-power of the Allies, of which Marlborough's strategical genius took full advantage. In 1702 the Spanish treasure-fleet had been destroyed in Vigo Bay, and in 1703 naval pressure had been exerted to induce Portugal to side with the Allies, after which the Methuen commercial treaty was signed, England undertaking to buy their port (in lieu of French wines) and Portugal to provide a market for English woollen goods. But the great naval success came in 1704 with the seizure of Gibraltar, the garrison of which was taken almost by surprise, and its retention—a more difficult task—by means of a naval victory over the French at Malaga. The Rock was a great prize, of higher permanent value even than the island of Minorca, which was likewise occupied as a naval base four years later. Unfortunately, however, sea-power, the Portuguese alliance, and possession of Gibraltar lured us on to the attempted conquest of Spain on behalf of the Austrian candidate for its throne. This enterprise was begun in 1705, and Madrid itself was

occupied the following year: why it was unfortunate will appear in the sequel.

Ramillies, 1706, and Oudenarde, 1708. To return to



that part of the war which was under Marlborough's immediate supervision: he had driven the French out of Germany, his next task was to expel them from the Netherlands. In the second year after Blenheim this was largely

achieved by the equally glorious victory of Ramillies, where the Duke (as before) feigned an attack on one wing, while he brought the bulk of his forces round under shelter of a hill to overwhelm the enemy elsewhere. When the same summer saw the withdrawal of the French from Italy, following Eugène's famous triumph at Turin, Louis XIV began to think of suing for peace. Nothing came of his overtures, and in 1708 he was again defeated at Marlborough's third great battle, Oudenarde, after which the Spanish Netherlands were finally abandoned. In December of the same year the capture of the key-fortress of Lille opened the way for an allied advance into districts which had been under French rule since the 1660's.

Refusal to make Peace, 1709. The French king was now earnest in his desire to end the conflict at almost any price, for France was drained both of men and money, and her pride had been thoroughly humbled by these great reverses. He was willing to give up his grandson's claim to the Spanish Empire and even to restore some of his own earlier conquests, but the Allies demanded more. In 1707 their hopes of conquering Spain had been shattered by the entire defeat of a previously successful English army at the battle of Almanza, and although the Allies fought on for several years—Stanhope even reoccupied Madrid (1710)—they had no real hold on the country, where only the people of Catalonia, the region round Barcelona, who wished to be independent of the rest of Spain, took their side. Therefore they demanded that Louis XIV should send his own armies to expel his grandson from the Spanish throne, a proposal which no man of ordinary flesh and blood, much less the Grand Monarch, could be expected to entertain for a moment. So the war dragged on. At Malplaquet, fought in 1709, Marlborough suffered far heavier losses than his opponents, though it was technically a victory, and made an advance into France itself seem possible. Under these circumstances, the end was to be due to a political rather than a military change—one which deprived Marlborough of his command and the Allies of English support.

(2) THE WHIGS AND THE UNION WITH SCOTLAND

Renewed Ascendancy of the Whig Party. As we have already seen, the war began with a Tory majority in Parliament, which was induced to support the war policy by the reckless conduct of Louis XIV, as shown in the recognition of James III as King of England, and by its general loyalty to Queen Anne, who was at least a Stuart, and to her moderate Tory ministers, Godolphin and Marlborough. But the Tories were at bottom more interested in the persecution of Nonconformists, over which they were for the time being thwarted by a Whig majority in the Lords, than in the prosecution of the war. In their opinion the war served chiefly to foster dangerous Whig principles of political liberty and enrich Whig merchants, who lent money to Government at high rates of interest, at the expense of Tory squires, who merely paid an increasingly heavy land tax. Two results followed. The elections of 1705 and 1708 returned more Whigs to Parliament, because the country as a whole shared their enthusiasm for the war; and the two chief ministers gradually substituted devoted Whigs for discontented Tories as their colleagues. By 1708, when the leading Tories, Harley and St John, went out of office (the latter being replaced by the young Whig, Robert Walpole), the moderates Godolphin and Marlborough found themselves at the head of a purely Whig ministry—which explains the unwise refusal to stop the war on moderate terms.

Scotland and the Darien Scheme. It also explains in part the wise generosity of the chief domestic measure of this period. Since the Revolution of 1688 Scotland had enjoyed a new lease of freedom in Church and State, the results of which, from the Scottish point of view, were both good and bad. In 1695 a national bank was started, and in the following year a surer foundation of national wealth was laid by the establishment of a school in every parish. On the other hand, the main commercial venture of the period was a colossal failure. This was the so-called Darien

scheme, by which the Scots tried to emulate the profitable colonial ventures of their neighbours. A trading settlement was planted at great cost on the isthmus of Panama (Darien), but instead of intercepting the commerce of the Pacific it roused the hostility of the Spaniards—to say nothing of the mosquitoes—and those settlers who did not die there had soon to give up their attempt to infringe the Spanish monopoly. Scotland was a poor country and could very ill afford to lose the capital thus thrown away. Nor did it lessen the popular discontent that King William had done nothing to help, whether because the Spaniards had been his allies against Louis—this was in 1698—or because he knew that English merchants dreaded Scottish competition overseas.

Necessity for the Union. Since that time relations between the two countries had grown worse. By the Act of Security (1704) the Scottish Parliament refused to accept the Hanoverian succession, as laid down for England by the Act of Settlement. What was to happen if, at the height of the struggle against France, Anne died, and her successor in Scotland threatened to side with the enemy? Feeling between the two nations was very strong, especially when England threatened to forbid all trade across the Border, so all the more credit is due to the commissioners who nevertheless drafted the enduring fabric of the Act of Union (1707). So far as England is concerned, credit must be given mainly to the Whigs, because the stricter Tories could never have brought themselves to recognise on a permanent basis the Presbyterian Church established in Scotland.

Terms of the Union. The basis of the Union was political concession on the part of the Scots balancing economic concession by the English. That is to say, the Scots agreed that their independent Parliament should be virtually submerged in the English—or, as we should now say, British—Parliament: for only one-eleventh of the Commons were to be chosen in Scotland, together with sixteen peers to represent the northern kingdom in the House of Lords.

In return, the impoverished Scots were allowed to trade with, and settle in, the English Empire on the same footing as Englishmen, while the bitter memories of their own colonial venture were assuaged by a gift of money from England to compensate shareholders in the Darien scheme. But this would not have been enough apart from other concessions to the feelings of the Scots—a proud nation of half a million people about to join their fortunes irrevocably with five million English. Scottish education was bound to remain separate, because there was no system of education in eighteenth-century England to which it could be joined; but it was a great privilege for Scotland to keep its own law and law courts so that Edinburgh continued to be a capital city. Most important of all, the Presbyterian Church, which only twenty years before had suffered persecution for its rejection of bishops and Prayer-book, received permanent recognition as the established church of Scotland.

Results of the Union. At the time of its enactment—and, indeed, for many years afterwards—the Union was intensely unpopular on both sides of the Border. In Edinburgh the cellar is still exhibited where commissioners signed the Treaty, with a furious mob in hot pursuit. In London, as late as the reign of George III and the age of Dr Johnson, common prejudice still regarded the Scots as a race of usurpers, who ousted deserving Englishmen from well-paid posts. But if we look below the surface we shall see the solid advantages that resulted. England was rid of the nightmare of Scottish hostility, both at the anticipated change of sovereign in 1714 and on the various occasions of war with France throughout the ensuing century, when a hostile Scotland ready to invade her would have taken away the main advantage of our island position. Scotland, on the other hand, more than made up in commercial what it lost of political activity. The colonial trade set Glasgow on the road to becoming the second city of the United Kingdom in point of size, while the emigration of Scotsmen proved of inestimable benefit to themselves,

to their barren homeland, and, above all, to the Empire they came to serve.

Regency Act, 1708. This wise measure did not, however, save the ministry to which it was due. In 1708, the year when it shed its last Tory members, it obtained its last success in the Regency Act, which made elaborate arrangements for the government of the kingdom during the necessary interval between Anne's death and her successor's arrival from Hanover, and also repealed the clause in the Act of Settlement, by which, after Anne's death, placemen were to be excluded from the House of Commons. The clause requiring ministers to do their work in the full Privy Council was likewise repealed the same year, so the Cabinet system was enabled to survive. In Anne's time, however, the Cabinet committee of ministers still depended on the favour of the Queen as much as on that of the country. This is strikingly shown by the fact that the fall of the Whigs in 1710 was partly due to an estrangement between the Duchess of Marlborough and the Queen, who now preferred a new friend, a certain Mrs Masham, a relative of the Tory leader, Harley, whom the Whigs had turned out of office two years before.

Dr Sacheverell and the Fall of the Whigs. But the fall of the Whigs was also due to their now unpopular policy. They were unnecessarily prolonging an expensive war by their foolish principle of 'No peace without Spain,' an attitude which the public, instructed by the Tories, more and more resented. Moreover, when their position was already undermined, they unwisely chose to make a martyr of a rash Tory parson, Dr Sacheverell, who had preached a sermon in London denouncing in one breath the Revolution Settlement and the Whig ministers who upheld it. He was impeached, but the House of Lords inflicted a nominal punishment (he was not to preach for three years), and the wild enthusiasm with which the mob supported Dr Sacheverell showed the Queen that it was now safe for her to act in accordance with her own High Church sympathies. In the summer of 1710 Godolphin and the Whigs were

dismissed from office; they were replaced by Tories; and a General Election, as so often in these years, returned a Parliament in sympathy with the new administration which the sovereign had already chosen.

(3) THE RULE OF THE TORIES

The Tory Leaders. Robert Harley, a cautious moderate, was now Lord Treasurer, with Henry St John, a born extremist, as brilliant as he was unscrupulous, for Secretary of State. The Tory party, though numerically superior, had been slower to organise than its rivals of the Whig Junto, but its chance had now come. This ministry is especially memorable because of the writers who were ranged for or against it: for the Revolution had made England a country of free political discussion, which could most readily be influenced by the political pamphlet—the forerunner of the modern newspaper with its leading articles. The Whigs at this time employed Addison and Steele, great artists (as their creation of *The Spectator* shows) whom their grateful party rewarded with political offices. The Tories had Defoe, the first modern journalist, who could turn his hand to any kind of composition (witness *Robinson Crusoe*) and, after various adventures on the Whig side, had changed over and become the secret agent of Harley. Swift, who was made Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin, in 1713, was likewise a renegade Whig, but he found his true home among the Tories because his chief interest was in maintaining the privileges of the Established Church. The most famous of English satirists, Swift came to worship the Tory cause with a half-mad enthusiasm, and wrote pamphlets that not merely popularised but guided Tory policy. In 1711, for instance, his review of *The Conduct of the Allies* rendered the demand for peace quite irresistible.

Withdrawal from the War. Peace, by whatever means, it was the distinctive merit of the Tories to achieve. Marlborough was recalled in disgrace on a charge of misappropriating military funds: he retired in high dudgeon

to the Continent. The new commander received secret instructions to avoid battle with the French, while private negotiations were carried on without the knowledge of our allies. And finally, peace was obtained at the cost of deserting the Catalan nationalists in Spain, who had relied upon our good faith to save them from the vengeance of the new Spanish king, whom we had encouraged them to resist. Nevertheless, the general terms were so sound that it is quoted as a benefit of the party system that in this reign England had the Whigs to make the war and the Tories to make the peace.

Peace of Utrecht, 1713. The Treaty of Utrecht had four main features. Firstly, it decided the Spanish succession in favour of the French candidate, Philip of Anjou, but Spain was shorn of her possessions in Italy and the Netherlands. The bulk of these were assigned to Austria, but the small Power of Savoy received the island of Sicily. This restored the Balance of Power and incidentally safeguarded Holland by interposing Austria, which allowed the Dutch to garrison certain Barrier Fortresses in the Netherlands, between her frontiers and France, and the terms were therefore accepted eventually by our allies. The other arrangements concern Britain alone. She kept Gibraltar and Minorca: hence naval supremacy in the Mediterranean. She kept Acadia, captured, not for the first time, in 1710, which was renamed Nova Scotia; and, as the French at the same time recognised her complete ownership of Newfoundland, which was formerly half-French, the entrance to the St Lawrence, with all its future possibilities of aggrandisement, came virtually under British control. Lastly, Britain obtained the 'Asiento' or agreement which entitled her to import the slaves required by Spanish America and to send one ship a year to the annual fair at Porto Bello: this was the symbol of acknowledged commercial supremacy in the New World. Taken all together, these provisions mark the establishment of the British Empire as a world power, and point the way both to the later victorious conflict against France and to the no less important emergence of

Britain as the chief industrial nation. They also mark the moment at which the rest of Europe, judging by results, began to think a parliamentary system preferable to despotism.

Domestic Policy. Meanwhile, domestic policy followed traditional Tory lines. The squires were placated by an Act of 1711 to make the ownership of land worth £300 a year a necessary qualification for membership of Parliament. This was meant to exclude Whig merchants, but, although it remained nominally in force for a century and a half, ways were soon found of circumventing it. More serious was a breach of faith with the Scots, whom Tories detested, by allowing lay patrons to appoint ministers in the Presbyterian Church, with which Parliament had promised never to interfere. But the desires of High Church parsons, such as Swift, caused the main attacks of the new Government to be directed against Protestant Nonconformists, to whom the Toleration Act of 1689 had given partial protection.

Persecution of the Nonconformists. Two measures became law, the second of which at least would have left a considerable mark on our history, had not both of them been repealed early in the reign of George I. The Occasional Conformity Act of 1711 was aimed at Nonconformists who made an annual attendance at Anglican Sacrament in order to qualify for office in spite of the provisions of the Clarendon Code. In future any person was to be heavily punished who after such attendance continued to frequent a Nonconformist place of worship. This law proved difficult to enforce, so the more ruthless Schism Act followed in 1714, which was to compel Nonconformists to educate their children where they would imbibe Anglican doctrines. It forbade any person to teach, except the rudiments of reading and writing, without a licence from the bishop of the diocese, which would be automatically withheld from the teachers at Nonconformist schools: the alternative was to be Anglican education or none at all.

Problem of the Succession. Up to the beginning of the

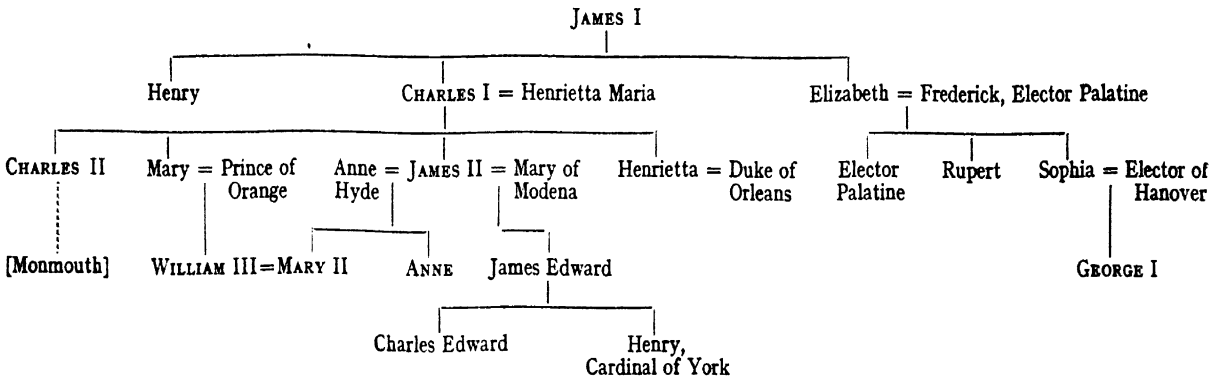
year 1714 the Tories had carried all—or nearly all—before them. In 1712 the Queen had created twelve new Tory peers, so as to give them a majority in the House of Lords in the debate on the peace proposals; and a new General Election left them still the more numerous party in the Commons. In fact, their only reverse was suffered when they tried to attach a commercial treaty to the peace with France, which the Whigs successfully resisted so as to maintain a high tariff and the existing Methuen Treaty. But it was now evident that the Queen could not live much longer, which meant that the Tory ministers were confronted with a very awkward dilemma. Their natural inclination was to ignore the Act of Settlement and restore James II's son to his father's throne; but his high-minded refusal to give up the Catholic faith made it very doubtful whether the country would accept him. The alternative was to prepare openly to receive a Hanoverian monarch, but to do this was to risk losing the Queen's favour, for Anne (like Queen Elizabeth) could not tolerate any show of interest in her successor. Therefore, while the Whigs curried favour at Hanover—and did not fail to point out how their rivals had deserted the allies, including Hanover, in the war—both Harley and St John were uncertain as to the ultimate goal of their policy.

Bolingbroke's Policy. St John, however, was sure that one step was expedient, namely, to get rid of Harley. He had little affection for his slow and cautious colleague, even before the Queen incensed him by creating Harley Earl of Oxford, whereas he himself received the mere Viscounty of Bolingbroke. Slowness and caution, he was convinced, would not now pay: the right game was to get all power concentrated in the hands of resolute Tories under his own leadership, so that on the Queen's decease they could make terms for the continuance of a Tory ministry, whichever claimant to the throne they might decide to recognise. Among other devices, Mrs Masham's influence was transferred from the side of Oxford to that of Bolingbroke, and on the last Tuesday in July 1714 the Queen was persuaded

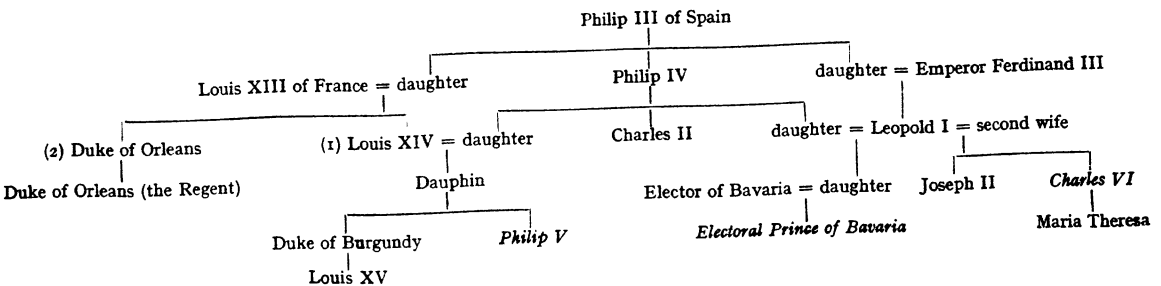
to dismiss Oxford from the Lord Treasurership. But on the Friday she was known to be dying, and Bolingbroke, realising that he had not time to complete his preparations to seize power, allowed the Privy Council to recommend Shrewsbury as the new Lord Treasurer.

Death of Queen Anne, August 1st, 1714. Shrewsbury was a moderate in politics and had been a signatory to William III's invitation in 1688. Accordingly, when one of the most eventful weeks in British history closed with the death of the Stuart queen in the early hours of Sunday morning, the provisions of the Regency Act came unresisted into force: messengers sped to Hanover to fetch Sophia's son (who had succeeded to her claims a bare two months before), George, Elector of the Holy Roman Empire and now King of Great Britain and Ireland.

DESCENDANTS OF JAMES I



THE SPANISH SUCCESSION



ECONOMIC SECTION

The Seventeenth Century

CHAPTER XIX

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN CROWN AND PARLIAMENT

(1) LEGISLATION IN THE INTERESTS OF THE POOR

Economic Activities of the State. Under the Stuarts, as under the Tudors, the Government pursued in economic matters the policy known to us as Mercantilism. Since this meant that both commerce and shipping, agriculture and industry were carefully regulated by the State so as to foster national power through economic independence, it is obvious that the great political conflict of the age, which modified the form of the State and its government, must have affected economic life in all its aspects. But there are two outstanding examples of this influence—the changes in the financial system, which followed naturally upon the supremacy of Parliament, and the at first sight less obvious abandonment of laws designed to safeguard the interests of the poor. In the Statute of Apprentices, the Poor Law, and the restrictions upon the enclosure of arable land for pasture, Elizabeth's government bequeathed to its successors an elaborate code for the regulation of industrial life, which was fairly well maintained, so long as the system of prerogative government survived. We may illustrate this by examples.

Administration of the Statute of Apprentices. The apprenticeship clauses of the Statute of Apprentices, which required every craftsman to serve a term of seven years, were, as a matter of fact, enforced partly by informers, who obtained half the fine as their reward whenever an unqualified craftsman was convicted. But they were also enforced by a new type of craft gild, generally known as a company, which the early Stuarts encouraged the small

working-masters—as distinct from big capitalists—to form for their trades by securing (at a price) a royal charter of incorporation. In one famous instance in the reign of James I, indeed, the two methods were combined, a large company being authorised to reserve all the trade of the crowded London suburbs for legally qualified craftsmen and others who agreed to pay a voluntary fine. The financial interests of the Crown obviously entered into these transactions, but in the case of the annual wage assessments for all classes of workers, which the same statute required the J.P.'s to publish for every county, the attitude of the Crown was more clearly disinterested. Between 1603 and 1642 the action of the Privy Council, to which each assessment had to be produced, caused them to be drawn up with less slackness and infrequency than at any other period in the law's long history.

Action regarding Enclosures. Charles I's reign, when Laud and Wentworth were leading members of the Privy Council, was even more remarkable for its social activity than his father's had been. In the matter of enclosures, for instance, a wise discrimination was shown. On the one hand, commissions of inquiry, requests to J.P.'s, trials at Assizes, and prosecutions before the local prerogative courts and in the Star Chamber itself were all used to check the conversion of arable fields into sheep-runs, by which so much unemployment had been caused. On the other hand, no objection was raised to such a generally profitable enterprise as the draining of fenland (which involved enclosure), Charles himself putting up some of the money for the Dutchman, Vermuyden's, schemes of reclamation in Cambridgeshire. In the same way a general order to pull down the newly erected hedges, which fenced off an enclosed area, was relaxed if the holder of enclosed land gave a binding promise not to diminish the number of farms or the quantity of arable. For the real objection to enclosures was, of course, the expectation that enclosed fields would be used for sheep-grazing, in which case one shepherd might replace twenty persons employed in tillage of the soil

Enforcement of the Poor Law. But the most striking illustration of royal devotion to the interests of the lower classes is to be found in the administration of the Poor Law. When the Thirty Years' War and other causes combined to produce a great trade depression in the woollen industry (1620–24), James I adopted again the very remarkable Elizabethan expedient of requiring employers under the supervision of the justices of the peace to keep their men at work in the public interest, although it meant a private loss to them. This was followed by the application of a wholly modern remedy—a royal commission on unemployment. Charles I had no such grave crisis to deal with, yet he resorted to the ever-serviceable Privy Council, so as to make this national system of poor relief, which local officials were often too lazy to carry out, a going concern. The 'Orders and Directions' of 1631 accordingly set up a new scheme, under which the local overseers of the poor had to report their activities to the justices of the peace, the justices to the royal judges of assize, and the judges to a special committee of privy councillors. This move towards centralisation resulted in more work being done all round —alike in relieving the necessitous, in apprenticing poor children, in finding work for the unemployed, and in punishing vagrant beggars. It was a policy which only an unhampered royal will would be likely to enforce.

Effects of the Civil War. Accordingly, the period of political upheaval from 1642 to 1660 was rich in economic changes. The Civil War itself caused a big dislocation of trade, and the confiscation and enforced sales of land after the war likewise disturbed the landed gentry, who felt too insecure to invest money in improving their estates. The great commercial companies, such as the East India Company, also found it impossible to maintain their trade monopoly in times of disorder—at least until they made friends with Cromwell, for it is perhaps significant that the Governor of the Merchant Adventurers was the person who brought forward the proposal to make the Protector king in 1657. Other more detailed changes were the growth of

the practice of placing money in the hands of goldsmiths, which arose because their safes were the only obvious means of security, and a temporary suspension of the apprenticeship law in the case of soldiers discharged from the wars, who might otherwise be unable to find honest employment. Nevertheless, the main event of the period, from the economic standpoint, was the abolition of prerogative government. For a few years the Commonwealth Council of State and then Cromwell's Major-Generals seemed likely to take its place, but when Charles II was restored in 1660 without the Star Chamber or the local prerogative councils there was no authority left to prevent the upper classes from abolishing or ignoring social legislation, which curtailed their liberty to do as they pleased and often imposed upon them irksome duties of administration.

'Free Trade' in the Reign of Charles II. Thus in the reign of Charles II the Government finally ceased to take any steps against enclosers, whose activities continued, though at a much slower rate than in the sixteenth or eighteenth century. In this case official indifference was probably based on the belief, which now became current, that England was underpopulated: if so, workers displaced from the country could surely find employment in the towns. In other instances the principle was adopted of 'freedom of trade'—the beginning of the famous policy of *laissez-faire*. Wage assessments by the justices of the peace became less frequent, because they no longer feared to be summoned before a royal council. Apprenticeship, again, was less universally exacted, since judges often chose to adopt the convenient doctrine that the law of Elizabeth was only applicable to craftsmen in those trades which existed at the date of the enactment in 1563; and some of the new trades, such as silk-throwing and linen weaving, were declared exempt by special statutes. Municipal corporations in the same way found their local monopoly challenged: judges would not use their powers to punish unapprenticed workers, and, in the case of the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire, a special law of 1667

permitted the illegal craftsmen to work unmolested, even within the boundaries of the City.

Change of Attitude towards Unemployment. But the clearest illustration of the change is provided once again by the history of the Poor Law. On the one hand, its more generous provisions, such as those which required work to be found for the able-bodied poor, were widely ignored. The justices of the peace ceased to exercise their rights of supervision, and parish overseers economised by shirking their duties. Parliament would not intervene, since the result of intervention would be to increase the rates; and there were now no royal courts to insist upon duties being fulfilled. The consequence was that fewer and fewer parishes provided stocks of material or arranged work, until the long French wars between 1689 and 1713 caused such an increase in destitution that some remedy had to be found. Bristol then led the way in the establishment of a municipal workhouse, which served the double purpose of providing some actual task for the unemployed to perform (hence the name) and of testing the genuineness of applicants for relief—the multitude of whom was forcing up the rates—by requiring them to live there under discipline. This was in 1696: by 1714 more than a dozen other towns, including both London and Norwich, had obtained permission from Parliament to follow Bristol's example—but there was still no return to a national system.

Law of Settlement, 1662. On the other hand, the most questionable portions of the Elizabethan law, its general parochial basis, and the particular arrangement by which sick and aged poor might be removed to their native parish for relief, were now elaborated into the monstrous Law of Settlement of 1662. This law in principle gave every parish the right to send any stranger, who tried to reside there, back to his native parish (where he had the right of settlement) immediately, for fear that he might some day require poor relief from the place where he was living. The main exceptions were, persons who could prove that they had substantial means (so that they were unlikely to become paupers)

and—by a modification of the law in 1697—anyone whose native parish would give him a certificate of origin, undertaking to pay the cost of his removal home if he ever required relief. There were a few other loopholes of escape, and, like all the legislation of the day, this law was not always enforced, but it undoubtedly had two very evil effects. Firstly, it was made more difficult for working people to travel in search of employment, whereas mobility of labour is an obvious advantage to an industrial country, such as England was rapidly becoming. Secondly, so many legal 'dodges' were possible in Settlement disputes that the administration of poor relief degenerated very largely into a mean struggle between parish and parish to escape responsibility and expense.

Effects of the Revolution of 1688. The Revolution of 1688 completed the transference to Parliament of the powers which the Crown had wielded in the economic life of the country. Hence the abandonment of the chartered companies as the basis of English oversea trade, the establishment of a new system of public finance, and the laying of increased emphasis upon the protection of industry by high tariffs as the sure means to prosperity. A flourishing trade, it must be conceded, would doubtless benefit the poor incidentally, but direct consideration of their interests had entirely ceased. We have seen what became of the Poor Law. In the same way, the second main epoch of enclosure, which was then just beginning and which eventually ruined the yeomen or small freeholders, was destined to continue quite unhampered; and by 1702 the feeling against the Statute of Apprentices was so strong among the landowners and employers, who alone found seats in Parliament, that its repeal was demanded on the ground that "Trade ought to be free and not restrained."

(2) PUBLIC FINANCE

Complicated Problem of Taxation. Besides the conflict over prerogative courts, the quarrel between King and

Parliament had also turned largely upon questions of taxation, the wide ramifications of which affected the whole economic organisation of the country. The encouragement of informers, for example, while it doubtless brought about the better enforcement of social legislation, was partly intended to raise revenue by fines (half of which went to the Crown), since the fall in the value of money made it impossible for the Stuart king to 'live of his own.'

Uses of Monopolies. But this mixture of motives is especially true of the monopolies, which were renounced by Elizabeth; rendered illegal—as regards grants to individuals—by the Parliament of 1624; and finally abolished by the Long Parliament, which found 'mountains of monopolies' still in existence in 1640. The essential feature in this evidently well-rooted system was that the increase of price, which the monopoly of an article always produced (because the fortunate holder had no fear of being under-sold by trade rivals), should be divided between the monopolist, or company of monopolists, and the Crown. Thus it was really a clumsy kind of excise duty, farmed out at an extortionate rate to some courtier, who often sublet his privilege to actual workers in the trade concerned. But at the same time, it was always pretended that the grant served some useful purpose, either by encouraging a new trade or by introducing better methods and management into an old one. The most important monopoly of James I's reign, Alderman Cockayne's Project of 1614, had for its object the establishment of a native cloth-finishing industry, the product of which was to be sold abroad with the help of a ban on the export of unfinished cloth. It proved a dismal failure, because foreign markets would not accept the new manufacture: but James was obviously seeking a public benefit as well as revenue. The same thing applies to some extent in other cases. A Society of Soapmakers, for example, which was incorporated by Charles I in 1631, held out hopes of native raw materials being used instead of inferior foreign imports; and even a wine monopoly in 1637—which aroused Pym's indignation—

was intended to provide an organisation for the whole retail trade. So the early Stuarts, while primarily in search of revenue, were also extending the sphere of State control in industry.

Institution of Excise and Land Tax. The Civil War, therefore, had a marked effect upon public finance, since it not only stopped these subterfuges, to which the King had been resorting, but brought Parliament face to face with the problem of raising money for its own military and other uses. Hence two new practices. One was the institution of the excise, a tax levied on goods when consumed in the country, chiefly food and drink, which Pym and his friends ingeniously charged upon articles that were *en route* from the ports or places of manufacture to the homes of up-country Cavaliers. The excise was continued at the Restoration, when it was granted to the King for life as part of a scheme for abolishing feudal dues and guaranteeing a royal income of £1,200,000, from which the whole cost of government was to be defrayed in time of peace. The other novelty was the monthly assessments, which Parliament levied upon every county, to pay both the cost of the war and that of the subsequent republican administration. These were far more efficient than the obsolete Tudor subsidies, which were ridiculously small fixed amounts, so the assessments were continued after the Restoration. Finally, in William III's reign the costly war with France induced the Whig financiers to develop this system into the famous Land Tax, based on an assessment of land values made in 1692 but levied at rates which varied from year to year between one and four shillings in the pound. This tax was the backbone of the eighteenth-century financial system.

Problem of Raising Loans. But the Civil War, though it suggested new ideas of taxation, did not solve the kindred problem of public borrowing; for almost every ruler of England, from Cardinal Wolsey to King Charles, had found it necessary in times of crisis to anticipate the slow collection of his revenue by raising a loan. Indeed, one of the actions

by which Charles precipitated the Civil War was his seizure in 1640 of a large quantity of bullion, which had been deposited by private merchants at the Mint for coining. He took this as a loan in an emergency, but the result was to drive the merchant class into deeper hostility than before. Cromwell borrowed from the new class of goldsmith-bankers, leaving a large debt behind him, and the Government of the Restoration could only raise loans by paying three times as much interest as the East India Company, which was believed to have much better security. Finally Charles II, refusing to profit by his father's experience, 'stopped the Exchequer' in 1672: that is to say, he refused to pay a large part of the interest on his debts, which was owing to the goldsmiths. This made the situation still worse, because public confidence in Government promises was badly shaken, and new loans could only be raised at extravagantly high rates of interest.

Origin of the National Debt. Thus this problem remained to be solved after the Revolution of 1688, when the expensive nature of the long French war made it more urgent than ever. What was needed was a long-term loan (*i.e.* one which need not be quickly repaid) at a reasonable rate of interest. This was now forthcoming, because Parliament, all-powerful at last, guaranteed the interest, and Whig merchants had sufficient confidence in the Government to trust it with their money for a long term of years. Such a loan was first raised in 1694, and ever since that time investors have been eager to lend to Government for the sake of obtaining a secure rate of interest, while the recurrence of wars has driven the Government to further borrowings: hence the huge 'National Debt,' of which this was the modest beginning. But the original loan of £1,200,000 at 8 per cent. possesses the further importance that it occasioned the foundation of the Bank of England.

The Bank of England, 1694. The subscribers of the loan were to be permitted, as a further inducement to them to come forward, to form a corporation which might

issue bank-notes, deal in bullion and bills of exchange, and make advances to merchants. Moreover, two later Acts (1697 and 1709), stating that no other joint stock bank was to receive any privileges of incorporation by Act of Parliament or any power of issuing bank-notes, prevented any other joint stock bank from being started for more than a hundred years. As the Bank of England could lend money to the Government only with Parliament's approval, and as it was the creation of the Whig Party in a contest against the French allies of the exiled Stuart monarch, its success has an obvious bearing on politics. But it is also of great interest from the economic aspect. Though bitterly attacked by the goldsmiths and other private bankers, who saw their business being taken away from them, the Bank became almost immediately—thanks to generally prudent management—a financial institution of first-rate importance. By encouraging all who had savings to bring out their money for deposit, by lowering rates of interest, and by providing reliable paper money, the Bank of England oiled the wheels of commerce and enabled eighteenth-century London to replace Amsterdam as the centre of world finance.

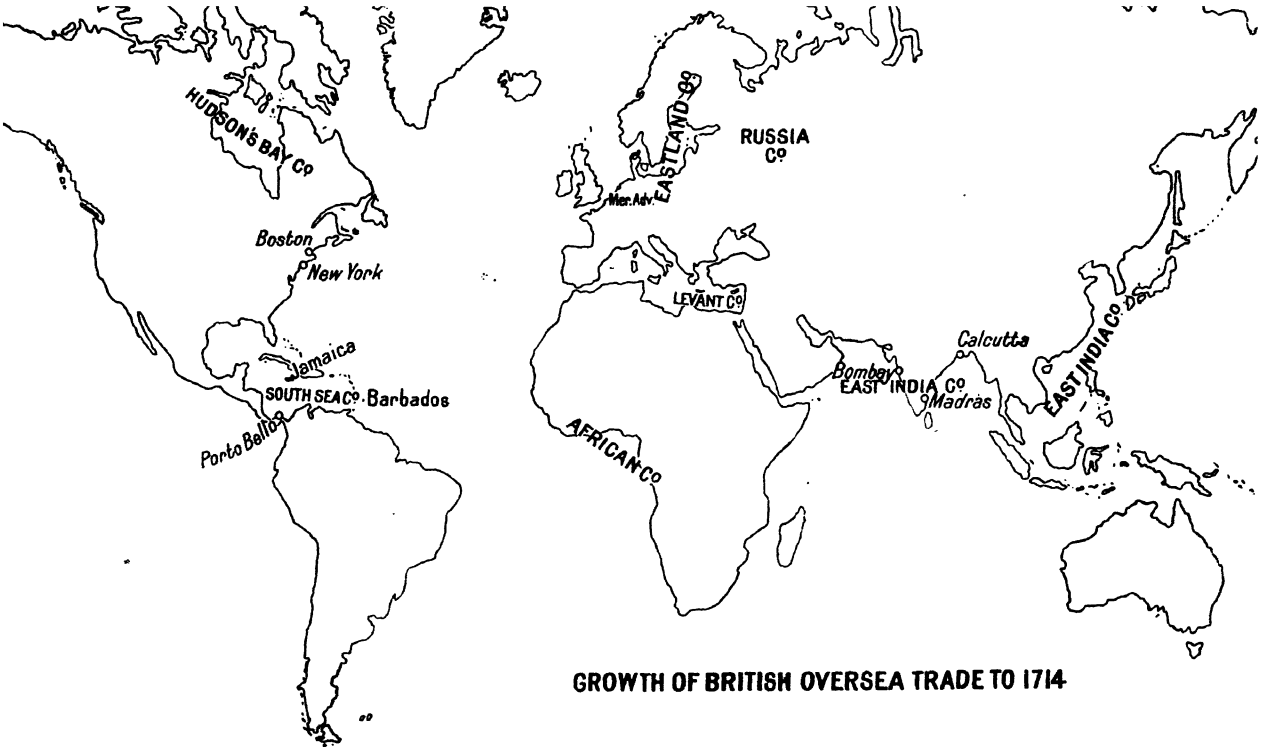
CHAPTER XX

THE INCREASE OF WEALTH

(1) COMMERCIAL PROGRESS

Organisation of Oversea Trade. The first two Stuart kings did not greatly alter the system of oversea trade established in the reign of Elizabeth. They extended the Mercantilist doctrine—that all trade must be subordinated to national interests—to the colonies which now began to be founded, particularly Virginia, which James forbade to grow tobacco on account of its pernicious effects, while Charles ordered it to trade exclusively with English markets. But the great trading companies, founded for the most part in the reign of Elizabeth, retained the royal charters, which entitled each of them to a monopoly of one region, with which they developed commercial relations. Moreover, the colonies of this period were mainly originated by similar organisations—the Virginia Company and the Massachusetts Company, for example—so that the history of trade is the history of the chartered companies.

The Chartered Companies. They were by no means uniformly successful. The Merchant Adventurers, whose history stretched back two centuries, had their sales of cloth in the Netherlands and Germany seriously interrupted, first by Alderman Cockayne's foolish Project, and later by the Thirty Years' War. The African and Russia Companies, and especially the Eastland Company (which traded with the Baltic countries), had to face the increasingly powerful competition of the Dutch, who established themselves in all these regions. There was also opposition at home from the 'Interlopers,' as they were called—usually merchants from other ports than London (where the companies had their English headquarters), who desired



GROWTH OF BRITISH OVERSEA TRADE TO 1714

to have freedom of trade with those countries from which the companies tried to exclude all non-members. A particularly strong attack was directed against the East India Company, because the goods which it brought back from the East were paid for in bullion rather than in English manufactures, which the peoples of the East would not purchase. This offended against the doctrine of the 'Balance of Trade,' by which the Mercantilists meant that exports should always exceed imports, so that bullion might be flowing into, and not out of, the country, and its riches in consequence be visibly increasing. The champions of the East India Company replied that their Eastern imports were re-exported to the Continent in return for bullion, which more than replaced the bullion they had originally expended—but this controversy remained undecided throughout the century.

Advantages of the System. Nevertheless the advantages of the system still, in all probability, outweighed the disadvantages. Each of the companies procured some sale for English cloth, though the Levant Company, which exported it fully finished to the Near East, was held to be more meritorious in this respect than others. The hostility of the Dutch and other nations in distant seas made it more desirable than ever that traders should be strongly united for their own defence—as when the East India Company beat the Portuguese off Surat in 1612, thus winning their first trading-post on the mainland. Nor was the idea of a limited sale at high prices wholly undesirable in view of the relatively small quantity of goods which England produced. The East India Company, indeed, was a joint stock company, trading, so to speak, as a single firm: but anyone who could buy a share—they were usually at a high premium—became a shareholder or member. As for the ordinary regulated companies, membership was confined for the most part to merchants who would serve an expensive apprenticeship or pay an expensive entrance fee (or 'fine') and would obey the rules about quantities and prices and general behaviour in foreign

countries. But these principles harmonised so well with the ideas of the day that the Interlopers in many cases wanted nothing more than an enlargement of the regulated companies for the benefit of the outports, which were often less well served by them than London.

Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660. During the Civil Wars, however, the Dutch acquired a virtual monopoly of the carrying and colonial trade, with the result that the Commonwealth Government attempted to revive our shipping and commerce by statute law. The policy of the Navigation Act was not entirely new, and it fitted in well with the general mercantilist programme of fostering national economic independence and strength: it was therefore re-enacted and extended at the Restoration. Viewed as a single whole, the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660 had three main features. The carrying trade to and from the colonies was restricted entirely to ships owned and manned by Englishmen or colonists. Secondly, the carrying trade to England was restricted as far as possible to ships owned and manned by Englishmen, though other European nations might import goods of their own production in their own ships, subject to the payment of higher duties. Thirdly, certain 'enumerated commodities,' including sugar and tobacco, were not to be exported by the colonies elsewhere than to England (or another English colony).

Their Effects. The effects of these rules are difficult to estimate. As regards the colonial carrying trade, the Dutch were successfully dislodged, especially as the colonists started to build ships of their own. The 'enumerated commodities' clause also worked fairly well—though there was some smuggling—because England, which provided them with supplies of capital and with the means of defence, was still the natural market of the colonies. On the other hand, it is likely that Dutch competition would in any case have lost some of its force when political conditions in England became more settled, and the fact that it was entirely excluded by law certainly had the pernicious effect

of enabling English shipowners to make higher charges (because they were not liable to be undercut by the foreigner). In addition, there was a special difficulty in the Baltic trade, which had hitherto been conducted by the Eastland Company in Dutch vessels. They were forbidden to employ them any longer, although English ships were unsuitable for this traffic: hence the loss of a valuable market for the sale of English cloth and the purchase of essential naval stores. On the whole, therefore, it would be unwise to assign either the rise of English, or the decline of Dutch, commerce primarily to the Navigation Acts. Between 1660 and 1688 the volume of English commerce doubled, but the number of foreign ships bringing the products of their country to England increased as fast as the general volume; and as for the decline of Holland, that came a generation later from the exhaustion of the great wars against Louis XIV.

Decline of the Chartered Companies. The English Revolution of 1688, which marked the beginning of that struggle, is also important in the history of commerce, for it was then that the trading companies lost their exclusive privileges. The main reason was the growth of the feeling that a 'well-ordered trade' no longer suited the needs of the country, which required to sell its increasing store of goods as quickly and cheaply as possible, and to buy raw materials for further expansion in the same manner. This remarkable change of opinion since the period only half a century earlier, when deaf ears were turned to the Interlopers, was not a matter of politics, but it was the Revolution that placed the companies, in spite of their royal charters, at the mercy of the all-powerful Parliament. An Act of 1689 threw open the cloth trade to all comers, with a reservation in favour of the Levant, Eastland, Russia, and African Companies. This disposed of the Merchant Adventurers' ancient monopoly immediately, and even the favoured four did not gain very much, since Parliament compelled them step by step to open their membership to anyone who would pay a very moderate fee. After 1700 there were only three

closely restricted companies of importance—the Levant, which somehow held out until 1754; the Hudson Bay Company, which won approval because of its patriotic struggle to win the Arctic fur trade from the French and is still in business to-day; and the East India Company.

The East India Company at the Revolution. The history of the last-named at this time is very remarkable. The bullionist controversy had continued to rage throughout the century, and since the Restoration there had been further ground for complaint in the fact that the Company was largely importing calico—a cotton material which was used in place of home-produced woollen cloth. The prosperity of the trade, which was greatly increased after 1660, made it especially liable to the attacks of Interlopers, of whom Chatham's grandfather, Thomas Pitt, is the most notorious. Moreover, the Company had been so imprudent as to take the side of Charles II and James II against Parliament and the Whigs. Yet at the Revolution these three factors combined did not prove fatal to its continuation, thanks partly to the bribery of Parliament in which the richest corporation in the country was able freely to indulge. In 1698 a rival company was actually authorised, but about ten years later this united with the original one to form the United East India Company, which owed its position to Act of Parliament instead of Royal Charter, but was no less monopolistic than its predecessor.

War and Trade. Finally, we must not forget that the wars of the period made a big contribution to commercial prosperity. If Cromwell had not, half accidentally, conquered Jamaica, the European sugar trade would have had its headquarters elsewhere than in London. The capture of New York in the Second Dutch War made the whole coast-line of North America into a single market for English goods. The French Wars of 1689–1713, while they incidentally exhausted our Dutch rivals, gave England control of the great Newfoundland fisheries and the hope of trading in Spanish America, for which purpose the ill-fated South Sea Company was founded in 1710. At this stage

in the world's history concrete gains like these probably outweighed the losses caused by war-time trade depressions and the handicaps which, as we shall shortly see, national feeling, inflamed by war, imposed upon freedom of commercial intercourse with neighbouring countries.

(2) INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Parallel Growth of the Domestic System in Industry. Commercial progress meant that there were expanding markets in which greater quantities of English goods could be sold: to provide those greater quantities of goods was the natural task of enterprising industrialists, who developed large businesses. In other words, the Domestic System of industry, which first became established under the Tudors, now played the chief part in the economic life of the nation. We have already described its main features: the capitalist employer, who bought raw material and—unlike the typical mediæval craftsman—owned that material throughout the processes of manufacture until he sold the finished product; and the different classes of employees, who—unlike the modern factory worker—performed the various processes of manufacture in their own homes and (usually) with their own tools. But in the seventeenth century the clothing industry, where the Domestic System was most fully developed, played such a large part in the economic life of the nation, which it provided with its leading export, that some further explanation must now be given.

Its Organisation in the Woollen Manufacture. The clothier was a person with some financial resources, who did not usually work with his own hands at the trade but provided the capital, without which it could not continue, and organised production—a rather complicated matter. He bought the raw wool, either from the farmers or from a special class of middlemen called woolstaplers. He likewise sold the finished cloth to a merchant exporter or draper or—most probably—to the factors at Blackwell Hall in London,

from whom as middlemen the drapers and exporters more commonly purchased their stock. In the meantime the raw material remained the clothier's property, while it was conveyed—probably by the clothier's pack-horses—to each of the various classes of artisan manufacturers who made it into cloth: for the same clothier might well have five hundred employees, spread out over several counties. The most important groups were, firstly, the woolcombers, who unravelled the wool and made it fit for spinning: theirs was a skilled job and commanded good wages. The spinners, on the contrary, required nothing more than a little deftness to turn the wheel and spin the yarn, so theirs was very poorly paid work, performed for the most part by the women and children in every cottage, however remote. The weavers, including both master-weavers and their own journeymen employees, were generally (though not always) men, but their craft also was not highly skilled: the seven years' apprenticeship rule was often ignored, even in the seventeenth century. Lastly, the finishers or shearmen, who were limited in number like the combers, were the one class that already performed its task in a special workshop. As this was the final process, the less affluent clothiers often avoided further outlay by selling their cloth unfinished.

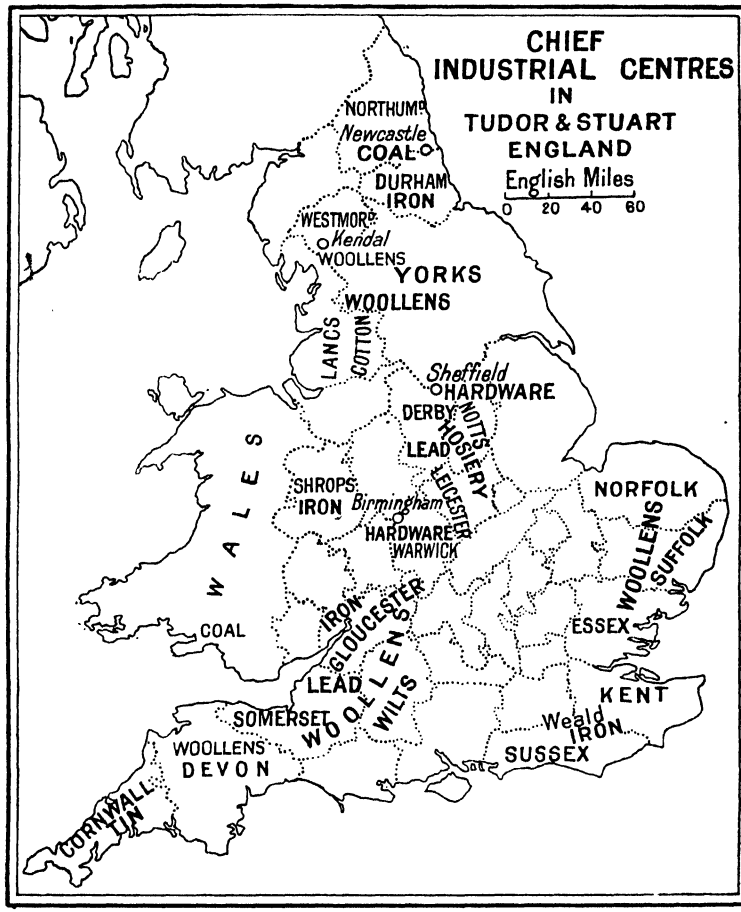
Disadvantages of the System. The system was by no means ideal. The clothiers complained that they were cheated by the middlemen, whom they accused of extracting most of the profit from their business by charging unduly high prices for wool (the staplers) and giving unduly low prices for cloth (Blackwell Hall factors). They also found that both spinners and weavers embezzled part of the material with which they were entrusted. As for the employees, working at home often involved deplorable conditions of labour—far worse than any factory—and encouraged the employment even of the smallest children in the family for long, unregulated hours. Moreover, the employment was very uncertain. A single weaver, for example, might be in the habit of taking on work from

several masters, no one of whom would feel any responsibility for him during a trade depression, especially as the loom, which then stood idle, had not been bought with the master's money. Accordingly, the Domestic System as practised in the West of England and East Anglia and other clothing districts is often contrasted unfavourably with a special variety of it which occurred in Yorkshire, though even in that county the worsted (or long wool) manufacture, introduced from Norfolk about 1700, followed the ordinary lines.

Modified Form in the West Riding. But in the older established woollen industry of the West Riding the clothier was still a handicraftsman in a small way of business, who employed only his own family and a very few journeymen and apprentices. With their assistance he took the wool, which he bought in small quantities, through all the processes of manufacture except finishing, and sold his weekly piece of cloth in the market at Leeds or elsewhere for the ready money which enabled him to keep going. This arrangement preserved the more democratic social environment of the old craft gilds. But, since the clothier nevertheless owned the material, which other hands spun and helped him to weave, this simpler form of organisation, which escaped some evils, should perhaps be regarded as a variety of the Domestic System.

Coal and Iron. Lead and tin were still important exports in the time of the Stuarts, but the two industries which ranked next to clothing were coal-mining and the iron manufacture. At the end of the seventeenth century coal was being raised in three-quarters of the counties which have pits to-day, and was used for industrial as well as domestic purposes. Newcastle, which exported considerable quantities to the Continent, was the main centre, and there the trade was controlled in a thoroughly modern way by a group of owners, who kept up prices by a complicated scheme, known as the 'Limitation of the Vend.' As regards the iron industry, a distinction must be made. The smelting of raw pig- and bar-iron languished because

of the chronic shortage of wood-charcoal for the furnace, but the manufacture of finished iron goods or hardware (made largely from imported raw iron) flourished



enormously. Even the preliminary processes had spread from the Forest of Dean to Shropshire, where Darby solved the problem of smelting with coal in 1709, and to Durham, where Crowley, who died in 1713, controlled as many processes, from making pig-iron to finishing

hardware, as the greatest clothier. Indeed, the coal and iron industries, which depended on extensive works, stood outside the ordinary Domestic System, having been largely controlled from their earliest days by big capitalists, many of them landowners, who employed the miners and iron-workers upon their own premises for wages. Nevertheless, there were exceptions, such as the 'free miners' in Cornwall and the Forest of Dean; and in the hardware manufacture the small masters, who worked with their hands, held their own against the big employers in both Sheffield and Birmingham.

Part played by Inventions. Inventions played some part in the growth of seventeenth-century industry. The stocking-frame, which knitted ten times as fast as an unaided pair of hands, had been devised by an Elizabethan clergyman, William Lee, in 1589. A hundred years later it was so well established in London and the East Midlands that English silk and woollen hose were sold all over Europe. The introduction, about the year 1670, of the Dutch loom, which enabled a weaver to make a dozen tapes or ribbons at once, is another clear example of the type of economy of labour which was later to produce the Industrial Revolution. The foundation of the Royal Society in 1662 also fostered an interest in inventions, at least on the theoretical side; and its greatest member, Sir Isaac Newton, was so far concerned with practical affairs that he acted as Warden of the Mint during the recoinage of 1696, when the new system of milling the edge of the money, so that it should not be fraudulently shaved, was started under his supervision. But most of the experiments of this time did little more than prepare the way for future success—though the earliest form of the all-important steam-engine, introduced by Newcomen in the reign of Queen Anne, fulfilled its immediate object as a pump for draining coal-mines, which were getting steadily deeper.

Protection of Industry by Whig Commercial Policy. The protection of industry by high tariffs and prohibitions against foreign imports was a method of promoting its

welfare which found more favour at this time, because it harmonised with the mercantilist ideal of a State which should be economically independent of all other States and therefore strong. The Whig party, which opposed Louis XIV as the champion of absolutism, made repeated efforts to keep out the goods of the hated French. The first prohibition of imports from France dates from 1678, but it was relaxed by James II: accordingly, the triumph of Whig principles at the Revolution meant the renewal of prohibitions from 1689 to 1713, except during the short-lived Treaty of Ryswick. Then came a battle royal. The Tories, who were in office during the peace negotiations at Utrecht, represented the landed gentry, who had no interest in the sale of manufactures but wanted to buy foreign goods cheap: they therefore proposed a commercial treaty with France. The Whigs, who represented the manufacturing class, denounced this scheme, saying that it would result in an unfavourable Balance of Trade. For, in order to lower the tariff on French wines, England would have to abandon the highly advantageous Methuen Treaty of 1703, under which Portugal opened its market (then including Brazil) to English cloth, paying for it partly in port, admitted to England at a specially low duty, and partly in much-prized bullion. Public opinion sided with the Whigs. The commercial treaty with France was not signed: and until 1786 high tariffs excluded nearly all French goods from competing in the English market.

Protection of Woollen and Start of Cotton Industry. The system of protection, as we might expect, was particularly rigid in the case of the cloth industry. A law passed in 1660 forbade the export of wool, which might enable foreigners to improve the quality of their cloth; the Irish cloth manufacture, as we have seen, was deliberately ruined for fear of competition in foreign markets; and in 1699 cloth-making in the colonies was severely restricted by forbidding them to export it, even from one colony to the next. But interference, as in the parallel instance of the Navigation Acts, sometimes produced un-

expected results. In 1700 the East India Company, after a long agitation, was forbidden by Parliament to import Indian printed calicoes, which replaced native woollen goods. One result was that the Indian calicoes were sent to the West Indies, where they continued to rival English woollens; another was that a home manufacture of printed calicoes began. The cotton industry had been in existence for more than a century, for at least one large employer is heard of at Manchester about 1600, when the raw material was still being obtained in minute quantities from Asia Minor. But the Act of 1700 gave it its chance. So much calico was produced that the woollen manufacturers raised another outcry and had this trade also stopped in 1721: but a mixture of cotton and linen remained legal and was very widely used.

Services of Huguenots to Industry. Finally, English industry still benefited by the arrival of skilled foreign immigrants, especially the Huguenot refugees, who fled from Louis XIV's infamous persecution in such numbers that they formed more than thirty congregations in London alone. Besides swelling the membership of the Whig party, they rendered the country of their adoption two services. They increased the total of useful inhabitants, that is to say, those who laboured to enlarge the national output of goods on which the favourable Balance of Trade, so dear to the mercantilist mind, depended. The Huguenots also added to the market for our goods by going to swell the population of the American colonies. But their main service lay in the introduction of new industries, for which inherited skill remained the great prerequisite. Glass was one of the manufactures that benefited; and it was the Huguenots who chiefly developed the linen industry, which became well established in Scotland and Ireland, though it failed in England. The best example, however, is the making of silk, in which Englishmen had never enjoyed much success until the end of the seventeenth century. It then became an important manufacture, both in the Spitalfields district of London and at Coventry and Maccles-

field—a change which the Whigs preferred to ascribe to their policy of prohibiting the importation of French silks: but the main factor was almost certainly the skill of the Huguenot immigrants.

Conclusion. Thus seventeenth-century industry was able to respond to the opportunities provided by seventeenth-century commercial expansion.

CHAPTER XXI

TOWN AND COUNTRY LIFE

(1) TOWN LIFE

Economic Supremacy of London. At the close of the seventeenth century, 'the town' meant essentially London, for out of a population of little more than five millions, two-thirds of a million are believed to have been inhabitants of the capital. As the principal port of the kingdom, London was the centre from which Norwich cloth, Sheffield hardware, and almost every other important export was shipped abroad: Bristol, indeed, claimed the distinction of keeping the West of England cloth trade in its own hands, but this was perhaps the only large exception. Conversely, London was the centre from which essential imports, such as the products of the West and East India trades, mainly travelled inland—or were re-exported to the Continent. The City was the headquarters of the trading companies and the home of the Bank of England: therefore London was already supreme in finance. Furthermore, the City itself was still a hive of industry as well as commerce, while the crowded suburbs housed a thousand and one manufactures, many of them skilled handicrafts (such as the making of clocks and jewellery), but including also the finishing of goods for export and some large-scale undertakings, like breweries and tanneries.

Its Social Importance. But, quite apart from its economic supremacy, London occupied a unique social position. The Court, though it did not reside in London, was never far away, whether established for the moment at St James's or Kensington, or a little farther off at Hampton Court or Windsor. From the reign of Charles II onwards the Parliamentary session, which was of ever-

growing importance, became associated with an aristocratic 'season,' during which noble families and aspiring gentry took up their residence in the streets that straggled between Westminster and the City. A grand opportunity of rebuilding central London on planned lines was lost after the Great Fire of 1666; but, as it was, the architecture of Sir Christopher Wren had been enabled to produce the new St Paul's (1710) and other fine structures, especially the City Churches, to be admired by foreign travellers and casual visitors of all classes, whose presence helped to make London the largest city in Europe.

News and the Coffee-houses. Moreover, London was the centre from which news spread over the rest of the country. The Diary of Samuel Pepys, whose entertaining record of the social life of the town in the Restoration period is constantly intermingled with the alarms and excitements of the Navy Office (whose highly efficient secretary he was), reminds us that official news was naturally known first in the capital. Commercial intelligence came likewise to London as the commercial headquarters of the country. Hence the large part played by the coffee-houses, from the time of Charles II onwards, as places of social intercourse, which most members of the middle and upper classes frequented daily for the consumption of what was often their only non-alcoholic beverage. Business was commonly transacted there—the modern organisation of Lloyd's has grown out of a coffee-house of that name—and there were endless discussions of every subject under the sun: but the main reason for attending them was to hear the news. Thus coffee-houses supplied the want of daily newspapers, the first of which did not appear until 1702. Accordingly, it was from London that manuscript 'news-letters' conveyed bare information to the country, while London also explained the news and formed opinion everywhere through such periodicals as the *Tatler* and *Spectator* (1709–12) and innumerable pamphlets, in which the question of the day was burningly discussed. The capital kept seventy printing-presses at work when many provincial towns boasted one or none.

Provincial Towns. Indeed, the provincial towns of the seventeenth century did not bear comparison with London, either economically, or socially, or politically. Bristol, with 30,000 inhabitants, was second in point of size, and Norwich—the centre of another great clothing district—third. The others were all much smaller and depended upon commerce rather than industry for their livelihood: that is to say, instead of the great urban manufactures of to-day, the townsman was mainly interested in marketing the products and supplying the needs of his immediate rural neighbours. In fact, many of the towns named in old maps differed from country villages only by the possession of a weekly market. Nor had they any great social pretensions. Cathedral and university cities of course attracted other residents and visitors besides those whose professional or commercial interests lay there: York, in particular, was the resort of north country families which could not afford the long journey to London. A few spas, including Bath and Tunbridge Wells (both of which were visited by Queen Anne), were already in existence, but their great days came in the later eighteenth century. Generally speaking, even the county town woke to life only during Assizes, when festivities marked the visits of His Majesty's judges.

Political Contrast with London. The comparative lethargy and insignificance of provincial towns is apparent, finally, in their politics. London was immensely active. Not only were the City Corporation and the Members for the City elected by a democratic body of some twelve thousand ratepayers, but the uncontrolled suburbs provided a congenial home for something like a hundred thousand Nonconformists, whom persecution, or the threat of its renewal, compelled to interest themselves in political issues. So the London mob was always a factor of importance, whether it was burning the Pope in effigy or the chapels of its Nonconformist neighbours in sober earnest. Other towns, in contrast, had local corporations which were often quite unrepresentative, and the Members for the borough were

usually chosen either by the Corporation or a some scarcely larger group of privileged freemen. Accordingly, their politics tended merely to reproduce the views of the surrounding countryside, and some great family in the county might be in a position to bribe or intimidate the voters into returning its nominee, thus creating a 'rotten' borough—a type which became increasingly common in the eighteenth century.

The Newer Towns. We must add that the newer towns, such as Manchester, Sheffield, and Birmingham, and places like Halifax, where Defoe found the most populous single parish in the kingdom, were much the most enterprising industrially. But, despite rapid growth, they had not yet ousted older centres from their pre-eminence in commerce. Socially, they presented no attractions, except to Non-conformists, who thronged there because they were un-controlled. Politically, too, they were unimportant, having no corporation and returning no Members to Parliament.

(2) TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

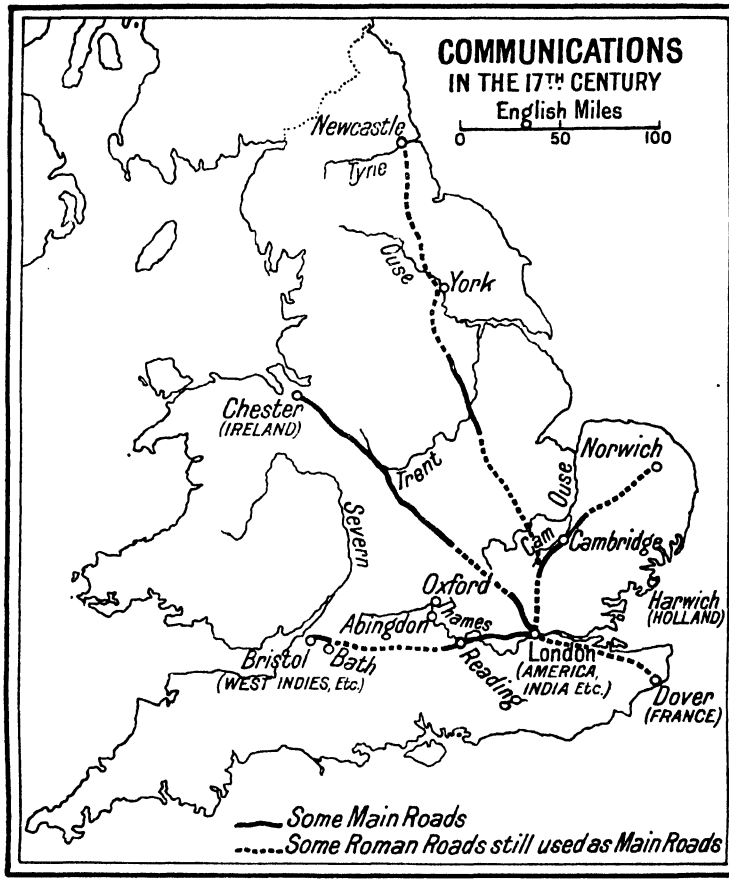
Inadequacy of the Roads. Although the smaller market-towns, as we have seen, were really part and parcel of the country, the distinction between town and country life was, on the whole, much more marked in the seventeenth century than it is to-day. The reason lay in the absence of the more effective modern methods of communication and transport. It took six days for a news-letter to reach Edinburgh from London along the Great North Road. Scotch and Welsh cattle and the poultry of East Anglia walked or waddled the whole way to the capital, of which they furnished the meat-supply. Winter descended upon the manor-house like the walls of a prison, for then no distant journey could be undertaken at all, except by the sturdy walker or tireless horseman: few people were pre-pared to risk the misadventures and delays while a wheeled vehicle was hauled out of holes and morasses by extra teams of cart-horses or even of oxen. Under such

circumstances village life had to be self-centred and mainly self-supporting.

Its Causes. The badness of the roads was due largely to the badness of the laws which regulated their upkeep. An Act of 1555 laid upon each parish the duty of providing two surveyors and the necessary labour for the maintenance of the roads that ran inside its boundaries. Exactly a century later, the personal labour was made commutable into a local rate, but the surveyors long continued to be invariably reluctant amateurs. Since many parishioners had no personal interest in the condition of the roads (except that, if they were impassable, travellers were entitled to take to the fields), they were not encouraged to be active. The worst holes would be filled with stones from time to time, but there was no systematic reconstruction or even drainage. After 1660, indeed, turnpikes, on which a toll was levied for repair of the surface, had been established over some stretches of road, but in 1714 these were still very few and (like the bridges) consigned to the care of the already overburdened justices of the peace. One reason why more effective measures were not taken was that the badness of the roads was not mainly due to any recent deterioration—though the Roman roads, which were still the mainstay of many districts, no doubt suffered wear and tear from century to century. It was only that their deficiencies became more noticeable in the seventeenth century, when the expansion of industry, commerce, and general opportunity made people more eager to get their goods or their persons conveyed safely and rapidly from place to place.

Types of Transport. The means of transport used varied with local conditions. Great ladies moved at a trot through the paved streets of London or Bath in sedan chairs and glass coaches, while the main highway—and its highwaymen, another peril!—was faced in a springless coach and four, which rarely exceeded a walking pace. But the less important thoroughfares and the green lanes that zigzagged across country from village to village witnessed only

the slow passing of the carrier's hooded waggon, bearing passengers and goods, or a train of laden pack-horses, or—commonest sight of all—the single horseman and the wayfaring man with his staff.



Heavy Goods moved by Water. It will not have escaped notice that, even in dry weather, none of these means of transport was suitable for the conveyance of heavy goods in bulk. Accordingly, river and sea were used whenever possible, and especially for agricultural products, which

had to be moved in large quantities. After the Restoration the work of excavating and lock-making was carried on piecemeal wherever capital could be raised and conservative opposition overcome. The rate of progress is not exactly known, but by the middle of the eighteenth century, at any rate, almost every place in England, outside the mountainous regions of the north and west, lay within one day's haul of navigable water. By 1700 Newcastle coal was distributed from London up the Thames valley, while the coal of South Wales was conveyed either down the Bristol Channel or up the Severn. Heavy timber, again, reached the shipyards of the metropolis by river from Reading or even Abingdon. As for food-stuffs, from Cheshire cheese downwards, almost everything that could not walk was sent to the capital from the coastal counties by sea; and rivers like the Trent and Bedford Ouse (besides those already mentioned) fulfilled a double purpose—they carried corn down, and tropical products, such as sugar, upstream.

Sea Passages. From the traveller's point of view, sea crossings combined the discomfort of the roads with the slowness of the river. Dover, where Charles II landed and where he signed the Secret Treaty, was the chief port for France, but during the long French wars at the end of the seventeenth century, the Continent was usually reached from Harwich, where the vessels sailed for Holland. In either case, an adverse wind might mean an indefinitely long delay in starting, and, once started, a small wooden sailing-ship had few amenities to offer to its passengers. Chester, in spite of the silting-up of the Dee, was the port from which William III set sail for Ireland, but longer voyages to America or the West Indies were made from London or Bristol. Under average circumstances, the Atlantic crossing might take six weeks, and though the ships were larger, the discomfort was hardly less than on shorter trips.

(3) COUNTRY LIFE

Importance of Rural Population. The marked distinction between town and country life did not mean that the latter was in any way of inferior importance. In spite of the growth of London, the vast majority of the population in 1700 was scattered over rural neighbourhoods, engaged not only in agricultural occupations but in many of the industries we have described, such as the national vocation of spinning and weaving wool. Moreover, even the noble families, which largely upheld the destinies of the nation, had their roots, so to speak, firmly planted in their rural estates, where their great mansions stood and whence they derived their wealth. That is why Anne's minister, Harley, thought it worth while to send his secret emissary, Daniel Defoe, to tour the countryside and sound local opinion; and was not the most appreciated character in *The Spectator* that very rural knight, Sir Roger de Coverley?

Agricultural Activity. The exportation of wheat increased steadily during the seventeenth century and was officially encouraged. In 1670 Parliament repealed the price limit, above which the export trade had formerly been forbidden, and in 1689 it established the important new policy of paying a bounty on every quarter sent out of the kingdom. Large quantities were likewise, of course, consumed within the kingdom, not only of wheat, but of rye (rye-bread was still widely eaten by the poor) and barley, from which was brewed the staple drink of all classes. Corn wholesalers therefore visited every district to buy the crops, and they and the woolstaplers between them made farming reasonably prosperous. By 1700 some landowners were investing new money in their estates, and many of the eighteenth-century improvements in agriculture had been anticipated. But perhaps the most characteristic work of the Restoration epoch was the planting of trees, to replace the woods which had been felled for the punishment of 'Malignants' under the Commonwealth and to serve in due

time for the shipping which was the nation's pride. Nevertheless, lest the economic picture should appear too rosy, it must be added that about one-half of all the parishes in the country still practised communal tillage in the open fields, where each man's strips of land were necessarily subjected to the same ancient and primitive routine as his neighbour's.

Social Organisation of the Village. The social domination of the squire in the village was all the while increasing at the expense of every other class. Even the parson, who might possibly vie with him in lineage and certainly in learning, was very often appointed by him as owner of the living. Tenant farmers and the labourers who worked for them depended on him as landlord. The very numerous class of 'squatters'—disreputable denizens of tumble-down cottages on the edge of the village common, who had no regular employment—dreaded him above all as the local magistrate, who (after 1660) might enforce the laws against them, such as the Elizabethan prohibition of building cottages without four acres of ground attached, with strictness or leniency at his own discretion. Thus the only independent inhabitants were the yeomen, the name applied especially to small freeholders who worked their own land. But their rights had in at least one respect been invaded by Parliament, which during Charles II's reign forbade the smaller yeoman, whose land was worth less than £100 a year, to kill game on his own property. The larger question of their increase or decrease is one to which the answer is not positively known: yeomen are supposed to have constituted ten per cent. of the population in 1688, and by that date enclosures, which squires forced through in opposition to their interests, may have started their decline, which became pronounced in the first half of the following century.

Political Significance of the Yeomen. The matter is of great political significance, because the squire and the parson were usually Tories. Some great Whig nobleman might be the figurehead of the county, but they shaped rural opinion in accordance with their own views, so that,

for example, Nonconformists, hated by the Tory squire as well as by the parson, were often excluded from whole districts long after the Toleration Act of 1689. But the yeoman was a 40-shilling freeholder and entitled, as such, to a vote in parliamentary elections for the knights of the shire. Consequently, in times of excitement, such as the Exclusion Bill agitation in the years 1679–81 or the election which gave the Tories power to make peace in 1710, the yeomen alone were capable of taking an independent line and changing their side, so that the fate of governments might depend upon this solid democratic element in the community, so eminently deserving of preservation.

Advantages of Village Life. Nevertheless, village life in any case had much to recommend it. Quite apart from the well-nigh universal clothing industry, every village contained a large variety of handicrafts, because difficulties of transport made it desirable to manufacture apparel of all kinds, domestic utensils, and agricultural implements on the spot. Rural society was therefore less one-sided than it is nowadays, and it is said that familiarity with different trades and occupations was what caused the rural emigrant then to succeed so well as a colonist. Further, the pre-eminence of the squire was compatible with a great mingling of ranks, for, since Eton and Westminster were literally inaccessible from most rural manor-houses, the squire's sons attended local grammar schools side by side with the families of farmers and even labourers, and doubtless shared freely in their pastimes on the village green. Lastly, we must remember the beauty, the calm, and the romance of an unspoilt countryside, where the fox-hounds were the only novelty and the creatures of folk-lore had scarcely vanished from sight.

1714–1782

CHAPTER XXII

THE AGE OF WALPOLE

1714–1739

"Madam, there are fifty thousand men slain this year in Europe, and not one Englishman."

Walpole to Queen Caroline, 1734.

(1) ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WHIGS

Position of the Whigs. The two great changes of 1713 and 1714 combined to produce a third. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) England had secured a great opportunity of commercial and colonial expansion. By the Hanoverian Succession (1714) she had secured an equally great opportunity of free constitutional development. For King George I was a middle-aged German, who much preferred his native Hanover (where he could rule as he liked) and took no intelligent interest in the government of his new possessions, in which limited monarchy was already half-established. The third change was that the two parties ceased to alternate in office, which became the monopoly of the Whigs. They had won George's favour while he was still in Hanover, but kept their position because they contrived to suit the unenthusiastic, commercial spirit of the new age and to avoid arousing the active hostility of the Tories, who were almost certainly more numerous. Thus the main theme of the next half-dozen years is the establishment of the Whig party in power.

Jacobite Rebellion of 1715. How difficult their position was is shown by the organisation of a Jacobite rising within a year of George I's landing. It proved a complete failure because James Edward, the son of James II and

commonly known as the 'Old Pretender,' was too honourable to consent to become a Protestant for a political advantage; and because England's indefatigable enemy, Louis XIV of France, died earlier in this very year. Even so, two battles were fought. One of the Members for Northumberland, called Forster, with the Catholic Lord Derwentwater, headed a force in the counties on both sides of the Border, which marched into Lancashire, where Catholics were numerous, and was completely routed at Preston. But in the north of Scotland, where hatred of the Whig Argyle, love of Episcopacy, and hopes of regaining the national independence were still strong, the rebellion wore at first a more serious aspect. The Earl of Mar raised a considerable force among the clans, which fought a drawn battle at Sheriffmuir against the Government troops under Argyle on the same day as the Preston surrender. [See Map, p. 299/1.] However, the Highlanders, who were easily discouraged, scattered to protect their own homes, and when the Pretender himself at last reached Scotland in December, it was too late to revive their enthusiasm in face of the careful preparations of the Government.

Septennial Act and Peerage Bill. It is characteristic of the Whig policy that only a very few of the leaders, such as Derwentwater, were executed: they preferred to secure their position in other ways, which would arouse less feeling. In 1715 the constitution received one addition which has proved permanent, namely, the Riot Act, whereby justices of the peace can, by proclamation, require a riotous mob to disperse under severe penalties, which come into effect one hour after the proclamation is read. But at the time more stir was caused by the Septennial Act, which prolonged the maximum duration of a Parliament to seven (in place of three) years. The Whigs passed this so as to avoid a General Election just after the Jacobite Rising, but it lasted for nearly two centuries, during the first of which a Parliament was rarely dissolved before it reached its full term: so the law is obviously important. Yet another constitutional change was proposed a little

later (1719) in the Peerage Bill. In 1712 the sovereign had used the sudden creation of twelve Tory peers to force a Tory measure through the House of Lords, and the Whigs feared that the same sort of thing might happen again, unless the sovereign's right of creating new peers was drastically curtailed. They therefore proposed a limit of six new peerages above the existing number, which would have made the Lords a closed aristocracy unrepresentative of the newer families of position in the country. But the Whig party was divided over the matter, and the Bill was eloquently opposed by Walpole, who procured its rejection.

Triple Alliance, 1717. In foreign policy likewise the Whigs took steps to secure their position. The main feature was a close friendship with France, where the Regent Orleans combined hostility to his kinsman, Philip V of Spain—a possible rival for the French throne, in the event of the death of his child-nephew, Louis XV—with a dread of Spanish activity in Europe, which was threatening to upset the arrangements made by the Peace of Utrecht. In particular, Spain sought to acquire for herself the Kingdom of Sicily, which was about to be transferred from Savoy to Austria. But when she attacked the island, in 1718, the Spanish fleet was destroyed by the British off Cape Passaro, in pursuance of a Triple Alliance concluded the previous year among England, Holland, and France. Spanish efforts to build up a counter-alliance, which (among other objects) would favour the Jacobite cause, failed with the death of the warrior-king, Charles XII of Sweden, in 1719, so the Triple Alliance kept Europe for a term of years at peace.

Stanhope and Sunderland and the Cabinet. But the most important aspect of the history of this period was the building up of a system of government which favoured Whig supremacy. The leading ministers were Lord Stanhope, who had fought in the Peninsula during the War of the Spanish Succession, and the great Duke of Marlborough's son-in-law, Lord Sunderland. Up to 1717, indeed, their authority was no larger than that of their

two colleagues, Townshend and Walpole, but the latter then resigned office on the ground—which circumstances soon rendered a common charge—that the other ministers were currying favour with King George by a foreign policy which profited Hanover rather than England. This episode well illustrates the growth of ministerial power—even foreign policy was under their control, and the most the King could do was to exert his influence for the benefit of Hanover. Two factors combined to make the ministry supreme. Since George I knew nothing of the English language or politics he did not preside over their meetings, as earlier sovereigns had done; and since he believed the Tories to be Jacobites he never threatened to transfer his confidence from the Whigs to their opponents. Thus the Cabinet began to assume its modern form as the committee of ministers, from one party, to which the whole responsibility of government is entrusted in the King's name and behalf. As yet they had no single leader, but, since somebody had to preside and report their decisions to the King, one person gradually became supreme. The great office of Lord Treasurer was now abolished, but Stanhope, as First Lord of the Treasury from 1717 to 1721, to some extent anticipated the authority which Walpole later enjoyed as 'Prime Minister.'

Whig Control of House of Commons. Such a Cabinet, expected to follow one leader and support one policy, was naturally a source of strength to the party in office. Another source was its hold over the House of Commons, in which the party effectively controlled all legislation. The main factors were two, the first of which was the existence of numerous boroughs, where the electors were too few to be independent of the money or threats of a neighbouring landlord. Such 'rotten' boroughs were mostly owned by the great Whig magnates, who sat in the Lords themselves but by this means ensured a safe Whig majority in the Commons as well. The other factor was the direct influence of the Government upon members of the House, its faithful supporters being rewarded by the

gift (for themselves and their friends) of titles and honours and, above all, lucrative official places. Since the Scottish members all voted Whig on principle, it was chiefly in the county constituencies and a few towns with a wide franchise that independent representatives were returned: the nominees of the Whig lords and the placemen of the Whig ministers for many years made up a safe majority.

Avoidance of Controversial Measures. Thus some seventy great Whig families, often quarrelling with each other, constituted among them the Government of England. Their majority was really safe, however, just so long as their party-leaders avoided any controversial measure which might rouse Tory feeling or excite their own supporters, who did not usually lack patriotism at bottom, to vote against their immediate interests. Accordingly, the Whigs continued to act warily. The Tory squires were left in control of local affairs in their capacity as J.P.'s; the Tory politicians who had figured in the dramatic events of Anne's last years were for the most part left undisturbed; and the Tory clergy saw to their delight that, although the Nonconformists were released from the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts (1711 and 1714), no serious effort was made to take away the Test and Corporation Laws. It is characteristic of the compromise by which England was governed that throughout the century periodical Acts of Indemnity were passed to free Nonconformists from penalties incurred by their acceptance of some municipal office, while the law remained to gratify Tories by the stigma which it imposed upon a body of citizens who were almost invariably Whigs.

The South Sea Bubble, 1719–20. Meanwhile, the average Englishman of position devoted himself to the congenial work of getting rich quick. [See also Economic Section.] Enormous fortunes, it appeared, could be made very easily, through the 'Asiento,' which entitled England to the slave trade and a little general commerce with Spanish South America. The South Sea Company, formed in 1710, had a monopoly of this business, and, in

order to advertise its prosperity and obtain further concessions from the Government, it offered to take over the National Debt. That is to say, it would pay off the creditors of the State in cash or its own shares, receiving in return a low rate of interest from the Government on the sum that it had taken over. This stroke—which had an almost exact parallel in France—convinced the public that the Company, if it could undertake such vast transactions, must have wonderful prospects of profit from its oversea trade. People rushed to buy—the shares reached a fantastic height—and then the 'Bubble' was pricked. Innumerable other companies for all sorts of objects having been floated on this favourable tide, the South Sea Company rashly quarrelled with one of them; and the resulting lawsuit cast doubts upon its own financial soundness. The Bubble once pricked, those people, who had bought the shares at inflated prices with every penny they could raise, found themselves suddenly ruined: for their shares were now valueless.

Fall of Stanhope Ministry, 1720. Who was to blame? The popular answer was—the Government, which had agreed to the National Debt transaction (now cancelled), had done nothing to warn the public, and, in the person of several prominent members, had itself dabbled in the business. Stanhope died of the disgrace, and Sunderland was driven from public life by the long-continued hatred of the people. Yet their place was taken, not by Tories, but by the rival Whig leader, Walpole, who had distrusted the 'Bubble' Company throughout and warned the Government against it, though he did not scruple to enrich himself by buying and selling in time. He was accompanied in his return to office by his brother-in-law, Lord Townshend.

(2) THE RULE OF WALPOLE

Character of Walpole. Sir Robert Walpole—he was knighted as a mark of royal favour in 1725—was a Norfolk squire of moderate fortune, who had been prominent

on the Whig side in politics under Queen Anne and suffered imprisonment in the Tower during the Tory supremacy of 1710–14. He was in no sense an idealist, but he benefited the country more than many men who were, because he clung to a policy of peace both internal and external; and peace was what the country needed, if the Hanoverian dynasty was to last. Having a low view of human nature, he thought that a system of government which troubled nobody and left people free to make money in commerce would be generally acceptable; and Members who threatened to become fractious could usually be bought off by the offer of a 'place.' For two decades these methods kept Walpole in power, which was what he chiefly wanted: and the characteristic features of the period are sound finance, the allaying of occasional storms, and a general uneventfulness.

His Control over the Cabinet. Walpole left his mark, nevertheless, upon the British constitution. His Tory opponents, indeed, were treated with remarkable tolerance. Even the great Lord Bolingbroke was allowed to return from exile (1723) and, though excluded from the House of Lords, he could air his views without molestation both in his periodical, *The Craftsman*, and in a regular treatise on the rule of the ideal Tory monarch, called *The Patriot King*. But inside the Government Walpole insisted on unity and obedience. Out of three leading members of the Whig party, the first, William Pulteney, was kept out of office because he was not thought by Walpole to be sufficiently submissive; the second, Carteret, lost his Secretaryship of State and the control of foreign affairs because he was too versed in the latter not to have his own ideas; and the third, Lord Townshend, was driven into private life as soon as he dared to withstand his kinsman. One result was a steady growth in the numbers of the Opposition, which came to include many discontented Whigs, and set its hopes upon the Prince of Wales, courting his favour with a view to great changes when his father (whom he hated) should die. But the main result was to make Walpole, not the first among

equals, but—though he did not accept the name—a Prime Minister in the modern sense, nominating and ruling over the other members of his Cabinet and exercising a general control over policy. It is noteworthy that none of Walpole's successors in this supremely onerous post has held it so long.

Wood's Halfpence and Porteous Riots. Both Scotland and Ireland gave Walpole an opportunity to show his desire for 'peace at any price.' In 1723 there was a particularly bad case of jobbery, in which an Englishman named Wood was given a far too profitable contract for supplying all the copper coins for Ireland. This was exposed by the Tory writer, Dean Swift, in his *Drapier's Letters*, whereupon Walpole quieted down the Irish, although they were remote and had no influence on the English Parliament, by cancelling the contract. He adopted the same attitude over a gross scandal of a different type, which occurred a dozen years later in Edinburgh. A certain Captain Porteous having fired upon a riotous crowd was sentenced to death for murder, and then, since the sentence was manifestly unjust, the Government stepped in and reprieved him. The people of Edinburgh thereupon defied the Government and lynched the prisoner, but the only punishment that Walpole inflicted on the city, apart from empty threats, was to require the payment of a pension to the victim's widow!

The Colonies and the Molasses Act, 1733. His colonial policy was likewise one of masterly inactivity, as may be gathered from the fact that it was left largely in the hands of Carteret's successor as Secretary of State, the Duke of Newcastle. He was the most influential of the Whig noblemen, the patron of many borough seats, and a person who loved making appointments and showing his own importance: but he was no statesman and found it safest to ignore dispatches and leave the touchy American colonists, for instance, to their own devices. Only once did some action become inevitable, and that was when the wealthy West Indian colonies, in which a good many Members of Parliament had their money invested, pro-

tested that New England was buying the molasses for its rum manufacture from the French West Indian islands instead of from them. This was a very complicated question, because the profits of the rum manufacture were largely used by the New Englander to buy English goods: but the most obvious policy was to maintain the old principle of using the tariff to damage the foreigner's trade. A Molasses Act was therefore passed, which imposed heavy duties upon foreign molasses, sugar, and rum, but, as no serious effort was made to stop general smuggling of the forbidden goods, Government contrived to please the West Indies without seriously annoying New England.

The Excise Bill, 1733. The minister who viewed with such concern the possibility of creating ill-feeling in any part of the King's dominions was particularly sensitive to the public opinion of England and its capital. More than once a London mob prevented innovation—even when they demonstrated on behalf of such a cause as restoring the old prices at the theatres. So they played a prominent part in thwarting Walpole's wishes over the one kind of innovation for which he seriously cared, namely, financial reform. In that connection he showed real discernment by reducing the tariff on raw materials and exports so as to encourage trade, and by starting a Sinking Fund, for which so much a year was set aside from the revenue with a view to paying off the National Debt. But his main idea was to extend the excise, that is to say, the tax which had been levied ever since the Civil War on goods such as beer when they were sold to the consumer. Hitherto the excise had only been applied to what was made at home: Walpole wanted to substitute it for the customs duties on foreign and colonial wine and tobacco, which were normally exacted at the ports. The main result would have been to check smuggling, since it would be much harder to evade a tax which was levied when goods were taken out of the warehouses for consumption. But it was also intended to let raw materials of any kind come into the English ports duty-free, to pay excise subsequently

if they were used in England, and to pay no charge if they were re-exported.

The Scheme Abandoned. Thus every interested party —except the smugglers—would have gained by the Excise Bill of 1733. But the Opposition seized the chance to create trouble by persuading the people that the excisemen would invade every man's home and property. There were no proper police to face the London mob, which on this occasion, as throughout the period, took the conservative side and demonstrated against the change proposed. Finally, Members of Parliament, even those who usually supported the minister in the hope of various favours, feared to lose their seats at the next election, if they supported the unpopular measure. At that point Walpole surrendered rather than risk all in forcing through a proposal which he knew to be in itself sound.

Walpole's Relations with George II and Queen Caroline. Apart from this episode, the prudent minister's position was only once seriously threatened, and that was by a personal difficulty against which he could not guard. Powerful as he was, he held office by the choice of King George I. George I quarrelled violently with his son, round whom the Opposition gathered, secure in the knowledge that the Prince of Wales, when he succeeded to the throne, would on principle dismiss the minister of his hated father. In 1727 that day came, but a period of less than a week, during which another minister was tried, convinced George II that Walpole was indispensable. He was helped in coming to that conclusion by his wife, Queen Caroline, probably the wisest of English queens consort, who devoted herself until her untimely death in 1737 to the great task of explaining and justifying Walpole's policy, which she understood better than anyone else, to the impatient King. George II was not an unlovable character like his father, but a brave general, who had shown his mettle in Marlborough's wars; and—what was perhaps more important—he had lived long enough in England to speak a little English and feel a little interest in English problems, though

he was naturally more keenly alive to the needs of Hanover.

War of the Polish Succession, 1733–5. In particular, George II was eager for England to enter into the War of the Polish Succession, for he aspired to take command in person and there was a chance that, if he did so, Hanover might gain some territory. Walpole dissuaded him, since a quarrel between France and Russia, as to who should be the next King of Poland, was certainly no affair of ours. One result of this pacific policy was that France, finding the British alliance unprofitable, entered into a Family Compact with Spain. But posterity prefers to remember Walpole's proud boast to the Queen—whose tact had largely helped him to calm the King—by which he more than justified his action.

Colonisation of Georgia, 1732. That was the better side of Walpole's policy, which is too often judged as a mere 'playing for safety' without any positive results. He not only safeguarded an insecure dynasty, but he left Englishmen free to develop their private enterprises. The wealth which in the following reign produced the Industrial Revolution was largely accumulated at this time, during which the figures of commerce steadily mounted. But in the final example of the foundation of Georgia, under Acts of Parliament over which Walpole had control, we can see that the enterprises of the age were not merely commercial. Georgia was the southernmost of the thirteen American colonies, and was founded in 1732 by an aristocratic pioneer, General Oglethorpe, as a refuge for destitute persons released from debtors' prisons. To this original motive were added the idea of helping persecuted Protestants from Germany, of stimulating colonial trade, and of establishing a bulwark against Spanish settlements in Florida. The scheme was never entirely successful, but the age in which money and enthusiasm could be raised to launch it cannot have been completely demoralised by the great statesman who ensured conditions of peace, in the absence of which such schemes—and all constructive work—would have been impossible.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PEACE DISTURBED

1739–1748

"The world is my parish."

John Wesley.

(1) THE FALL OF WALPOLE

Causes of the War of Jenkyns' Ear. The Opposition to Walpole, headed by the Tory Bolingbroke and recruited from the Whig ranks whenever any of his own party dared to withstand the great minister's wishes, used every opportunity to attack him—witness their conduct over the Excise Bill—but he remained invulnerable, because his policy, as we have seen, was to do what the people wanted so as to maintain peace and quiet. But what if the people wanted war? One consequence of the Family Compact of 1733 was that the Spanish Government became bolder in enforcing the exclusion of foreign ships from the commerce of their immense American colonies. By the Treaty of Utrecht Britain possessed the 'Asiento' and the right to send one ship to the annual fair at Porto Bello, but for many years British merchants had presumed upon these privileges—and the strength of their Navy—to conduct an extensive illegal trade in America. There were constant squabbles and conflicts with the Spanish guardships, about which it was easy to rouse feelings of patriotic indignation in England. Captain Jenkyns, whose ear had been cut off by a Spanish officer—or so he said—as early as 1731, was only one among a number of victims on both sides. But he brought his case before Parliament, where the Opposition were encouraged by Frederick, Prince of Wales (who carried

on the family tradition of hostility to his father and his father's ministers), to make the most of it. This helped to prevent the success of negotiations which might have settled the whole dispute by a reasonable convention between the two countries. The war which ruined Walpole is therefore called the War of Jenkyns' Ear, though its fundamental causes were a foolish patriotism and a less foolish, though far from meritorious, desire to capture colonies and trade.

Events of the War; Fall of Walpole, 1742. In the first year of the war, which was fought entirely in the disputed western hemisphere, a British expedition captured the important trade-centre of Porto Bello, though it was not held for long. The next year Admiral Anson, following in the footsteps of Drake, plundered the Pacific coast of South America and captured some treasure, making his way home eventually westwards round the world. This achievement was spectacular rather than important. But in 1741 our attacks on Cartagena and Cuba were actual failures, whereupon the public became convinced that Walpole was as half-hearted over waging the war as he had been in beginning it. A General Election was due at this time, and all Walpole's sources of influence were useless when the candidates found themselves confronted by an indignant and excited nation. As a result, his majority in the House of Commons was reduced to a dozen votes, which he regarded as an indication that he must resign. For Walpole, who remained a member of the House of Commons throughout his long tenure of high office, had been gradually establishing the principle, which was now becoming part and parcel of the constitution, that the ministry must represent the wishes of the House of Commons. Accordingly, he resigned in February 1742, was made an earl, survived the bitter attacks of his triumphant enemies (who wanted him impeached), and died in 1745.

Ministries of 1742–4 and 1744–54. The new ministry included various of the Whig malcontents, but not the Tories, who were now few in number and still distrusted by the Court as Jacobite suspects. The nominal leader was a

certain Lord Wilmington, but the man who counted was the brilliant Lord Carteret. It did not last long, however, for Wilmington died the next year and Carteret was driven to resign by unscrupulous attacks on his patriotism and policy by a younger Whig orator, William Pitt, who had shared in the onslaught upon Walpole and bitterly resented his own exclusion from office. Wilmington's place as head of the ministry was taken by Lord Henry Pelham, the younger brother of the Duke of Newcastle, with Newcastle (who survived all changes) as Secretary of State; and in 1746 the arrangements were completed by the admission of Pitt, to the King's great disgust, to the post of Paymaster-General. This 'broad-bottomed administration,' in which all the Whigs (and even a few Tories) were effectively united, lasted ten whole years (1744–54).

Carteret and the War of the Austrian Succession. Carteret, however, had remained in office long enough to effect a decisive change in foreign policy, such as befitted one who spoke German with the King and understood Continental problems better than any Englishman alive. A complicated situation gave him his chance. In 1740 the Emperor Charles VI died, bequeathing the whole of the vast Austrian possessions to his daughter, Maria Theresa, secure in the knowledge that he had induced every important Power in Europe to accept this arrangement beforehand by solemnly agreeing to a document called the Pragmatic Sanction. The undertaking was immediately broken, both by Prussia, whose young King, Frederick (the Great), invaded Silesia, and by France and Spain, which likewise hoped to reap some selfish advantage. At first Maria Theresa's enemies carried all before them; but in 1742 Carteret persuaded her to lessen the odds against her by buying off Prussia with the cession of Silesia for the time being, and followed up this stroke by bringing Britain into the war as her ally. Thus the original war against Spain had become a war in alliance with Austria, which in turn became a war against Austria's chief remaining enemy, France, though this was not officially declared until 1744.

Battle of Dettingen, 1743. The policy could be defended both on grounds of honour—George II felt keenly that Britain ought to stand by the Pragmatic Sanction according to her promise—and of interest, for the dismemberment of Austria would undoubtedly upset the Balance of Power, to say nothing of the possibility that the French might annex the Netherlands. The navy was, on the whole, successfully employed in such tasks as the blockading of French as well as Spanish fleets in Mediterranean ports. But the British army was not fated to repeat the triumphs of Marlborough. A single battle showed this, when a joint force of British, Dutch, and Hanoverians, with the King himself in command, faced the French at Dettingen on the Main. The French made, indeed, so many blunders that the British side won, but the impression which was left behind was of the hostility that raged between English and Hanoverians and the futility of sacrificing English lives to benefit the Electorate.

Capture of Louisburg; Defeat at Fontenoy. Across the ocean, as a matter of fact, a solid success had already been won by the New England colonists, who without any military assistance from home captured the great fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island; but this was too far away to arouse general interest. The war became very unpopular. Pitt launched his tremendous attack on its conduct, which caused Carteret to resign; and it did not help matters when in May 1745 our army was defeated at Fontenoy in the Austrian Netherlands, which we were trying to defend. This battle is famous for the discipline of the Guards regiments and for the impetuous valour of the Irish Brigade on the side of the enemy, but its real importance lies in its connection with a revival of Jacobitism.

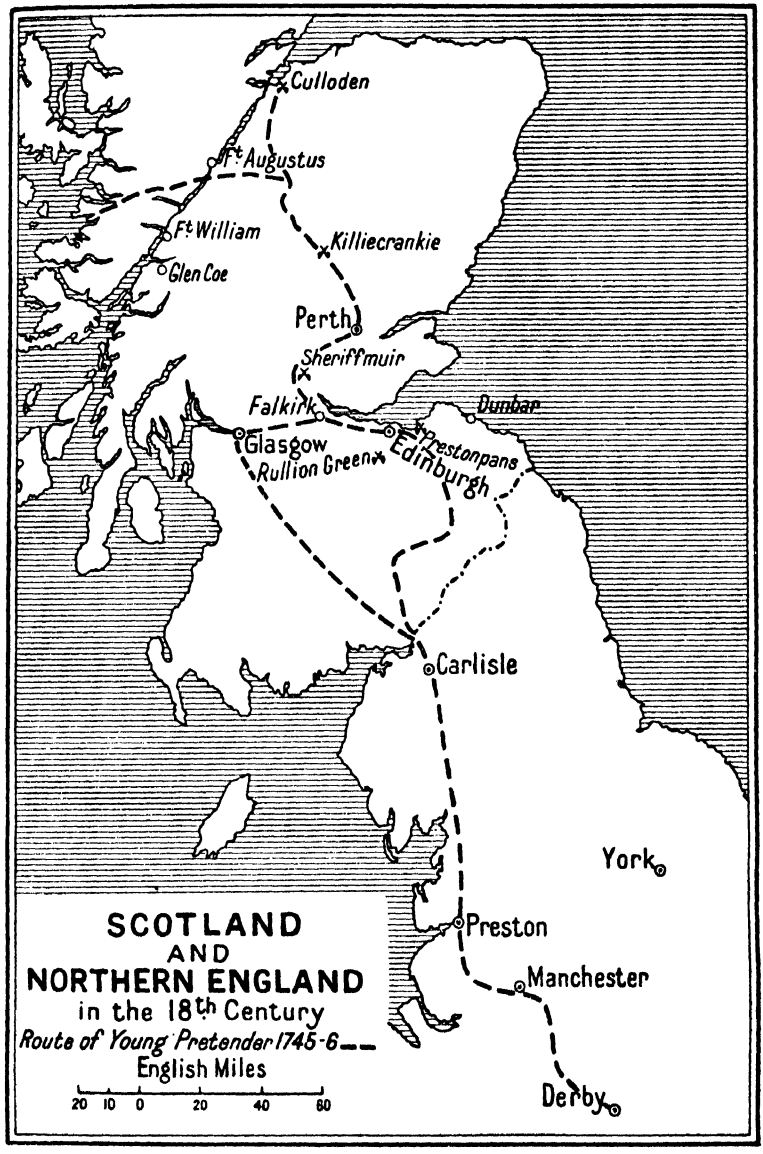
(2) THE 'FORTY-FIVE

The Jacobites' Opportunity. For thirty years Walpole's prudence had allowed the Jacobites no opportunity, but the war with France resulted immediately in schemes for

a French army to land in Scotland and support a rising. The French army found its movement hampered both by the British fleet and by an inopportune storm, changed its destination to the Netherlands, and won Fontenoy—which served nearly as well. For the English defeat encouraged the Jacobites, and the Young Pretender landed almost alone in the Western Highlands to head the hoped-for rebellion. If his father, the would-be James III, who had achieved so little in the 'Fifteen, ever got the English throne, it would be due to the gallant bearing of his young son, the 'Bonny Prince Charlie' of romance, whose adventures now began with the rapid seizure of Edinburgh, the original home of the Stuart dynasty.

Prince Charles at Derby, December 1745. He had only a few Highlanders at his back, but one charge sufficed to sweep away Cope's army of three thousand men, when it advanced along the coast to Prestonpans, hoping to contest the possession of Edinburgh. Then came a fatal delay during which the veteran troops engaged in the struggle on the Continent were hurried home. Had Prince Charles reached England before them the militia would not have dared to resist the clansmen, and he might have taken London as easily as the Scottish capital. As it was, he penetrated England *via* Carlisle and Manchester down to Derby, which was reached in early December, but few recruits had joined his little army of five thousand clansmen, even in Catholic Lancashire, and both the numbers and courage of the Highlanders dwindled with the increasing distance from their homes.

Falkirk and Culloden, 1746. Prince Charles reluctantly turned, and a rebellion on the defensive, it has been well said, can never be successful. On the return journey he beat his pursuers once more at Falkirk (January 1746), but was then driven steadily into the north. Finally, the King's second son, Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, overtook what was left of the rebels at Culloden with a well-trained army, including Dutch soldiers provided to protect England under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. 'Butcher' Cumberland,


Culloden
Ft. Augustus
Ft. William
Glen Coe
Killiecrankie
Perth
Sheriffmuir
Falkirk
Glasgow
Rullion Green
Dunbar
Prestonpans
Edinburgh
Carlisle
York
Preston
Manchester
Derby
SCOTLAND
AND
NORTHERN ENGLAND
in the 18th Century
Route of Young Pretender 1745-6
English Miles
20 10 0 20 40 60

having won a complete victory, earned the epithet by the cruelty with which he harried the defeated army and its native glens.

Consequences. What were the results? Charles Edward, thanks to the superb loyalty of his Highland followers, escaped to France, where he eked out the rest of his life—he did not die till 1788—as a hopeless exile; and with the death of his younger brother, Henry, in 1807, the unhappy Stuart line became extinct. But Jacobitism as a political movement died in 1746. The indifference with which most people had regarded the advance of the rebels revealed very strikingly the absence of any loyalty to the Hanoverians, even after thirty years; but when there was no longer any alternative to their rule, the Tories got ready to transfer loyalty to a member of their house, so soon as one that was young and sufficiently English should follow the ageing George II. But the chief definite consequence of the 'Forty-five was the disciplining of the Highlands, which had so long, under Stuart and Hanoverian alike, lived their separate life and honoured their own loyalties. A beginning had been made after the 'Fifteen with the building of Wade's military roads and of forts such as that which was now renamed Fort Augustus; but this time sterner measures were taken. The chiefs lost their rights of rule and jurisdiction over their respective clans. All arms were confiscated, at least in theory. Even the kilt and the bagpipes were forbidden, because they distinguished the Highlander from the ordinary peaceable citizen. The result was that within a generation thirty thousand of them had emigrated to the American colonies.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748. Meanwhile, the wars against Spain and France dragged on without further decisive episodes, unless we count as such the capture of Madras, the chief British trading-post in far-away India, by the French in 1746. On the Continent both sides were exhausted, when a general peace was at last negotiated in 1748 at Aix-la-Chapelle. Maria Theresa agreed, reluctantly enough, that Frederick of Prussia should keep Silesia,

but the bulk of her possessions were left intact. Neither England nor France had been driven to admit defeat, so conquests, principally Louisburg and Madras, were restored by either side, to provide a theme for future conflicts. As for Spain, the original subject of dispute was now almost forgotten, but we may notice that in 1750, in return for a lump sum, Britain agreed to forgo her trade privileges under the Treaty of Utrecht, so there was no excuse for further difficulties with Spanish coast-guards.

(3) METHODISM

The Social Problem. Two of the central features of the age of Walpole and the Pelhams, half-obscured by the fuss of aristocratic politics, were the barbarism of the people and the deadness of the Church. As to the former, drunkenness was very rife, partly because a new and potent spirit, gin, was being sold very cheaply, no restrictions being imposed by the Government, which knew that landowners derived profit from the sale of corn, out of which the stuff was manufactured. Moreover, the increase in British commerce and industry meant the accumulation of a large population in ports, such as London and Bristol, and on those coal-fields which were now being exploited: Hogarth's prints show what a crowd was like in days before police. The deadness of the Church was due to two main causes. On the one hand, the long religious struggle of the seventeenth century, of which enthusiasm and earnestness had provided the basis, led many clergymen to believe that reasonableness and good sense were more desirable fruits of piety to teach to their congregations. On the other hand, a still longer process of social change was raising the status of the clergy, who were now, as often as not, younger sons of squires and second only to the squires themselves in the opinion of the county. Such men were not likely to have much influence on a turbulent working class. Meanwhile, the Catholics were a small minority, whose priests were unofficially tolerated only so long as they did not show

themselves too active, and the Nonconformists shared in the Anglican apathy: it was during this period that the English Presbyterians, once so militant, began to change over to the philosophic creed of Unitarianism.

John Wesley, 1703–91. The life of John Wesley therefore shares with the career of the Elder Pitt the distinction of making, instead of merely affecting, eighteenth-century history. He was the son of a clergyman and was sent to Oxford in order that he might be qualified to succeed his father in a country rectory. But as undergraduates he and his brother Charles joined a society, the members of which bound themselves to habits of regular prayer and charitable works, and were therefore nicknamed 'Methodists.' Between 1735 and 1738 he attempted missionary work in Georgia, but did not do well at it and returned dissatisfied to England. Then in 1739, through the influence of devout Moravians from Germany, he underwent a complete conversion, that is to say, a sudden conviction that his sins were forgiven and that he could begin life anew. From that date until his death in 1791 John Wesley travelled up and down the country, preaching to anyone and everyone who cared to hear.

Methodist Teaching. Apart from his belief in conversions such as he had himself experienced, Wesley taught no new doctrine, though he stated old truths with new force, and his brother, the great hymn-writer, stated them with new beauty. He was not even so eloquent as George Whitefield, who for many years collaborated with the Wesleys, until they contested his belief in predestination. But Wesley was both tremendously earnest and tremendously courageous, so his preaching reached untold multitudes of half-savage people whom the Church had never touched at all—the very people to experience that sudden emotional change with which Wesley said the true religious life must begin.

Opposition to Methodism and to Welsh Revival. Methodism—the name was quickly transferred from Oxford to the far wider movement—had to face bitter opposition, which

was the more dangerous because almost from the first Wesley and his followers took to addressing their vast audiences in the open air at such places as the Kingswood collieries, near Bristol. The mob attacked them with dogs and stones, partly for a brutal sport, partly because they were something new, and therefore suspect. The clergy derided them and encouraged mob outrages, since the new preachers were enthusiasts and therefore undesirable. The magistrates and governing class would not protect them, since it was thought that crowd conversion was a menace to public order. It was not until 1784 that Wesley, by ordaining a bishop to supervise his followers in America, officially separated his Church from the Church of England, although the latter body consistently refused to have anything to do with Methodists. For he was anxious to retain his own status as an Anglican clergyman and to have his assistants, who became very numerous, recognised as lay preachers inside the Church. It is significant that a similar disruption occurred in Wales, where the same sort of religious revival began independently about the same time, was treated with hostility by the Establishment, formed a separate Church, and became the central point in the conspicuous Welsh nationalism of the next two centuries.

Importance of Methodism. The new Nonconformist Church, which John Wesley so reluctantly founded, soon became larger than all the existing Nonconformist bodies put together. Accordingly, one result was the perpetuation of that rivalry between Church and Chapel which made for a spirit of independence and promoted all kinds of activities. Another result followed from the particular type of organisation that Wesley adopted. The use of lay preachers and the control which lay members exercised over the general management of each chapel gave a great many people in the lower ranks of society an idea of public speaking and representative government, which fitted them for a place, later on, in the affairs of trade unions, town councils, and Parliament itself. Another later consequence of the Methodist movement was the growth towards the end

of the eighteenth century of Evangelicalism, a deepening of piety in the Church of England and among the governing class, from which sprang a great increase in foreign missions, the agitation against the slave trade, and a more humane attitude to many problems.

Beliefs of the Early Methodists. But during the years 1739–91—that is to say, up to the death of Wesley—the main importance of Methodism is its influence upon countless obscure lives. It reconciled men to the squalor and danger which were all too frequently the lot of the poor. It gave them in their religious exercises something that lifted them above the level of the beasts that perish. It promised them an eternity of bliss, in comparison with which the pursuits of their rulers, over whom they had no control, appeared utterly stale and unprofitable: for were not they enfranchised citizens of another Kingdom?

CHAPTER XXIV

PITT AND THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

1748–1763

"Under him for the first time administration and popularity were seen united. . . . Alone this island seemed to balance the rest of Europe."

Burke on Pitt, *Annual Register*, 1761.

(1) THE RISE OF WILLIAM PITT

Pelham Ministry, 1744–54; Reform of Calendar. Lord Henry Pelham, who presided over the Whig Ministry of 1744–54, was a sort of lesser Walpole, anxious to avoid stirring up trouble and a prudent financier. When the war ended in 1748 he managed to lessen the burden of the National Debt, which had been nearly doubled, by getting the interest down to 3 per cent. He also followed up Walpole's Molasses Act by an unwise attempt to favour British interests by forbidding iron manufactures in the American colonies, but the two main pieces of legislation passed in his time were not chosen by him and had little to do with politics. One was the reform of the calendar in 1751, at which date England was eleven days behind the revised Gregorian Calendar, long since adopted in Catholic countries but mistrusted by the English as being the work of a Pope (Gregory XIII). The change to the Gregorian Calendar with its more exact calculation of the course of the sun was effected by the simple device of dropping eleven days in the year of the change, which gave conservative mobs a chance to agitate, half in jest, with the cry, "Give us back our eleven days!"

Hardwicke's Marriage Act. Lord Hardwicke's Marriage

Act of 1753 is perhaps more remarkable, both for the lurid light it sheds on the manners of the age, and because it is an almost solitary instance of a social reform enacted by an eighteenth-century Parliament. Up to this date any clergyman, however disreputable, could perform a binding marriage ceremony for any two persons, however ill-matched, without any interval for reflection. Hardwicke as Lord Chancellor therefore drafted this Bill, requiring notice to be given and publicly advertised, upon which the system of 'banns' and the whole modern law of marriage are based.

Rise of William Pitt. During the last eight of these ten quiet years, William Pitt, the man of the future, was temporarily muzzled by the office which he held as Paymaster of the Forces. Even so, he marked himself out from the rest of the Whigs by his refusal to take the customary dishonest commission on subsidies to foreign allies, which his predecessors had taken when the money passed through their hands. Why was he different from others? For one thing William Pitt, grandson of a famous self-made merchant in India, albeit his father boasted a landed estate, came of a less illustrious stock and was far less wealthy than the Whig patricians—by comparison, at least, he was a man of the people. Then he had spent a longer period than others in Opposition, first, to Walpole, who had him dismissed from his commission in the army, and then to Walpole's virtual successor, Carteret. Moreover, as his favourite theme while in Opposition was to accuse ministers of 'truckling to Hanover,' he was of all Whigs the least popular with the King.

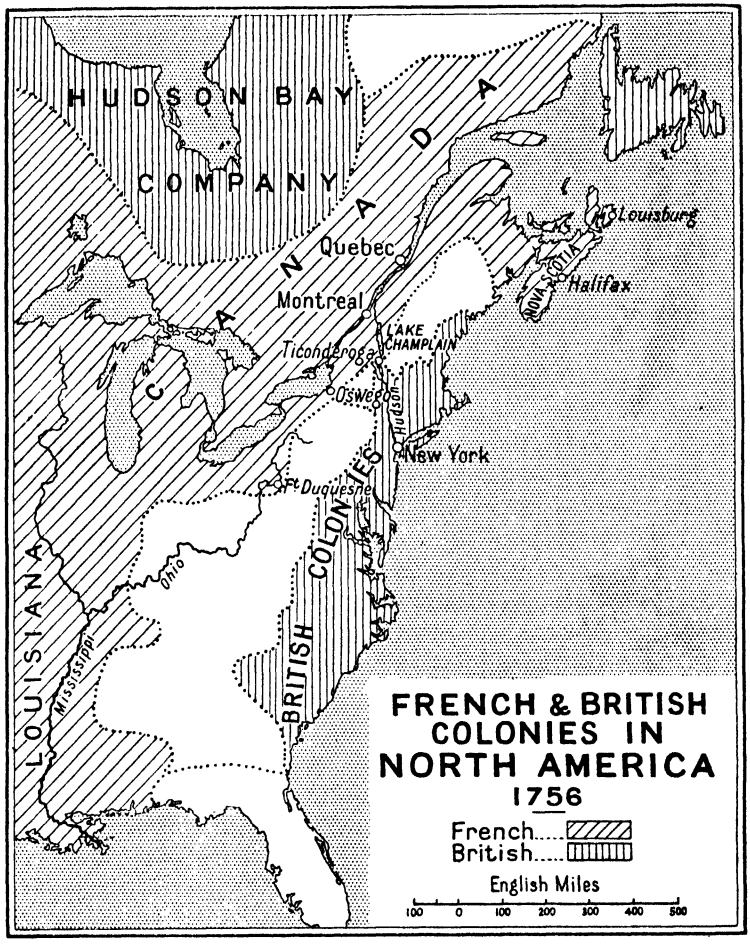
His Oratory. Pitt was very proud and very bold, but we have yet to mention the quality which, from the time of his first election for the nomination borough of Old Sarum (1735), bore him irresistibly to the front, namely, his eloquence. There were no genuine reports of parliamentary debates in those days, so we do not usually know the things he said. If we did, we might not admire them, for Pitt was theatrical, declamatory, and lacked a sense of

humour. But the fact remains that in the eighteenth-century House of Commons he was an irresistible orator, whose voice gave new courage to his friends and before whom his enemies bowed as before a storm.

Pitt and the Newcastle Ministry, 1754–6. Circumstances now combined to give such a man his chance. Pelham died in 1754, and was succeeded by his less competent elder brother, the Duke of Newcastle, who liked managing the Commons with posts and pensions but had no aptitude for matters of high policy. There was some difficulty in deciding who should take Pelham's place as leader of the House of Commons, since Newcastle sat in the Lords, but this was eventually settled by promoting a corrupt intriguer named Henry Fox (father of a more famous son) rather than Pitt, who was handicapped by the King's dislike. Pitt then left the Government and became its bitterest opponent, a fact which the imminence of great questions, such as Newcastle was incompetent to settle, rendered extremely important.

French Activity in India and America. The Peace of 1748 was a permanent settlement of nothing. In India, for instance, the restoration of Madras to the English traders served only to rouse the French, who spent the next few years of nominal peace in still greater endeavours to extrude their English rivals. But how they fared we must consider as a separate story. [See below, p. 346/1.] In America, however, the return of Louisburg to the French Canadians was the first link in a series of events which ultimately produced a general war. As a counterpoise to that fortress, the British Government for the first time rendered its occupation of Nova Scotia (British since 1713) effective by such measures as a garrison at Halifax, a plantation of discharged soldiers, and the deportation of French inhabitants to less dangerously disputed regions farther south. These Frenchmen were, of course, British subjects, but their removal was a high-handed action, not calculated to please France. Meanwhile the French refortified Louisburg, which guarded the mouth of the St Lawrence, and

proceeded to use the upper reaches of that river as a base from which to advance south-westwards behind the backs of the thirteen English colonies. In 1749 they had already



entered the Ohio Valley, from which they might reach the Mississippi, explored by them in the previous century, and join hands with their fellow-countrymen in Louisiana on the Gulf of Florida.

Fort Duquesne, 1753. Thus the alternative lay between a consolidation of the French position in America, which would cut off the English from all hope of expansion into the unexplored heart of the Continent, and consolidation of the English position, which equally would deprive the French of all chance of a united colonial empire. As the French were better organised and had better communications, they seemed likely at first to win the race. In 1753 the French Canadians drove away a body of English who were building a fort on the Ohio, completed it themselves, and named it Fort Duquesne. The following year a colonial force under a young commander named Washington tried to recapture it and failed; and in 1755 a Regular officer, General Braddock, with two regiments from home, was ambushed and killed in making the same attempt. Meanwhile the French pursued their advantage by constructing another fortress, Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, from which in 1755 they began to make their way south into the Hudson Valley, the great natural thoroughfare to New York, the heart of the English settlements.

Causes of Seven Years' War in Europe. Although both sides were employing regular soldiers in active warfare in the Ohio Valley in 1755, the war is dated from the opening of the conflict in Europe. If England and France were at war, Hanover was sure to be overrun by our enemies: therefore it was essential to find an ally. This was the problem before Newcastle, but it solved itself, because a strange regrouping of the European Powers indicated the ally for him. By the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756 the eternal enemies, France and Austria, became friends, and decided to unite with Russia in an attack on Frederick of Prussia, by which Austria would win back Silesia and the others acquire what territory they wanted. When these changes were impending, Prussia and England joined forces by the Convention of Westminster (January 1756); England and France formally declared war on each other; and a few months later Frederick the Great struck the first blow at a circle of enemies by invading Saxony.

(2) THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—DISASTER

Loss of Minorca. The war was to give Pitt his chance, with consequences that are still writ large on the map of the world. But when it began his great powers were still being employed in the work of denouncing the incompetence of Newcastle, who was short-sightedly concerned for the safety of Hanover rather than our great American empire. The first events confirmed Pitt's fears. The island of Minorca, captured for a naval base in 1708, was suddenly attacked by the French. Admiral Byng was sent to the rescue, fought an indecisive battle, and withdrew with more prudence than gallantry to safeguard Gibraltar, the result being that Minorca was lost. This was a serious blow, but it was made worse by Newcastle's action in trying to pacify public opinion by an unfair court martial, which eventually ordered Byng to be shot for cowardice instead of reprimanded for misjudgment, and ignored the fact that the defences of both the fortresses in question had been weakened by previous neglect. Bad news also poured in from America, where another British outpost, Fort Oswego, had fallen into the enemy's hands; from Germany, where Frederick was certain to be too hard pressed to undertake the defence of Hanover for us; and from India, where the British traders had been the victims of a horrible native outrage—the Black Hole of Calcutta.

First Pitt Ministry, November 1756–April 1757. Newcastle was obviously incompetent to deal with the situation, and public opinion suggested that his most formidable critic, Pitt, was no less obviously the man to take his place. The King swallowed his dislike to the extent of sanctioning a new ministry, in which a Whig nobleman, the Duke of Devonshire, was nominal head, but the real power rested with Pitt as Secretary of State. Pitt made all sorts of plans, but throughout the few months (November 1756–April 1757) that this ministry lasted he was hampered by the ill-will of the King, the powerful hostility of Newcastle (who still controlled the majority of votes in the Commons),

and the opposition of George II's military son, the Duke of Cumberland. In the end it was the last-named who caused Pitt's resignation by refusing to take command in Germany, if the minister who had so often slighted Hanoverian interests remained in office.

Pitt-Newcastle Coalition, 1757–61. For eleven weeks, at the very height of the war, the country had no Government, while the King sounded every possible Whig leader in turn and the general public demonstrated their belief in Pitt. In the end the wish of the public prevailed, a coalition being formed between Pitt and his enemy, the Duke of Newcastle. Pitt was to have the sole direction of the war, Newcastle was to have the sole management of Parliament —all those little matters of patronage and influence, which his soul loved, and for want of which Pitt by himself was powerless. It was not a very generous or congenial combination, yet in its achievements this was the most glorious ministry in British history.

Disasters of 1757. Nevertheless, 1757 was another year of disasters. Pitt was hampered both by political crises at home and by the inferior and aged commanders whom their seniority almost compelled him to employ. In America a British attack on Louisburg petered out with nothing accomplished, while the French under Montcalm were pressing steadily forward towards the Hudson Valley. On the Continent, Cumberland, who had been forced to swallow his objection to Pitt, failed in the defence of Hanover. He was heavily defeated by the French at Hastenbeck and induced to sign a disgraceful capitulation at Klosterzeven, under which he had to disband his army. Meanwhile, Britain's only ally, Frederick the Great, was also being driven back by heavy odds.

Plassey, Rossbach, and Leuthen. But in the winter of 1757–8, while Pitt was perfecting his plans for a national recovery, the clouds began, indeed, to lift. News came from India of a wonderful victory won at Plassey in June, by which Bengal was delivered into the hands of the intrepid Clive. News came from the Continent of the

French defeated at Rossbach in November by the dazzling genius of Frederick, to be followed a month later by tidings of his triumph over the Austrians at Leuthen. These events preluded the great achievements of Pitt, by which their results were to be confirmed and extended.

(3) THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—TRIUMPH

Pitt's Enthusiasm. The greatest merit of Pitt as a war minister in such a crisis was probably the fact that he made his countrymen confident of ultimate victory. But we, who cannot recapture his personality or his speeches, must be content to record the excellences of Pitt's plans. He harnessed every effort to the purposes of the war, building ships, drilling the militia, and spending the public money without stint to equip, not merely English armies, but those of our Prussian allies and our American colonists to take the field. Two famous examples of his skill in getting what was best out of people are his conciliation of the touchy Americans by granting Regular commissions to their officers, and the formation of gallant regiments from among the discontented Highlanders who had been the rebels of a few years earlier. Pitt also substituted young men like Wolfe and Amherst, who had little experience, for aged commanders, whose experience hampered action. But, above all, he was himself an indefatigable worker, who used the winter months to prepare under his own immediate eye the military and naval expeditions of the following summer.

Naval and Continental Policy. Thus Pitt's plan of campaign excelled the plans of other British leaders inasmuch as he fitted together operations in different parts of the world as a single harmonious whole. It also had two other strong features, which help to explain its success. One was his employment of the navy to maintain a strict blockade of the French ports so as to keep their navy bottled up, which was the surest safeguard against an invasion of England and made it easy to raid the French

coast with small forces of British troops instead. But the chief effect of the blockade was to stop the French from sending reinforcements to their colonies. The other feature of his policy finds expression in Pitt's own words, "I will conquer America in Germany." Although he had spent a large part of his political life in denouncing the practice of subsidising German allies, who in return safeguarded Hanover from attack, he now lavished such subsidies on Prussia himself—not, however, for the sake of Hanover, but in order that the main forces of the French should be too busy with the war against Frederick even to attempt the rescue of Canada.

Advance in America, 1758. The year 1758 was mainly a year of preparation. The French coast was faithfully blockaded: hence several small landings, which kept the French alarmed, and an unmolested campaign in West Africa, resulting in the capture of Senegal and Goree. In Germany the Convention of Klosterzeven was repudiated and a determined stand made in Hanover by an army of British soldiers and mercenaries under the command of Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick: Frederick also was kept going by subsidies. Meanwhile in America a joint military and naval attack gained the fortress of Louisburg at the mouth of the St Lawrence, though another attempt to approach Canada by land from the south failed before the French fort of Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain. Two other expeditions captured Fort Duquesne, which was renamed Pittsburg, and other French fortresses on the line connecting the St Lawrence and the Ohio.

Capture of Quebec, September 1759. There followed the unparalleled 'Year of Victories.' The central achievement, both as regards Pitt's plans and because of its permanent importance, was the conquest of Canada, which we will therefore take first. It was intended to enter the St Lawrence valley from both ends—Amherst advancing down the river *via* Ticonderoga and Montreal, Wolfe advancing up the river with fleet and army to invest Quebec. But Amherst, who took Ticonderoga in July, moved with slow

deliberation, so that Wolfe found that the summer was waning while his army of 10,000 vainly blockaded Montcalm and his 15,000 men in their almost impregnable fortress. Such was the unpromising situation which the young general (Wolfe was thirty-three) turned to his own immortal glory and the enduring profit of the Empire. He took half his force by night up the river past the French camp to a point which had been left unguarded because the cliffs, two hundred feet high, made an assault unthinkable. Up these cliffs Wolfe led his men by a narrow path to the Heights of Abraham, where the enemy, who had been taken completely by surprise, faced him at dawn and were decisively defeated. Both Wolfe and Montcalm fell in the battle, and five days later Quebec surrendered.

Lagos and Quiberon Bay. The capture of Quebec occurred in September, in between two great naval victories, which completely disposed of a counter-stroke by the French in the form of an invasion. As on two other famous occasions, flat-bottomed boats were collected on one side of the Channel, while militia drilled feverishly on the other. But, as in the time of the Spanish Armada and in the time of Napoleon, so now the enemy's troops could not land in England and rout the poor militia until their navy had command of the English Channel to get them across. The British navy rose to the crisis. In August a French fleet left Toulon so as to join forces with their main fleet in the Channel, but it was sighted by Boscawen in the Straits of Gibraltar and destroyed by him at Lagos on the coast of Portugal. Two months later the French fleet in the Channel came out of Brest, still hoping to convoy the army to England, at a moment when a gale had driven the British blockading squadron away. Hawke, however, pursued them into Quiberon Bay. It was a dangerous coast and a storm was blowing, but the British admiral went in after them to win one of the most splendid of all naval victories (November 1759). The French fleet was completely destroyed—no more threat of invasion, no chance of Canada being reinforced, no resistance to further

naval attacks on French colonies, no hope for French commerce to escape the all-powerful British navy.

Minden. In Germany, the mere fact that Frederick the Great had France, Russia, and Austria united against him ruled out the possibility of equally dazzling success. Indeed, in September of 1759 he was so badly beaten by the Russians that any leader less resolute than he would have abandoned the war forthwith: yet he struggled on. But Ferdinand of Brunswick's army with its British regiments, true to the tradition of the year, repelled another French attack on Hanover by a brilliant victory at Minden in August.

Achievements of 1760. The next year was spent in consolidating the gains of the Year of Victories. In Canada the French had, as we have seen, no hope of reinforcements, so, although they rallied once to besiege Quebec, the effort came to nothing; and the surrender of Montreal to Amherst, just twelve months after Wolfe's capture of Quebec, completed the conquest. In India the French possessions had been similarly cut off from home by a British squadron the year before, with the result that in 1760 they too fell into British hands through the victory of Wandewash. Naval supremacy likewise enabled Britain to continue the slow process of reducing the numerous and valuable French West Indian islands, the tale of which begins with the capture of Guadeloupe in January 1759 and does not end until the surrender of Martinique in 1762. As for the Continental war, Prussia was largely under occupation of her enemies, but it was unthinkable that her triumphant ally, England, should not secure her eventual deliverance. We shall shortly see how the unthinkable happened.

(4) THE FALL OF PITT AND THE PEACE

George III's Hostility to Pitt. The death of George II in October 1760 was the beginning of the end. The old King, as we have seen, did not love Pitt but he did love military glory, and in any case he had not the great political

determination which would be needed in order to turn the popular hero out of office. His grandson, George III (whose father, Frederick, Prince of Wales, had died in 1751), was a very different person, young and eager to have ministers of his own choosing. Given royal support, there were not wanting members of Pitt's cabinet who disliked this upstart and would gladly join in an intrigue against him. Besides, the war was expensive, and, if England gained too much, the whole world might be provoked to unite against her and then all would be lost. Pitt could therefore be attacked on the not unreasonable ground that he was likely to prolong the war unnecessarily, though what his enemies chiefly resented was the haughty impatience with which the great minister was accustomed to order his colleagues to execute whatever policy he chose.

Pitt's Resignation and the War with Spain. A cause lay ready to hand. In August 1761 Spain signed a new Family Compact, by which she undertook to come to the rescue of France. The treaty was a secret one, but Pitt suspected what had happened and proposed to attack Spain at once, before her preparations for war were completed. He had already allowed peace negotiations with France to fall through, so the Cabinet felt that under his leadership the war would never come to an end. Newcastle and the rest therefore rejected Pitt's proposal, knowing that they had the King's support, whereupon Pitt resigned. The war against Spain broke out nevertheless in January 1762, with disastrous consequences for the Spanish oversea empire, such great treasures as Havana, the capital of Cuba, being lost through the British supremacy at sea.

Bute and the Peace of Paris. However, the Anglo-Spanish conflict was only a short and (for Britain) brilliant episode in the general war, as the preliminary terms of peace were arranged in November of the same year. By this time Newcastle, greatly to his own surprise, had been obliged to follow Pitt out of office. The new chief minister was an inexperienced friend of the young King, Lord Bute;

and Bute felt that the wisest thing to do was to make peace at once, since any victories won were ascribed by public opinion to the preparations made by Pitt. Bute employed the royal 'influence' to the uttermost in inducing Members of Parliament to vote for the proposed peace, and the Treaty of Paris was actually signed in February 1763.

Criticism of the Peace. The Peace may be criticised on two quite separate grounds. It made no provision for our ally, Frederick the Great, who had already been deprived by Bute of his annual subsidy. The King of Prussia was himself a notorious treaty-breaker, but he never forgave England this particularly bad breach of faith, although as a matter of fact the opportune death of the Czarina of Russia broke the union of his enemies and enabled him to make peace, also in February 1763, at Hubertusburg. Though the English had deserted Prussia when the alliance had served their turn, she thus succeeded in retaining Silesia and by her military feats won recognition for the first time as a Great Power. The other criticism of the Peace was that, when the whole oversea empire of her rivals lay at her mercy, England refrained from a complete annexation of everything they had. Both criticisms were voiced by Pitt, but it is hardly necessary to point out that the first is more valid than the second, which ignores the hostility that such an entire lack of moderation, a defect of Pitt's genius rather than of the nation he had led to victory, would surely have aroused.

British Gains. As it was, Britain's gains were very great. The two main points were the cession of Canada and the recognition by the French of the power which Britain had obtained in India. In the former case the French retained their rights in the Newfoundland fisheries, and in the latter their trading-posts such as Pondicherry, which were not to be refortified: but they had lost two half-continents for ever. As regards their other colonial possessions, the settlement was a compromise—France receiving Goree but losing Senegal, receiving Guadeloupe and Martinique but losing most of her smaller West Indian islands. Minorca was returned

to Britain in exchange for Belle Isle, near Quiberon, which had been the least impermanent of Pitt's captures on the coast of France. Spain was treated generously, since her only loss was Florida, which England wanted so as to complete her annexation of North America west of the Mississippi, while Spain received Louisiana by a separate transaction with France.

Their Importance. The facts of treaties make dull reading, but those of the Peace of Paris deserve to be remembered, partly because this was the highest pinnacle of Britain's fortunes—no later war has borne such fruits; but partly also because this was the source from which so many later problems of empire derive.

CHAPTER XXV

THE REVIVAL OF THE MONARCHY

1760–1775

"To rout out the present method of parties banding together, can only be obtained by withstanding their unjust demands, as well as the engaging able men, be their private connections where they will."

King George III to Chatham, December 1766.

(1) THE POLICY OF GEORGE III

Character of George III. The ministerial changes, which followed George III's accession and materially influenced the terms of the Treaty of Paris, had deeper causes than the mere prejudice of the new sovereign. For George III, unlike his grandfather and great-grandfather, had both a policy and a plan. Although his mother was a German he had been brought up in England and was thoroughly English in his outlook. Since he was, in addition, young, brave, honourable, and even industrious, he could hardly fail to be a popular monarch. Given that he was popular, what was more likely than that George should seek to revive the right of the monarchy to govern jointly with Parliament, which had been left to William III at the Revolution Settlement but since his death had remained largely in abeyance on account of Queen Anne's sex and her two successors' nationality and sympathies?

His Policy, and Plans for Achieving It. George III's policy, then, was to obtain for himself the general control of such important matters as foreign affairs and the right to choose his ministers by consideration of their ability and not their party connections. This was very much what

Bolingbroke had outlined as the programme of his *Patriot King*, a book which greatly influenced George and on its first appearance in 1738 had also influenced his present opponent, Pitt, who detested the party system. But the success of the policy depended upon a plan for overthrowing the Whigs, who were firmly entrenched in power and had no intention of surrendering. How strong their position was can be seen by comparing the condition to which the Tories had been reduced. Having at last shed their connection with Jacobitism, they rallied to the side of the new King, who was at least English though not a ruler by Divine Right, yet they were so few that George III had to build up his own party from the very beginning. The King's plan, the history of which is the history of the next ten years, had three features. The first point was to weaken the Whigs by playing off one of their cliques against another. The second was to lessen their authority over Parliament, which could be accomplished in two ways. At General Elections the King's money and patronage (for instance, employment in the royal dockyards) could be used to buy votes for the King's own candidates, instead of the Whigs. At all times his money (in the shape of pensions), and to a much greater extent the offices, dignities, and titles which the Whig ministers had been distributing for two generations in the King's name, could be made available for those Members of Parliament (and their friends and even constituents) who voted, not as Whig partisans, but according to the royal wishes. This was George III's system of corruption. The third and last feature of the plan was to get hold of a prime minister who was powerful enough to control Parliament, but weak (or dutiful) enough to subordinate his own ideas of policy entirely to those of the King.

First Steps, 1760–62. The first two parts of the plan proved immediately workable. Pitt, as we have seen, was driven from office with the help of Newcastle, who was himself quietly discarded a few months later. At the General Election in 1761 the King's money and influence

were employed on behalf of candidates who would obey him, and who therefore became known as 'King's Friends'; and in the debates on the Peace the following year the distribution of patronage at the King's discretion induced other members to give the King's policy of making peace their votes. The difficulty was with the third requisite—a suitable prime minister.

Bute Ministry, 1762–3. Pitt, since he had no love of party, would have been the ideal choice, but he was ruled out because George III and he had just differed over the conduct of the war. Moreover, he did not easily forget his discomfiture on that occasion, with the result that, in spite of several applications for his help, the King did not get Pitt to join him until 1766. It seemed impossible to detach any of the other leading Whigs from his party ties, so the King went to the other extreme and selected a man who was supremely loyal but had no political experience whatever. This was the King's former tutor, Lord Bute, who was made a member of the Cabinet in the early months of the reign and promoted to the first position after Newcastle's resignation in May 1762. He was a complete failure. While the Peace of Paris, for which he took responsibility, was with difficulty forced through Parliament, and the Whigs were being deprived of every office and every pension they had once enjoyed, Bute was assailed by the newspapers and the mob as a court favourite and a Scotsman on the make. A nobleman of ancient lineage, he did not relish abuse, and resigned his office for ever after less than twelve months' experience of it.

Grenville Ministry, 1763–5. The new prime minister was George Grenville, the brother-in-law of Pitt and a lawyer-like administrator. It was hoped that he would consent to carry on the new system by acting as a mouthpiece for the King's real nominee, Bute, but there is nothing to show that Grenville ever did so. He was a Whig himself and had the heads of other Whig cliques for his colleagues, while the King's Friends in the Commons were often instructed (secretly) to vote against him. It is therefore

clear that the King's full plan for getting control of the government had temporarily broken down. During the next few years he played a waiting game, changing his ministers so often that private members began to think that it was safer to speculate on royal favours rather than on those distributed by a Government, which might be turned out at any moment. Thus the King's Friends were recruited from disgruntled Whigs with plenty of political experience as well as from callow Tories: and George himself was learning all the time.

(2) THE COUNTRY AND THE CONSTITUTION

Wilkes and the 'North Briton.' Grenville had a legal training, which served him very badly when it came to matters of principle such as the right attitude to adopt towards the American colonies. It also made him the more willing to take proceedings in the case of an insult to the Crown which had occurred in the time of his predecessor, although in doing so he stirred up the first of a series of constitutional controversies in which the whole country took an interest. John Wilkes was a man of fashion with a very bad reputation, who was also a Member of Parliament and the producer of a journal, the *North Briton*, which specialised in attacks on Bute. In No. 45 of this journal he protested against the King's Speech announcing and praising the conclusion of the Peace of Paris, treating the Speech as a lie issued by the minister in the King's name. The King was doubly indignant—at the attack on the treaty and at the supposition that the King's Speech was merely a cloak for his minister's opinions, so Grenville resolved to act. The publication being anonymous, he issued a 'general warrant' for the arrest of the authors and printers of the paper in general, since no names could be specified.

End of General Warrants. Although these general warrants had been in use for centuries, on this occasion there was a great outcry, and the printers and others who were arrested were ordered by the law courts to be released.

The decision is a memorable one, because it prevented the Government in future from invading the liberties of private citizens by having them arrested or their papers seized before they had a proper charge ready against an individual whom they could name. But the sequel was of greater immediate importance, as the House of Commons (influenced by the King's Friends) sided against Wilkes. It took away the ancient privilege of freedom from arrest, with which he was protecting himself, and finally expelled him from the House, so that he had to flee abroad in order to escape punishment for various other non-political offences. Thus Wilkes became a public hero, with the King, Grenville, and the House of Commons all ranged together against him and the people of England.

Rockingham Ministry, 1765–6. Although Grenville had sided with the King in trying to punish Wilkes's attack on the Treaty, for which the royal favourite, Bute, had been responsible, the King soon quarrelled with him about other matters, and in 1765 he was dismissed. Failing to get on with Grenville and those lesser Whig cliques which he controlled, George III had now to agree to have a ministry of 'Old Whigs'—the very people against whom he had been striving—with the youthful Whig noble, Lord Rockingham, at its head. Rockingham and his friends reversed Grenville's policy—for instance, in connection with America—but two factors united to ruin them. On the one hand, they had no proper leaders, for Rockingham was inexperienced and his one brilliant supporter, the political thinker and writer Edmund Burke, was a person of humble birth whom these aristocrats deemed unworthy of high office. They might, however, have managed without leaders if they had had the full support of the King, but this was also lacking. The King's Friends were secretly instructed to vote against his ministers, and when at last, after many attempts, the great Pitt was persuaded to forget the past and help George in a second attempt at non-party government, Rockingham was dismissed from office, only one year after the fall of Grenville.

Chatham Ministry, 1766–8, and Grafton Ministry, 1768–70. The second non-party ministry was said by its opponent, Burke, who was himself a great believer in parties, to have resembled a tessellated pavement, a curious jumble of little pieces which easily fell to bits. The nominal head was the Duke of Grafton, more interested in sport than in politics; the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, had a different policy from his colleagues ; and the real head, Pitt, lost his popularity and much of his power by accepting the Earldom of Chatham with a seat in the House of Lords. The people, who had formerly worshipped him as 'the Great Commoner,' regarded the Earl of Chatham as little better than a royal favourite, and in the House of Lords his oratory lost much of its effect. He was no doubt aware of these objections, but his health made it impossible for him to remain in the Commons; and it was his health which pulled down the ministry. In 1767 Chatham was so ill with gout that he could see nobody, not even his colleagues or his King; and in 1768, during his slow and incomplete recovery, he ended the farce by resigning office. Grafton carried on for two more years amidst increasing difficulties—he was even attacked by Chatham, who returned to political life more cantankerous than ever in 1769.

Wilkes and the Middlesex Election. Between 1766 and 1770 English policy sank to a very low ebb, both as regards the recurring troubles of imperial administration in America and in foreign affairs. It was at this time that France, in spite of our naval supremacy in the Mediterranean, was allowed to annex the island of Corsica. But the main domestic question was a renewed constitutional conflict between the Government and the popular hero, Wilkes. He returned from exile with the intention of creating trouble for Chatham and Grafton, was elected M.P. for Middlesex, and was shortly afterwards sent to prison for 'No. 45' and other of his offences, for which he could not be punished earlier owing to his flight. Two results followed: he was more the hero of the mob than ever, and

the House of Commons again expelled him. So far it was merely a matter of street riots; but, when Wilkes was re-elected for Middlesex three times over, the Commons took the unwise step of declaring the rival candidate, who got fewer votes, to have been 'duly elected.' It was unwise, because obviously, if Parliament could choose its own members like this, the electors would lose all their powers: the Government therefore appeared to be attempting to establish a narrow oligarchy in England.

Successes of Wilkes. In 1774 Wilkes was again elected M.P. for Middlesex, and Parliament eventually cancelled its former proceedings against his election. Thus he triumphed over the Government both as regards general warrants and with reference to their claim to substitute a person of their own choice in place of a member expelled; and in 1771 he won another triumph by successfully opposing an attempt to punish a printer for publishing reports of parliamentary debates. This Case of Brass Crosby, we may note in passing, was partly responsible for the creation, in the same decade, of the first of the modern London newspapers with their extensive reports of speeches. In each case Wilkes's side was the side of public liberty, so that not the least important result of his many agitations was to interest the people at large in politics. This interest led to the foundation of the first organisation for demanding parliamentary reform—that is to say, less bribery and more voters—under the name of the Friends of the Bill of Rights.

Opposition of Burke and 'Junius.' Besides Wilkes and the mob, the ministry had to face the hostility of the Whig party. That hostility was formidable enough in Parliament, since the Whigs again received the support of Chatham, but a famous propaganda made it for a time more dangerous outside. In 1770 Burke wrote his *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*, one of the most brilliant of all political pamphlets, in which every mistake the ministry had made was mercilessly exposed. With equal eloquence Burke inveighed against

political corruption—now that it was manipulated by the King instead of the Whig chiefs—and declared the party system (which he idolised) to be both traditional and more effective. At the very same time an anonymous writer, who signed himself 'Junius,' was attacking them with equal brilliance in a series of letters published by the *Public Advertiser*, which differed from Burke's pamphlet by denouncing particular points in their policy and hurling abuse against their characters. 'Junius' must have had an intimate knowledge of the inner circle of politics, yet the mystery of his identity has never really been solved.

North Ministry, 1770–82. Nevertheless, in 1770 the excitement suddenly subsided. The country, which saw much to approve of in the King's views, especially as regards America, grew tired of the denunciations which Chatham and the Whigs directed against the ministry and its supporters. Those supporters included not only King's Friends, who were kept together mainly by patronage, but many other members who, while they did not scorn rewards, would have backed up the King in any case—just as the old Tories had done. We may therefore regard them as a revived Tory party, though the name is not really satisfactory, since many of the King's recruits had served in Whig governments before. Grafton now resigned, his place as head of the Tories being taken by Lord North. As it was North's definite wish to act as the King's servant rather than as his minister, he got on splendidly with George III, managing Parliament on his behalf, and in matters of policy carrying out faithfully the royal instructions, conveyed in an endless succession of letters and memoranda. Since this combination lasted twelve years (1770–82) in a condition of fair stability, we may distinguish Lord North's as the third attempt at non-party government. It began prosperously, for an effective Regulating Act for India was followed by the Quebec Act, which wisely safeguarded the customs of the French Canadians without giving them self-government, for which they were not yet fitted. Then in 1774 a General Election provided the

ministry with a safe majority, and the Whigs in disgust almost ceased to attend Parliament. That the experiment had a less prosperous ending was due to the American problem, which would have baffled any eighteenth-century government, just as it had already baffled the very various governments of 1760–70.

(3) ENGLAND AND AMERICA

America after the Seven Years' War. The conquest of Canada, by ridding our colonists on the Atlantic seaboard of any danger from French aggression, opened a new period in their history. They felt more confident in their own powers, but the home Government, having had its attention directed across the Atlantic during the war, intended to take a more active part than before in managing their affairs. This was a task exactly suited to the talents of Grenville, who tightened up the trade regulations so that the Navigation Laws should not be evaded by wholesale smuggling; took over control of the new Western Lands with the intention of maintaining large Indian reserves so as to safeguard the interests of the native Red Indians; and, above all, tried to set the defence of the colonies and the cost of its upkeep upon some regular basis. An Indian rebellion, known as the Conspiracy of Pontiac, which was put down with difficulty in 1764, showed the necessity for maintaining a part of the regular army in America. Was it not reasonable that the Americans should be required to contribute towards this item of imperial expenditure? The thirteen colonies at this time showed no readiness to combine and tax themselves, nor would each of them offer a contribution on its own behalf, so, after an interval to let them make alternative proposals if they wished, Parliament passed the famous Stamp Act of 1765.

The Stamp Act and its Repeal, 1765–6. By this measure certain classes of documents had to bear a stamp both in the West Indies, where it was accepted quietly, and in America, where it was not. The value of the stamps

would only cover a part of the cost of the army in America, so it was not an oppressive tax; but the Americans absolutely refused to pay, because it was imposed upon them by a Parliament in which they had no say. "No taxation without representation" was the cry. To give these remote colonists seats in Parliament was impossible, and to admit that Parliament had no authority over them was also impossible. Accordingly, Rockingham in his short ministry of 1766 tried to mend Grenville's mistake by two new laws—one repealing the Stamp Act and the other a Declaratory Act, which declared the right of Parliament to tax the colonies if it chose. The assertion of an abstract right to tax, provided it was never acted upon, may have been unwise but could hardly have caused more than a passing irritation in America.

Chatham and the Townshend Duties. The Chatham ministry, which followed Rockingham's in 1766, might be expected to prove still more conciliatory, since its leader's attitude to the question had been that Parliament was legal sovereign over the colonies, but that taxation was the one use of that sovereignty which Parliament ought never to make. He believed in British rule, but he believed also in the British principle of "No taxation without representation." Unfortunately, as we have seen, Chatham's health compelled him almost at once to leave his ministry to run itself, the consequence being that Townshend, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, tried to ease the finances by a new method of securing a colonial contribution towards the cost of defence and other public purposes in America. During the discussions on the Stamp Act a few years earlier, the Americans had been at pains to show that the trade restrictions under the Navigation Laws, which had been submitted to for centuries although they often increased the price of goods imported into the colonies, were not the same kind of thing as the hated Stamp Duties. Restrictions on trade from overseas, they said, were 'external duties,' whereas the Stamp Duty that made them slaves was an 'internal duty.' Townshend, accordingly, took

advantage of this argument to impose five 'external duties,' a small charge being levied on all tea, glass, paper, leads, and colours imported into America.

Their Repeal. But the colonists were not to be duped so easily. They did not regard the new duties as part of the traditional policy of trade restriction, but as a special kind of tax (which is what they really were), open to precisely the same objections as the Stamp Duties. Again they refused to pay; again the Government, seeing that it was powerless to enforce the law, gave in (May 1769); and again it maintained the principle of the right to tax, this time by continuing a tax of 3d. per lb. on tea. The only difference was that this time the agitation in America did not die away after achieving its main object. In 1770, for instance, there was a riot in Boston—the 'Boston Massacre'—in which British troops fired on the crowd and were then withdrawn from the town in deference to the popular demand.

North and the 'Boston Tea-party,' 1773. This was the situation which the North Government had to handle, bound as they were by their absolute obedience to the wishes of the King, who throughout the period shared the opinion, common among his less enlightened subjects, that the Americans should be made to submit. Yet North personally favoured conciliation, which was the object of his new plan, namely, to allow the East India Company, which was in financial difficulties, to send its tea to America without touching at an English port or paying the English duty of 1s. per lb. Thus tea would be 9d. cheaper in America than in England, yet a duty would be paid. No one could have made a genuine grievance of this arrangement, so to prevent the tea from being bought and their principle forgotten, some of the agitators boarded the first tea-ships to arrive and poured their cargo into Boston harbour (December 1773). The so-called 'Boston Tea-party' is doubly significant. It showed, on the one hand, that the opponents of the British Government in America were rabid champions of principle, who had other and deeper grievances against the

mother country, and were therefore eager to force a quarrel. On the other hand, though North himself sought ways of conciliation to the last, this act of lawless defiance compelled Parliament to take strong measures. In 1774 both Boston itself and the whole colony of Massachusetts were punished by forfeiture of their chartered privileges; and the inhabitants of all the colonies were treated as potential rebels by a provision that, if necessary, political offenders could in future be brought for trial to England. The inevitable sequel to these so-called 'Intolerable Acts' was co-operation among the colonies, drilling, and war.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

1775–1782

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it."

The American Declaration of Independence, July 4th, 1776.

(1) CAUSES OF THE WAR

Taxation merely the Pretext. Nothing we have yet said is at all adequate to explain the great war which began with a skirmish at Lexington near Boston in April 1775. The taxes imposed on the colonists were not a burden in any practical sense, but they provided a symbol of their subjection to England and a convenient pretext for throwing off that subjection. After the Seven Years' War the thirteen colonies were no longer bound to the mother country by ties of fear, for the power of France in America had been broken for ever. Therefore, the question we have to ask is, Why were they not bound by ties of love, seeing that they were founded by English enterprise and developed by English capital? The answer is still disputed, but we may venture to distinguish three main points.

The Mercantile System. The first of these is the

mercantile system, which, in relation to the colonies, dated back to the Commonwealth Navigation Act of 1651, and, in principle, to their first foundation in the reigns of the first two Stuarts. The colonies received, indeed, a valuable monopoly of the English market for such typical colonial products as tobacco, and even a bounty on the export to England of naval stores, such as timber and tar. But they were forbidden to employ foreign shipping, a rule that was fairly rigorously enforced (and incidentally encouraged colonial shipbuilding), and they were not supposed to import foreign goods for their own consumption, except *via* England, or to export their produce direct to any foreign country, except goods which England did not require. Grenville, as we have seen, made an unusually vigorous attempt to prevent infringements by smuggling; and his Sugar Act of 1764, which halved the sugar and molasses duty (to make it more readily enforceable) and prohibited the importation of rum from the French West Indies, confirmed the belief that Britain was trying, not only to benefit herself, but also to give unfair advantages to her favoured West Indian islands. Moreover, in the course of the eighteenth century special laws had been passed to restrict colonial manufactures. Under statutes of 1699 and 1732 respectively, neither woollen goods nor hats might be exported even from one colony to its neighbour, and an Act of 1750 entirely forbade the establishment of iron-finishing works at any place in the colonies. Such a system of preserving the market for English wares by force appears monstrous to us, but it was mitigated at the time by two considerations. The actual working of the system was not very inharmonious—that is to say, the colonies were largely engaged in the production of raw materials which would naturally be exchanged for English manufactures and imports—and it was notorious that other countries were far more rigorous in making their colonies serve home interests. But the Navigation Acts contributed to the great quarrel in two ways. They were enforced with quite unusual vigour by Grenville, so that another grievance

coincided with the Stamp Act; and, when all was said and done, they were a capital instance of laws that affected the colonists being made over their heads by the British Parliament.

Colonial Legislatures. There was also constant friction with the colonial legislatures, which in the course of the eighteenth century had begun to claim the sole right of administering the colonies. They tried to make the Governor, in common with every other executive official, obey their orders; and if he, as the nominee of England, refused, they often withheld his salary, and an unseemly dispute would follow. At the same time they regarded the direct orders of the British Cabinet and Parliament as acts of tyranny comparable to the worst use of royal prerogative, an attitude which had this much justification, that the interests of the mother-country and the colonies were definitely diverging. One concrete instance was the administration of the Western Lands, already mentioned, which mattered more to the land-hungry frontiersman than the whole English connection. More generally, the colonists, including many recent immigrants from Scotland, Ulster, and Germany, lacked the English social background. New England was a region of yeoman farmers, many being the descendants of Puritan refugees; the Middle Colonies had a society of cosmopolitan traders, who cared for money but not for rank; and even in the South, where the big plantations were owned by gentry, there was far more democratic feeling than could be found among similar people at home.

Problem of reconciling Freedom and Empire. The colonists, then, resented the restrictions upon their freedom, and the curious fact is that, had the restrictions been far greater, the resentment would almost certainly have been less. Our third point, then, is this: the English tradition of freedom had allowed them prosperity (the population of the colonies had doubled in the fifty years preceding the American Revolution) and a great measure of self-government; and, taught by English traditions, they

wanted more. But how to increase their freedom without destroying the unity of the British Empire was a problem no one on either side of the Atlantic was able to solve. The problem, as a matter of fact, was never even clearly stated, for both the home Government, claiming their legal 'right' of control, and the colonists, demanding their constitutional 'right' to rule themselves, argued on the basis of the 'rights' of Englishmen—no one thought of the Americans as a nation requiring some loose form of union with another nation, from which they had sprung. Could there have been an imperial Parliament? Since the colonies consistently failed, throughout their history up to the war, to form any federation among themselves, it seems unlikely that they could have formed an effective federation with a mother country, at least six weeks' journey distant across the ocean.

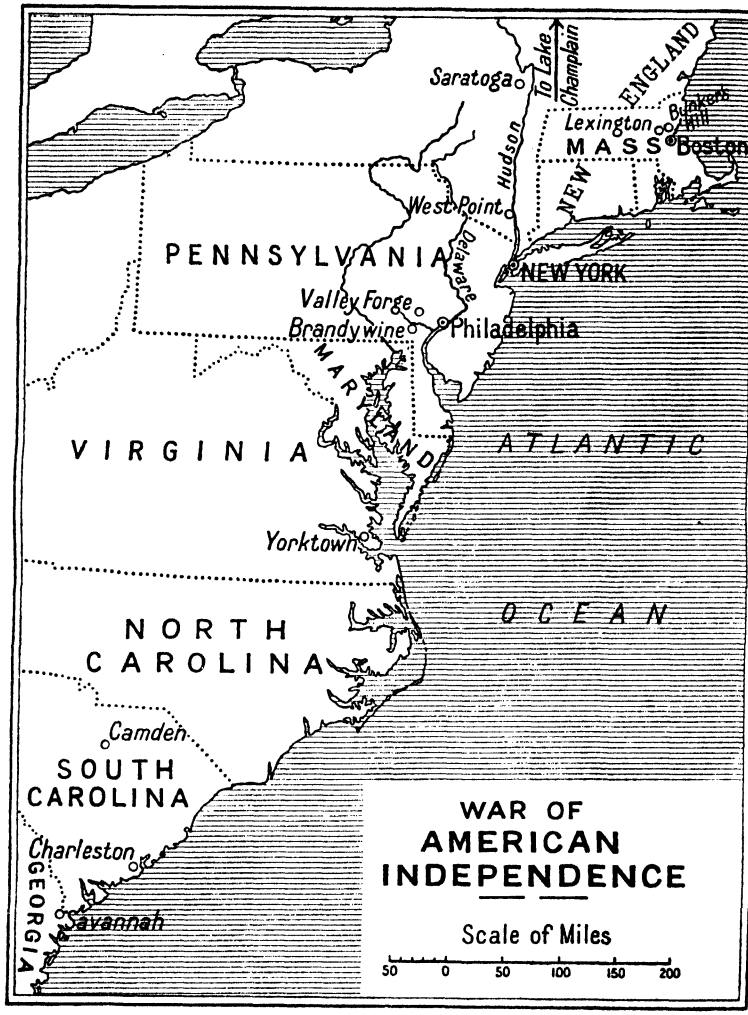
An Opposition on Both Sides. The war was, therefore, inevitable, and both sides to the dispute were partly right and partly wrong. That is why neither side was wholly united. In the later stages of the dispute there were, of course, savage mobs both in England and in America, which derided rebels or cursed tyrants, as the case might be, spoiling for a fight and rapidly losing sight of such dull things as causes. But throughout the war there was an opposition. Among the Americans it was particularly strong in the southern colonies, such as Georgia, but the 'Tories,' as they were angrily called, were to be found even in New England, declaring that the connection with Old England ought, in spite of all grievances, to be maintained. In Britain the main body of the Whigs opposed the war as an outrageous persecution of the colonists. Some, no doubt, did so simply as a means of attacking Lord North's ministry. But so great a man as Chatham never wavered in his belief that taxation of America, and hence the war, was wrong; and Burke, in this matter the most comprehending Englishman of the day, held that the taxation, though not wrong, was inexpedient, and the war therefore an act of folly.

(2) THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Lexington and Bunker's Hill, 1775. The initial skirmish at Lexington in April 1775 has already been mentioned. In that engagement a small force of Regulars—the only soldiers the King then had in America—safeguarded some of their military stores from attack by the rebels, who were at their most vigorous and enterprising in Massachusetts. Two months later they had to be driven from Bunker's Hill, from which they would otherwise have made the British position in Boston untenable: the Regulars stormed the hill but incurred serious losses, and therefore decided to withdraw from Massachusetts early the following year, to plan their campaign from farther south.

Declaration of Independence, July 4th, 1776. In 1776 the war began in earnest in the neighbourhood of New York. The colonies were united after a fashion in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, which, in spite of petty squabbles and great financial difficulties—both these handicaps lasted throughout the war—achieved two essential things. In George Washington, a Virginian gentleman who had played a part in the Seven Years' War, it found a commander with no exceptional military talents but possessing just those qualities of common sense, leadership, and entire nobility of character that could triumph over the difficulties of an ill-supplied and undisciplined rebel force. At the same time the Congress gave the rebels some legal standing by issuing (July 4th, 1776) their Declaration of Independence. This famous document recited a list of all the crimes committed by the King and Government against which the Americans were revolting, together with something more important, namely, a clear and democratic assertion of the doctrine that all men have certain elementary rights, respect for which they are entitled to enforce against the sovereign power of the State to which they belong.

British Advantages and Advance. Meanwhile, the home Government were preparing to make use of their undoubted advantages to nip the rebellion in the bud. They had


Saratoga
To Lake Champlain
ENGLAND
Lexington
Bunker Hill
MASS
Boston
Hudson
NEW
West Point
Delaware
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
Valley Forge
Brandywine
Philadelphia
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
ATLANTIC
Yorktown
OCEAN
NORTH CAROLINA
Camden
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
GEORGIA
Savannah
WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
Scale of Miles
50 0 50 100 150 200

money, so they hired German mercenaries, who were shipped to America along with the small regular army. They had sea power, though the navy had been half ruined by the jobbery of George's minister, Lord Sandwich, so their soldiers were conveniently brought to land, first at Long Island near New York, and later on at every point along three thousand miles of coast where strategy required. They had a disciplined professional army, which could be relied upon to beat the irregular levies of the rebels whenever they fought on anything like equal terms. Finally, the home Government had many friends in the Middle as well as the Southern Colonies. New York, for example, welcomed the British forces with enthusiasm when the short campaign of 1776 ended with Washington's retreat southwards to Philadelphia, leaving their city to become British headquarters for the rest of the war.

Saratoga, October 1777. Nevertheless, the events of 1777 were to show that both sides were equally deficient in one respect, namely, lack of co-operation between different forces. Washington suffered greatly throughout the war from the mutual jealousies of the central army under his own command and the militia of the several colonies; but his force of character triumphed over everything. It was otherwise with the British, for whom the War Office now provided a scheme for cutting off the New England rebels from the rest by a twofold movement—southward from Canada *via* Lake Champlain, and northward up the Hudson Valley from New York. But Sir William Howe, the British commander in New York, postponed the march up-river until he had carried out his own plan, which was to complete his victory over Washington. Accordingly, he moved his army by sea to the Delaware, beat Washington at Brandywine, occupied Philadelphia in October, and saw his enemy settle down to winter quarters at Valley Forge in the extreme of misery. This was eminently satisfactory—but for the all-important fact that this enterprise had been sanctioned on condition that it did not crowd out the other. In the Hudson Valley it was already too late. General

Burgoyne had struggled bravely down the river through unknown country, but the Massachusetts militia were too much for him, and, failing any help from Howe, he had surrendered at Saratoga with several thousand men.

Rebellion becomes World War. This event, occurring in the same month as the British entry into Philadelphia, completely overshadowed it, even in America, where it proved triumphantly that the redcoats were not invincible. But its effect was greatest on the situation in Europe, where the French had long been wondering whether the time had come to avenge their losses in the Seven Years' War and were now made certain of it. In March 1778, under the influence of the American envoy and scientific genius, Benjamin Franklin, they declared war on Britain, to be followed the next year by their ally, Spain. When we add that in 1780 the Northern Powers, headed by Prussia, which we had so shamefully deserted before, seized the chance to form a League of Armed Neutrality, with an embarrassing demand of free access for neutral ships to enemy ports; and that the sale of supplies to our enemies by Holland led Britain to declare war on her, it becomes clear that the British found a colonial struggle suddenly transformed into a world crisis.

Naval Warfare, 1779–80. Inevitably, these years witnessed a great conflict at sea, which was rendered still more hazardous by the incompetent First Lord of the Admiralty, Sandwich, who reversed Pitt's policy of blockade in favour of chasing the enemy hither and thither. Yet the results were far from inglorious. A French fleet visited the American coast, but its only conquests were two small West Indian islands. Gibraltar was besieged for three long years (1779–82), but the Rock was never surrendered. In 1779 the combined Franco-Spanish fleet had an overwhelming superiority of numbers in the English Channel, with an invading army in readiness; yet the naval battle which must have preceded an invasion was never fought. By 1780, indeed, Britain was no longer even on the defensive, for one of her greatest admirals,

Rodney, smashed the Spaniards off the twice-famous Cape St Vincent and then drove the French home from the West Indies by a further victory at Dominica.

The Campaign in the Southern Colonies, 1778–80. Meanwhile the situation in America appeared to be on the mend. After Saratoga there was never any likelihood of a quick surrender on the part of the rebels, but the English also had learnt something from that defeat. They showed caution in withdrawing from Philadelphia to New York; they began to employ small raiding parties, including colonial loyalists, in place of cumbrous armies; and they gave up the attack on New England in favour of an attempt on the South, where the loyal element was known to be large. At the end of 1778 a small force was sent by sea to capture Savannah, the capital of Georgia. Its success induced Clinton, who had replaced Howe as commander-in-chief, to lay siege to Charleston, the capital of Carolina; and when it surrendered in 1780 he returned to his base at New York, leaving Cornwallis to continue northwards until they should be in a position to crush Washington between them. Cornwallis began his progress triumphantly with a considerable victory at Camden. The situation farther north likewise appeared very hopeful, in view of the fact that Benedict Arnold, one of the ablest generals on the enemy side, which was half demoralised by mutual distrust and chronic shortage of supplies, deserted to Clinton and nearly managed to betray the important fortress of West Point, on the Hudson.

Yorktown, October 1781. The sequel is the more remarkable—a classic instance of the paramount importance of sea power. The arrival of a French army in the region of New York and a stiffening of the resistance in the Southern Colonies threw both Clinton and Cornwallis upon the defensive. The latter was accordingly instructed to make good his position at some point on the coast of Virginia (into which colony he had now advanced), where the navy could relieve him. He chose the peninsula on which Yorktown was situated and entrenched himself securely.

But at that very moment a French fleet transformed the whole situation. It drove off the English fleet which should have rescued Cornwallis; transported a Franco-American army under Washington to Yorktown to besiege him; and by the damage inflicted on the English fleet delayed its return to the scene until five days after Cornwallis had surrendered in despair. The blow to British prestige was such that the war in America virtually ends on this date in October 1781.

Rodney's Victory of the Saints, April 1782. Elsewhere, however, the war continued long enough to show that the failure of the British fleet to control the American coastline had been due to bad policy and not to a general state of inferiority, though it was belief in the latter that induced France and Spain to go on after the original issue in America had been decided. If Lord Sandwich had concentrated upon the blockade of the French coast, neither their army nor their fleet could ever have reached America; and, if Rodney had not devoted himself to the minor object of capturing the wealthy Dutch island of St Eustatius in the West Indies, the French fleet under De Grasse could probably have been held in check, even granting its arrival off the American coast. That our navy was not generally inferior was triumphantly demonstrated in the following year. The enemy took Minorca, indeed, but that was a poor substitute for the impregnable Gibraltar, which withstood their greatest efforts. They were equally disappointed in the West Indies, where Rodney's absence on sick leave in the winter of 1781–2 enabled them to retake St Eustatius and occupy several of the British possessions. By April Rodney had returned and won a great victory over De Grasse at the Battle of the Saints (a group of islands near Martinique). So the war ended with British prestige largely restored everywhere except in America, where two defeats by a people which believed in the justice of its cause made recovery impossible.

(3) CONSEQUENCES OF THE AMERICAN WAR

Foundation of the U.S.A. The greatest result of the war was, of course, the establishment of American independence, recognised by Britain in a separate treaty of November 1782, and confirmed by the general Peace of Versailles a year later. For the next century the ex-colonists and their descendants were busy building up their own system of government, in which each colony became a separate State, linked together by the President and Congress of the United States, representing them all. They were also busy civilising the vast hinterland to the west, which was many times as big as the original thirteen colonies put together, and admitting vast numbers of European immigrants, to whom America was the land of the free. Then, as we approach our own day, it became increasingly clear that the United States was destined to be the richest and most powerful of the countries inhabited by white races. Perhaps so vigorous a nation must in any case have parted company with the British Empire sooner or later; but the fact that the parting occurred when and as it did makes this the central event of eighteenth-century British history.

Opposition in Parliament; Death of Chatham, 1778. At home the military failure proved fatal to George III's system of government. It would probably have discredited any other system just as much, for his American policy was popular with the people and was approved by the most independent Members of Parliament, so long as it was successful. This is shown by the history of the Whig Opposition during the war years. At first they achieved nothing, although the eloquence of Burke had at last been reinforced by another recruit of ability, the youthful Charles James Fox, who had left the King's side in 1774 and quite openly espoused the cause and longed for the triumph of the rebels. Even in 1778 the only immediate effect of the disaster at Saratoga was an attempt by Lord North to enlist in the King's service Chatham and his

followers, who differed from the main body of Whigs in that their sympathy with American grievances did not bring them to the point of desiring an American victory and the break-up of the Empire. It came to nothing, for Chatham, old, sick, and disillusioned, passed away in May after a dying speech of gloom and patriotic fervour in the House of Lords. However, from that time onwards every year that the war dragged on strengthened the hands of the Whig Opposition in their demand for a change of system.

The Gordon Riots, 1780. Progress was slow and undramatic: indeed, the only exciting domestic event of the period had no direct connection with party politics at all. This was the episode of the Gordon Riots, which developed out of an agitation by the half-mad anti-Catholic fanatic, Lord George Gordon, for the repeal of a law passed two years earlier, relieving Roman Catholics of some of the restrictions upon their private lives and their priests. For nearly a week most of London was in the hands of a mob, which, with the usual prejudice, demonstrated against the recent change. It began by burning the property of Catholics, but soon turned to looting and wild outrages of every kind. Their protest did not alter the law, but it showed what barbarism still existed in the heart of the capital, uncontrolled by any police force and uncared-for by the State, and it thoroughly frightened Lord North and the other weak men in authority, with the notable exception of King George, who, when others shrank from it, took upon his own shoulders the responsibility of sending soldiers against the rioters.

Proposals for Parliamentary Reform; Fall of Lord North. Courage was a quality the King never lacked: in the end it was to be his ministers, and not he, that quailed before the growth of opposition in Parliament. In 1780 the House of Commons struck a blow at the very heart of the system by passing Dunning's Resolution, "That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." It also discussed, but did

not pass, Whig Bills for 'economical reform'—that is to say, the abolition of unnecessary posts which served only to increase the number of obedient placemen. Meanwhile in the country at large various projects for parliamentary reform were being keenly discussed at county meetings of freeholders and elsewhere, the favourite proposal being that more seats in Parliament should be allotted to the county members, who were elected by all 40-shilling freeholders and were therefore more independent of the Court. In September (1780) there was a General Election, but by that time the scare of the Gordon Riots had provided the Government with a good excuse for leaving any programme of change alone; and it was not seriously shaken until bad news came from America the following autumn. The fall of Yorktown was known in England at the end of November, whereupon Parliament became definitely hostile to the war and to the minister, whom King George urged still to remain in office. But by March 1782 the King was compelled to admit the defeat of his system by allowing his faithful servant, Lord North, to resign in deference to the wishes of the majority in Parliament.

Grattan and the Irish Volunteers. The defeat of British arms, besides replacing royal by party supremacy in Parliament, had an important effect upon the position in Ireland. Until 1779 eighteenth-century Ireland had been tied hand and foot to the Protestant Ascendancy and the British Parliament, which, since 1719, had asserted the right itself to enact legislation for Ireland. The Irish Parliament was powerless, the Catholic majority were almost without rights, and trade restrictions made in English interests helped to keep the whole island in a condition of abject poverty. But in 1779 the danger of invasion, as we have seen, was very great: England had all she could do to look after herself; and accordingly a large force of Irish Volunteers was raised for home defence. For once in her history all religions were united. Furthermore, in Henry Grattan, who had been a prominent member of the Irish

Parliament since 1776, Ireland possessed, not only one of the greatest of all orators, but a leader who knew how to make full use of the fact that there was now in existence an armed and disciplined body of patriotic Irishmen.

Economic and Legislative Independence of Ireland. Between 1779 and 1782 two great changes were in this way accomplished. Irish trade was freed, in the sense that Ireland was for the first time allowed to share on the same terms as Scotland in the general trade of the Empire and was no longer compelled to grant special favours to British manufactures. Secondly, the Irish Parliament was freed, both from the Act of 1719 and from the earlier Poynings' Law: thus the island received a wider political liberty than it had known for three centuries. The Irish were fated to enjoy this freedom only eighteen years, but at the moment it seemed to foreshadow a further stage in the disruption of the British Empire.

Peace of Versailles, September 1783. Lastly, we must notice the terms of peace with France and her allies, which were finally settled by the Shelburne ministry in 1783. Thanks to Rodney's victory of The Saints and the stubborn defence of Gibraltar, Britain suffered little loss. In the West Indies there was a mutual restoration of conquests made during the war, as part of which the valuable island of St Lucia went back to France; and France received the smaller island of Tobago in addition. In other parts of the world the main changes were that France recovered the important district of Senegal in West Africa (lost in 1763), and Spain her possessions of Minorca and Florida, which had been occupied by England in 1708 and 1763 respectively. Nevertheless, to any Englishman who looked back to the glories of the Peace of Paris, the end of the War of American Independence spelt bitter disillusionment—the major part of the Empire had been lost for ever, and a seven years' struggle had brought not the slightest gain.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ENGLISH IN INDIA

1600–1785

"Robert, Lord Clive, did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country."

Resolution of the House of Commons, 1773.

(1) THE WORK OF CLIVE: ENGLISH *v.* FRENCH

Establishment of Trade 'Factories.' During the first century or more of its existence the East India Company, founded in 1600, attracts the attention of history scarcely more than numerous other trading companies, from which it was chiefly distinguished—after the Restoration, at any rate—by its greater wealth and larger profits. The Company played some part in politics at home, acquiring Bombay, for instance, by gift from Charles II and (what was at the time more valuable) getting their exclusive trade privileges confirmed by Parliament after a struggle at the Revolution. The Company also had their own foreign policy to consider, for they could obtain no footing in India unless they faced a conflict with the Portuguese and the Dutch, who were already established there. But their whole object was to carry on their trade as foreign merchants under the sovereignty of an Indian ruler. Madras (1640), Bombay (1668), and Calcutta (1690) were all mere 'factories'—pieces of land leased from the Indian ruler for dwellings, warehouses, and defences, at which English manufactures were sold and whatever the Company wanted to export to England was bought.

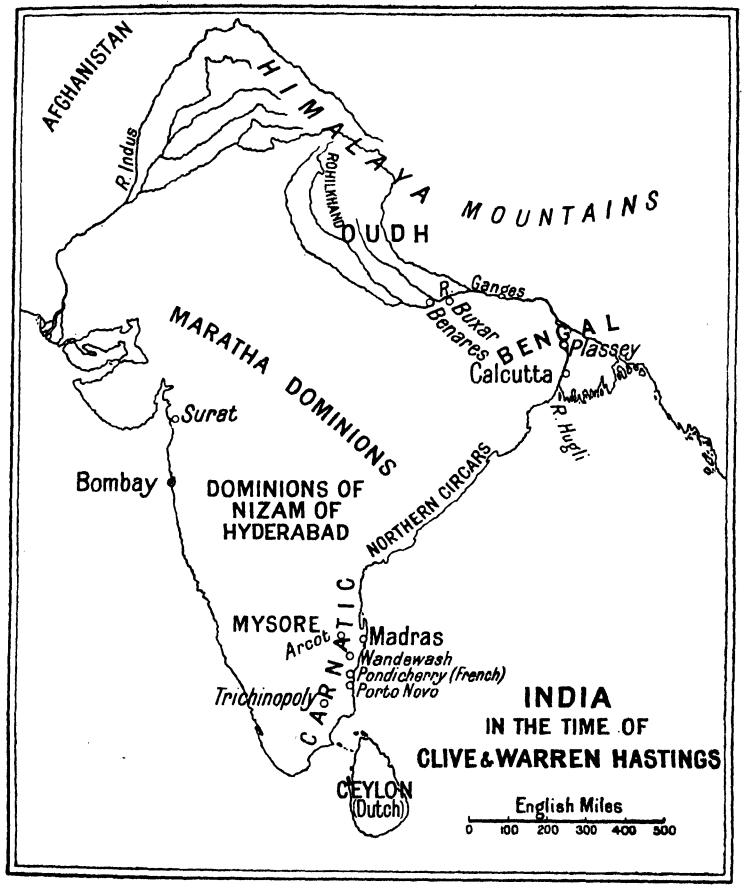
Break-up of the Mogul Empire. The opening years of the eighteenth century brought a twofold change, which was to convert the merchants, usually peaceful, into pioneers of empire, who often desired war. Up to the

death of Aurangzebe in 1707 most of the Indian States owned obedience to the Mogul Empire, of which he was the last effective Emperor. Thereafter the rulers of the several States became virtually independent, especially in the south. The 'Nawab' (or Viceroy) of Bengal might still be removed from office by the Emperor, but the great Nizam of Hyderabad was powerful enough to appoint his own 'nawab' in the Carnatic, and Mysore was almost equally self-sufficient. The break-up of the Empire made the European traders less secure from attack. They therefore armed, and trained native soldiers as 'sepoys'; but they soon learnt a much easier way of getting what they wanted, which was to intervene in succession disputes in the native States, backing some claimant who would reward them if he won the throne.

Successes of Dupleix. The chief European traders were now the French and the English, but in commerce—though not in politics—the English were much the stronger of the two. Under such circumstances they inevitably became bitter rivals; and the first round in the contest was won by the French agent, Dupleix, who in 1746 induced the Nawab of Arcot, ruler of the Carnatic, to let a French fleet capture Madras, which the English held from him. Too late the Nawab marched to the rescue, but in 1748 the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored that post to the British. Dupleix, who was a great diplomatist, was inspired by this initial success to enter into an elaborate scheme for establishing a French nominee both as Nizam of Hyderabad and as Nawab of Arcot. Since Madras lay in the Carnatic, it was necessary for the English to put forward a rival claimant as Nawab; but in 1751 their candidate was being closely besieged in Trichinopoly, while the rest of the State was controlled by the nominee of the French.

The Siege of Arcot, 1751. But, if Dupleix was a born diplomatist, a young clerk in the service of the English Company, who had been sent out from home as a ne'er-do-well, was a born general. Clive led 500 men, of whom 300 were sepoys, to Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic,

took it by surprise, and completely vanquished a force of 10,000 men by whom he was besieged. The diversion saved Trichinopoly, and the English candidate eventually



won the throne of the Carnatic. But that fact in itself was of no very great importance, since a claimant who was supported by the French retained the greater position of Nizam of Hyderabad and presented his champions with a long coastal province, known as the Northern Circars. Nevertheless, the siege of Arcot had immense results in

the end, since it gave the English a tremendous reputation for valour and marked out Clive as a leader who would exploit that reputation to the uttermost, while the French Government, dissatisfied with Dupleix's policy, recalled their great leader in 1754 in disgrace.

Black Hole of Calcutta (1756); Battle of Plassey (1757). Clive also returned home, rich and renowned, but he was back in India, with a small naval squadron to assist his efforts, when the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756 made a renewal of warfare against the French in India probable. However, it was during the two years that elapsed before the new French commander, Lally, arrived on the scene, that the decisive event in the modern history of India occurred—in entire independence of the European struggle. In June 1756 a new Nawab of Bengal picked a quarrel with the Company, captured Calcutta, and shut up his prisoners through the summer night in a tiny dungeon, from which only one in six emerged alive. Clive and the naval squadron promptly set sail from Madras, recaptured Calcutta with ease, and came to terms with the infamous Nawab. But then the official declaration of hostilities between England and France (which did not reach India until 1757) led the Nawab to seek a French alliance, to which the British retorted by setting up a rival claimant to his throne. In June, Clive's army of 3000 (one-third Europeans) confronted the Nawab's host of 50,000 and a handful of Frenchmen on the field of Plassey, and completely routed their opponents.

Results of Plassey; Battle of Wandewash. The consequences of Plassey were tremendous. The rival claimant obtained the Nawab's throne, but he retained it only so long as he ruled Bengal—the wealthiest and most populous province in India—to the satisfaction of his English masters: the huge sums which were paid out to Clive and his fellows on this occasion were of ill omen for the future. Thus the English were securely established in the north. But the prestige which the victors of Plassey acquired among the native States also influenced the position in the

south of India, where Lally arrived in 1758. The naval squadron first defeated his attack on Madras and cut him off from France. Then an advance from Bengal, leading to the occupation of the Northern Circars, brought the Nizam of Hyderabad onto the British side, and Lally could find few allies against the dread name of Clive. In 1760 he was beaten by Sir Eyre Coote at Wandewash, and the following year he was captured at Pondicherry. The fall of that town marks the end of French dominion in India, for although both that and other French trading-posts were restored by the Peace of Paris (1763) they were not to be refortified.

(2) THE WORK OF HASTINGS: INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

Clive and the 'Diwani,' 1765. Clive, who again returned home at the end of the war, came to India a third time in 1765, but the initial period of military adventure was then finished. The East India Company were a body of traders who had been thrown, almost by accident, into a position of supreme power over many millions of Indian natives possessed of an ancient civilisation which the English did not understand. The next decade revealed human nature in some of its worst aspects, for the Company officials spent their time insisting on unfair privileges (they refused to pay the same taxes as native merchants on internal trade), exacting bribes, and overthrowing any ruler in Bengal or the Carnatic who dared to withstand their rapacity. That there was no limit to their power was shown in 1764, when the Nawab of Oudh tried to intervene and was utterly defeated at Buxar. Accordingly, Clive's task in 1765–7 was to create a system of administration. He first settled the general position by making an alliance with Oudh (which lasted nearly a hundred years) and promising a small annual tribute to the Mogul Emperor, who was still the nominal overlord of all the provinces. He then obtained from the Mogul the official right to collect the revenue in Bengal and the Northern Circars and hand over a fixed sum to the Nawab to pay the cost of government,

while the Company's army undertook defence. It was hoped that possession of the 'Diwani,' as the tax-collecting privilege was called, would give the British a definite status in the province. Thirdly, Clive used a salt monopoly to increase the salaries of the Company's servants, and in return forbade them to make private profit by internal trade.

Renewal of Misgovernment, 1767–72. Clive's scheme was the humble beginning of British government in India, for which its author was rewarded with an attempted impeachment by those whose interests had suffered. They violently accused Clive in the matter of the presents he had doubtless accepted from native rulers in the past, and, though signally vindicated by Parliament in 1773, he died next year by his own hand. Nevertheless, the scheme he had laboured to establish never really worked. The Company's servants continued to gather riches and return home 'nabobs.' They showed no sense of responsibility, even when the great famine of 1770 carried off a third of the population of Bengal. Meanwhile the Company itself grew steadily poorer, since the Bengal revenue was all swallowed up in the cost of government, while the British Treasury exacted a payment from it of £400,000 per annum, under the erroneous impression that the Company was fabulously wealthy.

Reforms of Hastings, 1772–4. But in 1771 the Directors of the East India Company, realising that something must be done, sent out a new Governor of Bengal, who may have lacked a little of Clive's supreme daring but made a far better ruler, because he never stooped to immoral actions for his personal gain. Warren Hastings had entered the Company's service not many years after Clive, and in various minor posts he had shown the utmost rectitude in face of pecuniary temptation under the bad old system. In his first two years as Governor (1772–4) he abolished the divided control, centring the whole administration of Bengal upon his own headquarters at Calcutta; started to systematise the land-revenue assessments and the administration of native law; and appointed the British officials, known as Collectors, who combined the collection of the

land revenue (the basis of all Indian government) with the enforcement of law and order. He also took strong measures to carry out the rule against private trading by officials, and started the great tradition of honesty and efficiency among them. Meanwhile his military policy was to avoid fresh annexations and rely upon the alliance with Oudh as a bulwark against the growing power of the Marathas, for which reason he allowed Oudh to maintain a brigade of the Company's army and use it to conquer their troublesome neighbours, the Rohillas. What Hastings did is quickly summarised, yet, although the rest of his administration was hampered by other cares, his reorganisation of government alone would win him a place among the two or three greatest rulers of the British Empire. He brought order out of chaos.

Effect of North's Regulating Act. But chaos nearly returned as the result of well-intended efforts by Parliament to place the Company, which had ceased to be able to pay its £400,000, in a securer position. In 1773 North's Regulating Act gave the Government some vague influence upon the Company's policy, but the important provisions were two. On the one hand, the Governor of Bengal was to receive authority over the Governors of Madras and Bombay, with the title of Governor-General. On the other hand, he was to act through a Council of four members, nominated in England, and the officials as a whole were to be held in check by a Supreme Court of English judges, which would handle disputes between them and the natives. Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General, but it was obvious that the new arrangements would hamper him in some respects. Those inevitable difficulties were, however, made ten times worse than they need have been by the appointment to the Council of Philip Francis, a great hater, who is believed to have written the bitter 'Letters of Junius,' and now devoted his energies to a more public attack upon the whole work of Hastings. Two of the other councillors accepted Francis' view that the Governor-General was an utter villain, so until 1776, when

there was a change in the membership, the majority voted to undo everything that he had done. They even invited natives to bring forward charges against the Governor-General, though the most prominent of these, Nuncomar by name, was by a high-handed action of the Supreme Court sentenced to death for forgery (in a quite different connection) before his accusation of Hastings could be heard.

War against Hyder Ali and the Marathas, 1779–84. In 1776 Hastings recovered his power, so none of his original reforms suffered permanent damage, but the imminence of war made further reform impracticable. Instead, he had to prepare to face a great native confederacy, brought together by French influence, which included the Nizam of Hyderabad, another powerful South Indian ruler, Hyder Ali of Mysore, and five warlike Maratha princes in Central India. The situation was saved by prompt action, involving a free expenditure of money, part of which Hastings obtained by making the Rajah of Benares pay extra tribute and permitting the widowed Princesses of Oudh (the famous Begums) to be plundered of their treasure. A great march across India saved Bombay from the Marathas. Then the Nizam and some of the Maratha princes were won over by diplomacy, while a second army sailed from Bengal to deliver Madras from Hyder Ali. Finally, that most dangerous enemy was defeated by the veteran Sir Eyre Coote at Porto Novo in 1781. Consequently, when a French fleet reached India in 1782, they found their allies dispersed and their own ports occupied, so they accomplished nothing.

Hastings' Place in History. Hastings returned home in 1785, and the last phase of his career was the famous impeachment for his oppressive treatment of the Rohillas, Nuncomar, the Rajah of Benares, and the Begums of Oudh. Nevertheless, Englishmen would prefer to forget the malice of Philip Francis and remember Hastings as the man who, in the crisis of the American War, when all others failed, let slip no fragment of British power in India. As for India, she too may recall him with gratitude as the inaugurator of an enduring tradition of just government.

ECONOMIC SECTION

The Eighteenth Century

CHAPTER XXVIII

RURAL ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(1) IMPROVING LANDLORDS

Predominance of the Country Districts. In the first half of the eighteenth century the prosperity of England still depended upon two ancient staple industries—the manufacture of woollen cloth and the growing of corn. The Chartered Companies which had done so much to extend the exports of cloth in the previous hundred and fifty years were now largely decayed, but they had performed their task so well that a large part of the inhabited world clothed itself from England. As for corn, the island at this time seemed likely to become 'the granary of Europe,' an achievement which may have been partly due to the Corn Bounty Act of 1689, which encouraged the export trade by offering a money grant for every quarter of corn sold abroad. The sale both of corn and cloth was largely in the hands of merchants in London and other ports, but the work of these industries was carried on mainly in country districts, which therefore continued to be more important to the national life than the towns, excepting London.

Causes of Rural Prosperity. These conditions favoured the well-being of the cottagers and labouring class. An almost uninterrupted series of good harvests helped to make corn cheap, with the result that white bread made of wheat took the place of the coarser rye as the food of the masses, and the eating of meat became more general among the poor. There was still much waste land or common where 'squatters,' as they were called, could eke out a precarious living in tumble-down huts; there were many

village handicrafts which supplied goods for a local market and provided local employment; and then there were the profits of the widespread woollen manufacture. In the West of England, indeed, a few rich merchants largely dominated the trade and the weavers were mere wage-earners, but the West Riding contained some two thousand independent master-weavers or small clothiers, and in South Lancashire an industrious person often combined work at the loom with pasture-farming. In this way a share of prosperity was widely diffused over the countryside.

Spinning. Still more striking was the part which spinning played in rural life. This was women's and children's work, and badly paid at that; but as it took six spinners to convert enough wool into yarn to keep a single weaver supplied, spinning was an organised industry, not only in the sheep-grazing counties, but in the most remote places to which the pack-horses could convey the wool. In this way the families of cottagers and labourers everywhere obtained small but fairly constant earnings, which "helped to boil the pot."

Tull and Lord Townshend. Another factor in this rural prosperity was the increased interest which landlords had begun to show in their estates. Eighteenth-century governments used the Land Tax, levied on every estate, as their principal source of direct taxation, so the long period of peace after 1714 was employed by the gentry in considering how best to recoup themselves by obtaining a larger rent-roll. Wealthy landlords (and a few prosperous tenants) accordingly gave practical support to the adoption of certain improvements in agriculture, most of which were not absolutely new. One such pioneer was Jethro Tull, a gentleman-farmer on the Berkshire Downs, who used a seed-drill in place of the broadcasting of seed, which is as old as the Bible, and wrote a book called *Horse Hoeing Husbandry* to insist on the importance of more regular hoeing of the surface of the soil. A still more famous example is Sir Robert Walpole's brother-in-law, Lord Townshend, who retired from political life in

1730 to work a complete transformation in his barren Norfolk estate. His main expedients were 'marling' the sandy fields, that is to say, covering them with a greasy clay, and introducing the 'Norfolk course,' *i.e.* a four-yearly rotation of crops—turnips, barley, clover, and wheat,—in which turnips were grown instead of letting the land lie fallow. When the increased fertility of the estate was realised, other landlords naturally began to follow Townshend's lead.

Agriculture under George III; Arthur Young. Under George III there was a general speeding up of the processes of change, as a sudden expansion in the town populations (due to the Industrial Revolution) gave even the most conservative farmer a direct inducement, which he very slowly realised, to employ improved methods because of the large profits he could make by the sale of foodstuffs. To be interested in farming became more fashionable than ever before, since George III took an active part in the tillage of the royal acres at Windsor—hence his nickname, 'Farmer' George—and the aristocracy took its tone from such leaders as Coke of Holkham. This was another Norfolk magnate, whose estate was so much improved in the course of a long life—he lived from 1759 to 1849—that his rents multiplied a hundredfold and the annual sheep-shearing at Holkham became an important social function. After 1793, in particular, the knowledge of scientific methods of agriculture was spread far and wide by the newly founded Board of Agriculture and its indefatigable Secretary, Arthur Young, whose tours and writings made a deep impression.

Robert Bakewell. Nevertheless, the main agricultural discoveries of this reign were those which were introduced by Robert Bakewell, a Leicestershire yeoman of humble origin, whose fame spread so far that European rulers flocked to visit him. He was the first modern stock-breeder, experimenting with horses, cattle, and sheep, but successful chiefly with the last, of which he produced what is still the standard type. His methods were simple, for

all he did was to decide what qualities—size, fatness, etc.—were most desirable in the particular animal; intensify those qualities by careful inbreeding; and keep a check upon the course of the experiments and the pedigree stock which resulted. Yet, when Bakewell died in 1795, the average weight of the carcasses sold in Smithfield market was twice as great as it had been a century earlier. It was not, however, a mere question of the discovery of new methods: effective stockbreeding, a proper supply of fodder, and all other improvements depended for their development upon the abolition of the haphazard open fields, which was being carried out at the same time.

(2) THE ENCLOSURE MOVEMENT

Enclosure Acts. The 'typical' English village, with its open-field strips and commonable waste, had never been uniform throughout the country, and piecemeal enclosure was always at work making it less prevalent. Thus there was a good deal of quiet enclosure by agreement among neighbours in the early part of the eighteenth century. But after 1760 enclosures by Act of Parliament, which took the place of agreement among all persons legally concerned, became so numerous and had such far-reaching effects as to constitute an 'Agrarian Revolution'—a revolution which reached its climax during the French Wars of 1793–1815. Between 1760 and the fall of Napoleon 2800 private Enclosure Bills were passed through Parliament—a tribute to the enthusiasm of Arthur Young as well as to the zeal of improving landlords and tenants.

Working of an Enclosure. How did an Enclosure Bill work? The project was usually set on foot by the principal landowner of the neighbourhood, who would summon a meeting of landowners great and small and secure a four-fifths majority in favour of a petition, which was easily managed because the votes at the meeting counted in proportion to the amount of land each voter owned. The petition, asking for the parish to be enclosed, would be readily

turned into law by Parliament, because most M.P.'s were landowners and in any case the poor had no means of making themselves heard at Westminster. The third stage was the administration of the new Act for the benefit of the wealthier petitioners, whose wishes Parliament would naturally consider, both in drawing up the terms and in the appointment of commissioners to carry them out. A typical enclosure rearranged all the parts of the ancient common-field village—the fields themselves, the meadow, and the waste for grazing—though some dealt only with unploughed 'commons' in the modern sense. But in any case what mattered to the poorer villagers was not so much the reassembling of the arable strips into fields as the division of the waste or common, where their live-stock grazed. The lord of the manor and the parson or other tithe-owner received a generous proportion of it in lieu of their legal claims and the large farmer a considerable acreage, of which he could make good use. The small farmer likewise obtained his share (more or less), but it might be too small to repay even the cost of fencing and, when fenced, could not possibly serve all the purposes of his ancient common rights, which had provided, not only miscellaneous grazing, but turf and timber, shooting, and duck ponds. As for the mere cottager or squatter, living on the edge of the common, if he had been there long enough, he might be awarded a tiny patch of ground, hardly sufficient to feed his solitary cow: otherwise he was excluded from the enclosed common without any recompense, since he had no legally enforceable right.

Economic Results. The economic results of enclosure were very gratifying. In general, it may be said that there could have been no real advance in the practice of agriculture throughout the country, so long as the open fields existed with their customary routine of tillage, jealously guarded by the village elders, and the unregulated commons with their undernourished flocks and herds. As it was, in the course of George III's reign English agriculture improved beyond all recognition. In the first place, there

was a more intensive production of corn. After about 1780 the increase of population put an end to its exportation, and England had become an importing country instead, when the outbreak of war in 1793 cut off the imports and threatened starvation. The zeal with which landlords and farmers then combined to break in new land, so that even Dartmoor came temporarily under the plough, saved the situation—and would have been unthinkable in the days when ancient custom was allowed to prescribe what every husbandman should do.

Merits of Large Tenant-farmers. Besides this all-important result of the enclosures, there was a similar improvement in the production of other foodstuffs. Large tenant-farmers could afford better stock for breeding from; enclosed fields gave better control; and they were sufficiently enlightened to cultivate root-crops, such as Tull had advocated, which kept the cattle in proper condition through the winter. It ceased to be necessary to kill off cattle every autumn: hence a larger and better supply of meat than had ever been known before. The same type of man, having once escaped from the tyranny of the old routine of cultivation, tended to study markets for his own advantage: he would realise the possibilities of new modes of transport (*e.g.* canals) and by the end of the century was supplying the towns with such articles of diet as potatoes.

Agriculture Revolutionised. To sum up, we may say that the substantial tenant-farmer, with money behind him and some knowledge of the world outside his own village, was busy transforming agriculture into a large-scale modern industry. In the old days each village supplied its own needs of every kind: it was mainly in the vicinity of London and in the great corn-growing districts of the East Midlands that there was specialisation for a particular market. To be modern each farm must be producing that for which it was best fitted without regard to local tradition: and this is what the new type of farmer did, or tried to do. Without something like a

revolution in methods of agriculture, the teeming workers employed in the new urban industries could never have been kept alive.

Social Results. But the enclosures also brought in their train certain social consequences of a less gratifying description. The landlord took the opportunity to enlarge his park and to combine several small tenancies into one large farm let at one large rent, so the small tenant-farmer disappeared. The small freeholder (or yeoman) held his own during the Napoleonic Wars, as corn prices were so good, but he went the way of the small tenant-farmer in the end. The cottager, if a tenant, was dispossessed by the landlord in his desire to get the patch of land which had been assigned to his cottage in place of his former rights on the common; if a freeholder, he often had to sell because he could not pay the cost of fencing his patch. In any case, nothing could compensate cottagers for losing all the miscellaneous uses of the common, not to mention the plight of recently-established squatters, whom there was not even a pretence of compensating for their ejection. These disinherited countrymen drifted into the towns, where the more substantial yeoman, if he was lucky, rose to be a factory-owner (like the founder of the Peel family), but the majority were eventually absorbed into the humble ranks of factory-employees. As for those who stayed behind, they saw the old variety of types disappear, to be replaced by the more servile modern village, consisting of many landless labourers, a few large tenant-farmers, and a well-to-do parson and squire.

(3) RURAL LIFE

Decline of Cottage Spinning. Although the enclosure movement was undoubtedly the main factor, there are other causes of the sullen discontent and squalor which became characteristic of rural life towards the end of the eighteenth century. One was the steady decline of village industries—the making of agricultural implements,

furniture, and clothing—which had once supplied all the ordinary needs of the inhabitants, but which disappeared when improved means of transport brought them into competition with the cheaper products of the towns. Another was the cessation of cottage spinning. As the result of inventions shortly to be described, all the cotton and most of the wool came by the beginning of the nineteenth century to be spun into yarn in factories in the towns, so that women and children no longer earned the trifle which made all the difference to a labourer's outlook: this would perhaps affect a clear majority of the poor over a whole county. Looking further ahead, we find that rural weavers also lost their employment in the end, when the weaving too became concentrated entirely in the towns.

'Speenhamland' System. Hence the so-called 'Speenhamland' system. When food rose to famine prices in the early years of the French war, the unprotected agricultural labourer would inevitably have starved if nothing had been done to help his wages. The idea of a legal minimum wage, sufficiently high for him to live, was frowned upon; and it was as a substitute for this that the Berkshire magistrates fixed their scale of relief. Wages were to be made up from the rates to a sum which varied with the price of bread and size of family. The system soon became widespread in rural England and it lasted unchanged until 1834, although it involved a number of notorious abuses. It prevented wages from rising above starvation-point, because the farmer knew that low wages would be subsidised. It led to the dismissal of better-paid workers, because paupers were cheap. It swelled the rates to gigantic figures. It destroyed the last vestiges of independence in the labourer thus pauperised. And it is even supposed to have stimulated the growth of large families among the very poor. Few well-intentioned makeshifts have ever involved such a terrible train of consequences.

Justices and Game Laws. Lastly, we must notice that the relations between squire and villager were no longer

as good as they had once been. In the early eighteenth century each class had enjoyed its privileges and its measure of independence, so that there was little room for jealousy: government by unpaid justices of the peace therefore worked well, on the whole. After the French Revolution the upper class felt that its privileges were, or might be, questioned by the English 'Jacobins,' whose presence they suspected at every corner. Their suspicions were shared by the purse-proud tenant-farmer, himself an employer of labour. At the same time the deterioration in the poor man's position and livelihood, which we have traced, made him envious and suspicious. It was then that the powers of the justices degenerated too often into an engine of tyranny; and cruel poaching laws, which transported men for what was little more than a sporting adventure, emphasised the heartless luxury of the great and the helpless misery of the starving.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE INVENTIONS

(1) CAUSES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

How the Revolution Began (1760–70). The decade in which George III came to the throne is generally regarded as the opening epoch of the Industrial Revolution, because it witnessed the building of the first canals and the opening of the first important ironworks in Scotland and South Wales, as well as the patenting of Arkwright's spinning-machine and Watt's steam-engine. These changes began the tremendous development of machinery and of the sale of machine-made goods which has gradually altered the life of the whole world, with the result that nowadays we call that process of change the 'Industrial Revolution.' But ingenious minds have existed in every epoch: in Charles II's reign, for instance, the members of the newly formed Royal Society showed boundless curiosity. Why, then, did the great inventions all come when they did, and why were they so readily adopted?

Growth of Trade. One reason was certainly the tremendous growth of British overseas trade in the days of Walpole and later. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) marked the moment at which Britain took Holland's place as a leading commercial Power, and, after the long and prosperous period of peace, the wars of 1739 and 1756 only improved her position. The 'Asiento' brought into being a very valuable 'triangular trade,' in which trinkets and cloth were sold for slaves in West Africa, and the slaves sold in the West Indies and America for tropical products, which were brought back again to England. The East India Company, just before it became involved in territorial

conquests, was earning a profit of £2,000,000 a year. The South Sea Bubble of 1720, when the price of £100 stock in the South Sea Company rose to £1050 before it collapsed, shows the general enthusiasm for trade investments; and, although joint-stock companies were made illegal after that scandal, the craze took other forms. All this enterprise meant pressure upon producers to furnish a larger output of goods to sell, which they could not do because the working population of England was increasing much less rapidly than its trade, and also because, when corn was cheap, workers in the manufactures easily earned enough to live on and would not work more than they need.

Accumulation of Capital. But new devices, which might economise labour or increase output, thus relieving the situation, could never have been adopted without a large capital expenditure. Another factor, therefore, was the rapid accumulation of wealth by the trade in woollens, slaves, and tropical products. This was more readily available for use than the wealth of other countries for two reasons. Unbroken internal peace—there had been no fighting since Sedgemoor (1685) in the south—encouraged people to employ their money rather than hide it for safety; and the steady prudence of the Bank of England, ever since its foundation in 1694, suggested the possibility of making wise investments.

Industrial Freedom; Cotton Manufacture. The greatest of England's advantages, however, was neither her wealth nor the extent of her commerce (in which France and England were equal), but industrial freedom. No internal customs barriers hampered the movement of goods from one district to another; the industrial regulations drawn up in Elizabeth's day had fallen into decay; and only the Act of Settlement (1662), under which poor persons might be sent back to their native parishes, for fear they should some day claim poor relief in another neighbourhood, prevented the free migration of labourers. This freedom was especially characteristic of the newer crafts, one of which, namely, the cotton manufacture, was becoming of first-rate

importance. It had appeared in England about the beginning of the seventeenth century, but first gained a reputation after 1700, when its products came into use as a substitute for Indian printed calicoes, the importation of which was in that year prohibited. A few years later a lighter variety of English cottons began to find a market in West Africa, where they eventually supplanted native Indian cottons, with the result that in the middle of the eighteenth century this industry, already centred round Manchester, bade fair to rival wool, and, having no old traditions, it offered free scope for enterprise and innovation.

(2) THE GREAT INVENTIONS

Kay's 'Flying Shuttle,' 1733. The earliest of the classic inventions was Kay's 'Flying Shuttle,' patented in 1733. His object was to enable a single weaver to weave a wider piece of cloth without assistance, the width having been restricted hitherto by the fact that the shuttle, containing the thread for the weft, had to be thrown to and fro through the upright warp from one hand to the other. Kay arranged for the shuttle to run on wheels in a groove, so that the weaver, by knocking it with a hammer at each end, attached to long strings, could drive the shuttle to and fro over any distance to which the strings reached. This device was still regarded as a dangerous innovation by many of the woollen weavers as late as 1800, but the cotton weavers were using it readily within twenty years of the discovery. The flying shuttle, of course, did not in itself alter the general system of cottage weaving upon the ancient hand-loom, but it started a whole series of changes. With its aid, the weavers worked too fast for the spinners to keep them supplied; hence a general eagerness to discover some mechanical aid to spinning; and hence, finally, the epoch-making successes of Hargreaves and Arkwright, where earlier pioneers, working on similar lines, had failed for want of encouragement to perfect or finance their machines.

'Jenny' (1767) and 'Water-Frame' (1769). Hargreaves'

Spinning 'Jenny' was a device for multiplying the normal action of a spinner's hands, one of which drew out a thread from a bundle of stuff, while the other turned the spindle on which it was wound. A carriage moved up and down to draw the threads from a number of bundles of stuff, and a wheel worked a corresponding set of spindles. But the important thing about the jenny was its simplicity and cheapness, enabling it to become a profitable addition to the furniture of many thousands of cottage homes. Yarn was made more plentiful, but there was still no fundamental change involved. That is where the jenny, which first came on the market in 1767, differs from the 'Water-Frame,' patented by Arkwright only two years later. For the latter invention, as its name implies, was a much bigger machine, which required water-power from a millstream to drive it: it also did faster and stronger work than the jenny. Thus the water-frame led to the building of factories to accommodate the water-wheel and the big machinery, the first such cotton-mill being erected at Cromford on the Derwent in 1771.

Other Textile Inventions. By the end of the century Arkwright was being extensively imitated, and the factory system was in full swing. The crowning invention came when Crompton combined the ideas of Hargreaves and Arkwright into a hybrid machine, which was therefore called the 'Mule.' This alone was capable of spinning the finer yarns required, with the result that it eventually became the standard type of factory machinery. The huge increase in the supply of yarn, not all of which could be used up by the existing weavers, directed attention towards the construction of a weaving-machine or power-loom, which was first achieved by an enterprising clergyman named Cartwright in 1785. His machine did not work very well at first, however, so for many years to come the chief effect of the spinning inventions upon the weavers was to draw a host of newcomers into their craft to weave the extra yarn, so that by 1800 it was almost overcrowded. Finally, there was a slow process of change in the woollen

industry, which very gradually adopted the new methods of the cotton manufacture, though that did not prevent it from falling behind. Besides the conservatism natural in an older trade, it suffered for many years from a shortage of raw material. By 1800 the output of cotton goods had rendered cotton our largest industry.

Changes in the Iron Industry. The second largest British industry—coal and iron—was likewise taking new shape during this period as a result of two inventions. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the iron industry seemed likely to leave the island altogether on account of the disappearance of forests, such as the Weald, which had enabled it to be carried on in earlier ages. Without wood there could be no charcoal; and without charcoal no proper smelting of iron. The secret of smelting iron with coal was discovered in 1707 by Abraham Darby, who turned his coal into coke, so that the sulphur in the coal might not make the iron which it smelted brittle. The secret, however, remained in the keeping of the Darby family for two generations, so that cast iron did not become plentiful until the 1760's—or about the time when other inventions were cheapening cotton yarn. As with cotton, so with iron a second improvement followed on the heels of the first. Cast iron is a less valuable and useful product than wrought iron, which could still be manufactured only with the help of charcoal and in very small quantities. In this instance the problem was solved chiefly by Henry Cort, a dockyard contractor at Portsmouth, who in 1784 set up a process known as 'Puddling,' in which the iron was prepared with a coal fire, and the sulphur destroyed by stirring the molten metal with an iron bar. Thus by the end of the century cheap iron was for the first time available for all purposes.

Newcomen's and Watt's Steam-engine. Even without the improved methods of making iron, the shortage of wood involved an increased demand for coal, so that, quite early in the century, it had become necessary to work deeper seams and, in consequence, to face the problem of mine-

drainage. Hence came the humble beginnings of the greatest invention of all. By 1711 a rudimentary steam-engine had been evolved, chiefly by Newcomen, for draining the mines. An airtight space was filled with steam, cold water was poured on to the outside of the vessel to condense the vapour, and the resulting vacuum sucked up water through a pipe. For half a century this rather clumsy device served its purpose, until in 1764 the model of such a machine was handed over for repair to a young instrument-maker connected with Glasgow University. The young man in question was James Watt, and the result of his examination was a very much improved model. First, he economised heat by generating the steam in a cylinder, which was always hot, and cooling it in a separate condenser, which was always cold. Secondly, he used the expansion and contraction of the steam, not to create a leaky air-vacuum, but as the actual force which drove the machine. Thirdly, he fitted a cog-wheel to the piston, so that, when the expansion of the steam jerked the latter to and fro, the motion was turned into the rotation of a large wheel.

Triumph of Steam. In 1785 Watt's steam-engine began to be used as a source of power in a cotton-spinning mill, and this might reasonably be regarded as the turning-point in the whole Industrial Revolution. Some thirty years were still to elapse before the water-mills, scattered for the most part by Pennine streams, were definitely superseded: but the advantages were all on the side of steam, which was both stronger and steadier. Henceforth there was no limit to the quantity of yarn which the new factories might manufacture. Coal was seen to be the indispensable, and fortunately abundant, basis of the new industrial order. Iron was on the way to acquire a new importance as the proper raw material of machinery. The possibilities of new wealth were limitless—if only materials and goods could be moved with sufficient cheapness and speed.

(3) ROADS AND CANALS

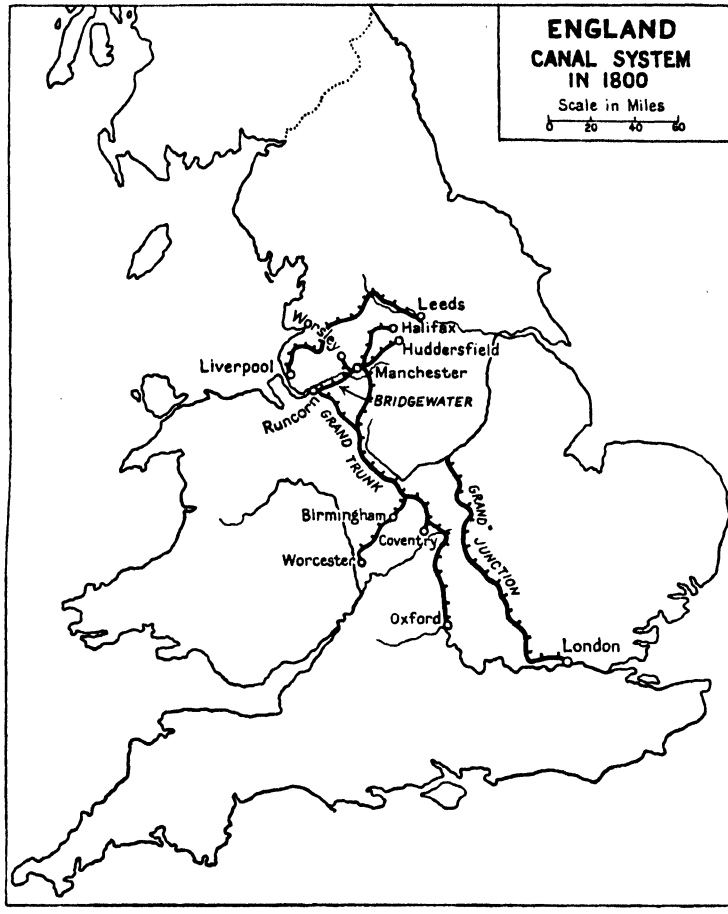
Bad Condition of English Roads. When George I landed in England the roads were scarcely better than they had been when the last Roman general departed. Whenever possible, heavy goods were conveyed by sea: otherwise, their conveyance was problematic even in summer. As the roads were left to the care of the several parishes through which they ran, it was worth nobody's while to mend them, even if scientific methods of road-making had been understood, which they were not. Coal, for instance, could be shipped from Newcastle to London by sea or brought up river-valleys: elsewhere it was often unprocurable.

Turnpikes. For parochial neglect the remedy was the turnpike trust—that is to say, a private corporation empowered by a special Act of Parliament to set some stretch of main road in order and then exact tolls from all who used it for its upkeep and their profit. Such undertakings became common after the '45 Rebellion, when the Government learnt a lesson from the difficulty it experienced in concentrating troops; and at the beginning of George III's reign about thirty turnpikes were being constructed every year. These in turn brought to the fore a few early road engineers, such as 'Blind Jack of Knaresborough,' who made and remade the roads of the Pennines; but no general advance in the arts of surveying and surfacing was recorded until the opening decades of the nineteenth century, when Telford planned the great highway to Holyhead, and Macadam invented the surface which bears his name. Meanwhile, regular coach-services did something to break down the barrier between district and district, and light merchandise could always be dispatched by carriers' waggons as well as by pack-horse. But the turnpike did little to facilitate the conveyance of heavy goods in bulk, charges for which continued to be almost prohibitive.

Origin of Canals. The obvious alternative to the road was the river. Much attention had therefore been given

in the early eighteenth century to the business of widening and deepening river-beds, but the number of rivers which could be made to serve the needs of industry was obviously limited. From such work it was but a small step to the building of wholly artificial canals: indeed, it is hard to understand why such waterways, which had existed in France and the Netherlands time out of mind, were not started much sooner on English soil. At all events, the Worsley Canal was constructed in 1759 to carry the Duke of Bridgewater's coal a distance of half a dozen miles from his collieries into Manchester. It halved the price of the commodity, and won immediate fame for the device and its creator, James Brindley. This strange genius was an illiterate workman in the Duke's employment, whose phenomenal powers of imagination, concentration, and memory enabled him to engineer the major half of the late eighteenth-century canal system, which we must now describe.

Canal System. Brindley simplified his work by keeping the water as far as possible to a single level, which helps to explain why the routes he planned lay chiefly in the great Midland plain. Immediately after his first venture at Worsley, he undertook the so-called Bridgewater Canal, to connect Manchester with the Mersey estuary, and before this was completed (in 1767) work had been begun on the Grand Trunk Canal, providing communication between the east and west coasts *via* Trent and Mersey. By the time of his death in 1772 Brindley had also planned two extensions of the 'Trunk,' one linking it up with the Black Country and the Severn, the other with the Thames valley and London, both of which were subsequently carried out. Thereafter the spread of the canals is closely related to the spread of the industrial changes. By the end of the century the Pennines were crossed in three places; a new route, known as the Grand Junction, joined London directly to the system centring on the Trent valley; and whole networks of local waterways covered Lancashire, the Black Country, and the industrial area round Swansea and Cardiff.


ENGLAND
CANAL SYSTEM
IN 1800
Scale in Miles
0 20 40 60
Leeds
Halifax
Huddersfield
Manchester
Liverpool
Runcorn
BRIDGEWATER
GRAND TRUNK
Birmingham
Coventry
Worcester
GRAND JUNCTION
Oxford
London

Importance of Canals. If the canals can only be classed as 'inventions' in the sense that they were new to England, the fact remains that none of the inventions proper did more to stimulate economic change. In the first place the canals solved the problem of conveying bulky raw materials to the place where they could be used. Coal for the steam-engines is the most obvious example, but the interest which Wedgwood the potter took in canals may remind us that the Cornish china-clay which they also carried was the basis of the prosperity of the Five Towns. The canal system likewise served to put manufacturers in better contact with their markets. For the first time in history merchandise could pass without serious hindrance to almost any part of the country where a demand for it existed, while the linking up of industrial centres with the nearest seaports materially reduced the cost of exportation. Finally, without canals the large towns of the early nineteenth century could never have sprung up as they did, for it was the trading facilities which the canals offered that led to the concentration of the new industries upon the canal banks. The barge might even be the means by which the population of the manufacturing town was recruited, and it was often the indispensable source of a regular food-supply. Thus the Bridgewater Canal on one occasion enabled corn from Liverpool to stave off famine in Manchester. To us the canals seem slow and antiquated: but to the eighteenth century they were a miracle of convenience.

CHAPTER XXX

THE NEW SOCIETY OF 1815

(1) POPULATION

Migration to the North. Before the Industrial Revolution the great majority of the people of England lived in the south, Wiltshire (where the woollen industry flourished) being probably the most populous county outside the metropolitan area. After 1760 the proportion of the population which had its home in the north and west of the country steadily increased: by 1801 the once-despised north-western counties were as crowded as the fat lands of the south-east (if we exclude London from consideration), while the inhabitants of Lancashire had doubled in half a century. The change is not difficult to account for, since the increasing commerce of new ports such as Liverpool, the greater demand for coal and iron products, and the 'boom' in hand-loom weaving would all attract people to new neighbourhoods, where there was a chance to earn a better livelihood. What is remarkable is the way in which the change was carried out. Neither the stage-coach nor the canal provided a cheap means of travel, and journeys to far-off places on foot would generally be restricted to workers who had no family and few belongings. Accordingly, movement from the rural counties of Southern England into the new industrial north was on the whole exceptional. A great many Irish labourers reached Glasgow and Liverpool by the cheap ferry-boats, which made a long journey in their case feasible, but short-distance migration was the order of the day. Each new urban district recruited its population mainly from its own surrounding countryside, the nearest families moving most readily into the town.

Census of 1801: Increase of Population. A still more remarkable feature of the age was the sudden growth in the total population of England and Wales. The three millions whom the soil probably supported at the end of the Middle Ages can barely have exceeded six by 1750—an increase of three millions in three centuries. But in 1801, when the first census (repeated every ten years since) was taken, the total was nine million souls, between two and three millions having been added since the Industrial Revolution began. No complete explanation of the sudden growth has yet been found. Two favourite theories used to be that the Speenhamland system, which gave the pauper more money for every child, encouraged large families; and that the employment of small children in the new cotton factories made large families still more profitable to the parents. The objection to these theories, however, is that the population appears to have increased fastest in the 1780's—that is to say, before the Speenhamland order or the bulk of the factories existed. Other features of the age, which may have had something to do with the change, are, in towns, the disuse of apprenticeship regulations, under which marriage had to be deferred at least until the age of twenty-four; and in the country, the decline of the small farmers, whose sons (unlike the labouring families that replaced them) had often waited to marry until they had a farm of their own.

Falling Death-rate. On the whole, though, the more convincing line of investigation is that which points to the falling death-rate as the means by which the population mainly grew. What we know concerns chiefly London, but Londoners, it must be remembered, formed one-sixth of the nation in the early eighteenth century, and changes in the capital must in any case have made themselves felt elsewhere. In the reigns of the first two Georges London was flooded with cheap gin, the sale of which the Government refused to restrict because it was made out of grain, which the agricultural interest supplied. This had blocked all social progress for the time being, because three-quarters

of the children born in what was already the world's greatest city died young, and its population was only kept up by a steady draining of the youth of the countryside. After this, however, there was a regular but unsensational advance, so that for a generation after 1780 the death-rate declined. The serious study of public health began at this epoch with the institution of better hospitals, as a result of which scurvy, smallpox, and other such scourges began to disappear, and mortality in childbirth (a most important factor) was rapidly reduced. Another highly important consideration is the better food-supply, which the example of Bakewell and the freer agriculture of the enclosed villages enabled modern farmers to furnish for all but the very poor. Nor must we forget that the Industrial Revolution itself had a healthy side in the general adoption of cheap cotton clothes, instead of the impenetrable, unwashed, and eminently unhygienic garments of wool and leather previously worn. Finally, we may remark that during the same periods Drainage and other Improvement Boards, set up by private Acts of Parliament, began the still uncompleted task of making the artificial life of the town as healthy as that of open spaces.

Where the People Lived. With the towns we reach the third change in population, for it was in the towns that this new mass of humanity was chiefly congregated. The first result of the inventions, as a matter of fact, had been a thickening of population over the whole countryside in such districts as south and east Lancashire. The early spinning-mills invaded rural solitudes in search of quick-running streams to turn the mill-wheel; and the additional hand-loom weavers, whom the increased supply of yarn brought into being, worked in whatever isolation they pleased. Coal-mining also lent itself to a development of village life near the coal-face. But in this matter the coming of the steam-engine was decisive, because it enabled factories to be indefinitely enlarged, and encouraged the grouping of them in one place to procure obvious

ENGLAND
SIX MOST
POPULOUS COUNTIES
IN 1701
Scale in Miles
0 25 50 75
Towns of over 20,000 inhabitants
Counties with most population
Norwich
WORCESTER
GLOUCESTER
Bristol
WILTSHIRE
SOMERSET
MIDDLESEX
London
SURREY
ENGLAND
SIX MOST
POPULOUS COUNTIES
IN 1901
Scale of Miles
0 25 50 75
Towns of over 200,000 inhabitants
Counties with most population
Newcastle
W. RIDING
YORKS.
Hull
Leeds
Bradford
LANCASHIRE
Manchester
Sheffield
Liverpool
CHESHIRE
Nottingham
STAFFORD
Leicester
Birmingham
WARWICK
MIDDLESEX
London
SURREY
Bristol

economies, especially in cheap transport of food and materials.

Factory Towns. Such towns as Manchester and Birmingham, Leeds and Bradford, grew at a pace that only Brighton, which George IV made suddenly and immensely fashionable, could rival. But the host of lesser industrial centres in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the Black Country, which did not exist at all before the factories came, are still more typical of the age. The evils which they brought with them were unprecedented—for the teeming London of the two preceding centuries was a metropolis and unique—and well-nigh permanent. The monstrous slums, stunted physique, and insensibility to beauty, which are often held to be the marks of modern England, are an inheritance from these days of the early nineteenth century. The new towns were ugly, because houses were wanted in a hurry and cheap builders were required to build them cheaply. They were unhealthy, because the science of drainage and water supply was still in its infancy, and no one thought it necessary to preserve the open spaces, which reduced the dangers of infection in the equally primitive village. They are irreplaceable, because wholesale destruction is an expensive process and, in any case, we have, alas! learnt to regard the factory town almost with resignation as a necessary evil.

(2) LIVELIHOOD

Rise in Wages. When we read of the vast changes that took place in industry, the greatest of the questions that should occur to us is certainly this: was the ordinary worker better off? Unfortunately, this is a hard question to answer. As regards actual money-wages, the answer is probably, Yes. The factory cotton-spinner almost certainly earned more than the spinner in the cottage had done. The new class of engineers, who made and mended the machinery, were so much in demand that their wages must have been quite large. Moreover, for the last two decades of the eighteenth century, at least, the hand-loom

weavers, with whom machinery as yet hardly entered into competition, profited by the big supply of yarn to increase their earnings. But, if we are measuring the satisfaction of the people as a whole, we must also take into account the frequency of unemployment. Respectable men did not willingly take to work in a factory, so many of the early factory-hands were tramps and ne'er-do-well's, while the villagers for whom spinning had been a part-time occupation could find no other kind of work to take its place. Finally, it must not be forgotten that after 1793 the circumstances of wartime make mere wage-calculations still more unreliable. Prices, especially of corn, rose enormously, which meant that a high wage might really be worth very little in terms of what it could be used to buy. And the high prices were accompanied by great fluctuations in the amount of foreign trade which England could still carry on—sometimes there was plenty of work for all comers, more often half the hands were idle and earning nothing. This was the beginning of unemployment of the modern kind, which largely depends upon world conditions of trade, and the distress was proportionately great.

Employment of Women and Children. Much of this distress fell with particular heaviness upon women and children, for the important part which they played in the new kind of manufacture was one of its salient features. Women and children had always worked—and worked hard—wherever anything could be found for them to do, as in domestic spinning, but their work had usually been carried on in the home and in subordination to the work of a husband or father. In the factories, however, and still more in the coal-mines, they had to work under the inhuman discipline of overseers as ignorant and brutal as the people over whom they tyrannised. In the coal-mines, which were now being developed, women were harnessed with chains to pull coal-tubs on hands and knees along the dark, unpaved passages. In the cotton factories the clumsiness of the machinery made it advantageous to employ the small, soft fingers of children, especially as

'piecers,' to join the threads together when they broke. Moreover, when the supply of water or steam was intermittent (as often happened), it was a natural resort to work the children for endless hours in making up lost time, with the threat of chastisement to keep them awake.

Peel's Factory Act, 1802. It was this evil which led to the first act of intervention on the part of the Government. As it was so difficult to collect workers, especially for the water-mills in remote places, the practice had sprung up of hiring the pauper children, many of them orphans, whom large town parishes were obliged to put out as apprentices to the humbler trades. These children were brought north in large numbers, lodged and fed by the employer at his discretion, and set to work in the mill under whatever conditions he chose. The enormity of the abuses which resulted roused the conscience of one of the most successful of the cotton-mill owners, the first Sir Robert Peel, and in 1802 he induced Parliament to pass an addition to the Poor Law, which tried to safeguard the health and morals of parish apprentices by providing religious instruction, proper beds, and a maximum of twelve hours' work a day. Clergy and others were appointed to visit the mills and see that the law was obeyed, but few troubled about its provisions, which, in any case, applied only to one special class of children. In towns the factories were worked by 'free' children, whom there was no attempt to protect from the parents who offered and the employers who took them at the age of seven or eight.

Hatred of Factories and Machinery. The institution of factory machinery long continued to be unpopular with the men. On the one hand, they considered factory work with its regular hours and supervision to be degrading in comparison with such employment as hand-loom weaving, which was not necessarily better paid but left a man the feeling that he was his own master. In the earlier eighteenth century, indeed, most workers in good times when pay

was high preferred more leisure to higher total earnings. On the other hand, machinery was always regarded as a menace to every employee. It superseded hand labour; and although in the long run machinery cheapened the product, increased the demand, and so enabled more men to be employed minding the machines, there was no guarantee that the actual labourers who lost their job when the machine was introduced would ever get it back again. Hence a great many riots against the machines and their inventors, who were sometimes lucky to escape with their lives, and scarcely ever (except in the case of Arkwright) were allowed to enjoy the full fruits of their genius. The most famous outbreak was the Luddite Riots, so called because the rioters signed their manifestos with the mythical name of 'King Ludd.' They began in 1811 round Nottingham, where the discontented workmen combined to destroy stocking-frames. These machines were not actually a new invention, but as they were hired out by the employers for use in the workers' homes, to destroy them was an obvious way of protesting against the conditions of their work. The following year the disturbances spread to Lancashire and the West Riding, where the main object was to abolish new devices for superseding hand labour, such as power-looms, and the Government, which feared a general rising, suppressed them with great severity.

(3) POLICY

'Laissez-faire.' The principle of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations,* that commerce prospers best if left alone, had been triumphantly vindicated in the American Revolution and accepted by the Younger Pitt as the basis of his commercial policy. From commerce, this dictum of 'leaving things alone,' or *laissez-faire,* had been transferred to industry, the attitude adopted by Pitt being that the less the State had to do with the whole economic life of the country, the better. Thus, for example, in 1795 the ancient Law of Settlement was modified to encourage the free migration

of labour. That is why Pitt's chief industrial measure, the Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800, is so surprising. He did not intend to protect the poor against their oppressors, as earlier statesmen had professed to do, yet he refused to let them protect themselves.

History of Trade Unions. Before the Industrial Revolution, broadly speaking, there was no trade unionism, because so many workmen had a sufficient feeling of independence without a union. Usually they worked in their own homes, owning the instruments of their craft (and occasionally the raw material as well), so that they might sell what they produced to a merchant as they pleased. Moreover, in many trades men could look forward to the possibility that thrift or luck would enable them some day to leave the class of labourers and enter that of masters, for the gulf between them was not deep. The Industrial Revolution created a huge class of labourers who owned nothing and had no prospect of owning, wage-earners pure and simple, who had to take whatever wages they were offered or starve, unless a sufficient number of them combined to bring an employer to terms. It was these combinations, or trade unions as we call them, which Pitt's laws, following upon a series of special prohibitions for one trade or another, tried entirely to suppress. He did not succeed, although many workmen were imprisoned under the statutes, because trade unions were an absolute necessity to the men. What Pitt did succeed in doing was in driving them underground: they became secret conspiracies, frequently resorting to violence to gain their ends, which gave a bad start to one of the most important movements of the nineteenth century.

Repeal of Statute of Apprentices, 1813 and 1814. The Combination Acts may be excused as a political measure, due to the Jacobin scare, but two economic laws passed by Lord Liverpool's Government both belong to the chosen policy of *laissez-faire*. Between 1800 and 1813 the war, as we have seen, made the earnings of the cotton operatives

less secure. Thereupon they agitated for their wages to be fixed by the justices of the peace, in accordance with certain clauses of the Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices. The Government's answer was to have them repealed. Other clauses of the same law provided for the general enforcement of apprenticeship, so that skilled crafts should not be overcrowded. These regulations were highly prized by the trade unions, and a movement was set on foot to have them rescued from disuse, but again the only result was their repeal in 1814. Thus by the end of the war the country was fairly embarked on a policy of industrial *laissez-faire*, which was to have the most disastrous consequences in the next hundred years.

Excuses for Government Policy. In conclusion, we must notice what can be said in defence of the Government. On the one hand, the war was a period of great economic anxiety—the threat of starvation, the prolonged financial crisis, and Napoleon's attempt to strangle our trade provided Ministers with a series of tremendous problems, which made *laissez-faire* seem an easy way out. On the other hand, they had the support of the leading economists of the day, a representative figure among whom was the Rev. T. R. Malthus. This clergyman was believed to have shown that "population presses against subsistence," that is to say, the more food there is, the more human beings will be brought into the world to eat it. As regards the labouring classes, his argument seemed to suggest that, if wages go up beyond what is necessary to keep the labourer alive, he will rear a larger family, who (in the next generation) will compete for the available work and pay, and so reduce the standard of living again. Indeed, Malthus was so much impressed by the dangers of encouraging an increase in the numbers of the working class that he actually advocated the entire abolition of poor relief as a suitable deterrent against improvident marriages. Malthus' *Essay on Population* was published in 1798, but the same idea of an 'Iron Law of Wages' found favour with Ricardo twenty years later and prevailed, in one

form or another, for a large part of the nineteenth century. Thus the teaching of the 'dismal science,' as economics was called, harmonised well with the natural inclinations of a ruling class in an age when high profits were being made out of low wages.

SUMMARIES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

(1) FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

When did 'mediæval' history end?

1348–50. Black Death: *hence* decline of the manor.

1399. Deposition of Richard II: *hence* the 'Lancastrian Experiment' and the struggle of York *v.* Lancaster.

1422. Death of Henry V: *hence* loss of English possessions in France and increase of disorder at home.

1459–61. Main campaigns of the Wars of the Roses: *hence* 'modern' reign of Edward IV (1461–83).

1. Accumulation of wealth.
2. Avoidance of Parliaments.
3. Dependence on middle-class support.
4. Caxton.
5. Peaceful foreign policy (Treaty of Pecquigny, 1475).

1483–5. Misgovernment of Richard III: *hence* his overthrow by Lancastrians at Bosworth.

This marks the true beginning of modern history in England, because the Tudor dynasty and policy lasted.

(2) THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY WORLD

Scotland: Hostility to England—French alliance—internal feuds.

Ireland: The shrunken English 'Pale'—elsewhere tribal and feudal anarchy.

France: A great civilisation—growth of national feeling—work of Louis XI.

Spain: Marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella (1479)—expulsion of the Moors (1492).

Portugal: Exploration of Africa—Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460).

Burgundy: Riches of the Netherlands—overthrow of Charles the Bold (1476)—inheritance of Mary.

Holy Roman Empire: 300 independent German states—the Emperor elected—House of Hapsburg.

Ottoman Empire: Great extent—chief military Power—capture of Constantinople (1453).

Italy: Centre of Catholic Church and of Renaissance—its States divided and demoralised—becomes the battlefield of France and Spain.

(3) THE RISING TIDE OF CHANGE

A. *Inventions:*

Mariner's compass.
Gunpowder.
Printing (diffusion of knowledge, political discussion, spread of literature).

B. *Rise of the Middle Class:*

The 'communes' of the Continent.
This class enriched by the woollen industry in England.

C. *Decline of the Mediæval Church:*

1. Hostility to the Pope and papal taxes.
2. Wycliffe's attack on Catholic doctrine.
3. Resentment of clerical wealth and idleness.
4. The break-up of Christendom.

D. *The Renaissance:*

1. Revival of classical Latin.
2. Study of Greek (Chrysoloras, 1397).
3. Its effects in Italy (the great painters, etc.).
4. The spirit of free enquiry in politics, religion, natural science.

CHAPTER II

HENRY VII

1485–1509

(1) SECURING THE THRONE

His difficulties:

(*a*) Lack of hereditary claim to the throne.
(*b*) Unattractive personality.
(*c*) Unruly elements in England and Ireland.
(*d*) Foreign enemies—Burgundy and Scotland.

How he overcame them:

(*a*) Strong action against rebels.
1487. Stoke.
1497. Blackheath.
1499. Execution of Perkin Warbeck and Warwick.
(*b*) Treaties of Alliance.
(*c*) Poynings' Law (1494).
(*d*) Statute against Livery and Maintenance.
(*e*) Reorganisation of Star Chamber (1487).

(2) THE NEW RULE

1. Employment of middle-class Councillors (Morton, Empson, Dudley) and reliance on J.P.'s and support of London.
2. Peace policy (France, Spain, Scotland).
3. Care for trade (Magnus and Malus Intercursus).
4. Accumulation of treasure (from crown lands, customs, and benevolences, aided by natural miserliness and unscrupulous ministers).

(3) ENGLAND AND THE NEW WORLDS

The Discoveries:

1487, 1497. Portuguese round Cape of Good Hope and reach India.
1492. Columbus's first voyage (to the Bahamas).
1493. The Pope's Line.
1497. Voyage of the Cabots to North America.

The Renaissance:

Its climax in fifteenth-century Italy—Grocyn and Linacre —Colet and the Oxford Reformers—More's *Utopia* and the Renaissance Prince, Henry.

CHAPTER III

HENRY VIII AND WOLSEY

1509–1529

(1) THE GREAT CARDINAL

The First Phase:

Henry VIII's carefree youth.
His membership of the Holy League.
The Spurs and Flodden.

The Rise of Wolsey:

Chaplain to Henry VII.
Handling of the French War.
High office in Church and State.

The Balance of Power:

1514. Peace with France.

1516–1519–1521. Growth of the power of Charles V.

1521. Meetings at Field of Cloth of Gold and Gravelines. England sides with Charles (traditional hatred of France, marriage-alliance with Spain, Wolsey's Papal ambitions).

1525. Francis I defeated at Pavia.
Refusal of supplies for a French War.
England makes peace with France.

1529. Peace of Cambrai (England's wishes not consulted by either of the Great Powers).

(2) THE DIVORCE QUESTION

Wolsey's Domestic Policy:

1. His magnificence and munificence.
2. His hostility to Parliament.
3. His good administration of the law as Lord Chancellor.
4. His sympathy with the poor (enclosure commission, 1517).

The Divorce Question:

The basis of Henry's attitude was—

(*a*) political (need of a male heir).
(*b*) personal (Anne Boleyn).
(*c*) religious (doubts as to the validity of marriage with his brother's widow).

The difficulties of securing the divorce were—

(*a*) Charles V's control of the Pope (Sack of Rome, 1527).
(*b*) French hostility to a policy which would affect Mary, betrothed to the Dauphin.
(*c*) delays of Papal diplomacy (Legatine Trial, 1529).

1529. Fall of Wolsey: he retires to York.
1530. His prosecution for high treason: he dies at Leicester.

CHAPTER IV

THE BREACH WITH ROME

1529–1547

(1) THE NEW POLICY

(a) *Employment of New Ministers* (More, Cranmer, Cromwell).
(b) *Summons of the Reformation Parliament* (*N.B.* not Lutheran).
(c) *Attacks on the Clergy:*
1529. Reduction of fees and pluralism.
1531. Punishment for having recognised Wolsey as Papal Legate.
1532. Submission of Convocation.
(d) *Attack on the Pope:*
1532. Act of Annates.
1533. Act of Appeals.
1534. Act of Supremacy (Henry's Headship first recognised in 1531).
1534. Statute of Treasons.
(e) *Settlement of the Divorce Question:*
1530. Cranmer's appeal to the universities.
1533. Marriage of Catherine declared invalid by Cranmer.

(2) THE ROYAL TYRANNY

A. *Cromwell's Reign of Terror:*

1535. Execution of More and Fisher.

B. *Dissolution of the Monasteries:*

1535. Visitation of the Monasteries.

1536. Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries. Pilgrimage of Grace.

1537–9. Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries.

Results:

1. Rebellion.
2. Increase of pauperism.
3. Foundation of new bishoprics and strengthening of the Royal Navy.
4. Creation of a new anti-papal aristocracy.

C. *The King's Power Increased:*

1. *In Religion:*

1536. Act of Ten Articles, etc.

1538. Publication of the English Bible.

1539. Act of Six Articles.

2. *Generally:*

1534, 1537. Prerogative Councils developed.

1536. Union of England and Wales.

1539. Statute of Proclamations.

(3) THE CLOSING YEARS

A. *Foreign Policy:*

1540. Lutheran alliance (marriage with Anne of Cleves—fall of Cromwell).

1542. War against Scotland (Solway Moss).

1544–6. War against France (capture of Boulogne).

B. *Religious Policy:*

1540. Marriage with Anne of Cleves (Lutheran). Marriage with Catherine Howard (Catholic).

1543. Marriage with Catherine Parr (Reformer).

1544–5. Cranmer's English Prayers.

C. *Ireland:*

1537. Suppression of the Kildares.

1541. Henry assumes title of King of Ireland.

CHAPTER V

THE REFORM OF DOCTRINE

1547–1559

(1) SOMERSET AND NORTHUMBERLAND

A. *Protectorate of Somerset* (1547–9):

1. Invasion of Scotland (Battle of Pinkie).
2. Religious Changes.
   (*a*) Henry VIII's laws repealed—spread of the doctrines of Calvin and Zwingli.
   (*b*) Suppression of chantries and religious functions of gilds.
   (*c*) First Prayer-book and Act of Uniformity (1549).
   (*d*) Rebellion in Devon and Cornwall.
3. Social Policy.
   (*a*) Somerset's sympathy with the widespread grievance against the Enclosure Movement.
   (*b*) Kett's rebellion crushed by Warwick.
   (*c*) End of Protectorate (1549); execution of Somerset (1552).

B. *Rule of Northumberland:*

1. Further Religious Changes.
   (*a*) The new bishops.
   (*b*) Second Prayer-book and Act of Uniformity (1552); extreme Protestantism and plundering of the Church.
   (*c*) Cranmer's Forty-Two Articles.
2. Northumberland's Plot.
   Marriage of Lord Guildford Dudley to Lady Jane Grey.
   The making and forging of Edward's will.
   The attempted rebellion.
   The execution of Northumberland and imprisonment of Lady Jane Grey.

(2) THE REIGN OF MARY

1553. Return to Henry VIII's English Catholicism.

1554. Rebellion of Wyatt to prevent the Spanish Marriage, which follows its suppression.
Submission to Rome.

1555–8. Burning of Protestants.
Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper (1555).
Archbishop Cranmer (1556).
Three hundred lesser—but more significant—victims.

1557–8. War against France; loss of Calais.

(3) THE ELIZABETHAN RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT

A settlement urgently needed because the throne was insecure, the foreign situation critical, trade depressed.

A settlement possible because Elizabeth was 'mere English,' discreet, well-served, and capable of taking advantage of the rivalry between France and Spain.

1559. Act of Uniformity (12d. fine; three modifications of the Prayer-book to avoid offence to Catholics).
Act of Supremacy ('Supreme Governor'; lenient policy).

1563. Thirty-Nine Articles.

CHAPTER VI

ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND ON TRIAL

1559–1585

(1) THE RESTORATION OF PROSPERITY

Economic Troubles:

Enclosures.
Decay of gilds.
Dissolution of monasteries.
Decline in the value of money.
Commercial greed.

Policy of Cecil:

1. 1560: Recoinage.
2. 1563: Statute of Apprentices (training; wages).
3. 1601: Poor Law (distinguished three types of poor).
4. Charters for trading companies.
5. Encouragement of foreign immigrants ('New Draperies').

(2) ELIZABETH AND MARY STUART

A. *Scotland—Mary Defeated by the Protestants:*

1559. Siege of Leith.
1560. Treaty of Edinburgh: triumph of Presbyterianism.
1561–7. Mary's rule in Scotland: the two murders.
1567–8. Her abdication and escape from prison.
1568. Langside and Mary's flight to England.

B. *England—Mary Championed by the Counter-Reformation:*

1569. Rising of the Northern Earls.
1570. Bull of Excommunication.
1571. Ridolfi Plot.
1580. Landing of the Jesuits (increase of recusancy fines, 1581).
1584. Throckmorton Plot (formation of the Association).
1586. Babington Plot.
1587. Execution of Mary.

(3) THE ADVENTURERS

How the peace was kept and the power of England increased in spite of Philip II of Spain.

A. *Elizabeth's marriage projects—*

with Philip or one of his kinsmen.
with a French Prince.
with the Earl of Leicester.
These distracted Philip.

B. *The Revolt of the Netherlands:*

1568. First unsuccessful outbreak.
1572. Seizure of Brill.
1576. Spanish Fury.

1578. Parma in the Netherlands.
1584. Murder of William the Silent.
This occupied Philip elsewhere.

C. *The Great Voyages:*
(i) Exploration (Frobisher).
(ii) The Slave Trade (Hawkins).
(iii) Privateering in the English Channel.
(iv) Drake's Voyage round the World, 1577–80.
(v) Colonisation (Virginia).
These gave England naval experience and confidence.

CHAPTER VII

ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND IN TRIUMPH

1585–1603

(1) THE ARMADA

The Preliminaries:

1585. Leicester in the Netherlands.
Drake in the West Indies, etc.
1587. Execution of Mary.
Drake at Cadiz.
1588. Sailing of the Armada—
Spanish advantages: size of ships and excellent soldiers for boarding.
English advantages: handier ships and better guns for long-distance fighting.

The Events:

July 19. Arrival of Spaniards off Plymouth.
20–28. Fighting in the Channel.
28. Attack by fireships in Calais Roads.
29. Battle off Gravelines.
Flight of the Spaniards eastwards and northwards.

(2) LATER STAGES OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN

A. *Alliance with Dutch and Huguenots:*

1589. Attempt to raise rebellion in Portugal.
1596. Attack on Cadiz.
1600. Battle of Nieuport.

B. *The Struggle outside Europe:*

1589. Raleigh's third expedition to Virginia.
1591. Last fight of the *Revenge*.
1596. Death of Hawkins and Drake on the Spanish Main.

C. *Ireland:*

1557. Plantation of King's and Queen's Counties by Mary.
1568. Rebellion in Munster.
1579–84. Desmond Rebellion—Papal and Spanish army at Smerwick (1580)—Plantation of Munster.
1595–1603. Tyrone's Rebellion:
1598. English defeat at the Blackwater.
1599. Failure of Essex.
1600. Arrival of Mountjoy.
1602. Capture of Spaniards at Kinsale.
1603. Surrender of Tyrone.

(3) THE GREATNESS OF ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

The Queen and her *Court*: ministers and favourites.
The *literature*: poetry and prose.
A great age of *music* and *architecture*.
Expansion of *trade*: the chartered companies.
Achievement of national *unity* during the reign.

(4) THE GROWTH OF OPPOSITION

A. *Parliamentary demand for free speech, due to—*

a new type of member.
the existence of burning, but forbidden, topics, including the Queen's marriage, the succession, and religion.

B. *Puritanism:*

1568. Parker's Advertisements.
1570. Cartwright's attack on Episcopacy.
1583. Whitgift's Articles.
1593. Act against Seditious Sectaries (Martin Marprelate Tracts, 1588).

C. *Monopolies:*

1597. First protest by Parliament.
1601. Their removal by Elizabeth.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE TUDORS

(1) THE ENCLOSURES

Changes in the System of Agriculture:

(*a*) Villeinage replaced by tenant-farming.
(*b*) Increase of sheep-grazing, due to progress of the woollen industry.

Hence various kinds of Enclosure:

1. Exchange of strips for improvement of arable by enclosure.
2. Exchange of strips for grazing enclosure.
3. Enclosure of demesne (for grazing).
4. Enclosure of common waste by landlord.
5. Throwing together of farms by landlord.
6. Depopulation of a whole village.

Importance of the Movement:

1. A new phenomenon—land regarded as property rather than trust.
2. A big upheaval in certain limited districts.
3. Undesirable political effects—displacement of potential soldiers, cause of rebellions.

Policy of the Government:

1. Denunciation.
2. Commissions of inquiry and proclamations.
3. Laws requiring reconversion of land and restricting numbers of sheep.
4. Making an example of a few notorious offenders—more not possible because J.P.'s were enclosers.

The Enclosures were inevitable because—

1. Much arable was exhausted.
2. Labour was dear and purchasing power of landlord's incomes diminished: therefore fewer labourers must be employed.
3. New landlords were bound to regard agriculture as a business, especially merchants who had bought estates dearly.
4. Self-sufficient agriculture was bound to disappear as the market for wool (and corn) widened.

(2) PAUPERISM

Causes of Pauperism:

(*a*) Evictions resulting from enclosures.
(*b*) Rise in prices (debasement of coinage; Spanish silver).
(*c*) Trade depressions (1586, etc.).
(*d*) Loss of charitable activities of monasteries and gilds.
(*e*) Migration of industry from corporate towns.
(*f*) Victims of Tudor policy—monks, etc.

Stages in the growth of the Poor Law system:

1. Municipal experiment.
2. National poor law, dependent upon voluntary offerings.
3. Compulsory rate established, 1572; whole system made permanent, 1601.

Special Features:

Parish apprenticeship (industrial training).
Compulsion to employ (drastic measure against unemployment).
Punishment of vagrancy (the system based on the parish).
Dependence upon J.P.'s (typical of the Tudor plan).

CHAPTER IX

STATE CONTROL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY

(1) THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM

The Development of National Power by State Control:

A. Treasure.
B. Population, especially warlike elements.
C. Munitions and shipbuilding.
D. Self-sufficiency in food.
E. Exports encouraged; imports discouraged.

(2) THE OVERSEA TRADING COMPANIES

Policy of Henry VII:

A. Levant trade established.
B. Trade treaties benefiting Merchant Adventurers in the Netherlands.
C. Other trade treaties.
D. Navigation law.
E. Voyages of the Cabots.

Growth of Trade under his successors:

A. Increased prosperity of Merchant Adventurers.
B. Foundation of Trinity House by Henry VIII.
C. Voyages of the elder Hawkins and Chancellor and Willoughby.

Elizabeth and the Chartered Companies:

A. Advantages of Regulated Companies.
   1. Diplomacy and capacity for self-defence.
   2. Restriction of membership and trade quotas, supposed to safeguard profits.
   3. General supervision of members.

B. The Merchant Adventurers.
   1564. New charter—Hanseatic merchants still equal.
   1576. 'Spanish Fury'—removal to Hamburg.
   1578. Expelled from Hamburg—quarrel with Hanseatic League.
   1611. Restored to Hamburg—final triumph over Hanseatic merchants.

C. Foundation of other Companies, especially—
   1579. *Eastland Company* (supplanted Hanse merchants, exported finished cloth, imported naval stores).
   1581. *Levant Company* (chequered progress; export of finished cloth; import of Eastern commodities formerly obtained from Antwerp).
   1600. *East India Company* (Far Eastern trade long an object of ambition—this a joint stock company).

(3) THE REGULATION OF INDUSTRY

Problem of the Corn Trade:

Desire to keep prices up (benefit of rural population; discouragement of enclosure for pasture).
Hence exportation allowed when corn was very cheap.
Desire to keep prices down (benefit of towns and the poor generally; suspicion of profiteering middlemen).
Hence free importation in times of dearth; control of markets by J.P.'s.

Problem of Controlling Industry:

A. Growth of the Domestic System.
   Wider market, *hence* periods of unemployment.
   Large-scale employers, *hence* loss of independence by workers.

B. Decay of corporate towns.
   The old towns depopulated; growth of new towns.
   Uncontrolled workers in suburbs.
   Problem of London food-supply.

1555. Weavers' Act.

1563. Statute of Apprentices:
   Conservative preference for corporate boroughs and for agriculture.
   National system of training and wages.

Problem of Stimulating Industry:

A. Most English industries still small—
   exports of raw materials.
   coal-mining.
   iron-making and cutlery (*N.B.*—Act of 1559 to protect woods).

B. Protection ineffective because inventions and skill were needed to imitate the foreigner.

C. General backwardness (*cf.* building of Royal Exchange).
   Hence Cecil's encouragement of foreign immigrants:
   New draperies.
   Copper mining.
   Salt, glass, and paper manufacture.

D. The abuse of monopolies.

CHAPTER X

JAMES I AND PARLIAMENT

1603–1625

(1) OPENING YEARS

The new King:

(*a*) Loved theorising and arguing, and learnt only from books.
(*b*) Understood Scottish, but not English, customs.
(*c*) Had an unkingly appearance.
(*d*) Was no judge of men (*cf.* his favourites).
(*e*) Believed in peace—wise but unpopular.

1603. Accession of James VI and I, with the support of Robert Cecil.

1604. Peace with Spain.

Questions of Religion:

1604. Hampton Court Conference (followed Millenary Petition, 1603).
Results: Quarrel between James and Puritans —ejection of Puritan clergy—Authorised Version of Bible (1611).

1605. Gunpowder Plot (followed grant and withdrawal of concessions).
Results: a new anti-Catholic tradition—James unable to grant toleration.

Questions of Parliamentary Rights and Privileges:

1604. Goodwin's Case (right to control election returns).

1606. Bate's Case (right to impose extra customs duties).

1610. Great Contract (financial settlement rejected by Parliament).

(2) ROOTS OF THE QUARREL OF KING AND PARLIAMENT

A. *Privileges of Parliament*—a right or a favour?
B. *Finance*—withholding of supplies so as to control the King, or recognition of his increased needs?

C. *Law*—supremacy of statute law and common law courts, or prerogative courts and subservient judges?
D. *Sovereignty*—the King in Parliament, or the King alone, the latter view being justified by the doctrine of Divine Right of Kings?

(3) THE RULE OF FAVOURITES

A. *The Rise of the Favourites:*

1612. Death of Robert Cecil; Carr becomes prominent.
1616. Carr disgraced; Villiers (Buckingham) becomes prominent.
1619–25. Buckingham in supreme control as James's minister and Prince Charles's friend.

Results: (i) Moral indignation of Puritans.
(ii) Humiliation of nobility and governing families.
(iii) Abler men forced to curry favour with minions.

B. *The Later Parliaments:*

1611. Dissolution of James's First Parliament.
1614. Addled Parliament.
1621. Third Parliament: attack on monopolies—impeachment of Bacon—Protestation torn out of Journal.
1624. Fourth Parliament: Statute of Monopolies—supplies voted for war.

CHAPTER XI

THE POLICY OF THE EARLY STUARTS OVERSEAS

1603–1640

(1) THE POLICY OF PEACE

A. *Spain:*

1604. Treaty of Peace (freedom of trade not obtained, but no object in continuing the war; peace fostered growth of Empire).
1618. Execution of Raleigh (Main Plot—Orinoco expedition—desire to placate Gondomar).

B. *Scotland and Ireland:*
Complete Union with Scotland prevented by Parliament. Plantation of Ulster (1607), chiefly by Scots.

C. *English Activities Overseas:*

1. History of the East India Company:
   1612. Victory off Surat.
   1623. Massacre of Amboyna.
2. West Indies:
   1623. St Kitt's annexed (in part).
   1625. Occupation of Barbados (approximate date).
3. Chartered Companies—and Interlopers:
   1606. Virginia Company.
   1620. Voyage of the *Mayflower*.

N.B.—The navy was neglected during James's reign; the King was chiefly interested in the Virginia enterprise.

(2) ENGLAND AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

1613. Marriage of Elizabeth to Frederick.
1618. Outbreak of Thirty Years' War in Bohemia.
1623. Attempt to help Frederick by the 'Spanish Marriage.'
1624. English army sent to the Palatinate.
1625. Buckingham's expedition to Cadiz.
1626. Charles's marriage to Henrietta Maria, followed by a quarrel instead of the intended French alliance.
1627. Expedition to the Isle of Ré.
1628. Murder of Buckingham; second expedition to Ré.

(3) THE POLICY OF INACTION

A. England abandons the war policy.

B. Government interested solely in domestic policy of 'Thorough': *hence*

(i) independent activity of chartered companies (Madras).
(ii) settlement of New England by discontented—and impoverished—Puritans.

(iii) Wentworth's administration of Ireland (proper army and revenue; linen industry; plantation of Connaught).

CHAPTER XII

CHARLES I AND PARLIAMENT

1625–1642

(1) THE FIRST THREE PARLIAMENTS

The new King:

(*a*) was dignified and artistic—likely to find supporters.
(*b*) lacked shrewdness and broke promises.
(*c*) loved Buckingham, and married a Catholic wife.
(*d*) was a High Churchman and Arminian.

First Parliament, 1625:

voted Tonnage and Poundage for one year only.
refused adequate supplies for the war begun at Parliament's instigation.

Second Parliament, 1626:

Eliot's impeachment of Buckingham.

Third Parliament, 1628–9:

Grievances concerning Tonnage and Poundage, forced loans (Five Knights' Case), behaviour of the Ré expeditionary force.
Leading members: Eliot, Coke; Pym, Hampden; (Cromwell).
Petition of Right (four heads).
Protestation of 1629 (against High Church and Tonnage and Poundage).
Imprisonment of Eliot, Strode, etc.

(2) CHARLES I'S PERSONAL GOVERNMENT

A. *Social legislation better enforced* than at other times.

B. *Difficulty of finding competent ministers* to work the system—Laud inadequate, Wentworth not appreciated until too late.

C. *Taxation:*

(i) Tonnage and Poundage; Impositions.
(ii) Feudal dues.
(iii) Monopolies issued to Companies.
(iv) Ship money (Hampden's Case, 1637).

D. *Religious Policy:*

(i) Laud's commissions of enquiry, enforcing ceremonies.
(ii) Punishment of Puritans by Courts of High Commission and Star Chamber (Prynne, 1637).
(iii) Favour shown to Catholics.
(iv) Ecclesiastical interference with morals and politics.

E. *The Beginning of the End:*

1637. Laud's Service Book used in St Giles's, Edinburgh.
1638. National Covenant and Glasgow Assembly.
1639. First Bishops' War.
1640. Short Parliament; Second Bishops' War; Long Parliament.

(3) THE REFORMS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT

Its effective action due to—

(i) Pym and party leadership; an agreed programme.
(ii) The committee system.
(iii) The Army Plot and other intrigues.

Chief measures:

1. Triennial Act and Act against its own dissolution.
2. Attainder of Strafford.
3. Right to control all taxation asserted.
4. Prerogative Courts abolished.

Dissensions in the Second Session:

1. Root and Branch Bill.
2. Militia Bill.
3. Grand Remonstrance:

1642, January. Attempted Arrest of the Five Members
April. King refused admission to Hull.
June. Nineteen Propositions.
August. King raises standard at Nottingham,

CHAPTER XIII

THE CIVIL WARS

1642–1649

(1) THE FIRST CAMPAIGNS

The King's advantages:

(i) a comprehensible cause.
(ii) his resources quickly available.
(iii) superior cavalry.

The Parliament's advantages:

(i) larger ultimate resources in South and East.
(ii) London and other ports.
(iii) the navy.

Therefore: although there were many local struggles and a general absence of clear-cut divisions, the King's best chance lay in a decisive attack from the North and West on London.

1642. Edgehill.
Turnham Green.

1643, *1st phase.* Lansdown and Roundway Down.
Adwalton Moor.
Chalgrove Field; capture of Bristol.
2nd phase. Plymouth untaken.
Hull untaken.
Siege of Gloucester.
3rd phase. Gloucester relieved.
First Battle of Newbury drawn.

(2) THE VICTORY OF PARLIAMENT

1643–4: (1) Unsuccessful intervention of army from Ireland.
(2) Parliament accepts Covenant; Scottish army besieges York.
(3) Growth of Army of Eastern Association (regular pay; religious freedom; disciplined cavalry).

1644: Marston Moor.
Surrender at Lostwithiel.
Second Battle of Newbury.

1644–5: (1) Self-Denying Ordinance passed.
(2) New Model Army created.

1645: Naseby; Langport.
Kilsyth; Philiphaugh.
1646: Surrender of Charles to Scots.
Fall of Oxford.

(3) THE DOWNFALL OF KING CHARLES

A. *Negotiations with the Scots*, who required that the King should give up control of the Army and should take the Covenant.

B. *Negotiations with the Parliament*, which offered similar terms.

C. *Quarrel between Parliament and Army:*

The policy of Parliament:

(i) land confiscation and revenge.
(ii) persecution of all creeds except Presbyterianism.
(iii) disbandment of the Army without pay.

The action of the Army:

(i) seized the King at Holmby House (June 1647).
(ii) occupied London (August 1647).
(iii) drafted Agreement of the People (Levellers).
(iv) offered Charles the Heads of the Proposals (toleration, indemnity, temporary control of army, Council of State).

D. *Final Intrigue of Charles:*

1647. November: Charles escapes to Carisbrooke.
1648. April-August: Second Civil War (Preston, Colchester).
December: 'Pride's Purge.'
1649. January: Execution of Charles.

CHAPTER XIV

THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE

1649–1660

(1) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC

A. *Ireland:*

Drogheda and Wexford.
Conquest completed by Ireton.
Three-quarters confiscated for English landlords.
Union of Parliaments and freedom of trade.

B. *Scotland:*
Dunbar and Worcester (escape of Prince Charles).
Subjugation of Scotland: army of occupation.
Union of Parliaments and freedom of trade.

C. *Domestic Policy of the Rump:*
(i) Legal reforms.
(ii) Freedom of worship generally established; ecclesiastical offices to be awarded by Triers and Ejectors.

(2) CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENTS

A. 1653, April: Cromwell dissolves the Rump Parliament.
July: Barebones Parliament.

B. 1653, Dec.: Protectorate established (Instrument of Government).

Main features of Protectorate:
(i) Protector's quarrels with Parliament (1654, 1657).
(ii) Rule of Major-Generals (1655–6).
(iii) Humble Petition and Advice (1657).
(iv) Liberal domestic policy (legal reform—education—religious toleration).

Causes of ultimate failure:
(i) Moral strictness.
(ii) Illegalities (Cary's Case).
(iii) Military despotism (Major-Generals).

(3) THE REPUBLIC OVERSEAS

A. *Naval Achievements:*
(i) Defeat of Rupert.
(ii) Reconquest of colonies.
(iii) Portland (First Dutch War).
(iv) Fleet in the Mediterranean (Barbary Corsairs).
(v) Santa Cruz.

B. *Navigation Act* (1651):
hence First Dutch War (1651–4)—eight naval battles; blockade of the Channel.

C. *Cromwell's foreign policy:*

(i) would have liked to champion Protestantism, but neither this nor the Balance of Power was in danger.

(ii) sought commercial advantages:
1654. Treaty with Portugal.
1655. Conquest of Jamaica (for Hispaniola).

(iii) general war against Spain.
1657. Santa Cruz.
1658. The Dunes.
1659. Cession of Dunkirk.

These triumphs were conditioned by

(*a*) supremacy of executive power.
(*b*) acquiescence in high taxation and increasing debt.

(4) THE COLLAPSE OF THE REPUBLIC

Events leading to the Restoration:

1. Death of Oliver.
2. Failure of Richard Cromwell.
3. Dismissal of the Rump by the Army.
4. Intervention of Monk.
5. Publication of the Declaration of Breda.

Legacy of the Great Rebellion:

(i) Abolition of prerogative courts and taxation.
(ii) Condemnation of unparliamentary rule.
(iii) Example of religious freedom.
(iv) Certain strong institutions.
(v) Partial survival of the Puritan spirit.

CHAPTER XV

THE RESTORATION

1660–1678

(1) THE RULE OF CLARENDON

A. *The Settlement:*

Clarendon becomes Lord Chancellor.
The King devotes himself to pleasure.

Work of the Convention:

(i) Act of Indemnity and Oblivion.
(ii) Disbandment of the Army.
(iii) Financial settlement.
(iv) Land compromise.
(v) Attempt at religious compromise.

Scotland—persecution of the Covenanters.
Ireland—some conciliation of Catholics.

B. *The Clarendon Code:*

The four Acts (1661, 1662, 1664, 1665).

Results:

infliction of suffering.
social isolation of the Puritans.
Puritan economic activities.

C. *Foreign Policy:*

1661. Charles's marriage (Bombay and Tangier).
1662. Sale of Dunkirk.
1664–7. Second Dutch War.
1665. Lowestoft (and the Plague).
1666. Four Days' Battle (and the Fire).
1667. Dutch in the Medway (and fall of Clarendon).

D. *Commercial and Colonial Policy:*

1660. Navigation Act.
1663. Carolina.
1670. Hudson Bay Company.
1681. Pennyslvania.

(2) THE ROYAL FOREIGN POLICY

The Secret Treaty of Dover:

(i) The Triple Alliance broken off.
(ii) Only Catholic members of Cabal informed of secret treaty.
(iii) Main object—to imitate the French Catholic despotism in England.

Why the policy failed:

(i) Failure of the initial attack on Holland.

(ii) Suspicion aroused by the Declaration of Indulgence.

(iii) Necessity of summoning Parliament to get money, in spite of the Stop of the Exchequer.

1673. Test Act passed; fall of the Cabal.

1674. End of Third Dutch War.

Policy of Danby:

(i) Leader of the Court Party in Parliament against Shaftesbury and the Country Party.

(ii) Protestant foreign policy (marriage of William and Mary); but no war against France and efforts to secure French subsidies for the King.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FALL OF THE STUARTS

1678–1688

(1) THE EXCLUSION POLICY

The Popish Plot: hence

execution of innocent Catholics.
renewed hostility towards James.
triumph of Country Party at General Election (forced by impeachment of Danby).

The Exclusion Parliaments:

1679. *First* Parliament:
Exclusion Bill first produced.
Habeas Corpus Amendment Act.
Temple's Privy Council.

1680. *Second* Parliament:
Petitioners *v.* Abhorrers.
Opposition of Halifax to Exclusion Bill as involving succession of Monmouth.

1681. *Third* Parliament:
Financial intervention of Louis.
Unexpected dismissal from Oxford.

(2) THE OVERTHROW OF THE WHIG PARTY

1. Ineffective prosecution of Shaftesbury; his death in exile; the Rye-house Plot.
2. Remodelling of corporations.
3. Popularity of James II at his accession—a Tory Parliament; a large revenue secured for life.
4. Failure of Argyle and Monmouth.
5. Increase of the army permitted.

(3) THE UNWISDOM OF JAMES II

His mistakes:

1. His choice of ministers and dismissal of Parliament.
2. Use made of Dispensing Power to appoint Catholic officers to the army.
3. Attack upon the Church of England (High Commission; expulsion of fellows of Magdalen).
4. Use made of Suspending Power (Declarations of Indulgence).
5. Prosecution of the Seven Bishops.

Stages in his overthrow:

1. Invitation to William, following birth of James Edward.
2. Louis' march into Germany instead of Holland, following James's refusal of help.
3. William's landing—desertion of James—James's flight.

CHAPTER XVII

THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT AND ITS ESTABLISHMENT

1688–1702

(1) THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT

A. *The Crown:*

1. Flight of James II.
2. Conference of Peers and Commoners; summons of Convention by William.
3. James declared to have abdicated.
4. William's insistence on half sovereignty and whole power.
5. Acceptance of Declaration of Rights by him.
6. Succession of Anne and deprivation of Catholics confirmed by Bill of Rights.

B. *Parliament:*

1. Mutiny Act.
2. Revenue voted annually.

Annual meetings of Parliament therefore necessary.

C. *Religion:*

1. Secession of Non-Jurors.
2. Toleration Act for Protestants.
3. Catholics, etc., also tolerated in practice.
4. Political disabilities retained.

D. *Public Liberty:*

1694. Triennial Act.

1695. Licensing Act not renewed.

(2) THE WAR OF THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG

A. *The struggle in the British Isles:*

1689. Jacobite victory at Killiecrankie—death of Claverhouse—pacification of Scotland—Massacre of Glencoe.

1689. Siege of Londonderry—James master of Ireland.

1690. Battle of the Boyne—flight of James—surrender at Limerick—Protestant Ascendancy re-established.

B. *The war at sea:*

1690. Beachy Head.
1692. La Hogue.

C. *Campaigns in the Netherlands:*

1692. Steenkirk.
1693. Neerwinden.
1695. Capture of Namur.
1697. Peace of Ryswick.

(3) THE END OF KING WILLIAM'S REIGN

Consequences of the war in England:

(i) William's position secured.
(ii) Foundation of Bank of England and National Debt.
(iii) Growth of the Cabinet system: a Whig majority in Parliament supporting the war, *hence* a predominantly Whig Ministry.

The Tory reaction against William and the Whigs:

A. General hostility: death of Queen Mary—Assassination Plot—correspondence with James throughout the war.

B. Action about Dutch guards and Irish land-grants.

C. Hostility to William's foreign policy:

1698. First Partition Treaty.
1699. Second Partition Treaty.
1701. Impeachment of Somers by the new Tory ministry.

D. Act of Settlement: Hanoverian succession accepted by Tories on condition that—

1. future sovereigns belonged to Church of England.
2. the Cabinet was abolished and ministers excluded from the House of Commons.
3. judges were made independent of royal influence.

Revival of the war policy:

1700. Louis XIV accepts the Will—monopoly of Spanish commerce by France; danger of the union of crowns.
1701. Recognition of James Edward.
1702. Death of William after formation of new alliance against France.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REIGN OF ANNE

1702–1714

(1) THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

Conditions of the war:

on the English side a Tory Queen and a moderate Tory Ministry.
the genius of Marlborough.
excellent cavalry and well-disciplined infantry.

on the French side the favour of the Spanish for Philip.
a strong position in Italy and South Germany.
control of the Netherlands fortresses.

Marlborough's campaigns:

1704. Blenheim—Vienna saved.
1706, 1708. Ramillies and Oudenarde—French expelled from the Spanish Netherlands; offer of peace.
1708, 1709. Capture of Lille and Battle of Malplaquet—advance into France made possible.

Other theatres of war:

A. *Naval warfare:*

1702. Vigo Bay.
1703. Methuen Treaties.
1704. Capture of Gibraltar; Malaga.
1708. Capture of Minorca.

B. *The Peninsula:*

1705. Invasion of Spain.
1706. Occupation of Madrid.
1707. Almanza.
1710. Second occupation of Madrid—no lasting success.

C. *Italy:*

1706. Eugene's victory at Turin; French withdrawal.

(2) THE WHIGS AND THE UNION WITH SCOTLAND

History of the Union:

1698. Failure of the Darien Scheme.

1704. Act of Security.
English threat to prohibit trade relations.

1707. Act of Union (small representation in British Parliament—offset by trade privileges and empire, security for Presbyterianism, retention of legal system).

History of the Whigs:

1705, 1708. General Elections favour Whigs.

1708. Retirement of Harley and St John.
Regency Act (last Whig success).

1710. Their dismissal from office confirmed by a General Election favouring Tories, because
(i) they had lost the Queen's favour (Mrs Masham).
(ii) they refused to make peace.
(iii) they rashly impeached Sacheverell.

(3) THE RULE OF THE TORIES

The Peace of Utrecht:

(i) Brought about by dicreditable means—recall of Marlborough, refusal of battle, desertion of Catalan allies.
(ii) European settlement restored Balance of Power.
(iii) Naval, colonial, and commercial gains, establishing Britain as world power.

Domestic Policy:

(i) Tories had been slower to organise than Whigs; made great use of writers.
(ii) Measures against Whig M.P.'s and Presbyterians.
(iii) Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts.
(iv) The Succession:
difficulty of siding with either candidate.
Bolingbroke's triumph over Harley.
the final crisis—Shrewsbury Lord Treasurer.

CHAPTER XIX

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN CROWN AND PARLIAMENT

(1) LEGISLATION IN THE INTERESTS OF THE POOR

1603–1642. *Activity of Privy Council, etc:*

1. Statute of Apprentices (Companies; wage assessments).
2. Enclosures (wise discrimination).
3. Poor law ('Orders and Directions' of 1631).

1642–1660. *Period of great economic change:*

1. Forced sales of land; growth of banking.
2. Inroads upon privilege (East India Co.; apprenticeship).
3. Abolition of prerogative government.

1660–1688. *Beginning of Laissez-faire:*

1. Indifference to enclosures.
2. Wages less regularly fixed; apprenticeship less regularly enforced.
3. Poor Law.
   - A. Duty of providing work for unemployed generally ignored: *hence, later,* building of workhouses by municipal enterprise.
   - B. Law of Settlement, 1662 (reduced mobility of labour; encouraged litigation).

1688–1714. *Supremacy of Parliament:*

1. Abandonment of the policy of chartered companies.
2. No discouragement of eighteenth century enclosures.
3. Principle of freedom of trade proclaimed.

(2) PUBLIC FINANCE

A. *Monopolies:*

- (i) Favour shown to individuals at the public expense: *hence* opposition.
- (ii) A kind of tax.
- (iii) A method of controlling industry—
  - 1614. Alderman Cockayne's Project.
  - 1631. Society of Soapmakers.
  - 1637. Wine monopoly.

B. *Excise:*

An invention of Pym; continued at the Restoration.

C. *Direct Taxation:*

(i) Subsidies—obsolete.

(ii) Monthly assessment—a Civil War invention, continued at the Restoration.

(iii) Land tax—based on 1692 valuation of land; rate varied; the main eighteenth-century tax.

D. *Government Borrowing:*

1640. Charles I's seizure of bullion.

1672. Charles II's Stop of the Exchequer.

The problem: revenue came in slowly; loans were only obtainable at high rates of interest; loans required repayment.

The solution: the long-term loan (1694–); a parliamentary Government was better security for the interest being paid; incorporation of Bank an additional incentive to lend on the first occasion.

E. *The Bank of England:*

Its privileges:

(i) general banking powers conferred on it as a corporation.

(ii) no other joint stock bank to have parliamentary privileges or issue bank notes.

Its functions:

(i) The Government's Bank—but could only lend by authority of Parliament.

(ii) A source of capital—easily obtained deposits, lowered rate of interest.

(iii) Issue of reliable paper money.

CHAPTER XX

THE INCREASE OF WEALTH

(1) COMMERCIAL PROGRESS

A. *Chartered Companies:*

(i) developed commerce overseas.

(ii) also developed colonies.

Difficulties:

(i) Thirty Years' War (and Alderman Cockayne).
(ii) Dutch competition.
(iii) Export of bullion by East India Company believed to be prejudicial.
(iv) General opposition of Interlopers.

Advantages:

(i) Sale of cloth—a 'well-ordered trade.'
(ii) Self-defence.
(iii) Control thought generally desirable, apart from exclusiveness.

Decline:

1689. Cloth monopoly of Merchant Adventurers destroyed by Parliament.
1698. Rival East India Company temporarily established.
1754. Levant Company thrown open: only Hudson Bay and East India Companies continue to restrict trade.

B. *Navigation Acts:*

1651. Importation of goods into England and colonies restricted to English and colonial ships (some exceptions).
1660. Exportation of goods from colonies likewise restricted; 'enumerated commodities.'

Results: (i) Colonial carrying trade safeguarded (unnecessarily?).
(ii) Increased charges.
(iii) Loss of the Baltic trade, including important source of naval stores.

C. *Profits of War:*

1. Jamaica.
2. New York.
3. Newfoundland fisheries and the South Sea trade.

(2) INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

The Domestic System.

A. *Main features:*

(i) Result of expanding market.

(ii) Capitalist employers.
(iii) Domestic work, usually involving ownership of tools, but not of materials.

B. *Organisation of the woollen industry:*

(i) Types of worker with whom the clothier had dealings:
woolstapler — woolcomber — spinner — weaver—shearman—Blackwell Hall factor.

(ii) Disadvantages of the system:
cheating by middlemen—embezzlement by workers—uncertainty of employment.

(iii) The West Riding:
clothier still a handicraftsman, though owning the material throughout—more democratic system.

C. *Other industries:*

Coal-mining (Limitation of the Vend).
Iron manufacture (especially finishing processes).
Lead and tin (important exports).

The Growth of Industry.

A. *Inventions:*

Stocking-frame (1589)—Dutch loom—steam-engine.
Work of the Royal Society—an age of experiment.

B. *Protection:*

1678–85, 1689–1713.	French imports prohibited.
1713.	Commercial treaty with France defeated; Methuen Treaty retained.
1660, 1699, 1700.	Laws benefiting woollen industry.
1700.	Growth of cotton industry unintentionally stimulated.

C. *Huguenots:*

(i) increased population of England and colonies.
(ii) stimulated manufacture of glass, linen, and especially silk.

CHAPTER XXI

TOWN AND COUNTRY LIFE

(1) TOWN LIFE

A. *London supreme in—*

population.
trade (port and financial centre).
industry.
social life and politics (Court and coffee-houses).
the press (periodicals, pamphlets, etc.).

B. *Provincial towns lacking in—*

size (except Bristol and Norwich).
industry (activity mainly commercial—except the new towns).
social amenities.
political activity (unlike London, their corporations were often unrepresentative and their elections controlled from outside).

(2) TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

A. *The badness of the roads:*

(i) Causes—personal labour (1555) and local rate (1655) both unsatisfactory.
amateur surveyors with no system.
bridges and the few turnpikes under control of J.P.'s.

(ii) Results—isolation in winter.
slow dissemination of news.
varied types of conveyance, mostly very slow.
difficulty of moving heavy goods.

B. *Dependence on water transport:*

(i) coastwise traffic (foodstuffs for London, coal, etc.).
(ii) extensive use of rivers (excavation and lockmaking to increase facilities).
(iii) the sea crossings.

(3) COUNTRY LIFE

A. *Agriculture:*

(i) Encouragement of the exportation of corn (1670, 1689).
(ii) Investment of money in improvement of estates.
(iii) Survival of open-field agriculture over one-half of England.

B. *Organisation of the village:*

Squire and parson.
Tenant farmer and hired labourer.
Squatter on the common.
Yeoman freeholder (an important class with political power and independence; losers by Game Acts and enclosures).

C. *Advantages of village life:*

(i) Variety of industries and occupations.
(ii) Mingling of ranks.
(iii) The unspoilt countryside.

CHAPTER XXII

THE AGE OF WALPOLE

1714–1739

(1) ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WHIGS

A. *Defeat of the Jacobites:*
Sheriffmuir; Preston.

B. *Important legislative proposals:*
1715. Riot Act.
1716. Septennial Act.
1719. Peerage Bill.

C. *Peaceful foreign policy:*
1717. Triple Alliance.
1718. Cape Passaro.

D. *Power of the ministry:*
(i) full control of policy (King ceased to attend Cabinet).
(ii) influence over House of Commons (honours and places).
(iii) emergence of a single leader (1714–17, four equal ministers; 1717–21, Stanhope, on the whole, supreme).

E. *Avoidance of controversial measures:*
(i) no general policy of revenge.
(ii) Tory J.P.'s.
(iii) Test and Corporation Acts retained (*N.B.*—Indemnity Acts).

F. *South Sea Bubble:*
1711. South Sea Company formed.
1719–20. Takes over National Debt; boom in shares.
1720. Collapse.

(2) THE RULE OF WALPOLE

His character and career:
(i) in office, 1708–10; 1714–17; 1721–42.
(ii) his final triumph due to the South Sea Bubble.
(iii) believed in peace at home and abroad.
(iv) loved power and bought off opposition.
(v) a great financier.

Walpole, the Cabinet, and the Opposition:

1. He insisted on unity inside the Cabinet—therefore the first Prime Minister.
2. He expelled rivals, which increased the Opposition.
3. But he treated Tories tolerantly—return of Bolingbroke from exile, 1723.

Main events of the Period:

1723. Wood's Halfpence (Drapier's Letters).
1727. Accession of George II; ministerial crisis.
1732. Colonisation of Georgia.
1733. Molasses Act.
Excise Bill (wine and tobacco).
1734. Refusal of Walpole to take part in War of Polish Succession.
1735. Porteous Riots.
1737. Death of Queen Caroline.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PEACE DISTURBED

1739–1748

(1) THE FALL OF WALPOLE

The War of Jenkyns' Ear:

1. Agitation by the Opposition: *hence* outbreak of hostilities.
2. Events: 1739, capture of Porto Bello (not retained).
1740, Anson's voyage.
1741, failures at Cartagena and Cuba.
3. General Election (1742): Walpole resigns because he has lost confidence of House of Commons.

1742–4. Wilmington-Carteret ministry (attacked by Pitt).

1744–54. Pelham ministry (Pitt admitted, 1746).

The War of the Austrian Succession:

1740. Accession of Maria Theresa; invasion of Silesia by Frederick.
1742. Carteret involves England in the war.

1743. Dettingen.
1745. Fontenoy.
1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—Frederick keeps Silesia.
1750. Trade privileges in Spanish America abandoned.

(2) THE 'FORTY-FIVE

1. Capture of Edinburgh by Prince Charles; his victory at Prestonpans.
2. Delayed march to Derby, where he arrived in December 1745.
3. Retreat: Falkirk; Culloden.
4. Punishment of the Highlands:
   Work of 'Butcher' Cumberland after Culloden.
   Clan system abolished.
   Arms, etc., forbidden.

(3) METHODISM

A. *The religious and social problem:*
   (i) Enthusiasm out of fashion after seventeenth century conflict.
   (ii) Anglican clergy gentry; Catholics few; Nonconformists apathetic.
   (iii) Worst evils in large urban areas for which parish clergy were not provided.

B. *What Wesley did:*
   (i) preached conversion (his own conversion, 1739).
   (ii) preached in the open air and travelled constantly (he did not die till 1791).
   (iii) could not be deterred by opposition.
   (iv) reluctantly founded a new Church (ordained a Methodist bishop, 1784).

N.B.—Contemporary growth of Nonconformity in Wales.

C. *Importance of Methodism:*
   (i) A great numerical increase in Nonconformity—extended rivalry of Church and Chapel.
   (ii) Training in self-government.
   (iii) Evangelicalism in the Church of England and in politics.
   (iv) The consolation of the poor.

CHAPTER XXIV

PITT AND THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

1748–1763

(1) THE RISE OF WILLIAM PITT

A. *Pitt:*

1735–46. Pitt in opposition (attacks on Walpole and Carteret as 'truckling to Hanover').

1746–54. Pitt as Paymaster (refuses commissions).

1754–6. Pitt in opposition (Newcastle ministry, with Henry Fox).

B. *Events of* 1748–56*:*

1744–54. Pelham ministry (Reform of Calendar; Hardwicke's Marriage Act).

1748–56. Rival activities of English and French in India and Canada (Nova Scotia; Fort Duquesne; Lake Champlain).

1756. Alliances of England with Prussia, France with Austria.

(2) THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—DISASTER

The Disasters:

1. Loss of Minorca.
2. Capture of Fort Oswego.
3. Frederick hard pressed in Germany.
4. Black Hole of Calcutta.
5. Failure against Louisburg; French in Hudson Valley.
6. Hastenbeck and Klosterzeven.

Political changes:

1756. Devonshire-Pitt ministry formed.

1757 (April). Its dismissal.

1757. Newcastle-Pitt ministry formed.

1757–8. News of Plassey, Rossbach, and Leuthen; Pitt plans next campaign.

(3) THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—TRIUMPH

Pitt as a War Minister:

(i) inspired confidence.
(ii) got the best out of others.
(iii) worked indefatigably at every part of the war-effort.
(iv) co-ordinated his plans.
(v) used the navy for blockade.
(vi) 'conquered America in Germany.'

Main events:

1758. Landings on French coast; capture of Senegal and Goree (results of blockade).
Capture of Louisburg and Fort Duquesne.
1759. Capture of Ticonderoga and Quebec.
Lagos and Quiberon Bay.
Minden.
1760. Capture of Montreal.
Wandewash (naval squadron in Indian waters).

(4) THE FALL OF PITT AND THE PEACE

Causes of the Fall of Pitt:

(i) Accession of George III.
(ii) Pitt's unpopularity among his colleagues.
(iii) His proposal to attack Spain—desire to prolong the war period.

The Peace of Paris:

A. British gains: Canada.
Control in India.
Senegal.
Smaller West Indian islands.
Florida (from Spain—war of 1761).

B. Conquests restored by Britain: Newfoundland fishing rights.
Pondicherry, etc.
Guadeloupe and Martinique.
Belle Isle.
Havana (to Spain).

C. Criticisms of the Peace:
(i) Desertion of Frederick the Great.
(ii) Moderation of the terms (Pitt's view).
(iii) Carried through Parliament by maximum use of royal 'influence.'

CHAPTER XXV

THE REVIVAL OF THE MONARCHY

1760–1775

(1) THE POLICY OF GEORGE III

A. *What his Policy was:*
(i) To be a popular, national monarch.
(ii) To get back the powers of William III.
(iii) With that object in view, to destroy the Whigs by—
playing off one clique against another.
using his influence on behalf of his own followers.
employing a servile Prime Minister.

B. *The Failure of the First Attempt:*
1761. Pitt driven from office.
1762. Newcastle driven from office; Bute Prime Minister.
1763. Peace of Paris forced through Parliament by influence; Bute unpopular; his resignation.
1763–5. Grenville ministry (Whig; not dependent on Bute behind the scenes; not always supported by King's Friends).
King resorts to frequent changes of ministry, in order to make M.P.'s look to him for favours.

(2) THE COUNTRY AND THE CONSTITUTION

A. *Wilkes:*
1762. No. 45 of the *North Briton:*
hence general warrants eventually condemned.

1769. Middlesex Elections:
hence right of Parliament to nominate a member challenged.
1771. Case of Brass Crosby:
hence right to publish Parliamentary debates admitted.

B. *The Ministries:*

1765–6. *Rockingham*—Old Whigs, including Burke.
1766–8. *Chatham*—Second attempt at non-party government; his failure in popularity and health.
1768–70. *Grafton*—attacks of Burke and 'Junius.'

C. *Regime of Lord North*, 1770–82:

(i) Supported by King's Friends (patronage), Tories (patriotism), and some ex-Whigs (*e.g.* North himself).
(ii) North's Regulating Act; Quebec Act.
(iii) Successful at General Election (1774); opposition had been dying down since 1770.

(3) ENGLAND AND AMERICA

1763. Removal of the French peril.
1764. Conspiracy of Pontiac.
1765. Stamp Act (army needed; opportunity to suggest alternatives given).
1766. Stamp Act repealed; Declaratory Act.
1767. Townshend Duties ('external').
1769. Townshend Duties repealed; tax on tea retained.
1770. Boston Massacre (agitation continuing).
1773. 'Boston Tea-party' (follows reduction of tea duty).
1774. 'Intolerable Acts.'

CHAPTER XXVI

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

1775–1782

(1) CAUSES OF THE WAR

A. *Taxation only a symbol and pretext.*

B. *Mercantile System:*

Navigation Acts.
Molasses and Sugar Acts.
Acts hampering colonial manufactures.

These were a reminder of subjection, and had been vigorously enforced by Grenville.

C. *Colonial Legislatures:*

claimed supremacy over local executive (*hence* quarrels with Governors).
resented any intervention by British Parliament or Cabinet (difference of interest and social environment).

D. *Freedom of the Colonists:*

hence demand for more freedom, which could not be provided for under existing conditions.

(2) THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

A. *First Phase:*

1775. Lexington; Bunker's Hill.
1776. Occupation of New York.
1777. Brandywine; occupation of Philadelphia. Saratoga.

B. *Intervention of France:*

1778. France declares war.
1779–82. Siege of Gibraltar.
1779. Invasion scare; French and Spanish in superior force in the Channel.
1780. Cape St Vincent; Dominica.
1782. Battle of the Saints.

C. *The Second Phase (in America):*

1778. Occupation of Savannah.
1780. Surrender of Charleston; victory at Camden; treason of Benedict Arnold.
1781. French army near New York—British on the defensive—Yorktown.

(3) CONSEQUENCES OF THE AMERICAN WAR

A. *Foundation of the U.S.A.* (Declaration of Independence, 1776; Peace Treaty, 1782).

B. *Fall of Lord North:*

1775–7. Failure of the Opposition.

1778. Chatham's dying speech.

1780 Dunning's Resolution—but the Gordon Riots had given the Government a good excuse to refuse reform.

1781 (Nov.). Fall of Yorktown known in England.

1782 (Mar.). North insists on resigning.

C. *Ireland:*

(i) Formation of Irish Volunteers, 1779.

(ii) Irish trade freed.

(iii) Irish Parliament freed from Poynings' Law and Act of 1719 (Grattan).

D. *Territorial Losses:*

Tobago and Senegal (to France).
Minorca and Florida (to Spain).

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ENGLISH IN INDIA

1707–1785

(1) THE WORK OF CLIVE: ENGLISH *v.* FRENCH

1707. *Death of Aurangzebe*—end of period in which trade and possession of 'factories' were sole objects of English and French Companies.

1746–51. *Successes of Dupleix:*

(i) Capture of Madras.

(ii) French candidate becomes Nizam of Hyderabad.

(iii) French candidate established in the Carnatic—except at Trichinopoly.

1751–63. *Intervention of Clive:*

(i) The holding of Arcot—English reputation established, the Carnatic secured for English candidate, Dupleix discredited in French eyes.

(ii) The recapture of Calcutta after the Black Hole.

(iii) The victory of Plassey: *hence* support of Nizam.

(iv) Wandewash; capture of Lally at Pondicherry.

(2) THE WORK OF HASTINGS: INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

A. *The first period of British power in India:*

1763–5. Gross abuse of power by Company's servants (1764, Buxar).

1765–7. Clive makes an alliance with Oudh; takes over the Diwani; increases salaries.

1767–72. Renewal of misgovernment (the 'nabobs'—great famine of 1770—impoverishment of the Company).

B. *The work of Hastings.*

1772–4. *Hastings' reforms:*

(i) Centralised administration of Bengal.

(ii) Systematisation of land revenue assessments and native law begun.

(iii) Collectors appointed.

(iv) Tradition of official honesty inaugurated.

1774–6. *Intervention of Philip Francis:* the Nuncomar episode.

1772–85. *Hastings' foreign policy:*

1. Relied upon Oudh as a bulwark against the Marathas: *hence* permission to use Company's troops against Rohilkhand.
2. Saved Bombay from the Marathas.
3. Made peace with some Maratha Princes and with Nizam so as to stave off crisis of expected French invasion.
4. Secured defeat of Hyder Ali of Mysore (Porto Novo).
5. French fleet therefore found allies dispersed and ports occupied (1782).
6. Exerted pressure to obtain money for war: *hence* the charges *re* Rajah of Benares and Begums of Oudh.

CHAPTER XXVIII

RURAL ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(1) IMPROVING LANDLORDS

Rural prosperity in early eighteenth century due to:

1. Good harvests and cheap bread.
2. Availability of waste land.
3. Spinning; some rural weaving; other local industries.
4. Predominance of agriculture (Corn Bounty Act): *hence* improving landlords.

Improvements during the eighteenth century were the work of:

Jethro Tull—seed drill; regular hoeing.
Lord Townshend—marling; the Norfolk course.
Arthur Young—Board of Agriculture; tours and writings.
Robert Bakewell—pedigree stock; breeding of sheep.

(2) THE ENCLOSURE MOVEMENT

1700–60. Enclosure by agreement.

1760–93. Enclosure by Act of Parliament.

1793–1815. Climax of enclosure movement (1801, General Enclosure Act).

Stages of enclosure:

1. Meeting.
2. Petition to Parliament.
3. Act.
4. Allotment of land by commissioners.

Economic results:

1. Increased area under cultivation (former commons).
2. Specialisation by large farmers with capital.

Social results:

1. Lord of the manor obtained larger park, etc.
2. Small tenant-farmers and cottage-tenants replaced by large farmers with capital.

3. Small freeholders gradually disappeared, in spite of temporary increase during 1793–1815.
4. Recent squatters lost all hold on the land.
   Some migrated: they became factory-owners (capital needed) and factory employees (the majority).
   Some stayed: they became large tenant-farmers (capital needed) and landless labourers (the majority).

(3) RURAL LIFE

Village life also deteriorated by reason of:

1. Cessation of cottage spinning industry.
2. Decline of local handicrafts.
3. Improvised remedy of Speenhamland system.
4. Anti-Jacobin prejudices of justices of the peace.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE INVENTIONS

(1) CAUSES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

1. Rapid growth of trade since Peace of Utrecht; slow growth of population.
2. Accumulation of capital from foreign trade—helped by internal peace and Bank of England (1694).
3. Absence of internal customs barriers; few restrictions in industrial life.
4. Prosperity of the new cotton industry.

(2) THE GREAT INVENTIONS

A. *Textiles.*

1. Kay: Flying Shuttle (1733).
   Result—shortage of spinners.
2. Hargreaves: Spinning Jenny (1764).
3. Arkwright: Water-frame (1769).
4. Crompton: Mule (1776).
   Result—shortage of weavers.
5. Cartwright: Power Loom.

B. *Coal and Iron.*

1. Darby: manufacture of cast iron with coke.
   Result—comparative shortage of wrought iron.
2. Cort: manufacture of wrought iron by 'puddling.'

C. *Steam-engine.*

1. Primitive engine to drain mines (Newcomen, 1711).
2. Improvements creating modern steam-engine (Watt, 1764).
3. Application to drive cotton-spinning mill (1785).

(3) ROADS AND CANALS

Roads.

1. (1700): condition very bad: transport by sea or river usually preferable.
2. (1745–): construction of turnpikes; work of early road engineers; regular coach services.
3. (1800–): achievements of Telford and Macadam: but heavy goods still immovable by road.

Canals.

1. In early eighteenth century: deepening of beds of navigable rivers.
2. 1759: Worsley Canal.
   1767: Bridgewater Canal.
3. 1772: death of Brindley; Grand Trunk Canal system already planned.
4. 1800: three canal-routes over Pennines in existence; also Grand Junction Canal, etc.

Importance of the canals:

(i) Transport of bulky raw materials (coal, clay).
(ii) Cheap transport of finished goods.
(iii) Conveyance of food to the new towns.

CHAPTER XXX

THE NEW SOCIETY OF 1815

(1) POPULATION

1. *Movement towards the north:* new industrial towns recruited from immediate surroundings; influx of Irish labourers.

2. *Rise in birth-rate:* suggested explanations include—
   Speenhamland system.
   employment of children in factories.
   earlier marriages in town and country.
3. *Fall in death-rate:* this was main cause of larger population and due to—
   (i) restrictions on sale of gin in London.
   (ii) study of public health.
   (iii) better food (result of enclosures).
   (iv) better clothes (result of new manufacture of cotton).
   (v) Improvement Boards.
4. *Growth of towns.*
   Early Industrial Revolution increased rural population near streams and accessible coal.
   Later Industrial Revolution (steam-engines) created huge industrial centres—ugly, unhealthy, hard to reconstruct.

(2) LIVELIHOOD

Characteristics of the new system were:

1. *Rise in money-wages,* offset by frequency of unemployment and high prices (especially after 1793).
2. *Employment of women and children* in factories and coal mines: hence Peel's Factory Act (Health and Morals of Apprentices Act, 1802).
3. *Hatred of factory work* as degrading.
4. *Hatred of machinery* as causing unemployment; Luddite Riots, 1811–12.

(3) POLICY

Triumph of 'laissez-faire,' to which Pitt's Combination Acts (1799, 1800), depriving workers of liberty to combine, were the one great exception.

Examples:

1. Law of Settlement modified so as to permit free migration of labour (1795).
2. Statute of Apprentices modified so as to prevent justices from having to interfere with wages (1813).
3. Statute of Apprentices further modified so as to make apprenticeship optional (1814).
4. Proposal of Malthus for abolition of poor relief.

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