

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN

COURSE-I
PRE-HISTORIC TO THE ERA OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Complementary Course BA English Programme

II Semester
(2011 Admission onwards)



UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

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Study Material

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SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN
COURSE-I
Pre-historic to the Era of Industrial Revolution

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UNIT-I

HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

Geography of British Isles

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (commonly known as the United Kingdom, the UK or Britain) is a **sovereign state** located off the north-western coast of **continental Europe**. The **country** includes the island of **Great Britain**, the north-eastern part of the island of **Ireland** and many smaller islands. **Northern Ireland** is the only part of the UK that shares a **land border** with another sovereign state—the **Republic of Ireland**. Apart from this land border the UK is surrounded by the **Atlantic Ocean**, the **North Sea**, the **English Channel and the Irish Sea**.

Because the development of any country is determined in part by its physical setting, a history of the British Isles must begin with a short description of the geography of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Students are often surprised at the small size of these areas. England proper contains only about 50,000 square miles. Wales, much smaller, adds only another 7,500. Scotland has a landmass of about 30,000 square miles, Ireland about 27,000. Because Britain has been such an important world power, actively involved in colonization and international trade, its location is also surprising. England is not central to the great continents of Europe, Asia, or North America. It lies farther north than any part of the United States except Alaska and any great capital except Moscow. London is at about the same latitude as Newfoundland, not as New York, which is more central. Britain's temperate climate is determined by the nearly constant temperature of its surrounding waters and by the warmth carried to its shores by the Gulf Stream.

Each part of the British Isles has its own physical characteristics. England can be divided into two halves by an imaginary line drawn diagonally from the mouth of the River Exe, near Exeter in the Southwest, to the mouth of the River Tees in the Northeast. Most of the fertile soil in the country lies in the lowland zone to the southeast of this line. The land is flat or gently rolling, with low hills and long navigable rivers, the most important of which, the Thames, determined the location of the great city of London. As long as English society was primarily agrarian, before the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century, the bulk of the population lived in this area. Northwest of the Exe-Tees line is a highland zone, where the land is rocky and mountainous, more suitable for pasture than for intensive cultivation. Rivers are short and generally not navigable for great distances; some have rocky shoals or waterfalls.

The famous Lake District, nestled in the Cumbrian Mountains, boasts England's most spectacular scenery. Until recent times, communication between the east and west coasts was made difficult by the Pennine Chain of mountains, which bisects northern England. Wales shares this infertile land. Its terrain includes lush valleys as well as the craggy Cambrian Mountains. Scottish geography also has much to do with its distinctive history. Most people are familiar with the terms *Lowland* and *Highland*, though they are often confused about exactly what areas each region encompasses. Although these designations are often further complicated by issues of language and culture, in purely geographic terms the simplest way to think of these important regional zones of Scotland is to imagine a line running along the great

Caledonian fault; areas north and west of that line can be considered Highland, and south and east, Lowland. Thus, the rich, fertile farmland of Aberdeenshire belongs to the Lowlands, whereas the rugged hill country of the Trossachs is properly Highland, though considerably farther south. Because of the differences in terrain, agriculture and settlement patterns were quite different in the two zones, a difference that was exacerbated by shifting political allegiances and post-Reformation religious differences.

Ireland's saucer shape includes areas of bog and marsh as well as woodland and some very fertile tillable soil. Mountains are concentrated near the coast; the central lowlands dominate the island. The Shannon is the longest river in the British Isles, flowing down the western coast of Ireland for more than 200 miles, but it is not the heart of a great river system, and it has not been of much economic value. Rainfall is heavier than in England. Frost and snow are almost unknown in the interior of the island. The modern capital, Dublin, lies on the east coast facing Britain. Separated from the larger island by the Irish Channel, on an average about 50 miles wide, Ireland has developed its own unique civilization, frequently influenced by Britain but never integrated racially or culturally. Because so much of its history has been tied to that of England, it is very easy to perceive the island only in terms of its geographical orientation toward the English mainland. However, early cultural ties to its nearer neighbor, Scotland, were stronger. Only 18 miles separate Ulster from Kintyre, and up until the early modern period, Gaelic Ireland and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland were closely connected through a shared language and cultural history. Moreover, the west coast of Ireland was always closely connected with Continental Europe through seafaring trade and politics, a continuing influence that should not be overlooked in the complexities of Irish history.

Pre-Historic Britain

Although in the strictest sense written records pertaining to the British Isles do not exist until Roman documents beginning in A.D. 55. There is an abundance of archaeological evidence that helps us to understand early settlement and historical developments in Britain from the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, and on into the Bronze Age and Iron Age. The earliest probable evidence for human settlement in Britain comes from Earham in Sussex and may date back as far as 350,000 B.C. (Lower Paleolithic). From the Upper Paleolithic (approximately 35,000 to 8500 B.C.), sites become more plentiful, with at least forty known in Britain, a quarter of them located in Wales. However, it is not until the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods that we begin to see enough evidence to provide a foundation of knowledge for understanding the lives of these early inhabitants.

By around 10,000 B.C. the glaciers were retreating for the last time. The melting ice changed the landscape of Britain, and the rising temperatures caused great forests to develop and also brought about the demise of the giant reindeer, bison, and mammoths. In this new environment, agriculture seems to have flourished. Excavations at Starr Car in Yorkshire and Anglesey in Wales suggest settlement by farmers who used stone tools. Recent research suggests that the Neolithic age began in Britain about 4000 B.C., considerably earlier than previous writers believed. A culture group called the Windmill Hill people crossed the Channel (perhaps then no more than a wide river) from northern Europe about 3000 B.C., bringing with them a way of life that included settled agriculture, the keeping of such domestic animals as sheep and dogs, the use of well-shaped flint arrowheads, and the making of pottery ornamented with spiral or thumbprint designs. The skeletons of their dead were buried intact

(this is called inhumation, as opposed to cremation, the burning of remains), usually in groups rather than individually. Long mounds or “barrows,” strikingly similar to the burial mounds of Native Americans, were erected over these burials. Today, especially when viewed or photographed from the air, they help identify sites where the Windmill Hill culture was established. The culture spread to Yorkshire, in northern England, and to Ireland.

A later Neolithic group, the Beaker Folk, migrated from northern Europe, probably between 2500 and 2000 B.C. Their name derives from the characteristic shape of their pots, which resemble the beakers used in chemistry laboratories. Such pottery has been found at sites throughout England, Ireland, and southern Scotland. The Beaker Folk usually buried their dead singly, in round barrows. The earliest known textile from the British Isles was found in one of these. Beaker sites have also yielded bronze drinking cups and jewelry, but these articles were probably acquired through trade with more advanced peoples on the Continent. A few settlers in England may have learned how to work in metal by this time, but the Beaker Folk do not seem to have known how to produce metal articles themselves.

Although there is much debate concerning the migrations and exact identities of the Neolithic inhabitants of Britain, their megalithic structures remain to puzzle and fascinate us. There are literally thousands of these great stone structures throughout the British Isles, clustering by type to some extent in the various regions. Of these massive stone structures, archaeologists delineate several different types, including chambered cairns and mounds, cromlechs, stone circles, and single standing stones, some intricately carved with geometric designs and some quite plain. Though some were clearly used for burial sites, the purpose of many of these megaliths remains unknown.

New Grange

The Boyne Valley in Ireland is home to many of these megalithic structures, but perhaps none are as striking as the three great tumuli or chambered cairns of Newgrange, Knowth, and Dowth. In Irish folklore, this was the land of the gods and the burial place of kings. Certainly anyone who stands inside the dry-stone chamber of Newgrange cannot help but feel a sense of awe and timelessness. The circular structure is perfectly constructed so that even in the wettest of Irish weather, not a drop of moisture enters the great chamber. Most amazingly, the entry passage (low enough that one has to stoop to enter) is designed in such a way that on the midwinter solstice a single beam of sunlight glances off the entrance stone, follows the entryway, and illuminates the great chamber. Though some skeletal remains were found in the central chamber, it seems likely that the structure was used for other purposes—perhaps astronomical observation, or community worship. Although it is uncertain who the architects of the Boyne Valley tumuli may have been, the geometrical symbols that they carved into the stone (spirals, knotwork, triskeles, and so forth) bear a striking similarity to the motifs found in later Celtic metalwork and manuscript illuminations.

The Bronze and Iron Ages

The next major shift in the ancient history of Britain comes with the advent of metalworking. During the Bronze Age (now dated about 2000 to 1000 B.C.), the art of working bronze came to the British Isles. Bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, has a low melting

point and thus is easier to handle than iron. It is also more attractive for decorative objects, but because it does not take a hard cutting edge it is less useful for knives and weapons like swords or axes. The most important Bronze Age group, usually called the Wessex Culture, came from the Continent to southwest England but soon spread throughout the British Isles. These invaders brought with them their skill in producing bronze articles. Some of the existing inhabitants may also have acquired the ability to work metal.

Archaeologists used to attribute each technological leap to a fresh wave of immigrants from the mainland of Europe, but new work suggests that some advances were a natural, native growth. The dead of the Wessex Culture were cremated, with an urn being inverted over the remains; burials might be single, in mounds, or grouped, in urnfields. Objects from as far away as Egypt and Greece have been found in these burial sites, proof that the Wessex people were involved in international trade. During this period, the Irish were producing some of the most sophisticated metalwork in Europe. Among the breathtaking gold jewelry now on exhibit at the National Museum of Ireland are twisted gold torques (neck bands), earrings, and penannular brooches. Not only were these valued by the native inhabitants, but they also found their way through trade to England and the Continent.

The art of working iron came to Britain about 1000 B.C. Bronze continued to be used for ornamental objects, with gold and silver also available in small quantities, but iron superseded bronze for utilitarian purposes. Large-scale settled farming was now practiced, with corrals, threshing floors, and storehouses or barns, and additional forested land was cleared for agricultural use. In addition to information from archaeological excavations, we have learned much about Iron Age agriculture through an experimental archaeology program begun in 1972 at Butser in Hampshire. Here ancient breeds of sheep, pigs, and cattle (similar to the extinct Celtic Shorthorn) are raised, and a range of cereal crops, notably several varieties of wheat and barley, are grown. The environmental archaeologists involved in this experiment use only implements and farming techniques that would have been available in prehistoric times.

Hill Forts and Standing Stones

Like the chambered cairns, the identity of the builders and the purpose of the great hill forts remain debatable. Most archaeologists agree that they date from the Iron Age and are related to the Celticization of much of the British Isles. Traditionally, it was believed that there were groups of successive invaders, perhaps rival groups of Celts from mainland Europe, or other parts of the British Isles. One of the oldest of the Irish epics, the *Lebor Gabala*, or *Book of Invasions*, mentions four waves of invasion: the Fir Bolg, the Fomorians, the Tuatha de Danann, and the Milesians, which may in some way correspond to successive historic settlements.

The builders of the hill forts were clearly worried about invasion, expending a great amount of time and resources in building huge defensible structures on hills and near the coastline. Though these structures are found throughout Britain, the greatest concentration of hill forts can be found in Wales, the north and western regions of Scotland, and the western coast of Ireland. To add to the mystery of their construction, some of the Scottish hill forts are vitrified. The stone was apparently heated to an extremely high temperature (whether by design or through attack is unknown) and the great blocks of stone fused together. Excavations undertaken at various sites of hill forts suggest a mixed usage of these structures. Danebury

in Hampshire seems to have been used as both a village and a fortification for food; others, such as Craig Phadraig in Inverness, may have been a communal center for both trade and politics, perhaps having served as the capital of the Picts.

The dating of standing stones and stone circles is especially problematic, since rarely are carbon-based artifacts associated with these sites found. The most imposing monument remaining from prehistoric Britain is undoubtedly Stonehenge. This great stone circle—actually it is several concentric circles of stones—was erected on Salisbury Plain, near the middle of the south coast of England. Work on the site may have begun as early as 2500 B.C. The initial construction of the great circle can be attributed to the Beaker Folk, with modifications and additions by later peoples between 1900 and 1400 B.C. About 300 feet in diameter, it includes a set of enormous uprights weighing as much as 50 tons each, quarried near the site, and sixty smaller bluestones, hewn from the mountains of Wales and transported, probably mainly by water, for 135 miles.

Scholars remain undecided about the reasons why this great monument was created. The alignment of stones suggests that it had something to do with sun worship, though notions of white-robed druids dancing by moonlight or exacting human sacrifice may be dismissed as romantic inventions unsupported by hard evidence. One theory, advanced by the physicist Gerald Hawkins, holds that Stonehenge was actually an observatory, used to predict the movement of stars as well as eclipses of the sun and moon. Such a structure would have been of great value to an agricultural people, since it would enable them to mark the changing seasons accurately, and it would have conferred seemingly supernatural powers on the religious leaders who knew how to interpret its alignments.

There are other henge monuments in the British Isles, including a large henge of irregular stones at Avebury, not far from Stonehenge, and a similar circle at Castle Ring, in the Lake District. The small islands off the Scottish coast are particularly rich in these structures. The best surviving examples are the Ring of Brodgar on Orkney, where a ditch surrounds a ring that originally contained 66 stones, and the Standing Stones of Callanish on Lewis. It is thought that these are earlier than Stonehenge and that the tradition of erecting such monuments may have spread southward from Scotland to England. There are comparable structures in Ireland and on the Continent, especially in Scandinavia. Whatever their original purpose, they bear testimony to the high state of political and religious organization of the people who built them. Because Stonehenge is now visited by hordes of tourists, it is hard to recapture any sense of mystery or awe, and visitors are struck primarily by the magnitude of the engineering feat. More remote burial sites, however, can retain an almost magical quality. A sensitive viewer cannot but ponder what beliefs and myths prompted the building of the megalithic tombs and what rituals, songs, and dances took place at them. We will never know, for the Neolithic peoples left no record other than the evidence of place.

The Celts

The last pre-historic invaders of Britain were the Celts, members of a large culture group that came to encompass most of northern Europe. Archaeologists distinguish three major groupings of Celts based on art, artifacts, and cultural practices: the Hallstatt civilization from the German regions; the La Tène, named after the site of excavations near Lake Neuchâtel in Switzerland; and the “insular” Celts of the British Isles. However, the terms *Celt* and *Celtic*

have been used by different writers in so many different ways that it is difficult to give any simple account of them. A Celtic culture apparently developed first in central Europe, along the Danube River. It spread into what would now be France, Spain, and the Netherlands, and eventually to the British Isles. It is hard to say what prompted these migrations of Celts. The pressure of increasing populations used to be given as an explanation, but this no longer seems satisfying. It may be that the energetic, aggressive personality of the Celts themselves is the underlying factor. Roman writers describe them as warlike or even “war-mad” and tell us that Celtic women were equal to the men in stature and courage. In physical appearance most Celts were tall, with blue eyes and red or blond hair.

The Beaker Folk and members of the Wessex or urnfield culture may have been Celts. The earliest Celtic group known to us from documentary evidence—indeed, the earliest people in Britain for whom any written evidence exists—are the Belgae, who are described in Julius Caesar’s famous account of his Gallic wars. Writing a few years before the time of Christ, Caesar says that northern France was inhabited by a Celtic tribe called the Belgae (the word lies behind the name of the modern nation Belgium) and that relatives of these people had crossed the Channel and made settlements in England.

Although the Celts were illiterate, they are said to have been eloquent in speaking and to have enjoyed storytelling. Linguistically the Celts of the British Isles can be divided into two groups, distinguished by the use of a *p* sound in one and a *q* in the other. The first of these tongues is called “Brythonic.” It came to dominate in *The Battersea Shield* (right). This shield was made during the Iron Age. It was found in the River Thames near London, England and Wales, and it forms the basis for modern Welsh and Cornish. The words *Britain* and *British* are derived from it. The “Q Celts” spoke the Goidelic language, now represented by Irish, Gaelic, and Manx (the dialect of the Isle of Man).

Celtic society was organized according to tribal patterns, with political life focused at the local level. During the Bronze Age, larger groupings dominated by a military aristocracy appear to have arisen; some of these were likely the builders of the hill forts. Under Celtic custom, land was held by kinship groups rather than by individuals. The Celts lived mainly on farms, some of which were large and well organized, and in small villages. Their artwork was superb: the Celts in Britain fashioned beautiful, highly sophisticated pieces of jewelry, the finest surviving examples of which are the Desborough Mirror and Snettisham Torc, made in England, and the gold Broughton Torc or collar, part of a hoard unearthed in northern Ireland. The Broughton hoard also included a small gold boat with oars. This is the earliest representation of a ship in British art, but no one knows just why it was made. The bronze shield found at Battersea, near London, is another famous example of Iron Age work. The Celts used gold and bronze coins (some of the late prehistoric coins from England are of excellent quality) as well as iron bars as a form of currency. They were sufficiently advanced economically to conduct trade with the Mediterranean countries as well as with France.

The last prehistoric inhabitants in Scotland, probably related to the Celts, were the Picts and the Scots. The Picts dominated most of the area, both Highlands and Lowlands, with their chief settlements along the southeast coast. Their name, given to them by the Romans, means “painted men,” a reference to the use of tattoos or blue body coloring. It has been argued that the Picts spoke a language that can be classified as “P Celtic,” but proving this is difficult. Their language survives only in a handful of carved inscriptions, genealogies, and place-

names. The group called the Scots originally lived in Ireland, not Scotland. A number of these men and women migrated to the Southwest of Scotland and eventually gave their name to the entire area. Some writers have held that the Picts were matrilineal: that is, their kinship groups were organized through women, and inheritance was through the female line. Although others deny this, they do acknowledge the importance of women in Pictish society.

Druids

In simple terms the Druids were the priests of the Celtic tribes in Britain. But to state that fact does not convey the breadth of their influence in Celtic society. The Druids were a sort of super-class of priests, political advisors, teachers, healers, and arbitrators among the Celtic tribes. They had their own universities, where traditional knowledge was passed on by rote (i.e. memorized). Druids had the right to speak ahead of the king in council, and may in some situations have held more authority than the king. They acted as ambassadors in time of war; they composed verse and upheld the law. They were a sort of glue holding together Celtic culture.

We know that the Druids used both animal and human sacrifice, and that many of their observances centred on oak groves and water. The Isle of Anglesey, in present-day Wales, was a centre of Druidic practice. The Druids as we know them today exist largely in the words of the Romans. The trouble with the reports of the Romans is that they were a mix of reportage and political propaganda. It was politically expedient for the Celtic peoples to be coloured as barbarians and the Romans as a great civilizing force.

Certainly the Romans seem to be genuinely horrified by the instances of human sacrifice among the Druids. In 61 AD the Romans exterminated the Druids of Anglesey, effectively destroying druidism as a religious force until a form of druidism was revived in the 19th century.

ROMAN CONQUEST OF BRITAIN

Roman contact with the Celts in the British Isles began with the invasion by Julius Caesar in 55 B.C. Already a great military leader, Caesar had conquered France several years earlier (he describes his campaigns in his book) and was ready to turn his attention to England. Caesar was attracted to Britain for several reasons. He had heard rumors (unfortunately incorrect) that the British Isles were rich in gold and other treasures. He probably believed that he could not hold northern France securely without having control of the land across the Channel, since the Belgae might use England as a springboard for attack. Perhaps most important, he thought that the conquest of a distant, dangerous area like Britain would enhance his personal reputation and advance his ambition to rule the entire Roman world.

In August, 55 B.C., Caesar sailed to England with about ten thousand men. Unused to the wind and weather in the English Channel, he anchored his ships near a rocky coastline, where some were smashed and others severely damaged in a storm. He was forced to direct his attention to the rebuilding of his fleet and was not able to explore England fully. But he returned the next year, coming earlier with more men. Once again some of his transport vessels were ruined in a storm—he should have known that there was a safe harbor nearby—but he was now able to penetrate into the area north of the Thames. Here he confronted Cassivellaunus, the ruler of the

Belgae, whose capital, Wheathampstead, was near the present city of St. Albans. Forced to return to France to suppress a native uprising, Caesar made Cassivellaunus a client king who agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of the Romans and to pay them an annual tribute.

Caesar may have intended to return to England but never did so. His later career, his coronation as emperor, and his assassination by his friend Brutus are among the best-known episodes in ancient history. England paid the tribute for only a few years and then reverted to its prehistoric independent condition for nearly a century. Then, in A.D. 43, the Emperor Claudius decided to undertake a second conquest of the British Isles. He believed that Caesar had always intended this, and he found the Empire peaceful, with surplus troops available. His timing was perhaps determined by the fact that the king of the Belgae, Cunobelinus, had just died, leaving the natives without an established leader. Claudius sent a larger force than Caesar had gathered, perhaps as many as forty thousand men. His generals finally found a safe harbor, and they met little resistance as they marched inland. During a brief visit (he was only in England for sixteen days), Claudius organized southeast England as a province under direct Roman rule and accepted the submission of native tribes in other areas. Returning to Rome, he erected a triumphal arch to celebrate his victory.

The progress of the Roman conquest was interrupted in A.D. 61 by the revolt of Boudicca, queen of a Celtic tribe called the Iceni, who lived in eastern England with their capital at Colchester. A Roman writer described Boudicca as being "huge of frame, terrifying of aspect, and with a harsh voice; a great mass of bright red hair fell to her knees; she wore a great twisted golden torc, and a tunic of many colors, over which was a thick mantle, fastened by a brooch." Although the Roman sources are a little unclear, Boudicca was the widow of one of the chieftains who had tried to negotiate with Rome, and the provisions of his will seem to have indicated that she was to assume control of the tribal territories upon his death. Angered by the Roman governor's attempt to assume direct control of the lands of the Iceni and infuriated by the Roman soldiers' mistreatment of her daughters, she waited until the Roman legions were occupied in Wales then gathered an enormous force of natives (perhaps more than 200,000) to ravage Roman settlements. Her troops burned three great Roman cities (London, Colchester, and Verulamium) and are said by a Roman writer to have killed as many as seventy thousand Roman citizens and their friends. It would be hard to exaggerate the horror of these events. Ultimately subdued by the Roman legions, Boudicca probably poisoned herself. She is often regarded as an early British heroine—her statue now stands on Westminster Bridge in London, near the houses of Parliament—but in fact her revolt chiefly illustrates the turmoil within British society during the period of Roman occupation.

During the years after Boudicca's revolt, the Romans continued the military conquest of Britain. By A.D. 78 they had completed the subjugation of Wales. Making their way into what is now Scotland in A.D. 84, they defeated the Picts in a battle fought at Mons Graupius, an unidentified site probably near Aberdeen. But the Picts remained unfriendly and warlike. To protect their northern frontier, the Romans undertook the construction of a great wall stretching from the mouth of the River Tyne, on the east coast, to Solway Firth, on the west. Known as Hadrian's Wall in honor of the emperor who ordered it built, the wall is a superb piece of military engineering, 73 miles long, finished with dressed stone, and well supplied with forts and sentry posts. Hadrian's Wall was built between 122 and 128; much of it still stands in good condition. The most famous fort adjoining Hadrian's Wall is Housesteads in Northumberland. It was the base for a contingent of infantry that may

have numbered 1,000 and also attracted a large civilian settlement. The ruins include barracks, granaries, a military hospital, and a well-preserved latrine, testifying to a level of hygiene that was not equaled until the 20th century.

Tempted by the fertile lands in the Scottish midland plain, the Romans in 142 constructed a second frontier farther north, the Antonine Wall running from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde, near the present cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Much shorter and simpler than Hadrian's Wall, the Antonine Wall was soon abandoned, as the Romans gave up hope of controlling Scotland and concentrated on maintaining control of England. They never attempted to invade Ireland.

The Decline of Roman Rule

For ethnic and social reasons Roman rule of Britain was always shaky. A two-tier social structure was based on ethnic divisions. The pre-historic Celtic natives were not driven out of their homelands; they remained as workers, tilling the soil, paying taxes, and providing servants. Roman soldiers and civil officials formed a relatively small governing class. In the later centuries of Roman rule some natives adopted Roman ways, learned Latin, and gained acceptance in Roman society. But the basic situation did not change. Naturally, Roman rule did not please the Celts, who had been used to managing their own affairs. As long as the Romans maintained their garrisons at full strength they were able to retain control, but any show of weakness was likely to produce a revolt or uprising. One writer has likened the situation to the condition that prevailed during the period of British rule in India.

The first such uprising occurred in 197, when the Roman governor of Britain, Clodius Albinus, drained troops from England in his abortive attempt to become emperor. The Picts stormed Hadrian's Wall, but it was quickly rebuilt and Roman rule was reestablished. Nearly a century later, in 296, another Roman leader named Carausius declared himself to be the emperor of Britain, independent of Rome itself. He was murdered by his own minister of defense, but not before an onslaught of Celts and Picts disrupted the government. At about this time the south and east coasts of England began to be subject to raids by the Saxons, who lived in northern Europe. The Emperor Diocletian commanded the construction of the Saxon Shore Forts to defend Roman Britain from this threat.

By the late 4th century the entire Roman Empire was in decline; the government lost control of one area after another and was eventually unable to hold Rome itself. Roman forces were gradually withdrawn from Britain to meet more pressing needs elsewhere. In 367 Britain was attacked simultaneously by Celts from Ireland, Picts from Scotland, and Saxons from the Continent. Many of the inhabitants of England also turned against their rulers. Shortly after this, Hadrian's Wall was breached and not rebuilt. The end came, undramatically and without any actual fighting, about 410. In that year the pathetically weak Emperor Honorius sent letters to the residents in Britain and some other outlying parts of the Empire, saying that they would have to be responsible for their own defense, since Rome could no longer guarantee their safety. Honorius may not have meant to abandon Britain forever, but in fact Roman officials never returned.

LIFE IN ROMAN BRITAIN

Recent estimates of the population of Roman Britain are surprising. It used to be assumed that about two million people lived in England during the height of Roman rule, about the same number as in the early Norman period or in the reign of Henry VIII. But new research suggests a population somewhere between four and six million, a figure that would not be reached again until the 17th or 18th century. The people, both the Roman newcomers and the descendants of the prehistoric Celts, were ruled by governors sent out from Rome—for most of the period we know their names and dates—and by financial officials called procurators. Large standing armies were maintained. Officers were Romans, or at least men who had learned Latin and adopted Roman ways, but many natives were drafted into military service. As soldiers they attained Roman citizenship, which conferred certain legal privileges. In the later years of Roman rule they were allowed to marry, and living quarters were provided for their families. Slavery was common in the Roman Empire, and some wealthy inhabitants of Roman Britain had personal slaves.

Although agriculture remained basic to economic life in Roman Britain, urbanization produced important social changes. Indeed, urbanization was probably essential if the large population was to be accommodated and employed. Unlike the Celts, the Romans were great city builders. Hundreds of Roman cities and towns can be identified, often simply by the derivation of their modern names, and excavation has revealed Roman remains in many of them. The Romans are responsible for the establishment of London, built on a marshy bank of the Thames, which had been avoided by the natives because of the difficulty of building there. Originally a commercial center, London had become the capital of southern England by about 200 and was already the largest city on the island. Its population probably reached at least thirty thousand. York was established as the Roman capital in the North; recent excavations there have yielded Roman as well as Viking remains.

The Romans also built a spa at Bath in the Southwest. They reconstructed the native capital at Wheathampstead and changed its name to Verulamium. (This was the only city in Britain that the Romans called a *municipium*). They established a host of towns that were originally military camps (in Latin, *castra*) and whose present-day names betray their origin. Among these are Chester, Colchester, Winchester, Chichester, Cirencester, and Exeter. The Romans built a few cities, called *coloniae*, specifically for the resettlement of retired army personnel. Lincoln is the best known of these. Roman cities were regularly laid out with streets on a grid pattern and were walled for defense. Public buildings, temples, theaters, baths, and facilities for games and circuses were erected at their centers. They generally had an engineered water supply, with fountains and sewers—it is thought that some inhabitants may have suffered from lead poisoning because of the lead piping used for water distribution. Local government was provided by urban councils, which elected two senior and two junior magistrates to manage urban affairs and preside in local courts.

To connect their cities the Roman armies built a great network of roads, almost all radiating from London. The Great North Road ran to York and on to Hadrian's Wall; the Great West Road led to Chester. The alignments of these remain today as the highways designated the A1 and A3. Many other Roman roads survive. They can often be recognized because they run for long distances in a straight line. Medieval roads tended to twist and turn, following the boundaries of fields; only the Romans and the 20th century freeway engineers assumed the power to cut direct paths through the countryside.

Some wealthy Romans, and perhaps some natives who were able to adopt their way of life, lived in villas scattered around the countryside, surrounded by farmland. These villas have been compared to the great country houses of 18th century Ireland, the haciendas of colonial Mexico, and the plantation houses erected in the American South before the Civil War. The larger ones were often luxurious, with mosaic pavements, central heating, and walled gardens. One of the best-known villas, at Fishbourne near Chichester on the south coast of England, was of considerable size and elegance; it is thought to have been the residence of the client king Cogidubnus. Composed of four wings built around a central garden, it was destroyed by fire in the 3rd century, but the remaining walls and mosaics were excavated in the 1960s, and artifacts are now displayed in a museum at the site. Another villa, at Woodchester, had more than 60 rooms. The Mildenhall Treasure, a hoard of 34 silver platters, bowls, and goblets that is now housed in the British Museum, also gives an idea of the sophistication of life in Roman Britain.

Unearthed in 1942 by plowing near Mildenhall in Suffolk, it was probably buried by a villa owner not long after 410 in the hope of preserving it from a barbarian attack. Because the treasure was not recovered, we presume that the owner was killed. Some of those who lived in villas also had town houses in London or other cities, since they were involved in business or governmental affairs that could not be managed easily from the countryside.

The history of religion in Roman Britain is important but obscure. Both the Celts and the Romans originally adhered to a variety of pagan cults, including the worship of the sun and of especially sacred sites as well as mythic gods and goddesses. Some Roman emperors were worshiped as well, and they were occasionally identified with the sun. Christianity gradually gained acceptance in Rome and then in outlying parts of the Empire like England.

We may note the first English martyr (St. Alban, executed near Verulamium, most likely about 208 rather than the traditional date 304) and the first English heresy (Pelagianism, a belief in free will and the ability of individual men and women to work out their own salvation). Both pagan temples and Christian churches have been excavated, and in some cases there is evidence to suggest conversion from pagan to Christian use. The owner of the Mildenhall Treasure appears to have been a Christian, since several of the pieces bear Christian symbols.

The Roman villas and cities alike fell into decay shortly after 410. A Romanized way of life may have lingered on in some places, but the Celtic natives who remained after the Romans left did not share their enthusiasm for urban life. Roman coins do not appear to have been used after 420 or 430. The fact that the Roman Theater at Verulamium was used as a rubbish dump in the 5th century is a telling symbol of the difference between the two cultures. In the end the Romans made few permanent contributions to British civilization.

Their governmental system, famous for maintaining peace and order, disappeared, as did the Latin language. Roads, walls, and towns decayed, although they would be reconstructed later in the middle Ages. Celtic artwork, always finer and more imaginative than that of the Roman invaders, continued, uninfluenced by the rational style of the Romans. The chief legacy of the Roman period was the Christian religion, which had been accepted by a number of the natives and which survived among the Celts after the Romans departed.

Advent of Christianity

When Rome occupied Britain, most of the Britons became Christians. We hear of Alban, the first man to die for the Christian faith in England who gave his name to St. Albans. When the Roman Emperor Constantine accepted Christianity it was natural that it should be adopted in Britain also. After the decline of Rome when the Saxon power was at its highest, Christianity was almost wiped out except in the western parts of the land where the Britons maintained their independence. The Britons hated the Saxons so much that they made no attempt to conquer the Saxons who were heathens. There were several British missionaries at that time. St. David preached in South Wales while the famous priest St. Patrick converted Ireland. It was St. Columba, a Scot from Ireland who founded the monastery in Iona in the west coast of Scotland. It was he who converted the Picts in north and eastern parts of Scotland.

Conversion of Kent

It happened that king Ethelbert of Kent had married Bertha; a Christian Princess of France. Gregory seized this chance thus offered to him. He selected his friend Augustine, Abbot of a Roman monastery, with forty monks and instructed them to make their way to Britain and preach the Gospel to the English heathens. In 597 Augustine and his companions landed in Kent at Ebbsfleet in Thanet. A fresh Roman conquest was to begin; this time, however, it was not by Roman legions for a Roman emperor but by Roman Missionaries for the Roman Church.

Augustine and his monks were well trained to do the job for they belonged to the order founded in the 5th century. St. Benedict's slogan was "to work is to pray". If they had merely led a life of meditation the Saxons would not have appreciated them. Though Ethelbert was at first suspicious of the monks, he welcomed the missionaries and allowed them to preach freely to all who chose to listen to them. The earnest and simple teaching of the monks soon won converts and amongst them Ethelbert himself. He gave them permission to reside in the royal city of Canterbury. They restored the ruined Church of St. Martin and named it Christ Church. It thus became the first Church of England, first both in time and importance. Ethelbert and most of his subjects were converted. Since Augustine lacked the fierce energy of St. Gregory, he was not able to convert the other English Kingdoms. Before long, another Bishopric was set up at Rochester which was an old Roman city and the new faith spread beyond Kent to the dependent kingdom of Essex over which Ethelbert's influence was strong. East Saxon Bishopric was set up at London, the commercial capital of the land since Roman times. Here however, Augustine's success ended.

Conversion of Northumbria

Soon after this an attempt was made to convert the north of England. It was another marriage that caused the Christian religion northwards. Edwin, King of Northumbria, was at this time the most powerful monarch in the island. He was married to Ethelburga, the daughter of the newly converted king, Ethelbert. Being a Christian this lady took with her to her husband's court at York a Christian monk called Paulinus as her chaplain. Edwin at that time ruled over almost all parts of England except Kent and therefore the first task of Paulinus was to try to convert Edwin. Edwin was also persuaded by his wife. Even the Pope also wrote him letters and sent him presents. Edwin was moved by their pleading and by what he thought to be the special favours of heaven which came to him at this time; he escaped from a

treacherous attempt to murder him, he won a great victory over the West Saxons, his wife bore him a daughter. He consulted his Witan as to whether they should accept the new faith. Paulinus was called in to address the council and at once persuaded them to become Christians. Such was the influence of this new missionary that Coifi, the heathen high priest, himself commanded his companions to destroy the heathen temple. All this made Edwin accept the new faith and his subjects were baptized in thousands.

But the sudden wholesale conversions did not mean much. Those who abandon one faith for another so readily are not likely to be very firm in holding to any faith. If a time of persecution comes they will fall away again. This is exactly what happened in Northumbria. Edwin was killed by Penda, king of Mercia. As a result Paulinus and Ethelburga fled. Penda was a staunch heathen who could not tolerate Christianity. Many of the Northumbrians were forced to give up their new faith. The following year Oswald, a prince of the royal house who had been brought up as a Christian, returned from Iona (It was the centre of early Celtic Christianity) where he had taken refuge while Penda ravaged Northumbria. He established the Northumbrian kingdom and sent for a monk from Iona to convert his kingdom. One priest name St. Aidan arrived. By his efforts Northumbria was again converted. Aidan established himself in the holy island which became the seat of his Bishopric. Aidan was known for his simplicity and good works. It was he and his fellow monks who converted both the north and the midlands. The good Oswald met the same fate as his predecessor, King Edwin. He was killed by Penda of Mercia. As a result, Christianity died out for a time in Northumbria. Fortunately Osway, Osway, Oswald's brother, defeated and killed Penda. When he died, the old faith perished with him. After that even the Mercians were converted and soon the whole island was Christian.

Now a new trouble arose. Some of the Saxons were converted by Roman Missionaries; others by Celtic. Roman missionaries completed the conversion of south and the east. All over the north and the midlands there were eager champions both of the Roman and of the Scottish Easter and it seemed as if the war between Christian and heathens was only to be succeeded by a war between the two rival forms of Christianity. The island though one in faith, seemed likely to be divided in practice. Hence when the Saxons became a house divided against themselves there was grave danger. To settle the points of dispute, the famous Synod (religious conference) was held at Whitby in 664 (A.D). The Synod was summoned by the Northumbrian king Oswy.

The champion of the Celtic practice was Colman who had come from Iona and had succeeded Aidan in Northumbria. The chief upholder of the Roman view was Wilfrid, Abbot of Ripon. Wilfrid had been trained in Aidan's own monastery but he had been on a pilgrimage to Rome and had come back full of zeal for the Roman Church and the Roman ways. The two argued it out before king Oswy who presided at the Synod. The points of difference were not great. The Britons did not keep Easter on the same day as the Romans and had one or two other customs peculiar to them. Finally, Oswy declared in favour of the Roman Easter whereupon Colman and the Scots withdrew to Iona. Oswy was strong enough to make all England accept his decision and this led to a situation when all English men followed Roman customs and not that of Iona. The decision was important because:

1. It secured for England the priceless blessings of order and civilization which were in those days represented by Rome.

2. Had Oswy decided in favour of the British practice, England would have been cut off from the main body of Christendom.
3. The decision hastened the political unity of England through religious unity.

Organisation of the English Church

The English church was organized by Theodore of Tarsus, a Greek monk whom the pope appointed Arch Bishop of Canterbury in 668. He set himself to unite the Church in to one and set up the Roman system with its grades of rank. The priests in the Parish, the Bishop ruling over the priests, the Arch Bishop ruling over the Bishops and the Pope as the head of all. The Bishops were in charge of the Dioceses the priests were in charge of the parishes. As the number of parishes increased some definite means of subsistence was necessary for the priests and so it became the common duty of all Christians to devote to God's service a tenth part of their goods or produce. Hence archbishops in provinces ruled over priests. (The priests can be Rectors and vicars) supported by the income got from the people with the Pope as the head of all. In thus laying down the foundation of the English Church, Theodore did much to promote the Union of English nation for at a time when there was at least seven separate kingdoms, the Church was the main unifying force. When all the people met together in a National Synod, they did not think of themselves as men of Northumbria, Kent, or Wessex, but as members of a united Church.

If we look for the results of conversion upon Britain, the first is that of unity. A united church gave the example for a united people. If they were alike in religion, they might well be alike in law and government. Another result was that English missionaries crossed to the continent. The Church offered an example of union; it also offered an example of peace. The Angles and Saxons were much uncivilized before they became Christians. The bishops were men loving peace and they propagated virtues like humility, self restraint and charity. By their examples they tried to improve the conduct and character of the English. The Saxons used to regard an offence as a mere personal injury remedied by fines paid to the injured person or to his family. Their system of justice was based on the ideas of private vengeance or of fines paid in compensation for wrongs done. The Church inculcated in the English a sense of sin. Theodore and his priests taught that offences must not only be compensated by fines, but atoned for by repentance and penance. Thanks to the Christians; the crude form of punishing the guilty was slowly removed. Thus the penitentiary system not only checked misdeeds, but strengthened the idea that such wrong doers were offenders against the whole community.

The English owed to the church the beginnings of English education. The Monasteries were centres of art and education. The Abbey at Whitby gave shelter to a cow herd who had become a priest. This man was Caedmon (664) the first English poet. His great religious poem seemed to those of his time to be sent direct from heaven. Bede (735) another monk -the "Venerable Bede" was a great teacher whom the church gave. He was also the first historian. It is Bede who tells us almost all that we know of those times. He also translated into English St. John's Gospel. Another and a very different type from among the men the church gave the English was Dunstan. He was not only a scholar but also a statesman. He was Arch Bishop of Canterbury and was an advisor to the king. He was the first man to be great as a monk as well as a statesman.

The church, then, gave the English the beginnings of national unity and peace at home. It also gave the English a better sense of what was lawful and right. It encouraged art and gave the famous, tall churchyard crosses of wonderfully sculptured stone and also the early illuminated manuscripts. The Lindisfarne Gospel Book written about 700 A.D. is considered the finest example of this.

ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD

Invasion and Settlement

Germanic tribes from northwestern Europe began to raid Roman-occupied Britain in the third century, carrying away grain, cattle, and other valuables. Not long after Roman troops were withdrawn from Britain, 407–10, bands from three distinct but closely related tribes—the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes—sailed across the North Sea in search of land for settlement. According to tradition, the first important settlement was made about 449 by the Jutes on Britain's eastern coast. For nearly two centuries, a steady stream of Teutonic invader followed. They penetrated the island by way of its inland rivers, ravaging as they advanced. Roman civilization was destroyed; its language, religion, and customs disappeared. Most of the native Britons, a Celtic people, were killed, enslaved, or driven into Wales and to Brittany (in France).

About 613 the Anglo-Saxon conquest of central Britain was completed. Anglo-Saxon England was divided into a number of small kingdoms. The Jutes occupied the region called Kent, between the Thames River and the Strait of Dover. The Saxons settled to the south and west of London. Their major kingdoms were Sussex, Essex, and Wessex. The Angles, who gave their name to the country, inhabited the eastern coast from the territory of the Saxons northward into the Scottish lowlands. They formed the kingdoms of East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria. Although barbarians, the Anglo-Saxons were more advanced than the Britons had been before the Roman occupation. Predominantly a rural people, they settled in small villages scattered throughout the country and farmed the land.

Steps towards Unification

Constant conflict followed during the four centuries after the conquest of Britain. The Anglo-Saxons warred among themselves, against the Welsh (Britons in Wales), and later against Danish and Norwegian invaders (the Vikings). The more powerful Anglo-Saxon kingdoms absorbed their weaker neighbors. From the seven major kingdoms (**Heptarchy**) that developed during the invasions, three dominant states emerged—Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex. Northumbria held supremacy in the 7th century; Mercia, particularly under King Offa (757–96), in the eighth; and Wessex, beginning with King Egbert (802–39), in the ninth. But there was little real unity until the reign of Egbert's grandson Alfred the Great, king of Wessex (871–99). Because of his strong leadership at a time of the continuing disruption caused by the Danish wars, the English acknowledged Alfred's supremacy, thus taking the first steps toward eventual union of all Englishmen.

The Danes and Norwegians, who had overrun much of the north and east of the country since their first invasion of England about 787, were finally subdued through the efforts of Alfred and his immediate successors. His grandson Athelstan, king of Wessex (925–40), won a great

victory over the Vikings, Britons, and Scots in 937 and united England under one rule. Fighting was renewed after his death, but the Danes and Norwegians finally came to accept rule by an Anglo-Saxon king under Athelstan's brother Edred (946–55). About 980, however, in the reign of Ethelred the Unready (978–1016), the Danes renewed their attacks, and in 1016 Knut (Canute), king of Denmark, seized the throne. Edward the Confessor, son of Ethelred, restored the native dynasty in 1042. The conquest of England in 1066 by the Norman French, under William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, ended six centuries of Anglo-Saxon dominance.

Life in Anglo-Saxon England

Society

In each Anglo-Saxon kingdom, the king was chosen from the royal family and his election was probably confirmed by the **witenagemot**, the king's council. Princes of the royal family were called athelings and formed the highest class in Anglo-Saxon society next to the king. Below them were the nobles, or thanes, from whom the chief local officials, the ealdormen, were selected. The great masses of people were churls, or peasant freemen. Most of these freemen were farmers, living in villages and farming adjacent fields. The Anglo-Saxons possessed slaves, usually war captives or persons serving punishment.

Farming, raising livestock, and fishing were the major occupations. Urban life and trade were developing by 1066, and the Anglo-Saxons engaged in iron and lead mining, metalworking, and salt production. Freemen wore tunics woven of wool and linen. Members of the upper classes wore loose, flowing garments, sometimes of embroidered silk. Both men and women had long hair. Ale, cider, and mead (fermented from honey and herbs) were favorite beverages. Life for most, particularly for the peasantry, was crude and harsh, with war, famine, and plague constant threats.

Religion

When the Anglo-Saxons first invaded Britain, they worshiped Teutonic gods. In 597 Saint Augustine, sent by Pope Gregory I, arrived in Kent to convert the people of the British Isles to Christianity. By the end of the 7th century, missionaries had converted all of England. Christianity played an important role in civilizing the Anglo-Saxons.

Language and Literature

The language of the Anglo-Saxons, commonly called **Old English**, was a form of Low German, allied to Dutch. Actually it was less a language than a group of related dialects. The Jutes spoke Kentish; the Saxons, West Saxon. (These two combined at an early period.) The speech of the Angles separated into two dialects, Northumbrian and Mercian.

Northumbrian and Mercian were important dialects in the pre-Danish period. When Wessex became the most powerful kingdom, West Saxon developed as the prevailing dialect of the country. At that time, much early literature was translated into West Saxon, and most Old English literature that remains is in that dialect. A great flowering of Anglo-Saxon literature occurred in the reign of Alfred the Great, and again in the late 10th century.

Old English tended toward short, strong words, many of only one syllables, and thus had a harsh, Germanic sound. About 40% of modern English words are of Anglo-Saxon origin. From Old English came the names of numbers; the articles, a, an, the; conjunctions and prepositions, such as and, of, to, for; short action verbs, such as run, jump, go, come; and such simple but basic words as man, love, hate, life, death.

King Alfred *the Great* (849-899)

Alfred was the youngest son of King Aethelwulf and his wife, Osberga. He was born at the Royal Palace of Wantage (Berkshire) in AD 849. He was brought up and educated by his mother and a famous story tells how she once promised an expensive illuminated book to the first of her children to learn to read it. Despite his young age, Alfred won the prize and he continued to understand the importance of knowledge throughout his later reign as King.

When his brother, Aethelred, became King of Wessex in AD 865, Alfred was sixteen. He quickly became a seasoned warrior and his brother's right-hand man during one of the worst periods of invasion in English history. The Vikings had been raiding along the English coast for thirty years, but Aethelred's coronation year they conquered the Kingdom of East Anglia. Within five years, their Great Heathen Army had arrived in Wessex and seized the Royal palace at Reading (Berkshire). The local ealdorman managed to contain them until the King arrived, with Alfred and the English army. A siege at Reading was unsuccessful but, soon afterward in January AD 871; Alfred regrouped his brother's troops on the nearby Berkshire Downs and led them against the Viking hoards at the Battle of Ashdown. It was one of his greatest victories but, unfortunately, a number of defeats followed that same year, resulting in Aethelred's death.

Alfred was now King of Wessex, but he was still unable to stop the Viking menace. After his defeat in the Battle of Wilton, at the end of AD 871, he decided he must sue for peace. A large payment persuaded the Vikings to retreat to York for the next four years; but, in the long-term, the money encouraged their return. King Alfred was soon forced to give away more of his treasury in AD 875 and again two years later.

Once again, however, peace was short-lived. Alfred had spent the Christmas of AD 877 at his palace in Chippenham (Wiltshire). The Vikings kept track of his movements and early in the New Year, they launched a surprise attack. Alfred narrowly escaped capture but managed to flee into the marshes of Somerset. It was here that legend says he famously burnt the cakes of a local housewife while musing upon his predicament.

From a temporary fort constructed at Athelney, Alfred rallied his remaining troops. For several months, they waged a guerrilla war against the Vikings until Alfred was able to call out the militia from Hampshire and Wiltshire. His new army crushed the invaders at Countisbury Hill (Devon) and then proceeded to their decisive victory at the Battle of Edington (Wiltshire). The Vikings were pushed back to Chippenham and besieged for three weeks before their leader, Guthrum, agreed to peace terms. The Treaty of Wedmore thus divided England in two, with the English ruling the south and the Vikings controlling the north, thence known as the '**Danelaw**'. Guthrum was also obliged to be baptized into the Christian Church and retreat to East Anglia.

A new period of peace then ensued and Alfred ensured that his people would always be safe from future attacks by setting up a system of defensive forts or 'burghs' around the country. They were given permanent garrisons but were largely unoccupied. This allowed them to act as easily taxable trading centres or mints, as well as places of refuge when the need arose. Alfred completely reorganised his army so that half his forces were always kept in reserve and he established a proper naval attachment with improved ships built with Frisian help. He also changed military tactics. Having invited the great Welsh scholar, Asser, to his court, Alfred had him negotiate the submission of Kings Hyfaidd of Dyfed, Elisedd of Brycheiniog and Hywel of Glywysing. Since these Welsh monarchs were already being harassed by the armies of King Anarawd of Gwynedd, they readily agreed; and an alliance with King Merfyn of Powys followed shortly afterward. In contrast, Alfred adopted an aggressive policy towards Viking settlers in Wessex and retook London in AD 886. This Alfred returned to his son-in-law, Aethelred II of Mercia and, along with the High-Reeve of Bamburgh, these two accepted his overlordship and protection. Alfred was delighted and issued new coinage to celebrate his becoming King of all the English. These alliances proved key to both English and Welsh defence when, between AD 892 and 896 armies containing of Wessex, Powysian and Mercian troops kept Viking invaders on the move and frustrated their goals. Even King Anarawd of Gwynedd eventually saw the advantages of Wessex overlordship.

The moral and religious well-being of his people was as important to King Alfred as their physical protection. Influenced by Christian kingship ideals developed during the Carolingian Renaissance, he introduced law-codes based on traditional Old Testament legislation. The Royal Court became a magnet for eminent scholars who became the nucleus around which a great resurgence in Christian learning developed. As well as Asser, Alfred's biographer, Frankish & Germanic scholars such as St. Grimbald (later appointed Dean of the New Minster in Winchester) and John *the Old Saxon* (appointed Abbot of Athelney) were a great influence on the King.

Despite a rebuke from Pope John VII for annexing former church lands, Alfred was a very pious man and founded a number of monasteries: Shaftesbury for his daughter, Princess Aethelgitha, and Athelney in celebration of his regaining the kingdom. He was an especially remarkable man who actually undertook a number of translations himself from Latin to old English: the *Regula Pastoralis* of Gregory the Great, the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* by Boethius, *St. Augustine's Soliloquia* and the first fifty Psalms. He, of course, commissioned other scholars to follow his example and was probably instigated the compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The King was keen for others to benefit from having such works available to them; and this is made clear in the preface to his *Regula Pastralis* translation which he sent to every diocese in the Kingdom along with accompanying golden manuscript pointers. Here, he calls for his bishops to take the book's principles seriously and to ensure their priests do the same. Royal officials, like Ealdormen, were all expected to study or risk dismissal. Christian teachings encouraged the idea that kings were God's representatives on earth, and Alfred always managed to use this to his advantage.

Alfred's will shows he could be ruthless when the need arose, ensuring that his son, Edward, took the throne upon his death, rather than one of his elder cousins. He was a powerful king who commanded respect from all ethnic groups across the country; and his legacy provided a springboard for his successors to reach even greater heights. About AD

868, he had married Elswith, daughter of Aethelred Mucil; Ealdorman of the Mercian tribe called the Gaini, by his wife, Edburga, thought to have been the sister of St. Wistan. They had at least four other children besides Edward: Aethelflaed, Aethelgitha, Aelfthryth and Aethelweard.

King Alfred died on 26th October AD 899 *at Winchester, Hampshire*. His son built the New Minster in Winchester as a family mausoleum to house his tomb.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is a collection of (mainly) secondary source documents narrating the history of the Anglo-Saxons and their settlement in Britain. Much of the information in these documents consists of rumours of events that happened elsewhere and so may be unreliable. However for some periods and places, the Chronicle is the only substantial surviving source of information. The manuscripts were produced in different places, and each manuscript represents the biases of its scribes.

The *Chronicles* (there are more than one) were developed primarily as a means of remembering and recording the date. There was a widespread contemporary belief that the world would end at the millennium (AD 1000), so fixing your place relative to the end of the world was important. Annals were mainly kept at monasteries and were intensely local documents. Items important to the locals, such as the fertility of the harvest or the paucity of bees, would be eagerly recorded; whereas distant political events were largely ignored. A combination of the individual annals allows us to develop an overall picture, a document that was the first continuous history written by Europeans in their own language. Thus the *Chronicles* are an important development in historiography as well as useful historical documents in their own right.

There are nine surviving manuscripts of which eight are written entirely in Old English, while the ninth is a mixture of Old English and Latin. One (the Peterborough Chronicle) contains early Middle English as well as Anglo-Saxon. The oldest is known as the **Parker Chronicle**, after Matthew Parker who once owned it, or the **Winchester Chronicle**.

Some think that the chronicles were originally commissioned by King Alfred, but there is no substantive evidence for this. Many of the surviving manuscripts that are together known as *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* are concerned with him, but others marginalise him, depending on the preference of the original scribe.

DANISH INFLUENCE

The Danes were a race of pirates, who came not only from Denmark, but from North Germany, Scandinavia and all the coasts of the North sea. They are therefore known as Northmen and sometimes as Vikings. They swarmed over the seas plundering the east towns of Western Europe and thus were a terror to the people from the 8th to the 11th century. They were almost like the English in blood and language. They were heathen and so took special delight in plundering churches and monasteries. As usual, the restless career of adventure falls into three periods.

1. The period of plunder

2. The period of settlement
3. The period of conquest

The Period of plunder - (787 to 850)

The year 787 saw the first Danish raid into England; they attacked the eastern coasts and had no scruple in sacking the rich monasteries of Lindisfarne and Wearmouth. As time went on the raids became more numerous and the raiders more daring. Egbert was beaten in 828 but in 837 he won a victory at Hengists Down. One victory was of little use. In the course of the next three years every summer brought a fresh horde of plunderers and London, Rochester and Canterbury were all pillaged.

The Period of Conquest

The Middle of the 9th century saw the Danish invasions passing from the first to the second stage. In 851 some Danes, instead of returning home, wintered in Sheppey. This example was soon followed. In 866 an army, greater than any of its predecessors, landed in East Anglia. The next year it ravaged Northumbria and advanced into Mercia. The year 871 saw the Danish invasions again push southwards into Wessex. If Wessex fell the Danes would be makers of England. It was this crisis that Alfred had to face. His grandfather Egbert had died in 839 leaving a son Ethelwulf who had reigned till 858. He left behind him four sons of whom Alfred was the youngest. By 866 the elder ones Ethelbert and Ethelbald had passed away and the third Ethelred was on the throne. Aided by Alfred he prepared to drive back the invaders. This was not an easy task. Alfred and Ethelred did not make a promising beginning. They tried to storm the Danish camp situated in the tongue of land between Kennet and Thames. But the assault failed. Later Alfred met the Danes in the year 871 at Ashdown. Alfred was successful. But the English lost so many men that they were beaten at Basing and again at Marden in which fight Ethelred was killed. Though Ethelred had children, they were not chosen because it was no time for a child on the throne. Alfred was chosen as king of Wessex. Soon after becoming king, Alfred tried his luck at Wilton. But although his men forced the Danes back, they rallied and once more were victorious.

Desperate fighting followed. The Anglo Saxon chronicle says 'nine battles were fought this year south of the Thames.' But the balance of victories did not rest with Alfred. Though the English did not win the battles, yet they won the campaign, for in the next year the Danes, having no stomach for more of such bloody work withdraw eastward and northward to regions where they met less stout foemen and Alfred had a little breathing space.

The Period of Settlement

In the year 877 the storm gathered afresh. In winter a great Danish leader Guthrum declared war on Alfred. Guthrum swooped down on Alfred's royal town to Chippanham before Alfred could gather a force. The king himself without followers had to take refuge in the Island of Althelney, a marshy stronghold. Never before or after were his fortunes so low but he did not despair. By degrees men joined him. He fell on the Danes at Ethandun and drew them in head long flight to their place of refuge. There they were surrounded and starved into submission. After a fort night's siege, Guthrum was willing to make peace with his enemy. Alfred, though a young warrior, was a statesman too and knew what was good for England.

So he put aside his glittering dreams of conquest and was ready to allow the Danes to settle down in the north and the east provided they were quiet. This is clear from the terms he made with Guthrum in the Treaty of Wedmore (879).

The first condition of this treaty was that Guthrum and his men should become Christians. Thus one great hindrance in the way of a peaceful union was removed; and as the Danes were of much the same race as the English, spoke kindred language, and had very similar institutions, there was no race-hatred between the two. The Saxon had hated the Dane, not because he was a Dane but because he plundered and robbed. When he gave up these habits he could be tolerated. By the treaty, the north and the east lay in Guthrum's hands; the south and the west remained with Alfred. In the end, Alfred was stronger in a more concentrated kingdom and he retained London and most of the larger towns. Alfred thus ensured the West Saxon supremacy over all southern Britain which was not governed by the Danes. North of the boundary line the Danes still remained masters. They ruled the country after the Danish fashion and these Danish districts came to be called Danelaw.

The treaty of Wedmore freed Alfred from Guthrum but at any moment a fresh band of marauders might come. So Alfred improved his army and made fortified ports for checking raiders. He was the first king to see that England's safety lay in a fleet. Soon the English became good sea-men.

The wisdom of these precautions was shown when, at the end of his reign, Alfred had to meet a fresh invasion of Danes led by Hastings. After a good deal of bloodshed, Hastings withdrew baffled. There was plenty of fighting between English and the Danes but the Danes against whom English men had to contend were the Danes settled in England. The great period of Danish settlement was at last over. In 897, the Danes gave up the game and made off to join their kinsmen in Normandy (France). In England, for the present, they judged it best to leave Alfred alone.

Norman Conquest

The **Norman conquest of England** began on 28 September 1066 with the invasion of England by William, Duke of Normandy. William became known as William the Conqueror after his victory at the Battle of Hastings on 14 October 1066, defeating King Harold II of England. Harold's army had been badly depleted in the English victory at the Battle of Stamford Bridge in Northern England on 25 September 1066 over the army of King Harald III of Norway. By early 1071, William had secured control of most of England, although rebellions and resistance continued until approximately 1088.

The Norman conquest was a pivotal event in English history. It largely removed the native ruling class, replacing it with a foreign, French-speaking monarchy, aristocracy, and clerical hierarchy. This, in turn, brought about a transformation of the English language and the culture of England in a new era often referred to as Norman England.

By bringing England under the control of rulers originating in France, the Norman Conquest linked the country more closely with **continental Europe**, lessened **Scandinavian** influence, and also set the stage for a rivalry with France that would continue intermittently for many centuries. It also had important consequences for the rest of the **British Isles**, paving the way

for further Norman conquests in **Wales** and **Ireland**, and the extensive penetration of the aristocracy of **Scotland** by Norman and other French-speaking families, with the accompanying spread of continental institutions and cultural influences.

1. Origins

In 911, the French Carolingian ruler Charles the Simple allowed a group of Vikings under their leader Rolloto settle in Normandy as part of the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte. In exchange for the land, the Norsemen under Rollo were expected to provide protection along the coast against future Viking invaders. Their settlement proved successful, and the Vikings in the region became known as the "Northmen" from which "Normandy" is derived. The Normans quickly adapted to the indigenous culture, renouncing paganism and converting to Christianity. They adopted the langue d'oïl of their new home and added features from their own Norse language, transforming it into the Norman language. They further blended into the culture by intermarrying with the local population. They also used the territory granted them as a base to extend the frontiers of the duchy to the west, annexing territory including the Bessin, the Cotentin Peninsula and Avranches.

In 1002 King Æthelred II of England married Emma, the sister of Richard II, Duke of Normandy. Their son Edward the Confessor, who spent many years in exile in Normandy, succeeded to the English throne in 1042. This led to the establishment of a powerful Norman interest in English politics, as Edward drew heavily on his former hosts for support, bringing in Norman courtiers, soldiers, and clerics and appointing them to positions of power, particularly in the Church. Childless and embroiled in conflict with the formidable Godwin, Earl of Wessex and his sons, Edward may also have encouraged Duke William of Normandy's ambitions for the English throne.

When King Edward died at the beginning of 1066, the lack of a clear heir led to a disputed succession in which several contenders laid claim to the throne of England. Edward's immediate successor was the Earl of Wessex, Harold Godwinson, the richest and most powerful of the English aristocracy, who was elected king by the Witenagemot of England and crowned by the Archbishop of York, Ealdred, although Norman propaganda claimed the ceremony was performed by Stigand, the uncanonically elected Archbishop of Canterbury. However, Harold was at once challenged by two powerful neighbouring rulers. Duke William claimed that he had been promised the throne by King Edward and that Harold had sworn agreement to this. Harald III of Norway, commonly known as Harald Hardrada, also contested the succession. His claim to the throne was based on an agreement between his predecessor Magnus I of Norway, and the earlier King of England Harthacnut, whereby if either died without heir, the other would inherit both England and Norway. Both William and Harald at once set about assembling troops and ships for an invasion.

2. Tostig's raids and the Norwegian invasion

In early 1066, Harold's estranged and exiled brother Tostig Godwinson raided southeastern England with a fleet he had recruited in Flanders, later joined by other ships from Orkney. Threatened by Harold's fleet, Tostig moved north and raided in East Anglia and Lincolnshire, but he was driven back to his ships by the brothers Edwin, Earl of Mercia, and Morcar, Earl of Northumbria. Deserted by most of his followers, he withdrew to Scotland, where he spent the

summer recruiting fresh forces. King Harald III of Norway invaded northern England in early September, leading a fleet of over 300 ships carrying perhaps 15,000 men. Harald's army was further augmented by the forces of Tostig, who threw his support behind the Norwegian king's bid for the throne. Advancing on York, the Norwegians occupied the city after defeating a northern English army under Edwin and Morcar on 20 September at the Battle of Fulford.

Harold had spent the summer on the south coast with a large army and fleet waiting for William to invade, but the bulk of his forces were fyrdmen (militia) that needed to harvest their crops, so on 8 September Harold dismissed them. Learning of the Norwegian invasion, he rushed north, gathering forces as he went, and took the Norwegians by surprise, defeating them in the exceptionally bloody Battle of Stamford Bridge on 25 September. Harald of Norway and Tostig were killed, and the Norwegians suffered such horrific losses that only 24 of the original 300 ships were required to carry away the survivors. The English victory came at great cost, however, as Harold's army was left in a battered and weakened state. The English forces were at least two weeks march from Duke William's invasion force as well.

3. Norman invasion

Meanwhile William assembled a large invasion fleet and an army gathered not only from Normandy but from all over France, including large contingents from Brittany and Flanders. He mustered his forces at Saint-Valery-sur-Somme. The army was ready to cross by about 12 August. However, the crossing was delayed, either because of unfavourable weather or because of the desire to avoid being intercepted by the powerful English fleet. The Normans did not in fact cross to England until a few days after Harold's victory over the Norwegians, following the dispersal of Harold's naval force. They landed at Pevensey in Sussex on 28 September and erected a wooden castle at Hastings, from which they raided the surrounding area.

Marching south at the news of William's landing, Harold paused briefly at London to gather more troops, and then advanced to meet William. They fought at the Battle of Hastings on 14 October. The English army, drawn up in a shieldwall on top of Senlac Hill, withstood a series of Norman attacks for several hours but was depleted by the losses suffered when troops on foot pursuing retreating Norman cavalry were repeatedly caught out in the open by counter-attacks. In the evening the defence finally collapsed and Harold was killed, along with his brothers Earl Gyrth and Earl Leofwine. After his victory at Hastings, William expected to receive the submission of the surviving English leaders, but instead Edgar Atheling was proclaimed king by the Witenagemot, with the support of Earls Edwin and Morcar, Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ealdred, Archbishop of York. William therefore advanced, marching around the coast of Kent to London. He defeated an English force that attacked him at Southwark, but he was unable to storm London Bridge and therefore sought to reach the capital by a more circuitous route.

He moved up the Thames valley to cross the river at Wallingford, Berkshire; while there, he received the submission of Stigand. William then travelled northeast along the Chilterns, before advancing towards London from the northwest, fighting further engagements against forces from the city. Having failed to muster an effective military response, Edgar's leading supporters lost their nerve, and the English leaders surrendered to William at

Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire. William was acclaimed King of England and crowned by Ealdred on 25 December 1066, in Westminster Abbey.

4. English resistance

Despite this submission, local resistance continued to erupt for several years. In 1067 rebels in Kent launched an abortive attack on Dover Castle in combination with Eustace II of Boulogne. In the same year the Shropshire landowner Eadric the Wild, in alliance with the Welsh rulers of Gwynedd and Powys, raised a revolt in western Mercia, fighting Norman forces based in Hereford. In 1068 William besieged rebels in Exeter, including Harold's mother Gytha; after suffering heavy losses William managed to negotiate the town's surrender. Later in the year Edwin and Morcar raised a revolt in Mercia with Welsh assistance, while Earl Gospatric led a rising in Northumbria, which had not yet been occupied by the Normans. These rebellions rapidly collapsed as William moved against them, building castles and installing garrisons as he had already done in the south. Edwin and Morcar again submitted, while Gospatric fled to Scotland, as did Edgar the Atheling and his family, who may have been involved in these revolts. Meanwhile Harold's sons, who had taken refuge in Ireland, raided Somerset, Devon and Cornwall from the sea.

Early in 1069 the newly installed Norman Earl of Northumbria Robert de Comines and several hundred soldiers accompanying him were massacred at Durham; the Northumbrian rebellion was joined by Edgar, Gospatric, Siward Barn and other rebels who had taken refuge in Scotland. The castellan of York, Robert fitzRichard, was defeated and killed, and the rebels besieged the Norman castle at York. William hurried with an army from the south, defeated the rebels outside York and pursued them into the city, massacring the inhabitants and bringing the revolt to an end. He built a second castle at York, strengthened Norman forces in Northumbria and then returned to the south. A subsequent local uprising was crushed by the garrison of York. Harold's sons launched a second raid from Ireland but were defeated in Devon by Norman forces under Count Brian, a son of Eudes, Count of Penthièvre.

In the late summer of 1069 a large fleet sent by Sweyn II of Denmark arrived off the coast of England, sparking a new wave of rebellions across the country. After abortive attempted raids in the south, the Danes joined forces with a new Northumbrian uprising, which was also joined by Edgar, Gospatric and the other exiles from Scotland as well as Earl Waltheof. The combined Danish and English forces defeated the Norman garrison at York, seized the castles and took control of Northumbria, although a raid into Lincolnshire led by Edgar was defeated by the Norman garrison of Lincoln. At the same time resistance flared up again in western Mercia, where the forces of Eadric the Wild, together with his Welsh allies and further rebel forces from Cheshire and Shropshire, attacked the castle at Shrewsbury. In the south-west rebels from Devon and Cornwall attacked the Norman garrison at Exeter, but were repulsed by the defenders and scattered by a Norman relief force under Count Brian. Other rebels from Dorset, Somerset and neighbouring areas besieged Montacute Castle but were defeated by a Norman army gathered from London, Winchester and Salisbury under Geoffrey of Coutances.

Meanwhile William attacked the Danes, who had moored for the winter south of the Humber in Lincolnshire and drove them back to the north bank. Leaving Robert of Mortain in charge in Lincolnshire, he turned west and defeated the Mercian rebels in battle at Stafford. When the Danes again crossed to Lincolnshire the Norman forces there again drove them back across

the Humber. William advanced into Northumbria, defeating an attempt to block his crossing of the swollen River Aire at Pontefract. The Danes again fled at his approach, and he occupied York. He bought off the Danes, who agreed to leave England in the spring, and through the winter of 1069–70 his forces systematically devastated Northumbria in the Harrying of the North, subduing all resistance.

In the spring of 1070, having secured the submission of Waltheof and Gospatric, and driven Edgar and his remaining supporters back to Scotland, William returned to Mercia, where he based himself at Chester and crushed all remaining resistance in the area before returning to the south. Sweyn II of Denmark arrived in person to take command of his fleet and renounced the earlier agreement to withdraw, sending troops into the Fens to join forces with English rebels led by Hereward, who were based on the Isle of Ely. Soon, however, Sweyn accepted a further payment of Danegeld from William and returned home.

After the departure of the Danes the Fenland rebels remained at large, protected by the marshes, and early in 1071 there was a final outbreak of rebel activity in the area. Edwin and Morcar again turned against William, and while Edwin was soon betrayed and killed, Morcar reached Ely, where he and Hereward were joined by exiled rebels who had sailed from Scotland. William arrived with an army and a fleet to finish off this last pocket of resistance. After some costly failures the Normans managed to construct a pontoon to reach the Isle of Ely, defeated the rebels at the bridgehead and stormed the island, marking the effective end of English resistance. Many of the Norman sources that survive today were written in order to justify their actions, in response to Papal concern about the treatment of the native English by their Norman conquerors during this period.

5. Control of England

Once England had been conquered, the Normans faced many challenges in maintaining control. The Normans were few in number compared to the native English population. Historians estimate the number of Norman settlers at around 8,000, but Norman in this instance includes not just natives of Normandy, but settlers from other parts of France. The Normans overcame this numerical deficit by adopting innovative methods of control.

First, unlike Cnut the Great, who had rewarded his followers with money rather than displacing native landholders, William's followers expected and received lands and titles in return for their service in the invasion. However, William claimed ultimate possession of virtually all the land in England over which his armies had given him *de facto* control, and asserted the right to dispose of it as he saw fit. Henceforth, all land was "held" from the King. Initially, William confiscated the lands of all English lords who had fought and died with Harold and redistributed most of them to his Norman supporters (though some families were able to "buy back" their property and titles by petitioning William). These initial confiscations led to revolts, which resulted in more confiscations, in a cycle that continued virtually unbroken for five years after the Battle of Hastings. To put down and prevent further rebellions the Normans constructed castles and fortifications in unprecedented numbers, initially mostly on the motte-and-bailey pattern. Historian Robert Liddiard remarks that "to glance at the urban landscape of Norwich, Durham or Lincoln is to be forcibly reminded of the impact of the Norman invasion".

Even after active resistance to his rule had died down, William and his barons continued to use their positions to extend and consolidate Norman control of the country. For example, if an English landholder died without heirs, the king (or in the case of lower-level landholders, one of his barons) could designate the heir, and often chose a successor from Normandy. William and his barons also exercised tighter control over inheritance of property by widows and daughters, often forcing marriages to Normans. A measure of William's success in taking control is that, from 1072 until the Capetian conquest of Normandy in 1204, William and his successors were largely absentee rulers. For example, after 1072, William spent more than 75% of his time in France rather than in England. While he needed to be personally present in Normandy to defend the realm from foreign invasion and put down internal revolts, he was able to set up royal administrative structures that enabled him to rule England from a distance, by "writ".

Keeping the Norman lords together and loyal as a group was just as important, since any friction could give the native English a chance to oust their minority Anglo-French-speaking lords. One way William accomplished this cohesion was by giving out land in a piecemeal fashion and punishing unauthorised holdings. A Norman lord typically had property spread out all over England and Normandy, and not in a single geographic block.

6. Consequences.

a) Elite replacement

A direct consequence of the invasion was the near-total elimination of the old English aristocracy and the loss of English control over the Catholic Church in England. William systematically dispossessed English landowners and conferred their property on his continental followers. The Domesday Book meticulously documents the impact of this colossal programme of expropriation, revealing that by 1086 only about 5% of land in England south of the Tees was left in English hands. Even this tiny residue was further diminished in the decades that followed, the elimination of native landholding being most complete in southern parts of the country.

Natives were also soon purged from high governmental and ecclesiastical office. After 1075 all earldoms were held by Normans, while Englishmen were only occasionally appointed as sheriffs. Likewise in the Church senior English office-holders were either expelled from their positions or kept in place for their lifetimes but replaced by foreigners when they died. By 1096 no bishopric was held by any Englishman, while English abbots became uncommon, especially in the larger monasteries.

b) English emigration

Following the conquest, large numbers of Anglo-Saxons, including groups of nobles, fled the country. Many chose to flee to Scotland, Ireland, and Scandinavia. Members of King Harold Godwinson's family sought refuge at Royal courts in Ireland and Denmark and from there plotted unsuccessful invasions of England. The largest single exodus occurred in the 1070s when a group of Anglo-Saxons in a fleet of 235 ships sailed for the Byzantine Empire. The empire became a popular destination for many English nobles and soldiers as it would have been known that the Byzantines were in need of mercenaries. The English became the

predominant element in the elite Varangian Guard, hitherto a largely Scandinavian unit, from which the emperor's bodyguard was drawn and continued to serve the empire until the early 15th century. Some of the English migrants were settled in Byzantine frontier regions on the Black Sea coast and established towns with names such as "New London" and "New York".

c) Women's rights

Women had some rights before the Norman Conquest that were not present in England by circa 1100. The Germanic practice of the Fore-mother was brought by the Anglo-Saxons. Women would begin to lose some rights after the Danish invasion of the early 11th century, in particular, through King Cnut's revision of laws. Women may have lost the right to consent to marriage, for example, and widows lost the right to remarry. The Norman Conquest gradually influenced the legal position of women in England. The Norman kings distinguished between aristocrats and commoners, and a woman's place in her life-cycle, in general, brought changes in opportunities. Widows were able to remarry and, in general, control property in ways that married women and maidens could not. The greatest rights were generally available to women having access to land.

d) Governmental systems

Before the Normans arrived, Anglo-Saxon England was more sophisticated than the government in Normandy. All of England was divided into administrative units called shires with subdivisions, the royal court was the centre of government and royal courts existed which worked to secure the rights of free men. Shires were run by officials known as "shire reeve" or "sheriff" The shires tended to be somewhat autonomous and lacked coordinated control. English government made heavy use of written documentation, which was unusual for kingdoms in Western Europe and made for more efficient governance than word of mouth.

The English developed permanent physical locations of government. Most medieval governments were always on the move, holding court wherever the weather and food or other matters were best at the moment. This practice limited the potential size and sophistication of a government body to whatever could be packed on a horse and cart, including the treasury and library. England had a permanent treasury at Winchester, from which a permanent government bureaucracy and document archive began to grow. One major reason for the strength of the English monarchy was the wealth of the kingdom which was built on the English system of taxation, which included a land tax, or the geld. English coinage was also superior to most of the other currency in use in northwestern Europe, and the ability to mint coins was a royal monopoly.

This sophisticated medieval form of government was handed over to the Normans and was the foundation of further developments. Although they kept the framework of the government, they did make changes in the personnel, although at first the new king attempted to keep some natives in the government. By end of William's reign, most of the officials of government and the royal household were Normans, not English. The language of official documents also changed, from Old English to Latin. One innovation was the introduction of the forest laws and the setting aside of large sections of England as royal forest subject to the newly introduced forest law. The Normans centralised the autonomous shire system. The Domesday survey exemplifies the practical codification that enabled Norman assimilation of conquered territories through central control of a census. It was the first kingdom-wide census taken in Europe since the time of the Romans, and enabled more efficient taxation of the Normans'

new realm. Systems of accounting grew in sophistication. A government accounting office called the Exchequer was established by Henry I. In 1150, some years after Henry's death, the Exchequer was established at the Palace of Westminster.

e) Language

One of the most obvious changes was the introduction of Anglo-Norman, a northern dialect of Old French, as the language of the ruling classes in England, displacing Old English. French words entered the English language, and a further sign of the shift was the usage of French names instead of English ones. Male names changed first, with names such as William, Robert, Richard, becoming common quickly. Female names changed more slowly. One area where the Norman invasion did not change naming practices was in placenames, which unlike the earlier invasions by the Vikings and Cnut did not change much after the Norman Conquest. This predominance was further reinforced and complicated in the mid-twelfth century by an influx of followers of the Angevinyndynasty, speaking a more mainstream dialect of French. Not until the fourteenth century would English regain its former primacy, while the use of French at court continued into the fifteenth century.

By this time, English had itself been profoundly transformed, developing into the starkly different Middle English, which formed the basis for the modern language? During the centuries when the elite spoke French, a large proportion of the words in the English language had disappeared and been replaced by French words, leading to the present hybrid tongue in which an English core vocabulary is combined with a largely French abstract and technical vocabulary. The grammatical structures of the language had also changed dramatically, although the relationship, if any, between this transformation and the neglect of English by the elite resulting from the conquest is uncertain.

7. Legacy

Within a century after the invasion, intermarriage between the native English and the Norman immigrants became common. By the early 1160s, Ailred of Rievaulx was writing that intermarriage was common among all levels of society. The Norman Conquest is viewed as the last successful *conquest* of England.

The Battle of Hastings (1066)

The battle of Hastings took place in the year AD 1066 after a dispute over the succession to the English throne. The Battle of Hastings, both directly and indirectly, ushered in changes in English law, language and culture and laid the groundwork for the beginnings of the English feudal system.

William, the Duke of Normandy, was the cousin of Edward, the King of England. When Edward died without children in 1066, the throne was given to Harold Godwinson, an English earl. But William claimed that before his death, Edward had promised the throne to him. William therefore planned to assume his role as heir and take up the throne. Meanwhile Harold, a close friend of Edward the Confessor and his wife, thought himself a serious contender for the throne and had no intention of letting William's claim hold any significance. Harold based his claim on the close friendship he had with Edward and his wife. In fact,

William enjoyed great support in his quest for the throne not only by the noblemen of Normandy, but also of Brittany and Flanders.

With quick, overwhelming, and decisive military action, William squashed and buried any thought of the throne going to Harold on October 14th, 1066. He landed his 7000 troops and began his southern advance on the beach of Pevensey, doing most of this while Harold was completely unaware. William's army then set up and battled fiercely the next day until Harold and the Saxon army were eventually cut down by Norman swords. In one systematic and devastating act, taking less than 10 hours time and rendering any Saxon retaliation virtually impossible, south and southeastern England were shortly torched and destroyed at William's command. Nothing was left behind but a trail of horse and human corpses. Understandably, the Saxon society did not gain a favorable first impression of William, and their struggles with his leadership continued on for 21 years, despite several futile attempts at rebellion. Nonetheless, by Christmas day 1066 in Westminster England William was crowned King of England. William had accomplished his goal and had proven himself worthy of the English Crown.

The Battle of Hastings earned the title "the battle that changed history" because of the huge impact it had on the people and their culture, the country, and the way they were looked upon by the world. Perhaps one of the hardest for the Saxon people to swallow was the stripping of rights and privileges. The Saxons organized several rebellions. However, they were all generally poorly coordinated and were easily stamped out. Hence, William the conqueror enjoyed un-interrupted rule for the next 21 years. In addition, with the entrance of William and Norman rule came drastic change in the entire governmental system of law. In the earlier system of law, governmental officials called "Earls" often held equal importance to the king. In addition, the Saxons enjoyed certain freedoms in the years before William. However, William quickly established a principle of law that was quite different from what the people had been used to. Under William's law, the king was the principle authority figure and served as the collective executive, judicial, and legislative branches of the government. This prevented the people from having significant (if any) say in the workings of the government. Hence, William's style of governing did not earn him very many ticker-tape parades.

The second significant change coming as a result of the battle was the new language and culture that was adopted, replacing the previous Anglo-Saxon customs of 300 years. This new rule under William threw out the Anglo Saxon culture and brought a French dialect instead.

The third significant result of the battle of Hastings was the introduction of the feudal system to England. William had earlier developed a centralized feudal state in Normandy. In this system, the king would usually offer to his warriors a plot of land called a fief, in exchange for their loyalty. This loyalty is often what held the kingdom together. In William's case, he took the traditional Anglo-Saxon land and gave it to his Norman followers.

UNIT-II

ENGLAND UNDER FEUDALISM

FEUDALISM

Feudalism, the prevailing form of political organization in western and central Europe from 900 to 1300. After the fall of the Roman Empire in the 5th century A.D. it had become increasingly difficult for any government to rule effectively over a large area. Feudalism—a special method of local, rather than central, government—saved Europe from anarchy. Feudal government depended on personal agreements between a numbers of individuals who possessed military power. These individuals usually had landed estates. They owed loyalty not to a nation, but only to those individuals with whom they had made agreements. The methods by which they received the products of their estates and ruled their workers constitute another aspect of feudalism, called the manorial, or seignorial, system.

Many historians believe that the term feudalism cannot be restricted to the government of medieval Europe. Russia, China, the Byzantine Empire, India, and, particularly, Japan had at certain times institutions resembling those of European feudalism.

Features of Feudalism

Feudal practices varied in different regions of Europe and at different times. The features of feudalism listed below are characteristic of 11th- and 12th-century Europe, and are considered typical.

Lord and Vassal

The feudal hierarchy was an arrangement of rank resembling a pyramid. At the top of the pyramid was the king. In the feudal relationship the king was the suzerain, or lord, of a group of dukes and counts who were his vassals. Each of these vassals was in turn lord to lesser vassals, who had even less important vassals. At the bottom of the pyramid were the knights, who had no vassals. Lord and vassal, owed certain obligations to each other. The vassal pledged to perform certain services for his lord, and in return the lord granted him a fief, or fee. (The fief was also called a feud, or feod, from which historians derived the term feudalism.)

The Fief

A fief was anything that was considered useful or valuable. Usually, a fief was a piece of land, jurisdiction over the peasants who lived on the land, and ownership of the goods they produced. All fiefs were technically owned by the king, but a vassal held, in effect, all the rights of ownership of the fief as long as he performed the services required by his lord. (This method of holding another's land is called feudal tenure.) The entire kingdom was divided into fiefs, except for the land held by the king personally.

Feudal tenure was hereditary. When a vassal died, his heir did homage for his fief and swore an oath of fealty to his lord, promising to be faithful and render service. In the ceremony of investiture, the lord handed his vassal some symbol—such as a sword or a clod of earth—in token of title, and promised to defend the vassal's fief. If a vassal died leaving a minor heir, the lord usually became the guardian of the fief and managed it. If the heir was an unmarried daughter, the lord could select a husband for her because only a male could perform the services of the fief.

Feudal Services

The services that a vassal owed his lord varied, but the following were common:

- **Military, or Knight, Service.** A vassal was expected to serve his lord in war. Usually he served 40 days a year at his own expense if engaged in an offensive action against his lord's enemy. In a defensive action the term of service was unlimited. A knight was expected to furnish only his horse and armor, but great vassals had to supply hundreds of knights and men-at-arms.
- **Court Service.** Vassals had to serve, when summoned, in the lord's court. They were called upon to give the lord advice. They also met in assembly to settle disputes between vassals. This was the origin of the principle of trial by a jury of peers, or equals. (Commonly, however, disputes between vassals were settled by combat.) Vassals were also summoned for ceremonial occasions, such as investitures.
- **Financial Obligations.** They included:
 - A relief, or gift, to the lord when the fief passed to an heir. It amounted usually to a year's income.
 - Aids, payments made by vassals when their lord needed additional resources. A common aid was to help ransom the lord when he was taken prisoner in war. Other aids were given when the lord's eldest daughter was married and when his eldest son became a knight.
 - Obligation to entertain the lord when he paid a visit.

A great lord would sometimes ennoble officials in his household and give them fiefs in return for their services. Among these officials were the sheriff, steward, bailiff, constable, marshal, butler, and chamberlain of a large estate. Their obligations consisted of the fulfillment of their responsibilities as household officials. They enjoyed the same feudal rights as other vassals. This type of tenure was called *sergeanty*.

Feudal Warfare

A powerful vassal who did not fulfill his obligations could usually withstand his lord's wrath if he owned a strong castle, since medieval castles were almost impossible to overrun. Forty days' service—the usual limit for knights in the attacking force—left insufficient time for siege operations. Private warfare between nobles who were neither lord nor vassal to each other was common in France, since the king could not control the vassals of his vassals. The church sought to limit strife by forbidding warfare on certain days of the week and during church festivals. Chivalry developed as a code of conduct for knights.

The Manorial, or Seignorial, System

The social and economic organization of a fief was based upon the manor, a district held by a feudal lord (*seigneur*). A manor could be an entire fief or only part. Generally, it included a village and fields, barns, mills, granaries, and sources of water. From the manor's production, a lord derived the resources he needed to support his family and to meet his obligations to his lord. For peasants, the manor provided protection and basic necessities.

The non-noble residents of a manor belonged to two main classes, freeman and serf. Various classes of peasants, at different times and in different places, were called villeins. Depending on time and place, a villein's status ranged from that of freeman to that of slave.

- Freeman. Freeman were tenants of the manor who paid rent, usually in produce. Sometimes they had to perform labor service for the lord. They were free to leave the manor, but while living there were subject to the lord's jurisdiction.
- Serf. Serfs were semifree peasants who worked a feudal lord's land and paid him certain dues in return for protection and the use of land. They were subject to the lord's jurisdiction at all times. A serf could not be married or leave the manor without the lord's consent. A serf's personal possessions could be taken by the lord as taxes. However, serfs were not slaves and could not be sold. Most peasants in Western Europe during the middle Ages were serfs.

The Manorial Economy. The manor was a self-sufficient economic unit. Artisans made essential goods. The land was divided into closed (fenced) and common (shared) lands.

Closed Lands

It consisted of two or three fields, one of which was left fallow in rotating order. The lord's land, called the demesne, was between one-third and one-half of the totals. Serfs usually owed from one to three days a week labor on the demesne. The remaining area was divided into many strips and distributed among the serfs so that they could farm it for themselves. In all a typical serf had perhaps 30 acres (12 hectares) of farmland. A certain amount of the serf's crops went to the lord as rent.

Common Lands

It included the meadows, pastures, and forests. The serfs harvested hay from the meadow for the lord's livestock and, in return, were permitted to harvest some for their own use. A similar arrangement existed for the gathering of firewood. If a serf's cow grazed on the pasture, the serf paid a fee to the lord in the form of meat or dairy products. The lord owned all the mills and ovens in the village. Operating a private mill or oven was illegal. Thus, peasants had no choice but to grind their grain in the lord's mills and bake their bread in his ovens. For each of these services, they had to pay a fee in the form of grain or bread.

The standard of living on a manor was poor, even for nobles. Castles and manor houses were damp and poorly heated. Peasants lived in flimsy huts with dirt floors and no windows. Diet varied, but if the harvest was bad, the entire manor suffered.

Seignorial Jurisdiction

The lord was the sole authority over the residents of the manor. He presided over the manorial court, where disputes between serfs were settled and individuals accused of committing crimes were tried. The rank of a feudal lord was reflected in the types of punishments he was permitted to impose; low justice meant that the lord was limited to ordering punishment for misdemeanors, while high justice allowed him to order punishment

for serious crimes. Lords in France could impose the death penalty. In England, only royal courts could impose this sentence.

William I and Feudalism

Feudalism is the name given to the system of government William I introduced to England after he defeated Harold at the Battle of Hastings. Feudalism became a way of life in Medieval England and remained so for many centuries. William I is better known as William the Conqueror. He had defeated the English army led by Harold but he had to gain control of all of England before he could be truly called king of England. He was a foreigner who had forced his way to London. He was not popular with the people of England and he had to use force to maintain his control on England. William could not rule every part of the country himself - this was physically impossible. Not only was travel difficult and slow in the 11th century, he was also still Duke of Normandy and he had to return to Normandy to maintain his control of this land in France. Therefore, he had to leave the country for weeks at a time. He needed a way of controlling England so that the people remained loyal.

William spent much of his time in London. He built his own castle - the Tower of London - so that it dominated the city. It was also his home while in London. He did not trust the builders of London - or English stone - so he used Norman craftsmen to do the skilled work while the English acted as labourers and he brought in from Caen (in France) the stone needed for what we now call the White Tower. He also built the first castle at Windsor. The motte is still visible. Castles represented a visible threat to the people of England. Soldiers were kept in them and they could be used against the English should they cause trouble. However, he needed a way of actually governing the country. This was the Feudal System.

William divided up England into very large plots of land - similar to our counties today. These were 'given' to those noblemen who had fought bravely for him in battle. William argued that those noblemen, who were willing to die in battle for him, would also be loyal to him. The land was not simply given to these nobles. They had to swear an oath of loyalty to William (**Oath of Salisbury, 1086**), they had to collect taxes in their area for him and they had to provide the king with soldiers if they were told to do so. In the 11th century, a sworn oath on the Bible was a very important thing and one which few men would dare to break as it would condemn them to Hell. The men who got these parcels of land would have been barons, earls and dukes. Within their own area, they were the most important person there. In the terms of the Feudal System, these men, the barons etc., were known as **tenants-in-chief**.

Even these pieces of land were large and difficult to govern. The barons etc. had to further divide up their land and these were 'given' to trusted Norman knights who had also fought well in battle. Each knight was given a segment of land to govern. He had to swear an oath to the baron, duke or earl, collect taxes when told to do so and provide soldiers from his land when they were needed.

It was argued, that because they had sworn an oath to their baron, they had really sworn an oath to the king. These lords worked to maintain law and order. The people in their land - or manors - were treated harshly and there was always the constant threat of Norman soldiers being used against the English people where ever they lived. The lords had to do their job well as unsuccessful ones could be removed from their position. Their job was simple - keep the

English people in their place.....under the control of the Normans. Under the Feudal System, these men, the knights, were called **sub-tenants**.

Note that both groups were officially tenants - a word we associate with land that does not belong to you. Both all but rented out their land in that they had to provide money or services to the real owner of all land - William the Conqueror. At the bottom of the ladder were the conquered English who had to do what they were told or pay the price for their disobedience.

There is no doubt that William's rule was harsh. But he was a man who had conquered the country. He was not in England through the popular choice of the people and he had to ensure that he had full control over them at all times. He ensured that there were obvious signs of his power - the country saw the building of many Norman castles. He also knew what was owed to him because he ordered a survey of the whole country - the Domesday Book.

Domesday Book

One of the most interesting examples of land surveying attempts from centuries past is William the Conqueror's now famous Domesday Book. Created in 1086 AD, this book contains information on more than 14,000 settlements in England, including the names of all land owners, the amount of land owned, and the resources on the land. Because the Domesday Book was originally produced as a method for William the Conqueror to raise tax funds for use against the Danish armies, the book also records land values and dues owed to the crown.

The Domesday Book has been seen as the first cadastral survey, a precursor to Napoleon's cadastre survey of France, undertaken in 1808 and also nicknamed the "Domesday Book." A cadastre, or cadastral survey, contains thorough information about ownership details, location (as precisely as possible, given the available technology), and as many details about land values and usage as possible.

By recording which manors rightfully belonged to which families, the Domesday Book ended years of confusion resulting from clashes between Anglo-Saxons and Normans over land ownership. Robert, Bishop of Hereford, wrote that the King's Men "...made a survey of all England; of the lands in each of the counties; of the possessions of each of the magnates... of the services and payments due from each and every estate... after these investigators came others who were sent to unfamiliar counties to check the first description." During preparations of the Domesday Book, existing documentation was collected about lands and taxes, an important strategy that is still in use by today's land surveyors when determining property boundaries.

At the time of the Domesday Book, England was not a very politically stable place. Multiple political upheavals, including the Norman invasion, resulted in landowners trying to conquer one another's land. The Domesday Book received its name because the judgment of the assessors was final. Whatever the book said about ownership of a particular area of land became the law, and there was no appeal process. In some counties, the disputed lands, known as clamores, were treated separately from the rest of the land, in part because of the Domesday Book's intended use as an arbiter of land title disagreements. William the Conqueror also intended this survey as a definitive reference point for the crown's own

property holdings, so that it might be used as evidence in future disputes. The book was often used as evidence in courts of the middle Ages; even today, occasional cases require its use.

Today, this early attempt at surveying is prized by historians and others seeking to understand medieval life. For topographers, surveyors, and genealogists, the Domesday Book represents the earliest survey of each township or manor in England. In many cases, the depth of information recorded in the book also provides key information for tracing land ownership back through the centuries.

Although this book contained an impressive amount of information, it lacked the technical details of earlier surveying methods found in ancient Egypt and Rome. The maps were somewhat inaccurate, and they were not drawn to scale. However, the entire book, an immense undertaking was created in under two years. The level of detail recorded is quite impressive given the surveying methods in use at that time.

Chivalry and Romance

The feudal structure of medieval society often caused wars. Every feudal lord was powerful within his field. He had his own soldiers, he levied taxes on those who lived in his field, and he acted a judge and tried and punished those against whom complaints were made. The lords of the time even ignored Kings at times. Fighting was common between lord and lord, between lord and King and between King and King. Battles in feudal times were fought on horseback, both man horse fitted with armour. The common soldiers usually fought on foot with bows and arrows. Fighting was the only occupation of the nobility. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, an elaborate Code of conduct for knights was developed. Kings alone could make the son of a noble man a knight. Making a young man a knight was a ritual in which he solemnly vowed to observe his duties as a legal vassal and to protect the weak. Their chief occupation was fighting and they fought duels. They also organized tournaments. They showed special courtesy to women and often fought to uphold the honour of women. Richard II was a typical example of a chivalrous knight.

Thomas Becket

Thomas Becket, the son of a wealthy Norman merchant living in London, was born in 1118. After being educated in England, France and Italy, he joined the staff of Theobald, the Archbishop of Canterbury. When Henry II became king in 1154, he asked Archbishop Theobald for advice on choosing his government ministers. On the suggestion of Theobald, Henry appointed Thomas Becket as his chancellor. Becket's job was an important one as it involved the distribution of royal charters, writs and letters. The king and Becket soon became close friends. Becket carried out many tasks for Henry II including leading the English army into battle.

When Theobald died in 1162, Henry chose Becket as his next Archbishop of Canterbury. The decision angered many leading churchmen. They pointed out that Becket had never been a priest, had a reputation as a cruel military commander and was very materialistic (Becket loved expensive food, wine and clothes). They also feared that as Becket was a close friend of Henry II, he would not be an independent leader of the church. After being appointed Thomas Becket began to show a concern for the poor. Every morning thirteen poor people were

brought to his home. After washing their feet Becket served them a meal. He also gave each one of them four silver pennies. Instead of wearing expensive clothes, Becket now wore a simple monastic habit. As a penance (punishment for previous sins) he slept on a cold stone floor, wore a tight-fitting hairshirt that was infested with fleas and was scourged (whipped) daily by his monks.

Thomas Becket soon came into conflict with Roger of Clare. Becket argued that some of the manors in Kent should come under the control of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Roger disagreed and refused to give up this land. Becket sent a messenger to see Roger with a letter asking for a meeting. Roger responded by forcing the messenger to eat the letter. In 1163, after a long spell in France, Henry arrived back in England. Henry was told that, while he had been away, there had been a dramatic increase in serious crime. The king's officials claimed that over a hundred murderers had escaped their proper punishment because they had claimed their right to be tried in church courts.

Those that had sought the privilege of a trial in a Church court were not exclusively clergymen. Any man who had been trained by the church could choose to be tried by a church court. Even clerks who had been taught to read and write by the Church but had not gone on to become priests had a right to a Church court trial. This was to an offender's advantage, as church courts could not impose punishments that involved violence such as execution or mutilation. There were several examples of clergy found guilty of murder or robbery who only received "spiritual" punishments, such as suspension from office or banishment from the altar. The king decided that clergymen found guilty of serious crimes should be handed over to his courts. At first, the Archbishop agreed with Henry on this issue but after talking to other church leaders Becket changed his mind. Henry was furious when Becket began to assert that the church should retain control of punishing its own clergy. The king believed that Becket had betrayed him and was determined to obtain revenge.

In 1164, the Archbishop of Canterbury was involved in a dispute over land. Henry ordered Becket to appear before his courts. When Becket refused, the king confiscated his property. Henry also claimed that Becket had stolen £300 from government funds when he had been Chancellor. Becket denied the charge but, so that the matter could be settled quickly, he offered to repay the money. Henry refused to accept Becket's offer and insisted that the Archbishop should stand trial. When Henry mentioned other charges, including treason, Becket decided to run away to France. Under the protection of Henry's old enemy, King Louis VII, Becket organised a propaganda campaign against Henry. As Becket was supported by the pope, Henry feared that he would be excommunicated (expelled from the Christian Church).

Becket eventually agreed to return to England. However, as soon as he arrived on English soil, he excommunicated (expelled from the Christian Church) the Archbishop of York and other leading churchmen who had supported Henry while he was away. Henry, who was in Normandy at the time, was furious when he heard the news and supposedly shouted out: "Will no one rid me of this turbulent priest?" Four of Henry's knights, Hugh de Morville, William de Tracy, Reginald Fitz Urse, and Richard le Bret, who heard Henry's angry outburst decided to travel to England to see Becket. On the way to Canterbury the four knights stopped at Bletchingley Castle to see Roger of Clare. When the knights arrived at Canterbury Cathedral on 29th December 1170, they demanded that Becket pardon the men he had excommunicated. When Becket refused, they hacked him to death with their swords.

The Christian world was shocked by Becket's murder. The pope canonised Becket and he became a symbol of Christian resistance to the power of the monarchy. His shrine at Canterbury became the most important place in the country for pilgrims to visit. Although Henry admitted that his comments had led to the death of Becket, he argued that he had neither commanded nor wished the man's death. In 1172 Pope Alexander III accepted these arguments and absolved Henry from Becket's murder. In return, Henry had to provide 200 men for a crusade to the Holy Land and had to agree to being whipped by eighty monks. Most importantly of all Henry agreed to drop his plans to have criminal clerics tried in his courts.

RICHARD I(1189 - 1199) AND THE THIRD CRUSADE

Henry II was succeeded by his son Richard I. During his reign of ten years he visited England only twice. His sole desire was to join the Crusades and win glory in the Holy Land. So, immediately after his succession, Richard began to raise money for joining the Third Crusade. He sold high offices of the church and state to the highest bidders. He released William, the Lion of Scotland for which he got a big amount as ransom.

Crusades

In the year 635 Jerusalem and Palestine which till then belonged to the Christians fell in to the hands of the Arabs. When, later in 1066, it was conquered by the Turks, they began a policy of persecuting Christians who came to the Holy land. In 1095 Pope Urban II preached the Crusade appealing to all Christian Kings to unite and face the common threat. The first Crusade fought between the Turks and the Christian nations of Europe succeeded only partially. The Second crusade was almost crushed by Saladin, the Muslim leader. The fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem shocked all Christendom. There was another call for a Third Crusade. England also responded to it. Henry II wanted to join the holy war but death prevented him from doing so. Therefore, his son, Richard took it upon himself to join the third Crusade.

On his way to Jerusalem, Richard conquered Cyprus. He fought bravely against Saladin but failed to recover Jerusalem because of the jealousy of other crusaders who did not support him. He quarrelled with Philip the King of France, who went back to France to plot against Richard in alliance with Richard's own brother, John, the future King of England. Hence Richard was forced to start for home to protect his own rights. He traveled through Germany in disguise and fell in to the hands of the German Emperor who kept him in prison until the English people rescued him by paying a large sum of money. On returning to England, he declared war against the forces of Philip and his brother John. However, he was killed in the battle in 1199. He was more of a soldier than a King. He was a hero to his fingertips and his bravery won him the title "lion hearted".

From Richard's day English crusading spirit dwindled. It is true that in 1240 Henry III's brother led an expedition to Palestine and got a favourable treaty from the Sultan and Edward I also, while still prince, after his overthrow of Simon-De-Montfort took the cross, distinguished himself by capturing Nazareth and indeed nearly lost his life there by a stab from a poisoned dagger. But none of these expeditions were comparable in scale to Richard's.

Impact of Crusades on English Society

1. The Crusades removed from England a number of the most turbulent and dangerous Barons. Some of these never came home; those who did return had often sold much of their possessions in order to find the money to pay their expenses and so found themselves weakened. Robert of Normandy pledged his dukedom to his brother and lost it. Richard himself declared jocularly "I would have sold London itself if I could find a rich enough buyer". He did sell all he could. In this time of general sale many people made good bargains and none better than townsmen.
2. **Towns getting freedom:** Hitherto towns had been mostly under the control of some lord either the king or the baron on whose domain the town stood; they were ruled by his Sheriff or Beiliff; they were liable to pay his dues. Many of the towns took advantage of the Crusades to buy Charters which relieved them of this control. Henceforth they were free, having their government in their own hands, able to collect and impose their own dues and even make their own rules for the purpose of trade. In this way the Crusades gave a great stimulus to the development of English towns.
3. **New Trade Routes** – The Crusades encouraged trade also. The crusading armies opened new trade routes or reopened old ones long blocked. Men grew familiar with the more refined their western homes. All this led to new intercourse between the east and the west which had results far more solid than the exploits of the crusaders. Thus the Crusades encouraged the development of trade in the various countries which participated in the crusade.
4. Even though Richard was absent for a long time from England and was not much interested in the administration of the country, his short reign was useful for the English people in three ways. First of all, the King's crusade gave the English some knowledge of remote countries with which, in the distance future, they were to have close contact. Secondly, in spite of the King's absence for a long time, the government functioned rather well, there were rebellions led by the King's own brother John but all of them were put down with comparative ease. Finally, during the King's absence and solely because of it the great council of Barons took a larger share in the administration of the country. Again, in his reign people were asked to send their representatives to fix the amount they should pay to the King and thus they became educated to some extent in self government. Thus there was a considerable constitutional advance during Richard's reign.
5. An adverse effect the Crusades had on the people of England was that they had to suffer financially. The Holy war always required money and the King's expenses should also be met with. Hence from time to time new and heavy taxes were imposed upon the people; they had to bear the whole burden.

King John and the Magna Carta

John became King in 1199 when his brother, King Richard I, died. To many John was cruel, greedy and ultimately a failure as King. He fell out with both his father and his brother in family feuds. He argued with his nephew, Arthur, over succession. This trouble led to the loss of English territory in France in 1205. King John unsuccessfully attempted to regain France

for the rest of his reign. He kept raising taxes to pay for his campaigns, but every time he went to France to fight, he lost. When he came to the throne, his reign was full of trouble. After a quarrel with the church England was placed under an interdict in 1207, and King John was excommunicated in 1209. John had refused to go along with the Pope's choice as Archbishop of Canterbury.

By 1215, the nobility of England had enough of paying extra taxation. The discontented barons rebelled and captured London in May 1215. In June, the King met these barons to try and reach a peaceful settlement. The meeting took place at Runnymede on the river Thames. The King agreed to their demands by signing a document known as the Magna Carta - Latin for 'Great Charter'. It was amended and reissued with alterations in 1216, 1217, and 1225.

Many people see the Magna Carta as a vital piece of English history where the rights of individuals are protected against the power of the King or Queen. At the time, the agreement was merely King John's way of obtaining peace between him and his rebellious barons. Important points that the Magna Carta covered were:

"The Church is free to make its own appointments."

Meaning: The Church had the final say who was appointed to Church positions of power.

"No more than the normal amounts of money can be collected to run the government, unless the king's feudal tenants give their consent."

Meaning: The King was not allowed to demand more and more money from his nobility.

"No free man shall be seized or imprisoned, or stripped of his rights or possessions... except by the lawful judgement of his peers."

Meaning: Everyone has the right to a fair trial.

King John signed the document to keep peace with the rebel barons - to buy time - and did not keep to what he agreed to. Civil war thus broke out in England. The nobility called on the French to invade. John proved himself an able soldier, but died in October 1216, leaving a divided country - still occupied with French invaders - to his nine year old son, King Henry III. King John was not a total failure. Recent historians have praised his administrative skills and his success on military campaigns in Scotland, Wales and Ireland. However, his loss of France together with the mess he left England in mean that King John will always be seen as one of the least successful rulers of England.

Anglo-French Rivalry: The Hundred Years War

The Hundred Years' War was a long struggle between England and France over succession to the French throne. **It lasted from 1337 to 1453**, so it might more accurately be called the "116 Years' War." The war starts off with several stunning successes on Britain's part, and the English forces dominate France for decades. Then, the struggle see-saws back and forth. In

the 1360s, the French are winning. From 1415-1422, the English are winning. After 1415, King Henry V of England revives the campaign and he conquers large portions of France, winning extraordinary political concessions. From 1422 onward, however, the French crown strikes back. The teenage girl Jeanne d'Arc (Joan of Arc), a remarkable young mystic, leads the French troops to reclaim their lands. Here's the brief outline of events, with **major battles** put in bold red color:

King Edward the III (**1337-1360**) of England, provoked by French attacks on lands he owns in France, decides upon a desperate gamble. He declares himself King of France, arguing that he can legally claim the French throne through line of descent via his mother, Isabella of France. In the French Salic law, possession and property can only be inherited through the *paternal* line. This means that only males descended from the sons on the king's side of the family can inherit the throne, land, or titles. However, under English law, possession and property can also descend to male children through the *maternal* bloodline. This means that males descended from the king's sons OR male children descended from the king's daughters have a claim to the throne. All that matters in English law is that the "the blood of kings" runs in the firstborn male child's veins, even if that blood does not come directly through the father's sons.

The Battle of Sluys (1340): The young King Edward personally "jousts" with Spanish ships allied to France. (He rams the enemy ships with his own). He successfully sinks several boats (including the one he is riding in), but he does win control of the waterways between France and England, opening up the opportunity for landing ships on the French coast.

The Battle of Crécy(1346) : - (the first major engagement of the Hundred Years' War): After the battle of Sluys, Edward III landed in Normandy in July 1346 with about 10,000 men. The French pursued. Edward III decided to halt near Crecy in Normandy and to prepare for battle the next day. However, the French vanguard made contact and started to attack without the benefit of a plan. The French made as many as 15 attacks and the English checked each one in turn mainly because of the English longbowmen. At the end, the French were decimated and the English had a decisive victory.

The Battle of Calais (1347). After the victory at Crecy, the English forces marched to Calais and began a successful siege that was to last a year. The French army tried to relieve Calais but retreated after finding the English position too strong. The English turned Calais into a operations base for further forays into France. It remained in English hands until 1558.

The arrival of the Black Plague in Europe and England (**1348**) effectively puts a damper on hostile activities. England loses approximately one-third of its population; France loses approximately one-fourth of its population.

The Battle of Poitiers (1356) - (the second major engagement of the Hundred Years' War): After a break of six years, warfare erupts again when Edward the Black Prince, son of King Edward III, raids France in 1356. King John II of France pursued Edward. Outside of Poitiers the forces met and the French dismounted and attacked. The attack almost succeeded but Edward was able to counterattack and break the French line. It was a disastrous battle for France--the King of France (Jean II) is captured along with about 2,000 members of the French aristocracy during the initial stages of the battle, and taken back to England. The

English demand an enormous ransom for his return--equivalent to about one third of France's GNP. France is paralyzed without a king, and cannot mount an adequate counter-offensive until the 1370s.

By 1360, Edward has won the naval victory of Sluys (1340) and both the early land battles at Crecy and Poitiers. France, overwhelmed, cedes a large part of its northern territories and shoreline to England in the Treaty of Brétigny (1360). In exchange, Edward gives up his claim to the French throne.

The French gradually regain most of France after England loses its two best generals, King Edward III and his son Edward the Black Prince. The two sides sign a truce in 1389, and extend the treaty in 1396 for 28 years.

The Battle of Auray (1364): The battle of Auray centered on control of the duchy of Brittany. English forces under John Chandos besieged the town of Auray. French troops were sent to break the siege. On September 29, 1364 the French counter-attacked. The attack was repulsed and the town surrendered. The leader of the French army, Bertrand du Guesclin, was captured and later ransomed. After the French King Jean II dies in British captivity, his son Charles V, the Wise, becomes King of France. He rules to 1380. Under his command, France regains much of its lost territory.

French troops regain Poitou and Brittany (1372). **Battle of La Rochelle (1372)** was a fierce naval battle. The French regain control of the English Channel, making it impossible for England to ferry reinforcements to Calais. The Scots, reinforced and equipped by the French, attacked England (**1382**). The Scots signed a truce with England (**1389**), preventing further French agitation in the north for several years.

Charles VI of France goes insane (**1392**). Richard II marries (**1396**) the seven-year old Princess Isabella of France as part of peace treaty. French soldiers landed in Wales (**1405**) to support the Welsh warlord Owain Glendwr's claim to the Principality of Wales. They are initially successful.

Henry V (**1415-1422**) again takes up Edward III's claim, and asserts that he is rightful king of France. The French are under the rule of the partly mad ruler King Charles VI and seem ripe for the picking under his disorganized regime. In a swift campaign, he takes Harfleur and various coastal regions, and defeats a French army several times his army's size. He forces King Charles VI to make him his heir. Henry marries Charles' daughter Catherine. Henry V dies in 1422, leaving a baby as heir to the English throne.

Battle of Harfleur (1415): Henry V landed in France with about 10,000 men in the summer of 1415. His first objective was Harfleur, a port town on northwestern France. The siege lasted for about a month and Henry marched into the town victorious but with his army severely depleted--mainly from illness. His next stop was to be Calais, but the French army intercepted him at Agincourt.

Battle of Agincourt (1415). After the successful siege at Harfleur, Henry marched his force of about 6000 knights, archers and men-at-arms towards Calais. During his march the French army of 20,000 was able to position itself between Henry and Calais. Henry used a narrow

front channeled by woodland to give his heavily outnumbered force a chance. The French deployed in three lines. The first line of French knights attacked only to be repulsed by the English longbowmen. The second line attacked and was beaten back, their charge bogged down by the mud on the field. The third line moved to engage but lost heart when they crossed the field covered with French dead; they soon retreated. Henry was left with control of the battlefield and a decisive victory. He soon resumed his march to Calais.

Battle of Beauge (1421): Beauge was one of the first defeats for the English during the Hundred Years War. French and Scottish forces combine to raid the English possessions in Normandy. Thomas, the duke of Clarence, (Henry V's brother) attempted to intercept the allied forces. During the interception Thomas' cavalry outdistanced his infantry. The French and Scottish forces decimated the English and Thomas was killed.

Battle of Verneuil (1424): In one last attempt to dislodge the English from Normandy, about 15,000 French and Scottish forces attacked the English army of 9,000 commanded by John, duke of Bedford. The attack took place at Verneuil, about 50 miles west of Paris. The French and Scottish forces charged, but the English longbowmen cut them down quickly. About half the of the French/Scottish army were lost; the rest retreated. The result of the battle was that the Scots were removed as a major aid to the French cause.

War flares again (1422-1453). The English initially win numerous victories, but the peasant girl Jeanne d'Arc (Joan of Arc) appears, claiming to have had a vision from God. She puts new faith in the French armies and leads them to repeated victories against the English. By 1453, the coast of Calais is the only English possession left in France.

Siege of Orleans(1428-1429).The siege of Orleans was the turning point of the Hundred Years' War. After over 80 years of warfare the French finally gained the upper hand with the decisive victory at Orleans. Thomas de Montacute and 5,000 English troops begin the siege of Orleans, the largest fortified position held by Charles of France, on October 23, 1428. William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, succeeded Montecute in November after he was slain by a cannon ball. The siege lasted months. At around this same time, Joan of Arc appears at the court of Charles. Charles allows Joan to lead a relief force in April. In May, Joan attacks the English in unison with a force from Orleans and she drives the English from their positions. The next day they abandon the siege; military advantage now lies with the French.

Jeanne d'Arc (Joan of Arc) attempts to lift the siege of Paris.(**early 1430**). Burgundians (English sympathizers in Northern France) capture Jeanne d'Arc and deliver her to English courts (**late 1430**).Jeanne d'Arc burns (**1431**) as a witch at Rouen. She is sixteen years old.Henry VI of England crowned as king of France in Paris (**late 1431**). Under his incompetent rule, France whittles away at English holdings in France.

Battle of Formigny (1450): After French victory at Rouen in October 1449, Charles VII continues the French offensive and presses the English back into the town of Formigny. French artillery blasts away at most of the English army and the English are badly defeated losing more than 4,000 men out of a force of 5,000. Formigny marks the end of the fighting in northern France.

Battle of Castillon (1453): Castillon is the final engagement of the Hundred Years War. After being driven out of Northern France the previous few years, Henry VI sends a new army to Bordeaux in Southwestern France. He seeks to maintain at least some territory in France. In July 1453 the English forces attack a French force that was besieging the town of Castillon. The attack is repulsed, the English are routed, and Shrewsbury is killed. Bordeaux becomes French territory and the final English survivors sail for home. Henry VI goes insane (**late 1453**). By 1453, the coast of Calais is the only English possession left in France. It will remain in English possession until the mid-1500s.

The Black Death in England 1348-1350

In 1347 a Genoese ship from Caffa, on the Black Sea, came ashore at Messina, Sicily. The crew of the ship, what few were left alive, carried with them a deadly cargo, a disease so virulent that it could kill in a matter of hours. It is thought that the disease originated in the Far East, and was spread along major trade routes to Caffa, where Genoa had an established trading post. When it became clear that ships from the East carried the plague, Messina closed its port. The ships were forced to seek safe harbour elsewhere around the Mediterranean, and the disease was able to spread quickly.

During the Medieval period the plague went by several names, the most common being "the Pestilence" and "The Great Mortality". Theories about the cause of the disease were numerous, ranging from a punishment from God to planetary alignment to evil stars. Not surprisingly, many people believed that the horrors of the Black Death signaled the Apocalypse, or end of time. Others believed that the disease was a plot by Jews to poison the entire Christian world, and many Jews were killed by panicked mobs.

The truth. The Black Death is a bacteria-borne disease; the bacteria in question being *Yersinia pestis*, which was carried in the blood of wild black rats and the fleas that lived off the rats. Normally there is no contact between these fleas and human beings, but when their rat hosts die, these fleas are forced to seek alternatives - including humans!

The symptoms. The plague produces several different symptoms in its victims. **Bubonic**, the most common form of the plague, produces fist-sized swellings, called *bulboes*, at the site of flea bites - usually in the groin, armpits, or neck. The swellings are intensely painful, and the victims die in 2-6 days. The buboes are red at first, but later turn a dark purple, or black. This black colouring gives the "Black Death" its name. **Pneumonic** plague occurs when the infection enters the lungs, causing the victim to vomit blood. Infected pneumonic people can spread the disease through the air by coughing, sneezing, or just breathing! In **Septicemic** plague the bacteria enters the person's bloodstream, causing death within a day.

The speed with which the disease could kill was terrifying to inhabitants of the medieval world. The Italian author Boccaccio claimed that the plague victims "ate lunch with their friends and dinner with their ancestors in paradise."

The Black Death reaches England. The summer of 1348 was abnormally wet. Grain lay rotting in the fields due to the nearly constant rains. With the harvest so adversely affected it seemed certain that there would be food shortages. But a far worse enemy was set to appear. It isn't clear exactly when or where the Black Death reached England. Some reports at the time

pointed to Bristol, others to Dorset. The disease may have appeared as early as late June or as late as August 4. We do know that in mid-summer the Channel Islands were reeling under an outbreak of the plague. From this simple beginning the disease spread throughout England with dizzying speed and fatal consequences.

The effect was at its worst in cities, where overcrowding and primitive sanitation aided its spread. On November 1 the plague reached London, and up to 30,000 of the city's population of 70,000 inhabitants' succumbed. Over the next 2 years the disease killed between 30-40% of the entire population. Given that the pre-plague population of England was in the range of 5-6 million people, fatalities may have reached as high as 2 million dead. One of the worst aspects of the disease to the medieval Christian mind is that people died without last rites and without having a chance to confess their sins. Pope Clement VI was forced to grant remission of sins to all who died of the plague because so many perished without benefit of clergy. People were allowed to confess their sins to one another, or "even to a woman".

The death rate was exceptionally high in isolated populations like prisons and monasteries. It has been estimated that up to two-thirds of the clergy of England died within a single year. Peasants fled their fields. Livestock were left to fend for themselves, and crops left to rot. The monk Henry of Knighton declared, "Many villages and hamlets have now become quite desolate. No one is left in the houses, for the people are dead that once inhabited them." The Border Scots saw the pestilence in England as a punishment of God on their enemies. An army gathered near Stirling to strike while England lay defenseless. But before the Scots could march, the plague decimated their ranks. Pursued by English troops, the Scots fled north, spreading the plague deep into their homeland.

In an effort to assuage the wrath of God, many people turned to public acts of penitence. Processions lasting as long as three days were authorized by the Pope to mollify God, but the only real effect of these public acts was to spread the disease further. By the end of 1350 the Black Death had subsided, but it never really died out in England for the next several hundred years. There were further outbreaks in 1361-62, 1369, 1379-83, 1389-93, and throughout the first half of the 15th century. It was not until the late 17th century that England became largely free of serious plague epidemics.

Consequences

It is impossible to overstate the terrible effects of the Black Death on England. With the population so low, there were not enough workers to work the land. As a result, wages and prices rose. The Ordinances of Labourers (1349) tried to legislate a return to pre-plague wage levels, but the overwhelming shortage of labourers meant that wages continued to rise. Landowners offered extras such as food, drink, and extra benefits to lure labourers. The standard of living for labourers rose accordingly.

The nature of the economy changed to meet the changing social conditions. Land that had once been farmed was now given over to pasturing, which was much less labour-intensive. This helped boost the cloth and woolen industry. With the fall in population most landowners were not getting the rental income they needed, and were forced to lease their land. Peasants benefited through increased employment options and higher wages. Society became more mobile, as peasants moved to accept work where they could command a good wage. In some

cases market towns disappeared, or suffered a decline despite the economic boom in rural areas.

It has been estimated that 40% of England's priests died in the epidemic. This left a large gap, which was hastily filled with underqualified and poorly trained applicants, accelerating the decline in church power and influence that culminated in the English Reformation. Many survivors of the plague were also disillusioned by the church's inability to explain or deal with the outbreak. The short term economic prosperity did not last; the underlying feudal structure of society had not changed, and by the mid-15th century standards of living had fallen again. Yet for most levels of English society the Black Death represented a massive upheaval, one which changed the face of English society in a profound way.

The Peasants' Revolt 1381

Background

When the Black Death swept Europe in 1348-1351 it left about 30% of the population dead. This greatly affected the English peasants because there was a labour shortage and food was scarce. Even some thirty years later, life had not returned to normal -the settled and structured country life of the Middle Ages was disrupted, and discontent was rife amongst the poor.

Causes of the revolt

1. The Statute of Labourers 1351

This was a law passed at the end of the Black Death to stop the peasants taking advantage of the shortage of workers and demanding more money. Peasants were forced to work for the same wages as before, and landowners could insist on labour services being performed, instead of accepting money (commutation). This meant that the landowners could profit from shortages, whilst life was made very much harder for the peasants.

2. Prices

Prices had risen since the Black Death. Wages had not risen as fast, so the peasants suffered from hunger and shortages.

3. The young king

During the course of the Black Death and the years following it, England had a strong and warlike king, Edward III. However, his son, the Black Prince, died before him, leaving his grandson as heir to the throne. In 1377, Edward III died, and this boy of ten became king. The true power lay with the powerful barons, in particular the boy's uncle, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. The barons, hated already by the peasants, began to take advantage of the situation.

4. The Poll Tax

England was involved in the Hundred Years War. This had left the treasury empty, and the barons were tired of paying for the war. In 1377, John of Gaunt imposed a new tax, the Poll (head) Tax that was to cover the cost of the war. Unlike normal taxes, this was to be paid by the peasants, as well as the landowners. Although this was meant to be a "one-off" event, it was so successful that it was repeated three more times. The first tax was 4d from every adult

(adult: 14yrs+), then it was raised to 4d for the peasants and more for the rich, and finally in 1380, it was raised to 12d per adult.

The barons liked the idea of the peasants helping to pay taxes, especially if they were acting as tax collectors, as some of the money was siphoned off into their pockets. It was much harder on the peasants, who could ill afford to pay, especially as the tax was collected in cash and not in farm produce. By 1380, many were hiding from the collectors, and avoiding payment. For this reason, the amount collected dropped away, despite the fact that the tax had been increased.

5. John Ball and the Church

The Church was badly hit by the Black Death, and many of the clergy were poorly educated, thus reducing popular respect for the Church. The Church was also a major landowner, and the abbots and bishops sided with the barons against the peasants. This made the church hated, as the peasants felt betrayed by an organisation that should be helping, rather than exploiting them.

This situation was made worse by a number of rebellious priests who preached against the Church and the barons. Foremost amongst these was John Ball, who coined the famous verse; "While Adam delved (dug) and Eve span, who then was the gentleman?" i.e. There had been no group of non-working layabouts in that time, so why should they be tolerated now? So dangerous was this teaching that the Archbishop of Canterbury had arrested John Ball, and confined him in Maidstone Castle.

The Outbreak

Having examined the Poll Tax returns for 1380, the Royal Council headed by John of Gaunt were upset to discover that less money than ever had been collected. Tax collectors were sent out again, with instructions to collect the full amounts. One of these men was Thomas Bampton, who arrived at Fobbing in Essex, and summoned the villagers of Fobbing, Stanford and Corningham to appear before him. Those law-abiding villagers who turned up were shocked to discover that they would have to pay the hated tax a second time, and that they would also have to pay for the people who had failed to turn up. Not surprisingly, a riot followed, and Bampton and his men were beaten and driven from the village.

Sir Robert Belknap, a Chief Justice was sent to calm the situation, but he suffered a similar fate. Word spread, and peasants' all over Essex banded together and turned on the landowners. Manor houses were burnt down, and any records of taxes, labour duties and debts destroyed. Soon peasants in Kent rebelled also, and risings took place in many other areas of the country. Some unpopular landowners were killed, others fled and others captured and humiliated, having to act as servants and perform menial tasks.

Timeline showing the Main Events 1381

Although the revolt spread to many areas of England, the two risings in Essex and Kent became the focus of the revolt.

1381

May 30th.

Essex peasants chase Thomas Bampton out of Fobbing.

June 1st

Essex rebels kill three of Bampton's servants. The revolt spreads through Essex, Hertfordshire and Suffolk.

June 7th

The revolt is now widespread. The Kent rebels besiege Maidstone Castle, which surrenders. John Ball is freed, and Rochester Castle surrenders also.

June 10th

The Kent Rebels march on Canterbury, and capture the city, Rich pilgrims are attacked in the town, Finding the Archbishop away, the rebels appoint a humble monk as the new Archbishop, and hold a service in the Cathedral, promising death to all "traitors" they capture. At this point a new leader appears, Wat Tyler. We know little of him except that he may have served as a soldier in France, that he was very cunning, and that he must have had exceptional powers of leadership in order to control the mob of rebels.

Both the Kent and the Essex rebels now set out to march on London. The simple peasants believed that they were going to explain their grievances to the King, who had been badly advised, and that all would be set right. However, some of the more intelligent figures, such as Wat Tyler and John Ball had a much clearer idea of the situation, and were planning to gain as much as they could. The King and the council were caught completely by surprise, and there were only a few hundred troops in London. The city was virtually defenceless.

June 12th

Both groups of peasants had reached London. The Kent peasants camped at Blackheath, and the Essex peasants at Mile End, north of the River Thames. Their numbers are hard to estimate, but both groups could have been made up of up to 50,000 people. A message was sent into the city, demanding a meeting with the king. It was arranged that he would meet them at Rotherhithe, on the Thames, that afternoon.

Richard travelled downriver in the royal barge, but at the sight of the huge crowd of peasants, Richard's advisers would not let him land. He returned to the Tower of London, leaving the peasants angry and frustrated. That night the peasants closed in on London. They were able to enter because the gates of the city, and London Bridge were opened by townspeople sympathetic to their cause, although they later claimed they had been forced to do it.

June 13th

The rebels were loose in the city. Fleet Prison was broken open, many lawyers were killed in the Temple, and foreign merchants massacred. Despite this, most peasants were peaceful, and little damage was done to the city, on the orders of Wat Tyler. A group of peasants marched west from the city to the magnificent Savoy Palace, home of John of Gaunt. It caught fire as they ransacked it. Fortunately, John of Gaunt was in Scotland at this time, and escaped the rebels. As the flames lit the sky, Richard agreed to meet the rebels at Mile End the following day. He hoped that this would draw the peasants out of the city.

June 14th

Richard rode to the meeting at Mile End. Here, Wat Tyler put forward the peasants demands:

- land rents were reduced to reasonable levels.
- the Poll Tax was to be abolished.
- free pardons for all rebels.
- charters would be given to the peasants laying down a number of rights and privileges.
- all "traitors" were to be put to death.

Richard agreed to all these demands, but added that only a royal court could decide if a person was a traitor or not. He thought that this was the best policy, in order to allow the peasants to go home. A group of thirty or so clerks began to copy out charters for the peasants to take home. However; the King had been outwitted by Wat Tyler. A group of peasants, taking advantage of the King's absence at Mile End, raided the Tower of London. Here, they found three of their IOST hated people; Simon Sudbury, (Archbishop of Canterbury), sir Robert Hailes (King's treasurer) and John Legge (the creator of the Poll Tax). They were dragged out onto Tower Hill, and beheaded.

June 15th

Following the granting of charters the previous day, many peasants began to leave London and return home, believing that their demands had been met. However, Wat Tyler and a hard core of peasants remained behind, and they demanded another meeting with the King, to deliver even more demands. The King agreed to a meeting at Smithfield, an open space within the city walls.

When the King's party arrived, Wat Tyler rode up and greeted them in an insolent manner. What happened next is unclear, but was probably a pre-arranged plot. Tyler was rude to the King, refusing to dismount, and spitting in front of him. The Lord Mayor of London, William Walworth, drew his sword and attacked Tyler, wounding him. A squire finished him off as he lay on the ground. This was a crucial moment, before the peasants realised what had happened. The young King rode forward, shouting out that all their demands were to be met, and that they should follow him out of the city, where charters would be forthcoming. Trustingly, the rebels followed him, and most were persuaded to return home.

The Aftermath: The kings Revenge

July

As soon as the peasants had left London, messengers were dispatched throughout the country, summoning troops. The last members of the huge gathering of peasants were encamped at Billericay in Essex. They found themselves cut down by royal troops; vainly flourishing the pardons and charters that they had been given. Royal forces toured the affected areas, hunting the rebels. Possession of a charter became a virtual death sentence. In Hertfordshire and Essex, some 500 died, very few with any form of trial, as the Earl of Buckingham carried out the King's demand for vengeance. In Kent the toll of executions was even greater, with 1500 peasants sent to the gallows

Another minor rebellion broke out in St. Albans, where the abbot was a hated figure amongst the townspeople. This was ruthlessly crushed, and on 15th July, John Ball, whose preaching had done so much to cause the rebellion, was hung, drawn and quartered in the market place, as an example to any other potential rebels

The Results of the Peasants Revolt

1. On the surface, the peasants were crushed, their demands denied, and many executed. However, the land owners had been scared, and in the longer term several things were achieved.
2. Parliament gave up trying to control the wages the landowners paid their peasants.
3. The hated poll tax was never raised again.
4. The Lords treated the peasants with much more respect. They made more of them free men ie. they were not owned as part of the land. This benefited in the end, as free men always work much harder.
5. This marked the breakdown of the feudal system, which had worked well during the early Middle Ages, but was now becoming outdated as attitudes were beginning to change.

Medieval England - daily life in medieval towns

Towns : A new class emerged during the middle Ages; the merchant. The growth of trade and the merchant middle class went hand in hand with the growth in towns. Town populations swelled during this period, particularly after the Black Death. Trade routes grew, though roads remained poor and dangerous, so most goods were transported by water. Towns were built on trade, and the elite of towns were the merchants. Merchant guilds controlled town government, though they often clashed with craft guilds for power. Merchants needed stability for trade, so they supported the king and the establishment of a strong central government against the rule of individual nobles. The king, for his part, encouraged the growth of towns and trade. Town charters became a major source of royal revenue. Eventually the growth of towns and guilds led to the breakdown of the manor-centred feudal society.

Merchant Guilds : Guilds controlled the trade in a town. Merchant guilds regulated prices, quality, weights and measures, and business practices. The power of the guilds was absolute in their domain, and to be expelled from a guild made it impossible to earn a living. Each guild had a patron saint; celebrated religious festivals together, put on religious plays, and looked after the health and welfare of the members and their families.

Craft Guilds : Separate from the merchant guilds were the craft guilds, which regulated the quality, working hours and conditions of its members. There were three levels of craftsmen; masters, journeymen, and apprentices. Parents paid a fee to place a boy with a master craftsman as an apprentice. There he received food, lodging (often sleeping under the counter in the shop itself), clothes, and instruction in the craft.

Apprentices, Journeymen, and Masters : The period of apprenticeship lasted for 2-7 years, after which time the apprentice became a journeyman. The term has nothing to do with traveling; it comes from the French "journee", (day), and meant that the journeyman was paid by the day for his work. After several years as a journeyman the craftsman would submit a piece of his best work to the guild for approval. If this "master-piece" was accepted he could become a master craftsman and own his own shop. All townsmen were free, and this provided some incentive for serfs to run away to the towns. If they could remain there for a year and a day they were considered free and could not be compelled to return to the manor.

Streets : Before Edward I all repairs to streets were the responsibility of adjacent householders. After Edward's time town councils began to take over more responsibility. New roadways were often built directly on top of the old with little attempt to clear it away. Thus repairs never lasted long. There was also the possibility that a citizen would build his section higher than his neighbour. Because of this practice street levels rose and rose. In London the original Roman roads are buried up to 20 feet beneath the street level of today. Roads were narrow, and tradesmen and householders were constantly encroaching on them. Traffic moved slowly, not least because tolls at the town gates were often paid in kind (that is, with goods rather than money), causing delays and long lineups.

Cleanliness : Sanitation was a constant concern. Open drain channels ran along the sides or down the centre of streets. Many stables opened out onto the streets and muck heaps encroached on passage. People often threw dirty water out of windows in the general direction of the drains. Dyers vats were particularly noxious when they were emptied into the street. Again the onus was on the individual householder to keep the space in front of his house relatively clean. In practice the only real incentive to do so was an outbreak of the plague or a visit of the King.

Livestock in the Streets : Pigs were another nuisance in the streets. Most people kept pigs. They were cheap, and a good source of food. However, houses were small and gardens even smaller, so pigs were often let out into the streets to forage. Stray pigs were such a nuisance that they were liable to be killed and the owner charged for the return of the dead animal.

Law Enforcement.: Law and order in the town was enforced by the beadle or constables, who could call on citizens to form a night Watch. If a "hue and cry" was raised to chase a criminal all citizens had to join in or risk being fined. The penalty for the criminal was much higher. A thief found in possession of stolen goods was hanged.

Sanctuary : If a fugitive managed to reach a church they could claim the right of sanctuary there for a period of 40 days. This meant that someone would have to stand watch outside the church for the entire time to ensure that the fugitive did not escape, a duty that no one wanted. Towns could even be fined if the felon escaped. At any one time in the Middle Ages it has been estimated that there were as many as 1000 people in sanctuary throughout England.

The Curfew Bell : Curfews were imposed in towns to keep the peace. Originally the "curfew bell" was rung at 8 or 9 o'clock in the evening to indicate that it was time for smiths, brewers, and taverners to cease their working day. It became the custom that anyone abroad after that had to carry a light and have a good excuse for being out. The carrying of weapons was carefully regulated, especially where foreigners were concerned. Nobility, as usual, were exempt from these regulations. There were also laws prohibiting the wearing of masks in the street; this after an attempt on the life of Henry IV by some nobles disguised as Christmas mummers.

Fire : Fire was the constant fear of town dwellers. Due to closely packed wooden houses and inadequate water supply, fires were difficult to control and could produce widespread damage. There were other factors that increased the risks of fire; Beds were of straw and were commonly kept close to open hearths for warmth. Roofs of reeds, rushes and straw were common. It was only after 1213 that these materials were forbidden in London in favour of tile and shingles. Other places were slow to follow London's lead.

Wooden and Brick Buildings : Although stone building was encouraged, expense meant that most houses were built of wood up until Tudor times. Then, the flourishing new brick industry and a rapidly falling timber supply swung the tide away from wood as the material of choice for most domestic building. Cooks, barbers, and brewers were heavily regulated because of the risk their fires posed. Their premises had to be whitewashed and plastered inside and out. Each householder was required to keep a full vessel of water outside his door in summer, due to fire risk. When fires did occur it was every citizen's duty to come running with whatever equipment they had. Often firehooks were used to haul burning thatch off a roof, and also to pull down adjacent buildings to provide a firebreak.

The Town Day : The day officially began with the ringing of the Angelus bell at 4 or 5 o'clock. It announced the first mass of the day and the end of the night watchman's duty. Most shops opened at 6 AM, providing plenty of early morning shopping before the first meal of the day at 9 or 10 AM.

Market Hours : Morning was the active time for markets. Things quieted down after noon, and most shops closed at 3 o'clock. Some kept open until light faded, and others, such as the barbers and blacksmiths, were open until the curfew bell sounded. Foreign merchants were heavily regulated. They had to wait two or more hours before they could enter the market, giving the locals the best of the business. Markets were noisy, raucous affairs. Merchants had to "cry the wares" as their only means of advertising, and some had to be fined for forcibly grabbing hold of passers-by in their enthusiasm to make a sale.

Saturday was early closing day for shops. Usually noon was the close of business. Sunday, however, the "Lord's day of rest", was not kept as restful as we might think. Some trades were

allowed to work after Mass, and some field work was allowed to be done before it. A few places even had the privilege of Sunday markets.

Bells and Criers : Bells were the main medium of telling time and making announcements. A Common Bell was rung to summon civic meetings, courts, and as an alarm in case of fire or attack. The town crier rang a hand bell when he walked throughout the town declaiming news and proclamations. The criers were the main source of news for town dwellers. They also had the task of ringing their bells to solicit prayers in memory of people who had paid for the privilege.

UNIT-III

ENGLISH SOCIETY IN TRANSITION

Medieval Universities

The middle Age was characterized by an important development of education. In home and church every one was taught religion. On the manor or in the town all young people were taught the means of earning a livelihood; the country boy learned farming from his relatives and city boy the craft or trade from a master Guildsman and girls were instructed in serving and cooking and housekeeping.

Attending school was not compulsory or universal. A girl or boy did not have to go to, school or study Arithmetic, geography, grammar etc or to learn to read or write. Schooling was .led as a privilege for some. However, schooling developed considerably during the period. us types of schools were there. Every Bishop maintained a cathedral school and every

monastery had a monastic school. The primary purpose of these schools was to train young men for priesthood or for a special religious life, but the course of study included subjects other than religion. The basis of the curriculum of the numerous schools was the study of the liberal arts which were seven in number; three called the Trivium consisted of grammar, dialectic (course in logic) and rhetoric [rudiments of law and the art of speaking], The remaining four called the quadrivium comprised of geometry (which included history and geography), arithmetic (dealt with Roman numbers and with the calculation of the calendar), music and astronomy which lit with the courses of the heavenly bodies and some basic conceptions of Physics and Chemistry, these subjects were taught from text books most of which had been composed in ancient Roman times.

In addition to the monastic and cathedral schools - the so called grammar schools - many special elementary schools were established and supported by town guilds and feudal lords to instruction in reading and writing or in singing and in such elementary schools teaching was the vernacular rather than in Latin. Besides, some girls received special education, reading, writing, keeping accounts as well as needle work, household duties and management. Special ration was provided for young noblemen also with the aim of fitting them to be chivalrous its, wise masters of men and prudent managers of property. They were instructed in the id customs of courtesy, in the knightly conception of honour and in such courtly amusements as chess, playing the lute, singing and making verses.

At the beginning of the middle Ages, it is true that schools were few and the number of rates was very great. But by the close of the Middle Ages, there were many schools and the number of educated people increased considerably. The finest flower of medieval education was University. When the number of students increased, famous teachers gathered crowds of students from every country. The teachers established schools and when the need became greater it was met by the rise of Universities. The earliest Universities were created not by deliberate foundation of any particular ruler but by spontaneous action on the part of the persons directly concerned. Later, the Popes took over the general direction of Universities, granting charters to those already established. Each of the early Universities was a specialized school of learning. The famous University of Salerno (in Italy) was famous for the study of medicine. The University Bologna was celebrated as the centre of the revival of the Roman law and the codification of the Canon Law. But the greatest of the early medieval universities was Paris, the home of philosophy and theology and it was Paris which furnished the model for the later Universities including Oxford and Cambridge.

The word 'University' meant Guild and the medieval University was essentially a guild of students and professor. Rules and regulations were made and obeyed by the learners and the learned. Multitudes of students attended the medieval universities. A considerable percentage of people received University education towards the close of the Middle Ages. A feature of the medieval university was that students passed freely and usually from one university to another spending perhaps a year or two at Paris, a year at Oxford etc. All University men, whether they became clergymen or not were called clerks and enjoyed certain privileges; they were exempt from state control and from the obligations of paying taxes and bearing arms and they could be tried for offences only in church courts. The life of medieval students was a mixture of hardship and gaiety. Some were well-to-do and some very poor. Most of them, however, were poor and were supported by church scholarships and part time labour and in some cases by beginning even. Classes began shortly after day break and medieval students were all early

risers. Classrooms were rarely heated and both the student and the teacher had to struggle. Few students could afford books and consequently they had to gain knowledge by listening to lectures by the teacher. All had to know Latin for university teaching was exclusively in Latin, Student entertainments -dances, plays and parties were fairly frequent. Athletics played not much role, yet many of the students indulged in hunting and fencing and in playing football.

This intellectual revival gave a blow to the feudalistic set up of the medieval society. Feudalism rested on localisation and people did not, in those days, consider themselves as citizen of one country but as tenants of some lord. There was no oneness among the people and the medieval man always quarreled with his neighbours. The church had tried its best to free it from the fraternal feeling but, with the coming of the universities, all classes of people attended the Universities. In the University there was no difference between a nobleman and a peasant, a rich man and a poor man. Everyone sat together and enjoyed the same privileges. Wealth, physical strength, skill in arms, pride of ancestry and blood - the very grounds on which feudalism rested went for nothing inside the lecture hall. The University was a state absolutely self-government and its citizens were admitted by a purely intellectual franchise. Knowledge made one a man disregarding whether he was of noble or peasant origin. To know more than one's fellow was man's aim. To be a ruler in schools was the ambition of everyone. With this intellectual aristocracy all were equal. Thus the Universities exercised a leveling influence on society.

The rise of the Universities had an adverse effect on the medieval church also. The Universities encouraged their students to enquire into things. So far the teachings of the church had been accepted with implicit belief by the medieval man; but now the scholars started questioning some of the teachings of the Catholic Church. This shook the very foundations of the church. It introduced into the minds of the medieval man a spirit of skepticism, of doubt and of denial. Wycliff and his followers led a campaign against the growing wealth and power of the church. It opened the eyes of the multitude to the corruption among the clergy. This realisation in the end resulted in the Reformation.

LITERATURE BEFORE CHAUCER

Even though English was the native tongue of the people of England it did not have its place among the educated sections of the society in the medieval period. When the Normans settled down in England they used their language in the court. The church used Latin and English was not regarded as a worthy language to be taught. It remained, for a considerable period, the vernacular of the illiterate. The situation changed during the latter part of the fourteenth century the breaking out of The Hundred Years war. During Edward III's reign English replaced French in the law courts of England. The growth of national feeling during the Hundred, Years war was followed by the revival of the English language. Medieval English was divided into a number of provincial dialects. No great work was produced during the first part of the medieval period. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries literature was mainly in the hands of the clergymen. Much of the literature was in the form of metrical Romances of French, Celtic and English heroes be Roland, King Arthur etc. Some of the poems which deserve mention are *The Owl and the Nightingale* (1220), Romances like *Sir Grawain and the Green Knight*, *Richard Coeur-de-lion*, *Morte-Arthur* and *Alisander*. *Pearl* is one of the

beautiful Middle English poems of more than 1000 lines. Like old English, Middle English is also difficult to understand.

The Age of Chaucer

The Age of Chaucer witnessed a considerable growth of both English language and literature. Various incidents found expression in the literature of the period. The Hundred Years War kindled a patriotic spirit; the Black Death and the Peasants Revolt produced restlessness and discontent among the lower classes. The period also saw the rise of John Wycliff who roused the conscience of English against the corruption among the clergy. The age was an age of unusual stir and progress, and commerce advanced and English people became a conquering and a colonizing nation, love of adventure made many Englishmen go on travels. The writers of the period reflect the life of times. At the time we see Langland voicing the social discontent and preaching the equality of man and the dignity of labour; Wycliff, the greatest of the reformers, gave the Gospel to the people in their own language. John Gower, the scholar and literary man criticized the vigorous life of the time and mentioned fear of its consequences. Mandeville, the traveler, romanced about the wonders to be seen abroad. Above all, there is Chaucer, scholar, traveller, business man and courtier sharing the literary life of his times and reflected it in his literature. The influence of the famous writers like Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio also was felt in the literature of the times.

Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400)

Geoffrey Chaucer is recognized as one of England's greatest poets. Modern study of the setting of his art has made clear that in his work there is a range of subtlety surpassing that of all other medieval writers, with the exception of Dante. He is best remembered for *The Canterbury Tales*. The poet's father, John Chaucer, was a prosperous London wine merchant who had some influence in the court of Edward III. By 1357 — the earliest record of the younger Chaucer's life — he had been placed as a page in the household of Elizabeth de Burgh, countess of Ulster and wife of Edward III's third son, Lionel. During military service in France in 1359, Chaucer was captured near Rheims but was ransomed by the Crown. In the early 1360s he is believed to have studied at the Inns of Chancery and the Inns of Court, and possibly at Oxford, as further preparation for an administrative career at court. In 1366 he married Philippa de Roet, an aristocratic lady whose sister Katherine was later the mistress and, in 1396, the third wife of John of Gaunt, King Edward's fourth son. By 1367 Chaucer was a yeoman, or valet (*valletus*), in Edward III's household; in 1368 he is mentioned as the king's armiger (*esquire*). For the rest of his life Chaucer served the royal court in some capacity — which included giving readings of his poetry — traveled widely on the continent, and maintained a close relationship with John of Gaunt, as well as other influential people at court. Chaucer wrote for and may have read his works aloud to a select audience of fellow courtiers and officials, which doubtless sometimes included members of the royal family.

The culture of the English upper class was still predominantly French, and Chaucer's earliest works were influenced by the fashionable French poets Guillaume de Machaut and Jean Froissart and by the great 13th-century dream allegory *Le Roman de la Rose*, by the French poets Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. The common theme of these works is courtly love. Chaucer claimed to have translated *Le Roman de la Rose*, but if he did, all that

survives is a fragment. His first important original work, *The Book of the Duchesse*, is an elegy for John of Gaunt's first wife, Blanche, who died in 1369. In a dream the poet encounters a grieving knight in black (Gaunt) who movingly recounts his love and loss of "good fair White" (Blanche). *The House of Fame* and *Parliament of Fowles*, also dream poems, show the influence of Dante and of Giovanni Boccaccio, whose works Chaucer probably encountered on his first journey to Italy. The unfinished *House of Fame* gives a humorous account of the poet's frustrating journey in the claws of a giant golden eagle (the idea is from Dante) to the palace of the goddess Fame. In the *Parliament* he witnesses an inconclusive debate about love among the different classes of birds. All three dream visions, written from about 1373 to about 1385, contain a mixture of comedy and serious speculation about the puzzling nature of love. In this period, Chaucer also translated and adapted religious, historical, and philosophical works: a life of Saint Cecilia; a series of medieval "tragedies," brief lives of famous men cast down by adverse fortune; Pope Innocent III's *On the Misery of the Human Condition*, the translation of which is lost but survives in part in the *Canterbury Tales* in the "Man of Law's Tale"; a translation of *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (*The Consolation of Philosophy*), written by the Roman philosopher Anicius Boethius to proclaim his faith in divine justice and providence. The latter work profoundly influenced Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (1385?) and *The Knight's Tale*, both adapted from romances by Boccaccio. He may also have translated a condensed French version of part of the *Book of Consolation and Counsel* by Albertanus of Brescia, which appears as the "Tale of Melibeus" in the *Canterbury Tales*. *Troilus*, a poem of more than 8000 lines, is Chaucer's major work besides *The Canterbury Tales*. It is the tragic love story of the Trojan prince Troilus, who wins Criseyde (Cressida), aided by the machinations of his close friend, her uncle Pandarus, and then loses her to the Greek warrior Diomedes. The love story turns into a deeply felt medieval tragedy, the human pursuit of transitory earthly ideals that pale into insignificance beside the eternal love of God. The poem ends with the narrator's solemn advice to young people to flee vain loves and turn their hearts to Christ. Chaucer's characters are psychologically so complex that the work has also been called the first modern novel. In the Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women* (1386?), another dream vision, the god of love accuses Chaucer of heresy for writing of Criseyde's unfaithfulness and assigns him the penance of writing the lives of Cupid's martyrs — faithful women who died for love. After completing eight of these legends, Chaucer probably abandoned the work and by 1387 was engaged on his masterpiece.

The *Canterbury Tales* is a collection of stories set within a framing story of a pilgrimage to Canterbury Cathedral, the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket. The poet joins a band of pilgrims, vividly described in the General Prologue, who assemble at the Tabard Inn outside London for the journey to Canterbury. Ranging in status from a Knight to a humble Plowman, they are a microcosm of 14th-century English society. The Host proposes a storytelling contest to pass the time; each of the 30 or so pilgrims (the exact number is unclear) is to tell four tales on the round trip. Chaucer completed less than a quarter of this plan. The work contains 22 verse tales (two unfinished) and two long prose tales; a few are thought to be pieces written earlier by Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*, composed of more than 18,000 lines of poetry, is made up of separate blocks of one or more tales with links introducing and joining stories within a block. The tales represent nearly every variety of medieval stories at its best. The special genius of Chaucer's work, however, lies in the dramatic interaction between the tales and the framing story. After the Knight's courtly and philosophical romance about noble love, the Miller interrupts with a deliciously bawdy story of seduction aimed at the Reeve (an officer or

steward of a manor); the Reeve takes revenge with a tale about the seduction of a miller's wife and daughter. Thus, the tales develop the personalities, quarrels, and diverse opinions of their tellers. Although Chaucer satirizes the abuses of the Church, he also includes a number of didactic and religious tales, concluding with the good Parson's sermon on penitence; this is followed by a personal confession in which Chaucer "retracts" all his secular writings, including *Troilus*, and those Canterbury tales that "incline toward sin." Like the ending of *Troilus*, the retraction is a reminder that Chaucer's genius was always subject to orthodox piety. Chaucer greatly increased the prestige of English as a literary language and extended the range of its poetic vocabulary and meters. He was the first English poet to use iambic pentameter, the seven-line stanza called rhyme royal, and the couplet later called heroic. His system of versification, which depends on sounding many e's in final syllables that are silent (or absent) in modern English, ceased to be understood by the 15th century. Nevertheless, Chaucer dominated the works of his 15th-century English followers and the so-called Scottish Chaucerians. For the Renaissance, **he was the English Homer**. Edmund Spenser paid tribute to him as his master; many of the plays of William Shakespeare show thorough assimilation of Chaucer's comic spirit. John Dryden, who modernized several of the Canterbury tales, called **Chaucer the father of English poetry**. Since the founding of the Chaucer Society in England in 1868, which led to the first reliable editions of his works, Chaucer's reputation has been securely established as the English poet best loved after Shakespeare for his wisdom, humor, and humanity.

Defiance of Established Order: John Wycliffe and the Lollards

John Wycliffe was one of the great Christians of the middle Ages. He was born in the North of England but we do not know the exact year (it was around 1328). John Wycliffe was educated at Oxford University and he soon became famous there for his learning and his skill in debate. In the middle Ages the Church was immensely wealthy and powerful. John Wycliffe was concerned by the situation and he taught that the state had the right to confiscate the property of corrupt clergymen. Not surprisingly many in the Church did not welcome his views! In 1377 the Pope condemned Wycliffe but he was never arrested or tried for heresy. (He was protected by powerful friends).

Later John Wycliffe attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation (the belief that during mass bread becomes the body of Christ). He taught that Christ is spiritually present. John Wycliffe also taught that the true Church consists of God's chosen people and they do not need a priest to mediate between them and God. John Wycliffe also believed that people should be able to read the Bible in their own language. So In 1380-81 he translated the Bible from Latin to English.

In 1374 Wycliffe was made rector of St Mary's Church in Lutterworth. John Wycliffe died of natural causes in 1384 but his movement lived on. His followers were called Lollards. The word Lollard may come from a Dutch word meaning 'mutterer' because they muttered long prayers. At first Lollards were left alone but when Henry IV became king the situation changed. From 1401 Lollards could be burned to death for heresy. However the Lollards continued and even increased in number and in the 16th century they merged with the Protestants.

Jan (John) Hus (1374-1415)

Jan Hus was a Bohemian (Czechoslovakian) priest ordained in 1401, who shared similar views with John Wycliffe concerning the excesses of the medieval Catholic Church. He came from a modest background and by scrimping and saving his parents put him through the University of Prague where he obtained a Master of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity degrees. There was a strong link with the teachings of John Wycliffe through the offices of Queen Anne (d 1394) wife of Richard II, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV and sister to king Wenceslaus, of Bohemia. Anne could not tolerate the devotions of the Catholic Church and became a devout follower and sponsor of Wycliffe. Through her and her royal contacts evangelism gained a hold in Bohemia; meanwhile Wycliffe's books were taken to Prague by an Englishman, Peter Patne, principal of Edmund Hall, Oxford who had to flee from the papists. A response to this was the seizure of such books from across Bohemia by the order of archbishop Sbynko and a ceremonial burning - said to be 200 volumes finely written, bound in leather and gold bosses. Paine was soon lecturing at the university and was avidly supported by the students who resented the actions of the archbishop.

Hus spent most of his career at Prague University and as a preacher in the nearby Bethlehem Chapel. Held in great esteem, he became involved in the politics of the university which had been set up by Charles IV with three quarters of the professors from the states of Bavaria, Saxony and Poland (most of whom were German). As a result Bohemians were worse off in the allocation of benefices and other appointments. Hus represented the case to King Wencelas and the privileges were revoked. This caused a split in the university with the German faction moving to Misnia. But Prague continued to thrive under the new order. His early conflict with the Church came through his opposition to two decrees by Archbishop Sbynko concerning Wycliffe's books, when he maintained that the professors had the right to read whatever they wished without being molested.

His public speaking emphasised personal piety and purity of life and stressed the role of the Scriptures as the authority for the church. An early publication by him, *On the Church*, defined the church as the body of Christ with Christ its only head, and taught that only God can forgive sin. These beliefs put him into conflict with the Catholic Church who regarded him and Wycliffe as two of the most dangerous heretics in Europe. Underpinning the resentment of the church was that Hus had sought to remove the University of Prague from the jurisdiction of Gregory XII (one of the Three Popes then disputing amongst themselves who was the genuine Pope). Hus continued to speak against the pope and cardinals establishing doctrine of the church, which he said was contrary to Scripture. He further advocated that non one should slavishly follow an instruction from a cleric that was plainly wrong. These seeds of discontent he expanded to dissatisfaction with the conduct and corruptness of clerics, the worshipping of idols, going on pilgrimages; the practice of indulgences; and the withholding of the wine from the people during Holy Communion.

About 1410 Hus retired from the university and went to his birth place at Hussenitz where he continued a strong critic of the church, including the Bull of Pope John XXIII declaring a crusade against the King of Naples and granting indulgences to all who participated. In 1412 he returned to Prague where his orations gave rise to some public unrest, including demands that Pope John XXIII was the Antichrist. The unrest caused the magistrates to take action against the Hussites some of whom were arrested, and despite assurances to their armed

supporters, the prisoners were privately beheaded. This led to the bodies being forcibly recovered and removal for burial. A list of some forty five of Wickcliffe's propositions was drawn up and censured (thereby exerting the authority of Rome), after which the magistrates accused the Hussites of sedition, thereby seeking to justify their action. Hus responded by publishing a treatise about the church with Jesus Christ its head and foundation - the pope and cardinals are only members of it, and no one is obliged to obey them or the bishops. He also published a list of six errors that were fixed to the church door charging the clergy:

By believing that the priest by saying mass becomes the creator of his creator. Of saying that we ought to believe in the virgin, the pope, and in the saints. That the priests can remit the pain and guilt of sin. That everyone must obey his superiors, whether their demands be just or unjust. That every excommunication, just or unjust, binds the excommunicant. The sixth related to the practice of simony. For a while Hus was reasonably safe in the distant lands of Bohemia but in late 1414 he was summoned to the Council of Constance that had convened on 15 November 1414. He was called by Pope John XXIII to explain his views. In the fashion of the day, despite having a most solemn safe conduct from the Emperor, Sigismund, he was seized and cast into prison when he presented himself at Constance. But Pope John fled when the Emperor arrived in December, the Council having decreed that the three Popes then existing should stand down pending consideration of the matter (who was the one and true pope).

The Council appointed the cardinals of Cambrai and St Mark, the bishop of Dol and the abbot of the Cistercians, to continue with the process against Hus. Joined by other bishops thye was asked Hus to confirm his writings, some thirty of which were cited, many being commentaries based on issues raised by Wycliffe. Some eighty nine charges were raised against him but very few indeed were in any way proven. On 10 June the Emperor sent four bishops and two lords to get Hus to recant but he declined to do so. On 7 July he appeared before the Council at its fifteenth session, and again he refused to abjure. At this the bishop of Lodi launched into a tirade about heretics and the Council proceeded to condemn him as a manifest heretic; taught many errors; defied the keys of the church; seduced and scandalised the faithful by his obstinacy ; having rashly appealed to the tribunal of Christ. He was duly condemned to be degraded, have his books burnt and handed over to the secular authority (for burning).

In fact Hus was not condemned for any error of doctrine but for having the temerity to attack the pomp, pride and avarice of the pope, cardinals and prelates of the church. It is true that he could not abide the dignities and high living of the church and considered the doings of the pope to be Antichrist like. But he had not opposed transubstantiation, the seven sacraments or the mass - the usual benchmarks for determining a heretic. Indeed both he and Jerome accepted the mass and transubstantiation, both believing in the real presence. Neither did he specifically attack the authority of the Church of Rome - , if it was well governed. But such was the arrogance of the Church at that time there was no stopping the inevitable cry for condign punishment for heresy.

Despite these quite moderate criticisms as compared with Wycliffe's more substantial allegations, Hus was seen to be a danger and rushed to execution on 6/15 July 1415 (Rolt in *Lives of the Principal Reformers* says 2 May 1415). The despicable treatment of Hus's

remains serves perhaps to illustrate just how afraid the prelates were of the martyr, his criticisms and his very memory.

But the spite and bitterness of the Church did not stop there, turning to focus its venom on Master Jerome of Prague, a friend and co religionist of Hus. Jerome was held in great respect, not only for being Hus's colleague but in his own right as a man of great learning, with degrees of Master of arts from Prague, Heidelberg, Paris and Cologne. Among his earlier accomplishments was a journey to England where he had copied out all the writings of Wycliffe that he brought back to Prague. He was cited to appear before the Council of Constance 17 April 1415. Jerome sought a safe conduct to Constance but ominously only received one for going there, not for a return. Approaching Constance he was duly seized and cast into prison where he was surrounded by friends urging him to recant as they thought there was no chance of escape if he went for trial [The Emperor had already publicly said that an example ought to be made of him]. His public abjuration was, however, rejected saying that he was insincere. New articles were then alleged to keep him in prison. He was returned to prison where he was again assailed by his dissatisfied enemies who brought some 107 specious charges against him, in their determination that he should be executed.

Jerome was disgracefully treated, harassed and bound in chains. His accusers, such as they were, made sweeping allegations of errors but could not come up with specific instances nor would they allow Jerome to explain his views without interruption. Soon the cries of heretic broke out and a blood - or burning, lust took over. Jerome was heard by the Council of Constance over a period of days in May 1416 having been incarcerated in a dungeon, without food, daylight or sleep for three hundred and forty days. Despite the privations he dealt effectively with the charges; finally he withdrew his recantation and greatly regretted unjustly speaking of Hus and his doctrines. Again he was chained and fettered and thrown into prison to await his judgment.

Shortly after the odious bishop Lodi preached a sermon and set the machinery of execution into motion. Jerome was formally deemed a heretic and sentenced to be burned forthwith. On 30 May 1416 (Rolt in *Lives of the Principle Reformers* has 1 June 1416) , at the same spot as Jan Hus had died, they stripped him of his clothes, chained and roped him and heaped firewood over him, then set it alight. It is said that Jerome kept singing and praying for many minutes before the roar of the fire drowned his voice out, even then his body and mouth were working for a further fifteen minutes or so. His clothes, boots, bedding from the prison, and his personal papers, were brought and heaped on the fire so that eventually all was burned, and the residual dust cast into the waters of the river Rhine.

A consequence of these executions was a protestation by some fifty four nobles to the Council of Constance in defence of Hus and Jerome. The spite and malevolence of the prelates only succeeded in raising national feelings in Czechoslovakia and the establishment of a Hussite Church which survived until ca 1620. Moreover, their executions did not extirpate opposition but served to focus attention of the serious minded throughout Europe to the cruelty, injustice and hypocrisy exercised by the papal authority. The obvious intention became clear - to perpetuate ignorance superstition and, in short, slavery to Rome. Other kingdoms and states occasionally resisted the encroachments of Rome and a momentum was beginning to build for reformation.

Actual breaks would soon follow that created new political alliances based on religion. In a short time the contending religions separated out to Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Brandenburg, Prussia, England, Scotland, Ireland and Holland with Protestant governments. Italy, Spain, Portugal, and the Spanish Belgic states were Catholic. Germany, with its many princes were divided roughly half and half; Switzerland was divided but preponderantly Protestant. And France almost turned, having a large minority firm in the Protestant faith. The Catholics were still numerically superior although the Protestants rather weakened their position by the two major divisions - following Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon or Calvin. Lutheranism largely prevailed in the northern states of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and the German states, while in Britain, Holland, Switzerland and France Protestantism followed Calvinistic lines. The importance to the English Reformation of these alignments was in the strategic alliances to safeguard her borders.

Wars of the Roses (1455–85)

Wars of the Roses, traditional name given to the intermittent struggle for the throne of England between the noble houses of York (whose badge was a white rose) and Lancaster (later associated with the red rose). About the middle of the 15th century Richard, duke of York, came to the fore as leader of the opposition to the faction (William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk; Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset; and the queen, Margaret of Anjou) that controlled the weak Lancastrian king Henry VI. The Yorkists gained popular support as a result of discontent over the failure of English arms in the Hundred Years War and over the corruption of the court, discontent reflected in the rebellion of Jack Cade in 1450. Also in that year Suffolk was murdered, and the duke of York forced the king to recognize his claim as heir to the throne. In 1453 the king became insane, and the birth of a son to Margaret of Anjou displaced York as heir. The duke was appointed protector, but when the king recovered in 1454, York was excluded from the royal council. He resorted to arms.

The opposing factions met (1455) at St. Albans—usually taken as the first battle of the Wars of the Roses. Somerset was killed, leaving Queen Margaret at the head of the defeated royal party, and York again served as protector for a short period (1455–56). By 1459 both parties were once more in arms. The following year the Yorkists defeated and captured the king at the battle of Northampton. The duke of York hurried to London to assert his claims to the throne, which were, by laws of strict inheritance, perhaps better than those of the king himself. A compromise was affected by which Henry remained king and York and his heirs were declared successors.

Queen Margaret, whose son was thus disinherited, raised an army and defeated (1460) the Yorkists at Wakefield. York was killed in this battle, and his claims devolved upon his son Edward, but Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, became the real leader of the Yorkist party. Margaret's army rescued the king from captivity in the second battle of St. Albans (Feb., 1461), but Edward meanwhile secured a Yorkist victory at Mortimer's Cross, marched into London unopposed, and assumed the throne as Edward IV.

The Lancastrians, after their defeat at Towton (Mar., 1461), continued (with Scottish aid) to raise resistance in the north until 1464. The deposed Henry was captured (1465) and put into the Tower of London. Although the Lancastrian cause now seemed hopeless, a quarrel broke out between Warwick and Edward IV after the latter's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville in

1464. Warwick and the king's brother George, duke of Clarence, allied against Edward, fled to France (1470), and there became reconciled with Margaret of Anjou. Supported by Louis XI of France, they crossed to England and restored Henry VI to the throne.

Edward fled, but with the aid of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, returned to England in 1471, regained London, and recaptured Henry. In the ensuing battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury (1471), Warwick and Henry's son, Edward, were killed. Margaret was imprisoned. Soon thereafter Henry VI died, probably slain at the orders of Edward IV. After 12 relatively peaceful years, Edward IV was succeeded (1483) by his young son Edward V, but soon the boy's uncle Richard, duke of Gloucester, usurped the throne as Richard III. Opposition to Richard advanced the fortunes of Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, now the Lancastrian claimant. In 1485, Henry landed from France, defeated and killed Richard at **Bosworth Field**, and ascended the throne as Henry VII.

Henry VII's marriage to Edward IV's daughter, Elizabeth, united the houses of Lancaster and York. Except for various efforts during Henry's reign to place Yorkist pretenders on the throne, the Wars of the Roses were ended. It is generally said that with them ended the era of feudalism in England, since the nobles who participated suffered heavy loss of life and property and were too weak, as a class, to contest the strong monarchy of the Tudors. The middle and lower classes were largely indifferent to the struggle and relatively untouched by it.

The Battle of Bosworth (22 August, 1485)

Edward IV died in 1485. His son, Edward V, was only twelve years old, so Edward IV had designated his brother Richard as Protector. Richard had Edward's two sons taken to the Tower of London, where they vanished, so Richard was proclaimed king as Richard III. It is not known what actually happened to the boys, but most likely they were killed. The mystery remains as to who killed them, and if it was done on Richard's orders.

Richard had many enemies, and on 7 August, Henry Tudor landed near Milford Haven with about 2,000 French mercenaries and a handful of Lancastrian lords and knights. He gathered reinforcements as he marched through Wales, then through Shrewsbury, Stafford and Atherstone. Richard was at Nottingham, and moved from there to Leicester on 19 August, and by 21 August the two armies were facing each other about two and a half miles south of Market Bosworth. Richard's army was just under 12,000 strong, but 4,000 of his troops were commanded by the Stanley brothers, whose loyalty was suspect. Henry had only 5,000 troops. During the battle Both the Stanleys changed allegiance to Henry, swinging the numerical advantage to his favour.

The battle was fought on and around Ambion Hill, close to Sutton Cheney, and lasted only two hours. Richard had the better position, but did not take advantage by attacking Oxford while he was still deploying his troops. This allowed Oxford to launch the first attack and the Duke of Norfolk, who was commanding Richard's forward battle division, was soon killed. For the first hour, the fighting was evenly matched, but Richard lost the battle through the treachery of the the Stanleys, who deserted his cause. Even more damaging was of the Earl of Northumberland's failure to bring Richard's reserves into action when he saw the Stanleys go over to the enemy.

Richard made a last attempt to win victory by directly attacking Henry with his personal guard, and almost succeeded, having cut down Henry's standard bearer. Richard's gamble failed, and he was struck down. The battle ended because his followers had no other definite leader. Richard was the last king of England to die on the battlefield. His death effectively ended the Wars of the Roses, and Henry VII started a new dynasty, the Tudors.

Decline of Feudalism

The Feudal System was introduced to England following the invasion and conquest of the country by William I. He conquered England. Feudalism was based on duties and responsibilities of the nobles and knights. The nobles promised Land food and the knights promised protection. The factors that led to the decline of feudalism included Crusades, Rise of Towns, Rise of the Middle class, and Rise of strong Monarchy.

1. Crusades

The crusades or the Holy wars between the Christians and the Muslims weakened the nobles. They lost heavily in the crusades in terms of men and money. Many died and those who returned had lost much of their wealth. The nobles impoverished by the crusades began selling their feudal rights.

2. Rise of Towns

Many towns were able to have their freedom from baronial control, by paying a large sum of money and securing charters of rights.

3. Rise of the Middle class

Middle class people were against the mischievous and exploiting feudal barons and they were ready to help the king in crushing the power of the nobles.

4. Rise of strong Monarchy

Strong kings like Henry VII in England seriously planned to put down the nobles. When gun powder was discovered, kings made it their monopoly.

UNIT-IV

AGE OF RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

The Tudor Dynasty

Rulers of the Tudor Dynasty

Henry VII (1485-1509 AD)

Henry VIII (1509-1547 AD)

Edward VI (1547-1553 AD)

Queen Mary (1553-1558 AD)

Elizabeth I (1558-1603 AD)

In his book *England under Tudors and Stuarts*, Robert Raynes remarks that, "the advent of the Tudors marked the sunset of the Middle Ages and the sunrise of Modern times." Actually the reconstruction of the English society and civilization took place under the Tudors. The modern age started in England from the mid-15th century. Some such changes took place from 1483, which had a lasting effect on the history of England as well as on the whole of Europe.

The Intellectual revolution hit London during the reign of Henry VII. The scholars that he sent to Italy learned Greek and Latin languages, which they taught in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Henry's family was also devoted to the cause of learning and spreading modern thought. Books were made available throughout the country, which brought about the Renaissance in England, encouraging the study of sciences, arts, philosophy and literature. Thus, the rise of the Tudors in England and the Renaissance all over opened a new chapter of "Modern Age" in the History of England.

1. Development in England

During the Renaissance period many positive developments took place in Europe, especially in England. The spirit of Nationalism started to gain hold over the English psyche. The Roman Church started to loosen its grip over the people. The English people now became more united and trusted their own Church. A spirit of nationalism spread all over England. The English language, literature and people were now becoming more distinctive. As far the Religious field was concerned, it was during the reign of the Tudors that the country was divided between the Catholics and the Protestants. The foundation of national religion was laid. As the 'Holy Bible' was translated into many languages, people read it and became aware of the facts in religion. People could gather courage and strength to talk about the deeds of Pope and Church.

Petty feudal lords ruled England before the Tudors took over the English throne. Henry VII took some major steps by which the power of the traditional feudal lords came to an end. Henry supported upcoming lawyers, small merchants, clerks, educated class, writers, small businessmen, etc. Common people thus started gaining prominence. Henry made his schemes so well and arranged finances from the parliament for their proper execution. Marriage alliances were another form by which Henry kept up the balance of power and also managed to make England a very powerful country. He married his son to the princess of Spain, Catherine and daughter to the King of Scotland, James IV. This policy helped in maintaining peace and security for England.

2. Henry VII - The Founder of the Tudor Dynasty

After Henry VII ascended the English throne he had to face lot of problems like that of law and order, financial difficulties, feudal lords, etc. He married the Yorkist heiress, Elizabeth and came to the English throne. The Yorkist faction was easily defeated by Henry and after that the dynastic issue was settled. He now became powerful and acquired the moral support of the 'people of England' with whose help he ruled efficiently. The everyday administration was given to those countrymen who were unpaid but ready to help the King in his administration. Henry VII successfully carried out the administration. He gave secondary position to the parliament. But he never desired to reduce its legal powers. Somehow the roots of despotism were laid.

The English parliament was very reluctant to grant money to the King. To raise huge funds, Henry used many methods. He began 'benevolence' which were the gifts to the monarch which were in reality forced gifts or loans. The financial councilors of Henry VII were empowered with 'Morton Fork'; this tax was forced on rich and poor for the uplift of the State. Although these two tax devices earned a huge amount for the first Tudor King they also gave him bad name. Henry also forced the Kings who were defeated in the wars he fought to pay for the war losses from their treasury. In this way the cost of war was recovered. Besides this, he increased the tax on the crown lands by which the income was raised from 52,000 Sterling Pounds to 1, 42,000 Sterling Pounds. He raised money from some other sources like confiscation of estates of barons who were destroyed in war times. He imposed heavy fines on the one who broke any of his laws.

This apart, he was economical and avoided wars and ran the administration with proper balance of income and expenses. Economic development was very essential for him, and so he paid special attention to it. He founded a Merchant Navy and encouraged shipbuilding for the commercial development of the country. Development of industry was his special interest. Due to his policy relating to commerce the country could become more prosperous and economically developed.

Main domestic policy of Henry VII

The major objectives of Henry were:

1. To quell all the revolts so that his position could be secured and so he could concentrate on the proper administration of the country.
2. As 'money' and economic stability was essential for the proper and efficient implementation of his policies, his major concentration was on accumulation of finances.
3. For ending the power of the barons the King established a new monarchy. He established a special court of the Stuart Chamber. He reduced the power of the feudal lords. He imposed heavy fines on nobles who were found disobeying the regulations of the King.
4. He increased the foreign trade of the country so that the wealth and prosperity of the country could be increased.

Foreign Policy of Henry Tudor

It was after Henry VII Tudor took over as the King of England that it became a powerful nation. With his foolproof policy towards his neighbors England created an important place for itself in the family of European nations. With France; its ancient enemy England adopted an intellectual policy. When the King of France attacked Spain, Henry VII also declared war on France. To settle this situation the French decided to make peace with Henry by offering large sums of money. He also joined the League of Venice to maintain the balance of power in Europe. With Spain he entered into a matrimonial alliance with Ireland. He passed all such laws put forth in the English parliament that would be compulsorily imposed on Ireland. He also saw to it that laws could not be passed by Irish parliament without the sanction of the English parliament.

Henry VII was a farsighted ruler. His policy, both domestic and foreign brought prestige to England and credit to Tudors.

William Caxton and the printing press

William Caxton was born in the Weald of Kent and was apprenticed to a London mercer. On his master's death in 1441 he went to Bruges, and lived there and in various other places in the Low Countries for over 30 years, engaged apparently as head of an association of English merchants trading in foreign parts, and in negotiating commercial treaties between England and the Dukes of Burgundy. The first literary labour of Caxton was a translation of a French romance, which he entitled *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* which he finished in 1471. About this time he learned the art of printing, and, after being in the service of Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, an English princess, returned to England and set up his printing press at Westminster in 1476. It was the first printing press in England. His *Recuyell* and *The Game and Playe of Chesse* had already been printed in Europe and these were the first books in English. He produced the first book printed in England called "*The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*" in 1477. William Caxton obtained Royal favour, printed from 80 to 100 separate works, many of them translations of his own. William Caxton died, almost with pen in hand, in March 1491.

Henry VIII (1509 - 1547)

Henry VIII became the King of England after the death of his father Henry VII. He was just 18 years of the age at that time. He was a man of great qualities. He had learned administration from his father. Apart from being a good administrator he was also a man of letters and interested in music and art. His father handed over a strong kingdom to him. Henry VIII was one of the greatest statesmen that England had. He offered great services to the nation. He established law and order when it was much required. He also boldly separated the Pope from his administration.

Thus, he also brought about the reformation in England. As peace prevailed, Trade, Commerce and Industry flourished and the economic status of English people improved greatly. Henry also worked for the development of the naval authority of England. He encouraged the building of modern ships for navigation. The relations of Henry VIII with his parliament were unique. He took great interest in the progress of the parliament. Even though he kept the parliament under his full control, he called repeated sessions of the parliament to take major decisions. He himself never acted against the will of the Parliament.

Major Domestic Policy of Henry VIII

Although Henry VIII was a despotic king his people supported him greatly. His decisions were mostly according to the desire of the people. His strong army protected the people from frequent civil wars in England. Like his father he also made many forced loans. Due to this he could acquire a lot of money for his treasury, which he used for the implementation of his policies. The Navy was the real strength of England. Foreigners were always cautious of this English strength. The credit for it goes to Henry VIII who made special efforts towards the building of ships.

Foreign Policy of Henry VIII

The aims of Henry VIII's foreign policy were:

1. To maintain the balance of power in Europe.

2. To resist the power of the enemies of England.
3. To dominate European politics

Henry joined the Holy League with the intention of driving France out of Italy. He made peace with France through the marriage alliance of his sister Mary with Louis XII of France. But after the terms of his alliance with Spain expired, Henry declared war with France. By doing this he also checked the increase in the power of Charles V of Spain. When the Scots refused to accept the marriage proposal of Henry's son for their daughter, he invaded and burned Edinburgh. He also crushed an Irish revolt against the supremacy of England and acquired the title 'King of Ireland'. He also divided the country into many provinces and included Wales with England.

England began to be looked upon as the most important political nation of Europe in the then politics when Henry VIII broke his relations with the Pope and paved a way for the reformation movement. As a result, the English church was separated from the Roman Church. He reduced the importance of Spain and France and due to his shrewdness, England gained in political importance.

Reformation in England under Henry VIII

The Reformation in Germany and Switzerland started as a national and popular movement, in England; however, it began as an act of a despotic sovereign, Henry VIII, the second Tudor King. The Reformation under Henry VIII was more of a political and personal movement. Henry VIII was in the beginning a strong supporter of the Pope. When Martin Luther defied the Pope, Henry VIII wrote a book refuting Luther's arguments and sent it to the Pope. He was awarded the title of Defender of the Faith by the Pope. However, the same man was the one who effected the breach between the Roman Church and the Church of England which ultimately led to doctrinal changes.

Causes of the Breach with Rome

Henry broke with the Pope mainly because he would not consent to his divorce from the Queen, Catherine of Aragon, who was the aunt of the Holy Roman Emperor and Spanish Monarch; Charles V. The King became indifferent to Catherine who bore him only a daughter, Mary. All their sons died in infancy and Henry wanted to have a son to succeed him to the throne. In the meantime, he fell in love with Anne Boleyn, one of the ladies – in – waiting of the Queen. Henry should get the sanction from the Pope to divorce his wife and his Chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, was entrusted with the task. The Pope could not grant the sanction and Henry ultimately decided to defy the Pope as Luther did. He summoned a Parliament in 1529 (Reformation Parliament) and a subservient Parliament passed a series of laws abolishing the Pope's authority in England.

The activities of the Reformation Parliament

The first attack fell on Church funds. An act was passed to forbid some of the evil practices of the churchmen. In 1533 an Act of Appeals was passed forbidding an appeal of Rome from the decision of the English church courts. The Act of Annals followed and the Bishops were asked not to pay annals to the Pope. Then followed an Act of Succession making the children

of Anne as heirs to the throne. At last, in 1534, came the most important act passed by the Reformation Parliament namely the Act of Supremacy which declared the English King to be “the only supreme head of the church of England” with power to appoint all ecclesiastical officials and dispose off the Papal revenues. Even though Henry’s first intention was merely to put pressure on the Pope to grant the divorce, it ended in the complete severance of English people from the Roman church to which they had belonged for a thousand years. He married Anne Boleyn through a parliament decree.

There was much opposition in England and Henry was a man who could brook no opposition. Many conscientious Catholics who found it difficult to accept the supremacy of a layman refused to be oath of supremacy were punished. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More who had succeeded Rochester and Sir Thomas More who had succeeded Wolsey as Chancellor, declined to take the oath and they were killed. Their heads were placed on the London Bridge as a warning to others.

In Europe, the Reformation Movement – the rejection of Papal Authority and the Reform of the discipline of the clergy occurred along with certain changes in doctrines in the churches. But in England Henry was not Protestant in doctrine and his aim was to keep England Catholic without the Pope. In 1539, a statute known as the Statute of Six Articles was passed and this defined the chief doctrines of the Church of England. Men called it a ‘whip’ with six strings. The law imposed death penalty on anyone who questioned Catholic doctrines. Henry was determined to uphold the old-fashioned Catholic faith in everything except the supremacy of the Pope. He was quite as ready to burn men for being too Protestant as to hand or beheads them for being too Catholic. Till his death he remained a Catholic and wanted his country also to remain Catholic. No new religious changes took place in England under Henry VIII. However, the most important step was taken, namely, the breach with Rome and this was sure to be followed by other doctrinal changes.

The Dissolution of Monasteries under Henry VIII

Another important set taken by King Henry VIII was the dissolution of the monasteries. He had various reasons for dissolving these international institutions. The first was that the monks and nuns were the main supporters of the Pope’s authority in England. They owed their allegiance only to the Pope and it would be difficult to separate them from the Papal court. The second reason was the wealth of the monasteries. Henry was always in need of money and the cry against monastic wealth incited his greed. Another reason was the argument that all the monasteries had outlived their days of usefulness and that the monks and nuns were corrupt and worldly minded. This was the reason given to the nation for abolishing the various monasteries in England. There were over six hundred such religious houses in England at that time.

In 1535, Thomas Cromwell was made Vicar General with powers to visit any monastery in England. He knew what was expected of him and subsequently he became the ‘Hammer of the Monks’. Cromwell’s agents visited some monasteries in England and prepared the exaggerated report on the condition of the monasteries. The Parliament was satisfied and an act was passed dissolving 276 of the lesser houses. Henry had been testing his power. The dissolution however, caused grave discontent especially in the West and North. The wholesale destruction of the smaller monasteries was followed by two popular uprisings. The first

occurred in Lincolnshire, where the rebels were crushed by a military force under the Duke of Suffolk. The second rising known as The Pilgrimage of Grace was much more serious and it broke out in Yorkshire. In Yorkshire, the monks were still popular as they had been the only people to dispense hospitality to the wandering beggar and the ordinary traveler. The land here was rather barren and the work of the Cistercian monks in Yorkshire as sheep farmers was a benefit to the country. The people were scared as they thought that the dissolution of smaller monasteries would be followed by the dissolution of larger houses also.

The rebels under Robert Aske took possession of York. The expelled monks were restored to their monasteries. The Duke of Norfolk was sent to Yorkshire to appease the rebels. He cleverly offered pardon to the rebels if they would submit but a further outbreak in 1537 made Henry VIII act with a ferocity which the English would never forget. A council of the North was established to keep order in the north. Orders were given to behead any number of people in every town, village and hamlet. The leaders and no less than twelve Abbots were hanged for their part in the rebellion. The heads of the beheaded were exhibited so that no one in England would dare to attack on bigger monasteries. Many abbots were induced to surrender their abbeys to the King. Many who opposed were hanged.

Results of the Dissolution of Monasteries

The dissolution of more than six hundred religious houses was the greatest revolution in the ownership of land in England since the Norman Conquest. Apart of the newly acquired wealth was spent on education; some schools were founded during this period. Some of the money the King collected was spent in the rebuilding of the navy but the King's own greed and the greed of the courtiers swallowed most of the spoil. Henry's financial stress drove him in to selling most of the monastic lands among the wealthy middle classes. These people became in course of time strong supporters of the new faith in England. Therefore, the ultimate beneficiaries of the dissolution of monasteries in England were a class of gentry who were bound to the crown by a sense of gratitude. If Catholicism was restored the land they had bought from the monarch would be lost. This indirectly guaranteed Protestantism in England. Many centers of pilgrimage lost their importance as a result of the dissolution. The dissolution also resulted in the destruction of many monastic libraries and it was a cruel injury to learning and literature.

The monks and nuns who yielded their houses to the monarch were treated with generosity by the monarch and were given pension by the government. Those who opposed were persecuted and sent out of their houses mercilessly. They joined the ranks of the poor and the unemployed. Thus the dissolution of the monasteries hit the monks of the period really hard.

The Reign of Edward VI (1547 - 1553)

Edward came to the throne of England by the act of succession passed by Henry VIII. As he was a minor he was to be guided by the 'Council of Regency' in carrying out the day-to-day administration. Henry VIII appointed a well-balanced council. As the opinion of the members of Council changed the plans of Henry VIII suffered. The Duke of Somerset, the king's uncle was a member of the Council of Regency. He held strong opinions. He became the protector of the new King. He practically ruled England from 1547 - 1549. It was he who declared war

against Scotland as they refused the marriage proposal of Edward with Mary of Scotland. Mary was married to the French Prince, resulting in bad relations between England and Scotland.

The Duke of Somerset was a Protestant who supported the Reformation movement. During this time, Catholicism was greatly criticized. However, in 1552, the Duke of Somerset was executed under charges of conspiracy. After the execution of the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Northumberland started gaining power. He started to rule the country on behalf of Edward VI from 1549 - 1553. Northumberland (Warwick) was a cunning man. He was a staunch Protestant. He encouraged reformation in England. He forced Edward VI to declare Jane Grey, granddaughter of Henry VIII's youngest sister to be the heiress to the throne of England after Edward VI whose health was failing. However, the plans of the Edward VI under the influence of Northumberland failed. Edward VI died in 1553 and the crown went to Mary Tudor.

Mary Tudor (1553 - 1558)

Although Edward had wished that Jane Grey be made the Queen of England, the people were not ready to accept her as queen. So, Northumberland had to declare Mary as the Queen of England. The people looked towards her as the daughter of Henry VIII, who had brought peace in England. Mary, was a staunch Catholic. She renewed the faith and once again introduced mass. In her parliament, she refuted the acts of Edward VI as immature. She tried to swerve England towards Catholicism.

The Tudors generally had a flair for understanding people, but unfortunately Mary lacked this quality. In spite of the fact that her people did not want Mary to have a marriage alliance with the Spanish Prince, Philip II, she insisted on it. Her Catholic leanings made her unpopular.

Roman Catholicism during the reign of Mary

Being a staunch Catholic Mary did away with all the measures which Henry VIII and Edward VI took to restrict the activities of Catholics. She also annulled the divorce of Catherine and her strength was increased. The Latin Bible was reinstated in the English churches. Mary apologized to the Pope and requested him to accept England in the folds of the Roman church. Mary was clearly **against Protestantism**. Many Protestants were burnt alive and several were severely punished during her reign. This distanced her from the common people in England. They began hating her. They called her "Bloody Mary." These were serious political mistakes on the part of Mary, which caused her unpopularity. England lost many scholars and learned people due to Mary's persecution. An ironical outcome of Mary's cruel policies was that Protestantism became stronger as the people boldly faced the cruelties of Mary.

When Spain and France were at war, England was dragged into the skirmish due to the relationship of Philip II. The French took over Calais. This was a great blow to England. Mary, however, did not recover from the shock of the event and she died in 1558. Although she became popular for a small time; the English public hated her for her religious intolerance. Perhaps Mary desired to revenge for her mother's fate due to her father's tilt towards Protestantism. Thus it is evident that religion, politics and even personal lives could not be separated in the politics of England during that time.

Elizabeth I (1558-1603)

Elizabeth's reign is considered the Golden Age in the History of England. For she ushered in political stability and with it trade, commerce and the fine arts flourished. The English language was also polished and tempered at this time. Elizabeth was not in a hurry to solve the question of religion. She wanted to solve this very delicate problem with the help of the Parliament who represented the people. She took the advantage of the popular public feeling and acted accordingly. With suave diplomacy, she adopted the policy of ecclesiastical compromise. She founded a National Church i.e. the "**Anglican Church**," which borrowed principles from both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant faiths. Thus, she won the hearts of the followers of both faiths.

The religious policy of England (Elizabeth) was not liked by Philip of Spain. He attempted to murder the Queen, but could not succeed in it. With the financial help of Pope Sixtus V, he decided to invade England, but was badly defeated. This event established the supremacy of England and its trade and commerce also flourished. It checked the progress of Catholicism. England also became a major naval power in Europe.

On the fine arts front, Elizabeth invited talented artists from various parts of Europe to settle in England and spread their skill and knowledge. In the field of agriculture too, there was improvement. People were encouraged to grow more food grains in the country. This ensured self-sufficiency as regards food. Besides, she was very popular among the poorer classes because of the generous provisions of her poor laws. For Elizabeth inculcated in the people love for the country. Popular poets and playwrights were also largely responsible for the development of this patriotic fervor. Thus, Nationalism brought the English people closer together.

The English Parliament acquired a special place during the reign of Elizabeth. The Parliament acquired the right to vote and the right against unwarranted arrest of its members. The Parliament also acquired the power to punish those who gave bribes during elections. Elizabeth had special love for music and literature. According to Trevelyan, "Europe recognized Elizabethan England as the country of music par excellence." Besides instrumental and vocal music, people were interested in architecture, theater, dance, acting etc. All forms of art and literature attained great heights during the time of Elizabeth.

Foreign Relations of Elizabeth

Elizabeth was a true politician. She framed her foreign policy with the intense ambition that England emerges as an important nation, socially, politically, religiously and even economically. She encouraged internal differences and revolts in Spain, France etc. By this the neighboring countries would remain occupied with their own national problems. This would give England room to grow powerful in the community of European nations. Philip of Spain desired to help England to win back some of the territory she had lost in France, but on the conditions that he marry Elizabeth and dominate her foreign policy. Elizabeth refused to compromise on these terms so the issue remained unresolved.

The Anglo-Spanish relations had already deteriorated but Elizabeth did not desire to have the same quality of relations with France at this moment of time. So Elizabeth decided to remain neutral when the Protestants of Scotland requested her to help them. Later on she did help

them against France, but very secretly. This way she could maintain relations with both, France and Scotland. A revolt broke out in Ireland during the time of Elizabeth after the Pope ex-communicated her. At this time she sent the Earl of Essex etc. to suppress the revolt. After this Ireland completely came under the control of England.

Elizabethan Church Settlement

The **Elizabethan Religious Settlement** was Elizabeth I's response to the religious divisions created over the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I. This response, described as "**The Revolution of 1559**", was set out in two Acts of the Parliament of England. The Act of Supremacy of 1559 re-established the Church of England's independence from Rome, with Parliament conferring on Elizabeth the title Supreme Governor of the Church of England, while the Act of Uniformity of 1559 set out the form the English church would now take, including establishing the Book of Common Prayer.

Elizabeth's Religious Reign

When Mary died in 1558, Elizabeth inherited the throne. One of the most important concerns during Elizabeth's early reign was religion. Communion with the Roman Catholic Church had been reinstated under Mary using the instrument of Royal Supremacy, but was again severed by Elizabeth. She relied primarily on her chief advisors, Sir William Cecil, as her Secretary of State, and Sir Nicholas Bacon, as the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, for direction on the matter.

Parliament was summoned in 1559 to consider the Reformation Bill and to again create an independent Church of England. The Reformation Bill defined the Communion as a consubstantial celebration as opposed to a transubstantial celebration, included abuse of the pope in the litany, and ordered that ministers should not wear the surplice or other Catholic vestments. It allowed ministers to marry, banned images from churches, and confirmed Elizabeth as Supreme Head of the Church of England. The Bill met heavy resistance in the House of Lords, as Roman Catholic bishops as well as the lay peers voted against it. They reworked much of the Bill, changed the liturgy to allow for belief in transubstantiation in the Communion and refused to grant Elizabeth the title of Supreme Head of the Church. Parliament was prorogued over Easter, and when it resumed, the government entered two new bills into the Houses — the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity.

Act of Supremacy (1559)

The Act of Supremacy validated ten Acts of Henry VIII that Mary had repealed and confirmed Elizabeth as Supreme Governor of the Church of England. Use of the term Supreme Governor as opposed to Supreme Head pacified many who were concerned about a female leader of the Church of England. Elizabeth's changes were more wholesale than those of her half-brother, Edward VI. All but one of the bishops lost their posts, a hundred fellows of Oxford colleges were deprived; many dignitaries resigned rather than take the oath. The bishops who were removed from the ecclesiastical bench were replaced by appointees who would agree to the reforms.

On the question of images, her initial reaction was to allow crucifixes and candlesticks and the restoration of roods, but some of the new bishops whom she had elevated protested. In

1560 Edmund Grindal, one of the Marian exiles now made Bishop of London was allowed to enforce the demolition of rood lofts in London and in 1561 the Queen herself ordered the demolition of all lofts. Thereafter, the determination to prevent any further restoration was evidenced by the more thoroughgoing destruction of roods, vestments, stone altars, dooms, statues and other ornaments. The queen also appointed a new Privy Council, removing many Roman Catholic counsellors by doing so. Under Elizabeth, factionalism in the Council and conflicts at court greatly diminished. The Act of Supremacy had passed without difficulty. Queen Elizabeth I of England reached a moderate religious settlement which became controversial after her death.

Act of Uniformity

The Act of Uniformity 1559, which forced people to attend Sunday service in an Anglican church, at which a new version of the Book of Common Prayer was to be used, passed by only three votes. The Bill of Uniformity was more cautious than the initial Reformation Bill. It revoked the harsh laws proposed against Roman Catholics; it removed the abuse of the pope from the litany and kept the wording that allowed for both a subjective and objective belief in the Real Presence in the Communion.

After Parliament was dismissed, Elizabeth, along with Cecil, drafted what are known as the Royal Injunctions. These were additions to the settlement and largely stressed some continuity with the Catholic past — ministers were ordered to wear the surplice. Wafers, as opposed to ordinary baker's bread, were to be used as the bread at Communion. There had been opposition to the settlement in the shires, which for the most part were largely Roman Catholic, so the changes are often said to have been made in order to allow for acceptance of the Settlement, although MacCulloch sees it as "absurd to see these concessions as intended to mollify Catholic-minded clergy and laity" and only of help in conciliating possible Lutherans. Catholics had lost so much that these minor changes meant nothing to them. What succeeded more than anything else was the sheer length of Elizabeth's reign; while Mary had been able to impose her programme for a mere five years, Elizabeth had more than forty. Those who delayed, 'looking for a new day' when restoration would again be commanded, were defeated by the passing of years.

Legacy

The settlement is often seen as a terminal point for the English Reformation and in the long run the foundation of a "via media" and the concept of Anglicanism. At the time it was believed to have established a Protestant Church. Although Elizabeth "cannot be credited with a prophetic latitudinarian policy which foresaw the rich diversity of Anglicanism", her preferences made it possible. To some it can be said to represent a compromise in wording and practice between the first Prayer Book of Edward VI (1549) and the Second Prayer Book (1552). For example, when Thomas Cranmer first wrote the Book of Common Prayer, which came into operation in 1549, it contained the words "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." The 1552 edition, which was never in force, replaces these words with "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving." However, some liturgical scholars such as Gregory Dix, Ratcliff, and Couratin would say that both prayer books taught the same Eucharistic doctrine, albeit more cautiously in the first book. The Act

which authorised the second book spoke of it as explaining and making 'fully perfect' the first book. Finally, the 1559 book, published under Matthew Parker during the reign of Elizabeth, includes *both* phrases.

By the time of Elizabeth's death, there had emerged a new party, "perfectly hostile" to Puritans, but not adherent to Rome. The Anglicans, as they came to be called later in the century, preferred the revised Book of Common Prayer of 1559, from which had been removed some of the matters offensive to Catholics. A new dispute was between the Puritans, who wished to see an end of the prayer book and episcopacy and the Anglicans, the considerable body of people who looked kindly on the Elizabethan Settlement, who rejected 'prophesyings', whose spirituality had been nourished by the Prayer Book and who preferred the governance of bishops. It was between these two groups that, after Elizabeth's death in 1603, a new, more savage episode of the English Reformation was in the process of gestation.

Road to the Civil War

During the reigns of the Stuart kings, James I and Charles I, the battle lines were to become more defined, leading ultimately to the English Civil War, the first on English soil to engulf parts of the civilian population. The war was only partly about religion, but the abolition of prayer book and episcopacy by a Puritan Parliament was an element in the causes of the conflict. As Diarmaid MacCulloch has noted, the legacy of these tumultuous events can be recognised, throughout the Commonwealth (1649-1660) and the Restoration which followed it and beyond. Anglicans were to become the core of the restored Church of England, but at the price of further division. At the Restoration in 1660 Anglicans were to be but part of the religious scene.

Reformation in Scotland

John Knox, (1505 - 1572), led the Protestant Reformation in Scotland. His strong personality and fiery preaching made him one of the most powerful Scots of his day. Under his leadership, the Church of Scotland adopted a declaration of faith, a form of government, and a liturgy. The church reflected the presbyterian teachings of the reformer John Calvin, who greatly influenced Knox.

Early years. Knox was born near Haddington, east of Edinburgh. Little is known of his early life, except that he probably attended the University of St. Andrews. He became a Catholic priest in 1536. In those days, Scotland was one of the poorest, most backward countries of Europe. For many years, Scottish kings had been weak. Some had been children controlled by regents. The country was often torn by conflict between nobles. The church owned much of the nation's wealth, and the kings and nobles controlled the church. Politically, Scotland was merely one small part of the rivalry between France and England. During Knox's early years, a few Scots tried to become Protestant reformers, though they had little hope for reform in either church or government. In the early 1540's, Knox became a follower of the Protestant reformer George Wishart. Early in 1546, Wishart was arrested on the orders of David Cardinal Beaton, and was burned at the stake on a charge of heresy. In revenge, a group of Protestants assassinated the cardinal later that year and seized the castle of St. Andrews, his residence. Knox did not take part in the assassination, but he joined the Protestants in the castle. Mary of Guise, the Roman Catholic pro-French regent of Scotland, asked for assistance

from France. The French fleet captured the castle in July 1547, and Knox and several others were taken to France as galley slaves.

Later career. In 1549, the English government obtained the release of Knox and his associates. The government wanted them to build a pro-English Protestant party in Scotland. But the pro-French Catholics in Scotland were too strong, and so Knox went to England as a minister. He preached in Berwick for two years and became known as a radical Protestant reformer. In 1553, Mary Tudor became Queen of England and made Roman Catholicism the state religion again. Knox was one of the Marian Exiles--Protestants who fled to the European continent as religious refugees. While there, he met Calvin in Switzerland.

Late in 1554, Knox became pastor of church of English refugees in Frankfurt, Germany. He was forced to leave Frankfurt after a conflict with moderate Protestants. He returned to Geneva with most of the English radicals from Frankfurt, and founded a new refugee church. In Geneva, Knox corresponded secretly with Protestants in England, Scotland, and France. He also wrote pamphlets justifying the rights of persecuted people to rebel against tyrannical rulers.

Queen Mary died in 1558, and her successor, Queen Elizabeth, again changed England's state religion. Many Marian Exiles returned, and Knox arrived in Scotland in 1559. The English government helped him and his associates' rebel against Mary, Queen of Scots, and establishes Protestantism as Scotland's national religion. Mary was a Roman Catholic. Under Knox's leadership, the Scottish Parliament made Presbyterianism the state religion in 1560. From 1560 until his death, Knox was Scotland's most powerful political and religious leader. He was appointed minister of Edinburgh and preached at St. Giles' Cathedral, which became the political and religious centre of Scotland. His unfinished *History of the Reformation of Religion in the Realm of Scotland* is a dramatic autobiographical account of the Scottish Reformation to about 1564.

The Spanish Armada

Background. King Philip II of Spain was the most powerful and (seemingly) wealthy man in Europe in the latter half of the 16th century. His territories in the New World brought him enormous wealth, though the expense of administering that far-flung empire meant that Spain was heavily in debt to foreign bankers. England, by comparison, was a relatively small nation, and not a particularly powerful or wealthy one. Why then would Philip spend the money to assemble the largest - and most expensive - naval force ever seen against his island foe? The answer has many parts. In his youth, Philip was married to his fellow Catholic, Mary, Queen of England. He was not king, indeed the only way the English Parliament would countenance the marriage was if Philip was expressly forbidden from ruling.

He was, rather, Mary's consort, a duty he fulfilled with underwhelming enthusiasm. Philip never cared for Mary, indeed, he said while on his way to his marriage, "I am going to a crusade, not to a marriage feast". He was fueled by a religious desire to father a Catholic heir who would keep England within the Roman Catholic sphere. Mary, by now a middle-aged spinster, certainly did care for her new husband, and even managed to convince herself that

she was pregnant at one point, but it was not to be. When Mary died in 1558 her very Protestant sister Elizabeth came to the throne. Philip was unwilling to let his precarious grasp on England slip away completely; he proposed marriage to Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was a master at procrastination, and playing the game of politics. She kept communication open with Philip, and protested her friendship, all the while encouraging English pirates like Hawkins and Drake to seize Spanish ships and goods in the West Indies. Drake was dubbed by the Spanish "the Master Thief of the Unknown World". In the 1560s Elizabeth also earned Spanish wrath by supporting Protestants in the Netherlands in their revolt against Spanish occupation. Spain also believed, or at least found it useful to believe, that Elizabeth was illegitimate. Under Catholic principles Elizabeth's father Henry VIII had no right to divorce his first wife, Katherine of Aragon, to marry Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn. Therefore Elizabeth was born out of proper wedlock, and thus had no right to the throne.

More importantly for the fervently Catholic Philip, he believed that it was his duty to lead Protestant England back to the Catholic faith - by force if necessary. He managed to get papal approval for his invasion, and a promise of money to be delivered after the Spanish had landed in England. He also got papal permission to name the next ruler of England (by surreptitiously slipping a clause to that effect into the middle of the document of agreement with the pope). Philip planned to name his daughter Isabella as Queen of England, under his control.

The Spanish Fleet. Philip began preparing his invasion force as early as 1584. His first choice as commander was the Marquis of Santa Cruz, but when Santa Cruz died Philip ordered the Duke of Medina Sedonia to take command of the fleet. The Duke was an experienced warrior - on land. He had no naval background, and no interest in leading the Armada, as the invasion fleet came to be called. He begged to be dismissed, but Philip ignored the request.

Cadiz. Despite Spanish precautions, the English were well aware of the Spanish preparations. In a bold move that was apparently against Elizabeth's wishes, Sir Francis Drake sailed a small English fleet to Cadiz, where they surprised a large number of Spanish warships in the harbour. Drake burned and sunk a number of ships and slipped away before the Spanish could rally. Although the blow at Cadiz was more an annoyance than a major setback, the English took heart from this "singeing of the King of Spain's beard".

The Armada sets sail. By May of 1588, however, the Armada was finally ready to sail. The fleet numbered over 130 ships, making it by far the greatest naval fleet of its age. According to Spanish records, 30,493 men sailed with the Armada, the vast majority of them soldiers. A closer look, however, reveals that this "Invincible Armada" was not quite so well armed as it might seem. Many of the Spanish vessels were converted merchant ships, better suited to carrying cargo than engaging in warfare at sea. They were broad and heavy, and could not maneuver quickly under sail. This might not at first glance have seemed a problem to the Spanish. They did not intend to engage the English in a sea battle. The ships of the Armada were primarily troop transport. Their major task was simply to carry armed men to a designated landing point and unload them.

Naval tactics were evolving; it was still common for ships to come alongside each other and allow fighting men to engage in hand to hand combat. Advances in artillery were only beginning to allow for more complex strategies and confrontations at sea. At this stage the English were far more adept at artillery and naval tactics than the Spanish, who were regarded as the best soldiers in Europe. The Spanish plans called for the fleet to sail up the English Channel and rendezvous off Dover with the Duke of Parma, who headed the Spanish forces in the Netherlands. This in itself presented huge problems. Communications were slow, and the logistical problems of a rendezvous at sea were immense.

Also, the Duke of Parma was a very proud man, and resented the fact that Medina Sedonia had been given command of the operation. Throughout the whole Armada affair Parma, while not openly obstructionist, did a poor job of cooperating with his titular commander, Medina Sedonia. He did not believe the enterprise could succeed, and he did the absolute minimum possible to help. Perhaps worst of all the problems faced by the Armada was Philip himself. The king insisted on controlling the details of the Armada's mission. He issued a steady stream of commands from his palace of the Escorial, yet he seldom met with his commanders, and never allowed his experienced military leaders to evolve their own tactics. He did not listen to advice, which was a shame, for Philip had little military training and a poor grasp of naval matters. He firmly believed that God guided him, and that therefore his mission would succeed.

The English were not idle while the Spanish Armada prepared to sail. A series of signal beacons atop hills along the English and Welsh coasts were manned. When the Spanish ships were at last sighted of The Lizard on July 19, 1588, the beacons were lit, speeding the news throughout the realm. The English ships slipped out of their harbour at Plymouth and, under cover of darkness, managed to get behind the Spanish fleet.

The Battle. The Spanish sailed up the Channel in a crescent formation, with the troop transports in the centre. When the Spanish finally reached Calais, they were met by a collection of English vessels under the command of Howard. Each fleet numbered about 60 warships, but the advantage of artillery and maneuverability was with the English. Under cover of darkness the English set fireships adrift, using the tide to carry the blazing vessels into the massed Spanish fleet. Although the Spanish were prepared for this tactic and quickly slipped anchor, there were some losses and inevitable confusion.

On Monday, July 29, the two fleets met in battle off Gravelines. The English emerged victorious, although the Spanish losses were not great; only three ships were reported sunk, one captured, and four more ran aground. Nevertheless, the Duke of Medina Sedonia determined that the Armada must return to Spain. The English blocked the Channel, so the only route open was north around the tip of Scotland, and down the coast of Ireland. It was then that the unpredictable English weather took a hand in the proceedings. A succession of storms scattered the Spanish ships, resulting in heavy losses. By the time the tattered Armada regained Spain, it had lost half its ships and three-quarters of its men.

In England the victory was greeted as a sign of divine approval for the Protestant cause. The storms that scattered the Armada were seen as intervention by God. Services of thanks were held throughout the country, and a commemorative medal struck, with the words, "*God blew and they were scattered*" inscribed on it.

Mercantilism in England

The idea of mercantilism, an economic theory that focuses on the prosperity of a nation based on its supply of capital goods. Mercantilism in England was the country's main economic policy, particularly between the 16th and the 18th century. Generally speaking, this concept relies on the trading and exporting of goods as the main stimulus for the economy, and importing was usually discouraged. The theory of mercantilism in England generally stated that tangible goods like gold and silver were the actual measure of the entire nation's wealth as a whole, even if many citizens did not possess it. This whole concept was created while the country of England was in the middle of an economic transition. Many believed that the lower class, homeless, and jobless were an actual harm to the overall society, and were considered of almost no value to those who had power and monetary goods. This created a large amount of criticism of mercantilism in England.

Over time, the concept of mercantilism and what it meant was changed many times. This was often due to the changing ideas and theories of various economic scholars. Some of its staunchest supporters include people like John Maynard Keys, while others like Adam Smith opposed it. Much of the western world also rejected mercantilism, and famous figures like Abraham Lincoln and Alexander Hamilton spoke out against it. During that time, mercantilism in England was a hot topic of debate, and eventually in the late 19th century and onward, free trade became the norm as mercantilism started to fade away. Once it had disappeared, England became an important part of the world economy and one of the strongest and wealthiest nations in the world, and it still is today. Thanks to those who spoke out against mercantilism in England, the country is now much better without this economic system in place.

English East India Company

English East India Company, The British maritime organisation chartered by Queen Elizabeth I in 1600 AD with rights of monopoly trading in the eastern waters and later founding a colonial state in India. The opening of Trans-oceanic communication in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was closely accompanied by overseas colonial expansionism of the Maritime nations of Western Europe.

Origin and development: The original name of the company, according to the Charter granted by the queen, was 'the Governor and company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies'. For many years individual financiers fit out the voyages to the east. One of such voyages reached Surat in 1608, but without any transaction. The Portuguese had driven them out of the area. The company got the right from the Mughal government to trade in Surat in 1612 when the Portuguese force could be met with force. In 1615 King James I sent Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the court of Emperor jahangir. The gifts that Roe gave on behalf of the King and his personal manners pleased the emperor and he granted the company trading rights as pleaded by the ambassador. Thus the company began to set up trading stations what they called 'factories' in the western and eastern coasts of southern India. In 1639 the local chief of Wandiwash by a grant empowered the English company to build a fortress at Madras and govern it as their own territory. Fort St. George was built at Madras, which became the headquarters of the company's business in India.

The East India Company set its foot in Bengal in 1633 when a factory was established at Hariharpur on the Mahanadi delta. On 2 February, the English obtained a *Farman* from Emperor Shahjahan permitting them to pursue trade and commerce in Bengal. The most important privilege was obtained from the Bengal governor shah shuja who permitted the English to have trade in Bengal without any customs duties in lieu of an annual lump sum of Rs. 3000 only. It was this unique privilege which would take the company to the political domination of Bengal in course of time. In the same year the English founded their factory at hughli. Another factory was opened at Kasimbazar in 1658. In 1668, a new factory was opened at Dhaka, the capital of Bengal. The process of factory settlement was completed by the founding of Calcutta by job charnock in 1690 and from that time onward began the processes of establishing political dominance of the company in Bengal.

The company saw to it that its claims on the *Subah* always rest on legal grounds. The company thus obtained a fresh *Farman* from the emperor permitting it to trade in Bengal customs-free in lieu of an annual payment of Rs. 3,000. The rebellion of shobha singh in 1696 offered the company an opportunity to obtain permission to fortify the Calcutta settlement and thus arrange its own defence. The *Subahdar* gave the permission without weighing its military significance. The next step was to extend the company's influence by purchasing the zamindari of Calcutta, Sutanuti and Govindapur, thus quietly laying the foundation of power. In 1698 a rival company was formed and it got parliamentary incorporation under the name of "General Society Trading to the East Indies". The establishment of fort William in Calcutta and turning it an independent Presidency in 1700 followed these events. The two rival 'East India Companies' were amalgamated in 1702 with a new charter and a new name - 'The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies' though the popular name 'East India Company' remained till the last days of the company

From the beginning of the 18th century, the company was turning ever-increasing trade in Bengal. The number of ships coming to Bengal was increasing every year. This was also the time when Bengal had a great administrator in the person of murshid quli khan. Under him the Bengal trade and commerce had witnessed remarkable development, particularly its foreign trade. The company tried to take advantage of the weakness of the centre after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, but Murshid Quli was resolutely opposed to giving new advantages to the company while severely restricting the old privileges.

The company was particularly indignant about the harassment that its officials suffered at the *chowkis* or customhouses. The tendency of the officers to have their private trade made duty free in the name of the company's dastak led to frequent conflicts. Quite often company's boats were halted for proper check of their goods. Murshid Quli Khan never yielded to the demands of the company for more privileges. The Calcutta Council then sent an embassy under John Surman to Emperor Farrukhsiyar with lavish presents. The Surman Embassy was warmly received by the emperor who was pleased to issue a *Farman*, popularly known as farrukh siyar's Farman of 1717 (the date on the *Farman* is December 30, 1716) which directed the Bengal *Subahdar* to give the following main privileges to the company:

- that in addition to the existing privileges the company was to be given zamindari right over the thirty eight *mouzas* adjoining the Calcutta settlement;

- that in case the goods belonging to the company and other English were stolen, attempts must be made to recover the goods failing which proper compensation must be given;
- that Madras rupees of Surat quality must pass in Bengal without any discount;
- that the original *sanads* must not be demanded;
- that all persons who might be indebted or accountable to the company should be delivered up to the Chief of the Factory.
- that a *dastak* given by the chief of the factory should exempt the goods from being stopped or examined by the *chowkis*.
- that the *Subah* should allow the company to coin money at the Murshidabad Mint.

The company knew it very well that the *Subah*, as they knew him, would not be agreeable to abide by this charter of rights which was actually purchased from the needy emperor and which had undermined seriously the sovereign status of the kingdom. But they also knew that he had given them some legal basis of their extortionate trade and commerce in Bengal and fight for the realisation of the privileges on legal grounds. The *Farman* did not enumerate the articles to be covered by *dastak*. So the nawab's *chowkis* and the company officials were in confusion and the situation resulted in frequent conflicts, sometimes skirmishes. While the company officials saw that the nawab himself gave many orders to arrest and confine the breakers of law, the company even threatened reprisal. But Murshid Quli Khan avoided the direct confrontation.

The death of Murshid Quli Khan in 1727 and subsequent capture of power by Shujahuddin Khan was an opportunity for the company to get their demands realised, especially the zamindari rights over thirty eight villages. Shujahuddin more or less followed the footsteps of his predecessor and very cautiously followed a policy of keeping the continuation of export trade undisturbed and at the same time avoid any confrontation with the company. But on the trade item of salt, which was claimed to have been duty free by the company but not so by the nawab, the relation between the company and the *Subah* got embittered to the point of a war which was somehow avoided at the mediation of Fatehchand, the jagat sheth. The private trade under the cover of *dastak* was a major breach of trust between the company and the government. The private trade of company officials was widely carried under the privilege of *dastak*. The company would not allow the *chowkis* to examine the cargo of boats on the legal ground that the imperial *Farman* of 1717 exempted them of such examination.

During Shujahuddin Khan's period (1727- 1739) East India company's trade increased phenomenally in spite of very cold relation between the nawab and the English. With the expansion of trade and commerce grew the company's interest in Bengal. It became the company's policy to see a nawab at Murshidabad favourably disposed to it. Such a favourable disposition the company got, by default, during the regime of Alivardi Khan (1740-1756). Being constantly harassed by the Maratha raiders, Alivardi found it prudent not to create another front of harassment by taking strict measures against abuses and excesses of the East India Company. But Maratha incursions withered away at the accession of Sirajuddaula to the *masnad*. Sirajuddaulah directed the English three conditions to observe if they were inclined to continue trade and commerce in Bengal: (i) they must demolish the unauthorised

fortification of Calcutta forthwith, (ii) they must stop abuses of *dastak* and (iii) they must abide by the law of the land. The Fort William Council disregarded the nawab's orders at which the exasperated nawab attacked Calcutta and the English quickly fled away downstream of the Hughli river. In celebrating the victory Sirajuddaulah renamed Calcutta as Alinagar after his grandfather. In his act against the English, Sirajuddaulah had moral support from the French.

It was the period of Seven Years War in Europe. To the British, the Alinagar action of Sirajuddaulah was interpreted as a double defeat - defeat with the native nawab and with the French who supported him. Soon reinforcement came from Madras under the command of Robert Clive. Clive recaptured Calcutta (January 2, 1757) and stormed the Mughal port of Hughli in reprisal. A dialogue was soon opened with the Murshidabad *Darbar* faction secretly opposed to the young nawab. Jagath Seth was its leader. There followed a secret treaty with the conspirators confirming all the privileges and compensations claimed by the English. Mir Jafar, the recently sacked *bakhshi* of the nawab, was chosen to be the next nawab of Bengal. According to the terms of the treaty a sham battle took place at Palashi on June 23, 1757. Most of the nawab's army remained firmly still at the instance of Mir Jafar and other conspirators. Sirajuddaulah was defeated and later slain by Mir Jafar's son, Miran.

Beginning of the end of the company: The battle of Palashi has been correctly interpreted in the eighteenth century European history as a British victory at one important front on the world theatre of battles fought overseas in the Seven Years' War by the two great rival powers - England and France. It was a defeat for Sirajuddaulah and for his ally France at the same time. The East India Company's success in installing a puppet nawab on the Murshidabad masnad and ousting the French presence in Bengal had inaugurated informally the establishment of British political dominance in Bengal. In realising their goal the company proceeded step by step. The 24-Parganas were obtained from the new nawab as a gift to the company immediately after Palashi. In 1760, three large and resourceful districts of Bengal (Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong) were acquired. The diwani or revenue administration of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was acquired in 1765. From 1765 to 1772, the company shared revenue of Bengal but took no responsibility in administering it. On behalf of the company, Syed Muhammad Reza Khan managed diwani administration. This was the period when the company and its servants plundered the country's resources wantonly. The consequence was the collapse of the economy and collapse of law and order of the country. The famine of 1769/70, which decimated one-third of the Bengal population, was the result of the great ravage.

The Bengal conquest by the company proved to be not only ruinous for Bengal, but also for the company itself. In a plundering mood the company and its servants became busier in enriching themselves. Consequently, ever since the Bengal conquest, the company, which used to declare hitherto attractive dividend every year, was running at a loss. The chronic losses forced the company at last to pray for a 'rescue loan' from government in 1771. The political considerations led parliament to grant a loan and at the same time interfere into the affairs of the company by enacting the Regulating Act, 1773.

Events towards the end of the company: The Regulating Act of 1773 hinted at two parallel developments - gradual encroachment of government control on the company affairs and corresponding curtailment of power of the company until its complete abolition in 1858.

The Regulating Act had defined how the affairs of the company including the governance of the new state had to be managed. Government reserved the right to interfere into the affairs of the company any time it felt necessary. It felt to interfere in 1784 by enacting a more elaborate law controlling the Indian affairs of the company. A permanent parliamentary committee called board of control was set up to oversee the affairs of the company. The members of the court of directors were barred from receiving gifts and presents from cadets whom they nominated to become members of the Civil Service in Bengal. A governor general, Cornwallis, was directly appointed by parliament with specific instructions to execute. Cornwallis, to the great disadvantage of the company, had formulated the mode of administration of the colonial state. Private trade and receiving gifts and presents on the part of officers were totally banned.

Under the pressure of the British private traders, the monopoly right of the company was greatly relaxed under the charter act of 1793. A definite amount of tonnage in the company's ships was kept reserved for the private traders. The Act redefined the company's status by declaring that the company's state in India belonged to the Crown and henceforth they would have to rule India on behalf of the Crown and the Board of Control was vested with the power of appointing the Governor General. Lord Wellesly, who turned the company's Bengal state into an Indian empire, was appointed by the Board of Control. The colonial state became such an unwieldy affair and the Free Trade pressure groups became so influential that parliament took several decisions affecting the interests of the company. The most crucial of them was the abolition of the monopoly right of the East India Company by the Charter Act of 1813. India was thrown open to free trade. The company, as a commercial organisation, was now required to operate under the market forces.

Never used to compete within the Indian market, the East India Company became a sick organisation commercially. Furthermore, the administrative branch to attract competent Britons to the commercial management of the company too pitifully overshadowed the commercial branch of the company. Under the circumstances, the company's commercial activities were abolished under the Charter Act of 1833. Only its China trade was retained.

Henceforth the company was purely an administrative body on behalf of the Crown. Its only privilege was to nominate cadets for the enrollment in the company's Covenanted Civil Service. This also was circumscribed by many limitations set by the Board of Control. Under the Charter Act of 1853, the company was shorn of the last vestige of its power and privilege; the Director's privilege to nominate cadets for company's Civil Service was abolished and the system of competitive examination for recruiting civilians on the basis of merit was introduced, instead. The East India Company, the builder of the British Empire in India and the largest corporate organisation in Britain for two hundred years, was thus left with its shell only. For all practical purposes, the company became an irrelevant and burdensome body. The sepoy revolt of 1857 came as an opportunity for parliament to get rid of this nominal body. By the Queen's Declaration of 1858, the East India Company was formally abolished.

The Poor Laws

Society in Elizabethan England was changing and the number of poor people living in abject poverty was increasing. A series of laws was introduced by the English Parliament in 1563, 1572, 1576, 1597 culminating in the 1601 Poor Law. Views on the poor changed throughout

this period beginning with a harsh attitude towards the poor but easing towards a more compassionate approach. There were a number of reasons for the poverty and the increasing numbers of the poor in Elizabethan England, some of the reasons dated back to before the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Reasons for Poverty

1. Breakdown of the Feudal System.

The medieval Feudal system had broken down. The feudal system was built on a hierarchal pyramid system where everyone owed allegiance to their immediate superior and the nobles of the land and the Lords of the Manor were responsible for the peasants who lived on their land.

2. Dissolution of the Monasteries.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries instigated by King Henry VIII between 1536 and 1540 put vast sums of money into the royal coffers and saw Monks and Nuns homeless and many poor people without a place of refuge.

3. Changes in Religion leading to decline in values & moral expectations.

The abrupt change in religions and the chaos wreaked by the Dissolution of the Monasteries brought about a decline in values and moral expectations. Prior to the Reformation the close knit religious communities of England adhered to the Bible instructions given to all Christians in Matthew Chapter 25 which stated that all Christians shall:

feed the hungry
give drink to the thirsty
welcome the stranger
clothe the naked
visit the sick
visit the prisoner
bury the dead

The decline in Christian values, and the examples set by the Nuns and the Monks, resulted in these charitable acts of Mercy towards the unfortunate were no longer seen as a duty nor were they undertaken. The English had firmly placed the responsibility of these people firmly on the shoulders of the Elizabethan government. Lord Burghley was particularly concerned that Starving and homeless people were driven to desperate acts endangering society in general and Law and Order in particular.

4. Land Enclosure.

Changes in agriculture during the Elizabethan period led to people leaving the countryside and their village life to search for employment in the towns. The wool trade became increasingly popular during the Elizabethan age, which meant that land which had been farmed by peasants was now dedicated to rearing sheep and a process known as land enclosure meant that the traditional open field system ended in favour of creating larger and more profitable farming units which required fewer people to work on them. The number of jobs decreased and people were forced to leave their homes in search of employment in the towns.

5. Poor Harvests & Population Increase.

During Queen Elizabeth's reign in the 1590's a series of poor harvests occurred. The price of food increased and people were suffering from starvation. This, combined with a population increase of 25% during the Elizabethan era created an extremely serious situation in the land. Starving and homeless people were driven to desperate acts endangering society in general.

The Poor Law - 1563 Act

The threat to civil disorder led to an Act of the Elizabethan Poor Law to be passed through Parliament in 1563. The different types of Poor people were categorised in order to determine the treatment that they might receive as follows:

The 'Deserving Poor' - the old the young and the sick who should receive help

These poor people were provided with 'Outdoor Relief' in the form of clothes, food or money

The 'Deserving Unemployed' - those willing and able to work but unable to find employment

These poor people were provided with 'Indoor Relief' in the form of being cared for in almshouses, orphanages and workhouses

The sick were cared for in hospitals

Apprenticeships were arranged for the young

The 'Undeserving Poor' - those who turned to a life of crime or became beggars

The dishonest men in these categories were criminals who turned to various forms of theft

The beggars in these categories were referred to as 'Idle Beggars' but many have since been referred to as 'Poor Beggars'. These are still common terms in the modern English language

The punishments for these categories were extremely harsh, some of which are described below.

The Poor Law - The Poor Beggars

The unfortunate poor who turned to begging were viewed and treated as criminals. The punishment of the 'poor beggars' was that they would be beaten until they reached the stones that marked the town parish boundary. The beatings given as punishment were bloody and merciless and those who were caught continually begging could be sent to prison and even hanged as their punishment.

The Poor Law - 1572 Act

In 1572 the first compulsory poor law tax was imposed at a local level making the alleviation of poverty a local responsibility. Each Parish each parish was responsible to provide for its own aged, sick and poor. The Justice of the Peace for each parish was allowed to collect a tax from those who owned land in the parish. This was called the Poor Rate. The Law stated that charity for the relief of the poor should be collected weekly by assigned collectors. The money was used to help the 'Deserving Poor' - anyone refusing to pay was imprisoned.

The Poor Law - 1576 Act

In the 1576 Act each town was required to provide work for the unemployed, in effect, the first English Workhouse, or Poorhouse (without accommodation) and Houses of Correction for Vagrants and Beggars. Raw materials, such as wool, were provided and the poor supplied the labour. Punishment of the Mother and reputed Father of a Bastard was also established.

The Poor Law - 1597 Act

The poor harvest of the 1590's placed an even bigger burden on the economy. The Justices of the Peace were given more authority to raise additional compulsory funds. A new position of 'Overseer of the Poor' was created. The role of the Overseer of the Poor was to:

- Calculate the amount of 'Poor Rate' required for the Parish
- Collect the poor rate from property owners
- Dispensing either money, clothes or food
- Supervise the Parish Poor House

The Poor Law Act, 1601

The Poor Law Act 1601 formalised earlier practices making provision for a *National* system to be paid for by levying property taxes. The 1601 Poor Law act Made provision to:

- To levy a compulsory poor rate on every parish
- To provide working materials
- Provide work or apprenticeships for children who were orphaned or whose parents were unable to support them
- Offer relief to the 'Deserving Poor'
- Collect a poor relief rate from property owners
- Parents and children were responsible for each other, so poor elderly parents were expected to live with their children

Roger Ascham (1515-1568)

Roger Ascham was born in Kirby Wiske, Yorkshire, in 1515, the youngest son of John and Margaret Ascham. In 1530 Ascham entered St. John's College, Cambridge, where he applied himself to the study of Greek. He received his bachelor's degree at the age of eighteen on February 18, 1534 and became fellow of the college in March. In 1537, at the age of twenty-one, Ascham became Master of Arts and began tutoring younger students. Ascham became reader in Greek around 1538 until Henry VIII founded a lecture to take his place.

One of Ascham's favorite pastimes was archery. In 1545 Ascham published the treatise *Toxophilus or the Schole or Partitions of Shooting* partly in defense of archery against those who found the sport unbefitting a scholar. The work was dedicated to Henry VIII who enjoyed the treatise so much that he granted Ascham a pension: ten pounds a year. Ascham was further honored by being assigned to tutor Prince Edward.

In 1548, after the death of Princess Elizabeth's tutor, Ascham was appointed to the post of teaching the young woman who would become Queen Elizabeth I. He held the post until 1550 when he left the post without her consent. He was appointed secretary to Sir Richard Morisine and accompanied him to Germany later the same year. During his trip Ascham wrote his *Report and Discourse of the Affairs in Germany* containing his impressions on the people and culture of Germany. Ascham also visited Italy, later recounting "the vices of Venice" in *The Scholemaster*. Morisine was recalled to England at the death of Edward in 1553, and Ascham returned to Cambridge.

During Ascham's absence he had been appointed Latin secretary to King Edward, a post he was instated in also under Queen Mary I. In 1554 Ascham married Margaret Howe. Upon Queen Mary's death in 1558, he was appointed secretary to Queen Elizabeth, and in 1559 he was given the prebend of Westwang in Yorkshire. In 1563 Ascham was invited by Sir Edward Sackville to write a treatise on education. This became 'The Scholemaster', published posthumously in 1570. Ascham took ill in 1568 with an unidentified disease and died at the age of fifty-three. Hearing of his death Queen Elizabeth is said to have exclaimed: "I would rather have cast ten thousand pounds in the sea than parted from my Ascham."

Renaissance in Literature-Humanism

Sir Thomas More (1478-1535)

The life of the English humanist and statesman Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) exemplifies the political and spiritual upheaval of the Reformation. The author of "Utopia," he was beheaded for opposing the religious policy of Henry VIII. Thomas More was born in London on Feb. 6, 1478, to parents whose families were connected with the city's legal community. His education began at a prominent London school, St. Anthony's. In 1490 Thomas entered the household of Archbishop John Morton, Henry VII's closest adviser. Service to Morton brought experience of the world, then preferment in 1492 to Oxford, where Thomas More first encountered Greek studies. Two years later he returned to London, where legal and political careers were forged. By 1498 Thomas More had gained membership in Lincoln's Inn, an influential lawyers' fraternity.

Christian Humanism

A broader perspective then opened. The impact of humanism in England was greatly intensified about 1500, partly by Erasmus's first visit. His biblical interests spurred the work of Englishmen recently back from Italy; they had studied Greek intensively and thus were eager for fresh scrutiny of the Gospel texts and the writings of the early Church Fathers. John Colet's Oxford lectures on the Pauline epistles, and his move in 1504 to London as dean of St. Paul's Cathedral and founder of its famous humanist school, epitomized this reformist, educational activity among English churchmen. Lay patronage of the movement quickly made Cambridge, where Erasmus periodically taught, a focus of biblical scholarship and made London a favored meeting ground for Europe's men of letters.

England thus shed its cultural provincialism, and Thomas More, while pursuing his legal career and entering Parliament in 1504, was drawn to the Christian humanist circle. He spent his mid-20s in close touch with London's austere Carthusian monks and almost adopted their vocation. His thinking at this stage is represented by his interest in the Italian philosopher Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola, who had also become increasingly pious when approaching the age of 30 a decade before; More's 1505 translation of Pico's first biography stressed that development.

But Thomas More then decided that he could fulfill a Christian vocation while remaining a layman. Both his subsequent family life and public career document the humanist persuasion that Christian service could be done, indeed should be pursued, in the world at large. He first married Jane Colt, who bore three sons and a daughter before dying in 1511, and then Alice Middleton. His household at Bucklersbury, London, until 1524 and then at Chelsea teemed with visitors, such as his great friend Erasmus, and formed a model educational community for the children and servants; More corresponded with his daughters in Latin. His legal career flourished and led to appointment as London's undersheriff in 1511. This meant additional work and revenue as civic counsel at Henry VIII's court and as negotiator with foreign merchants.

More's first official trip abroad, on embassy at Antwerp in 1515, gave him leisure time in which he began his greatest work, *Utopia*. Modeled on Plato's *Republic*, written in Latin, finished and published in 1516, it describes an imaginary land, purged of the ostentation, greed, and violence of the English and European scenes that Thomas More surveyed. Interpretations of *Utopia* vary greatly. The dialogue form of book I and *Utopia's* continual irony suggest Thomas More's deliberate ambiguity about his intent. Whatever vision Thomas More really professed, *Utopia* persists and delights as the model for an important literary genre.

Service under Henry VIII

Utopia book I and More's history of Richard III, written during the same period, contain reflections about politics and the problems of counseling princes. They represent More's uncertainty about how to handle frequent invitations to serve Henry VIII, whose policies included many facets distasteful to the humanists. More had written in *Utopia*: "So it is in the deliberations of monarchs. If you cannot pluck up wrongheaded opinions by the root ... yet you must not on that account desert the commonwealth. You must not abandon the ship in a storm because you cannot control the winds." He finally accepted Henry's fee late in 1517 and fashioned a solid career in diplomacy, legal service, and finance, crowned in 1529 by

succession to Cardinal Wolsey as chancellor of England. More's early doubts, however, proved justified. Under Wolsey's direction Thomas More as Speaker of the House of Commons in 1523 promoted a war levy so unpopular that its collection was discontinued. In European negotiations Henry's belligerence and Wolsey's ambition frustrated More's desire to stop the wars of Christendom so that its faith and culture could be preserved.

By the time that Wolsey's inability to obtain the annulment of Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon had raised More to highest office and placed him in the increasingly distressing role of Henry's chief agent in the maneuvering that began to sever England from Rome, More was deeply engaged in writings against Lutherans, defending the fundamental tenets of the Church whose serious flaws he knew. More cannot justly be held responsible for the increased number of Protestants burned during his last months in office, but this was the gloomiest phase of his career. The polemics, in English after 1528, including the *Dialogue Concernynge Heresyys* (1529) and *Apologye* (1533), were his bulkiest works but not his best, for they were defensive in nature and required detailed rebuttal of specific charges, not the light and allusive touch of the humanist imagination. He continued writing until a year after his resignation from office, tendered May 16, 1532, and caused by illness and distress over England's course of separation from the Catholic Church.

Break with the King

More recognized the dangers that his Catholic apologetics entailed in the upside-down world of Henry's break with Rome and tried to avoid political controversy. But Henry pressed him for a public acknowledgment of the succession to the throne established in 1534. More refused the accompanying oath that repudiated papal jurisdiction in England and the Christian unity thereby manifest, in favor of royal supremacy.

More's last dramatic year—from the first summons for interrogation on April 12, 1534, through imprisonment, trial for treason, defiance of his perjured accusers, and finally execution on July 6, 1535—should not be allowed to overshadow his entire life's experience. Its significance extends beyond the realm of English history. For many of Europe's most critical years, Thomas More worked to revitalize Christendom. He attacked those who most clearly threatened its unity; once convinced that Henry VIII was among their number, Thomas More withdrew his service and resisted to his death the effort to extract his allegiance. His life, like Utopia, offers fundamental insights about private virtues and their relationship to the politics of human community.

John Milton (1608-1674)

One of the greatest poets of the English language, best-known for his epic poem **PARADISE LOST (1667)**. Milton's powerful, rhetoric prose and the eloquence of his poetry had an immense influence especially on the 18th-century verse. Besides poems, Milton published pamphlets defending civil and religious rights.

**"Of Man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,**

With loss of Eden."
(From *Paradise Lost*)

John Milton was born in London. His mother, Sarah Jeffrey, a very religious person, was the daughter of a merchant sailor. Milton's father, named John, too, had raised to prosperity as a scrivener or law writer – he also composed madrigals and psalm settings. The family was wealthy enough to afford a second house in the country. Milton's first teachers were his father, from whom he inherited love for art and music, and the writer Thomas Young, a graduate of St Andrews University. Milton took part in small domestic concerts, he played often a small organ and he had "delicate, tuneable voice". At the age of twelve Milton was admitted to St Paul's School near his home. Five years later he entered Christ's College, Cambridge. While considering himself destined for the ministry, he began to write poetry in Latin, Italian, and English. One of Milton's earliest works, 'On the Death of a Fair Infant' (1626), was written after his sister Anne Phillips had suffered from a miscarriage. 'In inventorem bombardae' (On the inventor of gunpowder), a piece in a series on the occasion of the Gunpowder Plot, contains Milton's first portrayal of Satan.

Milton did not adjust to university life. He was called, half in scorn, "The Lady of Christ's", and after starting a fist fight with his tutor, he was expelled for a term. On leaving Cambridge Milton had given up his original plan to become a priest. He adopted no profession but spent six years at leisure in his father's home, writing during that time *L'ALLEGRO, IL PENSEROSO* (1632), *COMUS* (1634), and *LYCIDAS* (1637), about the meaning of death, which was composed after the death of his friend Edward King. Milton wrote in Latin as was usual for the time. His first published poem was the sonnet 'An Epitaph on the Admirable Dramatic Poet, W. Shakespeare', which was printed anonymously in the Second Folio of Shakespeare's works (1632).

In 1635 the Miltons moved to Horton, Buckinghamshire, where John pursued his studies in Greek, Latin, and Italian. He traveled in France and Italy in the late 1630s, meeting in Paris the jurist and theologian Hugo Grotius and the astronomer Galileo Galilei in Florence – there are references to Galileo's telescope in *Paradise Lost*. His conversation with the famous scientist Milton recorded in his celebrated plea for a free speech and free discussion, *AREOPAGITICA* (1644), in which he stated that books "preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect bred in them." Milton returned to London in 1639, and set up a school with his nephews and a few others as pupils. He had planned to write an epic based on the Arthurian legends, but then gave up his literary pursuits, partly due to the Civil War, which divided the country as Oliver Cromwell fought against the king, Charles I.

Concerned with the Puritan cause, Milton published a series of pamphlets against episcopacy (1642), on divorce (1643), in defense of the liberty of the press (1644), and in support of the regicides (1649). He also served as the secretary for foreign languages in Cromwell's government. After the death of Charles I, Milton expressed in *THE TENURE OF KINGS AND MAGISTRATES* (1649) the view that the people have the right to depose and punish tyrants.

In 1651 Milton became blind, but like Jorge Luis Borges centuries later, blindness helped him to stimulate his verbal richness. "He sacrificed his sight, and then he remembered his first desire, that of being a poet," Borges wrote in one of his lectures. One of his assistants was the

poet and satirist Andrew Marvell (1621-78), who spoke for him in Parliament, when his political opinions stirred much controversy. After the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, Milton was arrested as a noted defender of the Commonwealth, but was soon released. However, for his opposition Milton was forced to pay a massive fine. Besides public burning of *EIKONKLASTES* (1649) and the first *DEFENSIO* (1651) in Paris and Toulouse, Milton escaped from more punishment, but he became a relatively poor man. The manuscript of *Paradise Lost* he sold for £5 to Samuel Simmons, and was promised another £5 if the first edition of 1,300 copies sold out. This was done in 18 months.

Milton was married three times. His first marriage started unhappily; this experience prompted the poet to write his famous essays on divorce. He had married in 1642 Mary Powell, seventeen at that time. She grew soon bored with her busy husband and went back home where she stayed for three years. Their first child, Anne, was born in 1646. Mary died in 1652 and four years later Milton married Katherine Woodcock; she died in 1658. For her memory Milton devoted the sonnet 'To His Late Wife'. In the 1660s Milton moved with his third wife, Elizabeth Minshull, again a much younger woman, to what is now Bunhill Row. The marriage was happy, in spite of the great difference of their ages. Milton spent in Bunhill Row the remaining years of his life, apart from a brief visit to Chalfont St Giles in 1665 during a period of plague. His late poems Milton dictated to his daughter, nephews, friends, disciples, and paid amanuenses.

In **THE DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF DIVORCE (1643)**, composed after Mary had deserted him, Milton argued that a true marriage was of mind as well as of body, and that the chaste and modest were more likely to find themselves "chained unnaturally together" in unsuitable unions than those who had in youth lived loosely and enjoyed more varied experience. Though Milton morally austere and conscientious, some of his religious beliefs were very unconventional, and came in conflict with the official Puritan stand. Milton who did not believe in the divine birth, "believed perhaps nothing", as Ford Madox Ford says in *The March of Literature* (1938). Milton died on November 8, 1674. He was buried beside his father in the church of St Giles, Cripplegate. It has been claimed that Milton's grave was desecrated when the church was undergoing repairs. All the teeth and "a large quantity of the hair" were taken as souvenirs by grave robbers.

Milton's achievement in the field of poetry was recognized after the appearance of *Paradise Lost*. Before it the writer himself had showed some doubt of the worth of his work: "By labor and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life), joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to after-times, as they should not willingly let it die." (From *The Reason of Church Government*, 1641) Milton's cosmic vision has occasionally provoked critical discussion. Even T.S. Eliot has attacked the author and described him as one whose sensuousness had been "withered by book-learning." Eliot claimed that Milton's poetry "'could *only* be an influence for the worse."

The theme of fall and expulsion from Eden had been in Milton's mind from the 1640s. His ambition was to compose an epic poem to rival the ancient poets, such as Homer and Virgil, whose grand vision in *Aeneid* left traces in his work. Originally it was issued in 10 books in 1667, and in 12 books in the second edition of 1674. Milton, who wanted to be a great poet, had also cope with the towering figure of Shakespeare, who had died in 1616. Milton was

seven at that time. In his own hierarchy, Milton placed highest in the scale the epic, below it was the drama.

Paradise Lost is not easy to read with its odd syntax, difficult vocabulary, and complex, but noble style. Moreover, its cosmic vision is not actually based on the Copernican system, but more in the traditional Christian cosmology of its day, where the Earth (and man) is the center of the universe, not the sun. The poem tells a biblical story of Adam and Eve, with God, and Lucifer (Satan), who is thrown out of Heaven to corrupt humankind. Satan, the most beautiful of the angels, is at his most impressive: he wakes up, on a burning lake in Hell, to find himself surrounded by his stunned followers. He has been defeated in the War of Heaven. "All is not lost; th' unconquerable Will, / And study of revenge, immortal hate, / And courage never to submit or yield... /" Milton created a powerful and sympathetic portrait of Lucifer. His character bears similarities with Shakespeare's hero-villains Iago and Macbeth, whose personal ambition is transformed into metaphysical nihilism.

Milton's view influenced deeply such Romantic poets as William Blake and Percy Bysshe Shelley, who regarded Satan as the real hero of the poem – a rebel against the tyranny of Heaven. The troubled times, in which Milton lived, is also seen on his theme of religious conflict. In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* Blake stated that Milton is "a true Poet, and of the Devil's party without knowing it." Many other works of art have been inspired by *Paradise Lost*, among them Joseph Haydn's oratorio *The Creation*, Alexander Pope's *The Rape of the Lock* and *The Dunciad*, John Keat's poem *Endymion*, Lord Byron's *The Vision of Judgment*, the satanic Sauron in J.R.R. Tolkien's saga *The Lord of the Rings*. Noteworthy, Nietzsche's Zarathustra has more superficial than real connections with Milton's Lucifer, although Nietzsche knew Milton's work.

William Shakespeare (1564 –1616)

William Shakespeare was an English poet and playwright, widely regarded as the greatest writer in the English language and the world's pre-eminent dramatist. He is often called England's national poet and the "Bard of Avon" (or simply "The Bard"). His surviving works consist of 37 plays, 154 sonnets, two long narrative poems, and several other poems. His plays have been translated into every major living language, and are performed more often than those of any other playwright.

Shakespeare was born and raised in Stratford-upon-Avon. At the age of 18 he married Anne Hathaway, who bore him three children: Susanna, and twins Hamnet and Judith. Between 1585 and 1592 he began a successful career in London as an actor, writer, and part owner of the playing company the Lord Chamberlain's Men, later known as the King's Men. He appears to have retired to Stratford around 1613, where he died three years later. Few records of Shakespeare's private life survive, and there has been considerable speculation about such matters as his sexuality, religious beliefs, and whether the works attributed to him were written by others.

Shakespeare produced most of his known work between 1590 and 1613. His early plays were mainly comedies and histories, genres he raised to the peak of sophistication and artistry by the end of the 16th century. Next he wrote mainly tragedies until about 1608, including *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, and *Macbeth*, considered some of the finest examples in the English language. In

his last phase, he wrote tragicomedies, also known as romances, and collaborated with other playwrights. Many of his plays were published in editions of varying quality and accuracy during his lifetime, and in 1623 two of his former theatrical colleagues published the First Folio, a collected edition of his dramatic works that included all but two of the plays now recognised as Shakespeare's.

Shakespeare was a respected poet and playwright in his own day, but his reputation did not rise to its present heights until the nineteenth century. The Romantics, in particular, acclaimed Shakespeare's genius, and the Victorians hero-worshipped Shakespeare with a reverence that George Bernard Shaw called "bardolatry". In the twentieth century, his work was repeatedly adopted and rediscovered by new movements in scholarship and performance. His plays remain highly popular today and are consistently performed and reinterpreted in diverse cultural and political contexts throughout the world. (For details of Shakespeare see the following)

Early life

William Shakespeare was the son of John Shakespeare, a successful Glover and alderman originally from Snitterfield, and Mary Arden, the daughter of an affluent landowning farmer. He was born in Stratford-upon-Avon and baptised on 26 April 1564. His unknown birthday is traditionally observed on 23 April, St George's Day. This date, which can be traced back to an eighteenth-century scholar's mistake, has proved appealing because Shakespeare died on 23 April 1616. He was the third child of eight and the eldest surviving son.

Although no attendance records for the period survive, most biographers agree that Shakespeare was educated at the King's New School in Stratford, a free school chartered in 1553, about a quarter of a mile from his home. Grammar schools varied in quality during the Elizabethan era, but the curriculum was dictated by law throughout England, and the school would have provided an intensive education in Latin grammar and the classics. At the age of 18, Shakespeare married the 26-year-old Anne Hathaway. The consistory court of the Diocese of Worcester issued a marriage licence on 27 November 1582. Two of Hathaway's neighbours posted bonds the next day as surety that there were no impediments to the marriage. The couple may have arranged the ceremony in some haste, since the Worcester chancellor allowed the marriage banns to be read once instead of the usual three times. Anne's pregnancy could have been the reason for this. Six months after the marriage, she gave birth to a daughter, Susanna, who was baptised on 26 May 1583. Twins, son Hamnet and daughter Judith followed almost two years later and were baptised on 2 February 1585. Hamnet died of unknown causes at the age of 11 and was buried on 11 August 1596.

After the birth of the twins, there are few historical traces of Shakespeare until he is mentioned as part of the London theatre scene in 1592. Because of this gap, scholars refer to the years between 1585 and 1592 as Shakespeare's "lost years". Biographers attempting to account for this period have reported many apocryphal stories. Nicholas Rowe, Shakespeare's first biographer, recounted a Stratford legend that Shakespeare fled the town for London to escape prosecution for deer poaching. Another eighteenth-century story has Shakespeare starting his theatrical career minding the horses of theatre patrons in London. John Aubrey reported that Shakespeare had been a country schoolmaster. Some twentieth-century scholars have suggested that Shakespeare may have been employed as a schoolmaster by Alexander

Hoghton of Lancashire, a Catholic landowner who named a certain "William Shakeshafte" in his will. No evidence substantiates such stories other than hearsay collected after his death.

London and theatrical career

It is not known exactly when Shakespeare began writing, but contemporary allusions and records of performances show that several of his plays were on the London stage by 1592. He was well enough known in London by then to be attacked in print by the playwright Robert Greene: ...there is an upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tiger's heart wrapped in a Player's hide*, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you: and being an absolute *Johannes factotum*, is in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country.

Scholars differ on the exact meaning of these words, but most agree that Greene is accusing Shakespeare of reaching above his rank in trying to match university-educated writers, such as Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Nashe and Greene himself. The italicised phrase parodying the line "Oh, tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide" from Shakespeare's *Henry VI, part 3*, along with the pun "Shake-scene", identifies Shakespeare as Greene's target.

Greene's attack is the first recorded mention of Shakespeare's career in the theatre. Biographers suggest that his career may have begun any time from the mid-1580s to just before Greene's remarks. From 1594, Shakespeare's plays were performed only by the Lord Chamberlain's Men, a company owned by a group of players, including Shakespeare that soon became the leading playing company in London. After the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, the company was awarded a royal patent by the new king, James I, and changed its name to the King's Men.

In 1599, a partnership of company members built their own theatre on the south bank of the Thames, which they called the Globe. In 1608, the partnership also took over the Blackfriars indoor theatre. Records of Shakespeare's property purchases and investments indicate that the company made him a wealthy man. In 1597, he bought the second-largest house in Stratford, New Place, and in 1605, he invested in a share of the parish tithes in Stratford.

Some of Shakespeare's plays were published in quarto editions from 1594. By 1598, his name had become a selling point and began to appear on the title pages. Shakespeare continued to act in his own and other plays after his success as a playwright. The 1616 edition of Ben Jonson's *Works* names him on the cast lists for *Every Man in His Humour* (1598) and *Sejanus, His Fall* (1603). The absence of his name from the 1605 cast list for Jonson's *Volpone* is taken by some scholars as a sign that his acting career was nearing its end. The First Folio of 1623, however, lists Shakespeare as one of "the Principal Actors in all these Plays", some of which were first staged after *Volpone*, although we cannot know for certain what roles he played. In 1610, John Davies of Hereford wrote that "good Will" played "kingly" roles. In 1709, Rowe passed down a tradition that Shakespeare played the ghost of Hamlet's father. Later traditions maintain that he also played Adam in *As You Like It* and the Chorus in *Henry V*, though scholars doubt the sources of the information.

Shakespeare divided his time between London and Stratford during his career. In 1596, the year before he bought New Place as his family home in Stratford, Shakespeare was living in

the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, north of the River Thames. He moved across the river to Southwark by 1599, the year his company constructed the Globe Theatre there. By 1604, he had moved north of the river again, to an area north of St Paul's Cathedral with many fine houses. There he rented rooms from a French Huguenot called Christopher Mountjoy, a maker of ladies' wigs and other headgear.

Later years and death

After 1606–1607, Shakespeare wrote fewer plays, and none are attributed to him after 1613. His last three plays were collaborations, probably with John Fletcher, who succeeded him as the house playwright for the King's Men. Rowe was the first biographer to pass down the tradition that Shakespeare retired to Stratford some years before his death; but retirement from all work was uncommon at that time, and Shakespeare continued to visit London. In 1612, he was called as a witness in a court case concerning the marriage settlement of Mountjoy's daughter, Mary. In March 1613, he bought a gatehouse in the Blackfriars priory; and from November 1614, he was in London for several weeks with his son-in-law, John Hall.

Shakespeare died on 23 April 1616, and was survived by his wife and two daughters. Susanna had married a physician, John Hall, in 1607, and Judith had married Thomas Quiney, a vintner, two months before Shakespeare's death.

In his will, Shakespeare left the bulk of his large estate to his elder daughter Susanna. The terms instructed that she pass it down intact to "the first son of her body". The Quineys had three children, all of whom died without marrying. The Halls had one child, Elizabeth, who married twice but died without children in 1670, ending Shakespeare's direct line. Shakespeare's will scarcely mentions his wife, Anne, who was probably entitled to one third of his estate automatically. He did make a point, however, of leaving her "my second best bed", a bequest that has led to much speculation. Some scholars see the bequest as an insult to Anne, whereas others believe that the second-best bed would have been the matrimonial bed and therefore rich in significance.

Shakespeare was buried in the chancel of the Holy Trinity Church two days after his death. Sometime before 1623, a monument was erected in his memory on the north wall, with a half-effigy of him in the act of writing. Its plaque compares him to Nestor, Socrates, and Virgil. A stone slab covering his grave is inscribed with a curse against moving his bones.

Plays

Scholars have often noted four periods in Shakespeare's writing career. Until the mid-1590s, he wrote mainly comedies influenced by Roman and Italian models and history plays in the popular chronicle tradition. His second period began in about 1595 with the tragedy *Romeo and Juliet* and ended with the tragedy of *Julius Caesar* in 1599. During this time, he wrote what are considered his greatest comedies and histories. From about 1600 to about 1608, his "tragic period", Shakespeare wrote mostly tragedies, and from about 1608 to 1613, mainly tragicomedies, also called romances.

The first recorded works of Shakespeare are Richard III and the three parts of *Henry VI*, written in the early 1590s during a vogue for historical drama. Shakespeare's plays are difficult to date, however, and studies of the texts suggest that *Titus Andronicus*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona* may also belong to Shakespeare's earliest period. His first histories, which draw heavily on the 1587 edition of Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, dramatise the destructive results of weak or corrupt rule and have been interpreted as a justification for the origins of the Tudor dynasty. Their composition was influenced by the works of other Elizabethan dramatists, especially Thomas Kyd and Christopher Marlowe, by the traditions of medieval drama, and by the plays of Seneca. *The Comedy of Errors* was also based on classical models; but no source for the *The Taming of the Shrew* has been found, though it is related to a separate play of the same name and may have derived from a folk story. Like *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, in which two friends appear to approve of rape, the *Shrew's* story of the taming of a woman's independent spirit by a man sometimes troubles modern critics and directors.

Shakespeare's early classical and Italianate comedies, containing tight double plots and precise comic sequences, give way in the mid-1590s to the romantic atmosphere of his greatest comedies. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is a witty mixture of romance, fairy magic, and comic low-life scenes. Shakespeare's next comedy, the equally romantic *The Merchant of Venice*, contains a portrayal of the vengeful Jewish moneylender Shylock which reflected Elizabethan views but may appear prejudiced to modern audiences. The wit and wordplay of *Much Ado about Nothing*, the charming rural setting of *As You Like It*, and the lively merrymaking of *Twelfth Night* complete Shakespeare's sequence of great comedies. After the lyrical *Richard II*, written almost entirely in verse, Shakespeare introduced prose comedy into the histories of the late 1590s, *Henry IV, parts 1 and 2*, and *Henry V*. His characters become more complex and tender as he switches deftly between comic and serious scenes, prose and poetry, and achieves the narrative variety of his mature work. This period begins and ends with two tragedies: *Romeo and Juliet*, the famous romantic tragedy of sexually charged adolescence, love, and death; and *Julius Caesar*—based on Sir Thomas North's 1579 translation of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*—which introduced a new kind of drama. According to Shakespearean scholar James Shapiro, in *Julius Caesar* "the various strands of politics, character, inwardness, contemporary events, even Shakespeare's own reflections on the act of writing, began to infuse each other".

Shakespeare's so-called "tragic period" lasted from about 1600 to 1608, though he also wrote the so-called "problem plays" *Measure for Measure*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *All's Well That Ends Well* during this time and had written tragedies before. Many critics believe that Shakespeare's greatest tragedies represent the peak of his art. The hero of the first, Hamlet, has probably been more discussed than any other Shakespearean character, especially for his famous soliloquy "To be or not to be; that is the question." Unlike the introverted Hamlet, whose fatal flaw is hesitation, the heroes of the tragedies that followed, Othello and King Lear, are undone by hasty errors of judgement. The plots of Shakespeare's tragedies often hinge on such fatal errors or flaws, which overturn order and destroy the hero and those he loves. In *Othello*, the villain Iago stokes Othello's sexual jealousy to the point where he murders the innocent wife who loves him. In *King Lear*, the old king commits the tragic error of giving up his powers, initiating the events which lead to the murder of his daughter and the torture and blinding of the Earl of Gloucester. According to the critic Frank Kermode, "the play offers neither its good characters nor its audience any relief from its cruelty". In

Macbeth, the shortest and most compressed of Shakespeare's tragedies, uncontrollable ambition incites Macbeth and his wife, Lady Macbeth, to murder the rightful king and usurp the throne, until their own guilt destroys them in turn. In this play, Shakespeare adds a supernatural element to the tragic structure. His last major tragedies, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, contain some of Shakespeare's finest poetry and were considered his most successful tragedies by the poet and critic T. S. Eliot.

In his final period, Shakespeare turned to romance or tragicomedy and completed three more major plays: *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*, as well as the collaboration, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*. Less bleak than the tragedies, these four plays are graver in tone than the comedies of the 1590s, but they end with reconciliation and the forgiveness of potentially tragic errors. Some commentators have seen this change in mood as evidence of a more serene view of life on Shakespeare's part, but it may merely reflect the theatrical fashion of the day. Shakespeare collaborated on two further surviving plays, *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, probably with John Fletcher.

Performances

It is not clear for which companies Shakespeare wrote his early plays. The title page of the 1594 edition of *Titus Andronicus* reveals that the play had been acted by three different troupes. After the plagues of 1592–3, Shakespeare's plays were performed by his own company at The Theatre and the Curtain in Shoreditch, north of the Thames. Londoners flocked there to see the first part of *Henry IV*, Leonard Digges recording, "Let but Falstaff come, Hal, Poins, the rest...and you scarce shall have a room". When the company found themselves in dispute with their landlord, they pulled The Theatre down and used the timbers to construct the Globe Theatre, the first playhouse built by actors for actors, on the south bank of the Thames at Southwark. The Globe opened in autumn 1599, with *Julius Caesar* one of the first plays staged. Most of Shakespeare's greatest post-1599 plays were written for the Globe, including *Hamlet*, *Othello* and *King Lear*.

After the Lord Chamberlain's Men were renamed the King's Men in 1603, they entered a special relationship with the new King James. Although the performance records are patchy, the King's Men performed seven of Shakespeare's plays at court between 1 November 1604 and 31 October 1605, including two performances of *The Merchant of Venice*. After 1608, they performed at the indoor Blackfriars Theatre during the winter and the Globe during the summer. The indoor setting, combined with the Jacobean fashion for lavishly staged masques, allowed Shakespeare to introduce more elaborate stage devices. In *Cymbeline*, for example, Jupiter descends "in thunder and lightning, sitting upon an eagle: he throws a thunderbolt. The ghosts fall on their knees."

The actors in Shakespeare's company included the famous Richard Burbage, William Kempe, Henry Condell and John Heminges. Burbage played the leading role in the first performances of many of Shakespeare's plays, including *Richard III*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *King Lear*. The popular comic actor Will Kempe played the servant Peter in *Romeo and Juliet* and Dogberry in *Much Ado About Nothing*, among other characters. He was replaced around the turn of the sixteenth century by Robert Armin, who played roles such as Touchstone in *As You Like It* and the fool in *King Lear*. In 1613, Sir Henry Wotton recorded that *Henry VIII* "was set forth

with many extraordinary circumstances of pomp and ceremony". On 29 June, however, a cannon set fire to the thatch of the Globe and burned the theatre to the ground, an event which pinpoints the date of a Shakespeare play with rare precision.

Poems

In 1593 and 1594, when the theatres were closed because of plague, Shakespeare published two narrative poems on erotic themes, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. He dedicated them to Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton. In *Venus and Adonis*, an innocent Adonis rejects the sexual advances of Venus; while in *The Rape of Lucrece*, the virtuous wife Lucrece is raped by the lustful Tarquin. Influenced by Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the poems show the guilt and moral confusion that result from uncontrolled lust. Both proved popular and were often reprinted during Shakespeare's lifetime. A third narrative poem, *A Lover's Complaint*, in which a young woman laments her seduction by a persuasive suitor, was printed in the first edition of the *Sonnets* in 1609. Most scholars now accept that Shakespeare wrote *A Lover's Complaint*. Critics consider that its fine qualities are marred by leaden effects. *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, printed in Robert Chester's 1601 *Love's Martyr*, mourns the deaths of the legendary phoenix and his lover, the faithful turtle dove. In 1599, two early drafts of sonnets 138 and 144 appeared in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, published under Shakespeare's name but without his permission.

Sonnets

Published in 1609, the *Sonnets* were the last of Shakespeare's non-dramatic works to be printed. Scholars are not certain when each of the 154 sonnets was composed, but evidence suggests that Shakespeare wrote sonnets throughout his career for a private readership. Even before the two unauthorised sonnets appeared in *The Passionate Pilgrim* in 1599, Francis Meres had referred in 1598 to Shakespeare's "sugred Sonnets among his private friends". Few analysts believe that the published collection follows Shakespeare's intended sequence. He seems to have planned two contrasting series: one about uncontrollable lust for a married woman of dark complexion (the "dark lady"), and one about conflicted love for a fair young man (the "fair youth"). It remains unclear if these figures represent real individuals, or if the authorial "I" who addresses them represents Shakespeare himself, though Wordsworth believed that with the sonnets "Shakespeare unlocked his heart". The 1609 edition was dedicated to a "Mr. W.H.", credited as "the only begetter" of the poems. It is not known whether this was written by Shakespeare himself or by the publisher, Thomas Thorpe, whose initials appear at the foot of the dedication page; nor is it known who Mr. W.H. was, despite numerous theories, or whether Shakespeare even authorised the publication. Critics praise the *Sonnets* as a profound meditation on the nature of love, sexual passion, procreation, death, and time.

Style

Shakespeare's first plays were written in the conventional style of the day. He wrote them in a stylised language that does not always spring naturally from the needs of the characters or the drama. The poetry depends on extended, sometimes elaborate metaphors and conceits, and the language is often rhetorical—written for actors to declaim rather than speak. The grand

speeches in *Titus Andronicus*, in the view of some critics, often hold up the action, for example; and the verse in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* has been described as stilted.

Soon, however, Shakespeare began to adapt the traditional styles to his own purposes. The opening soliloquy of Richard III has its roots in the self-declaration of Vice in medieval drama. At the same time, Richard's vivid self-awareness looks forward to the soliloquies of Shakespeare's mature plays. No single play marks a change from the traditional to the freer style. Shakespeare combined the two throughout his career, with *Romeo and Juliet* perhaps the best example of the mixing of the styles. By the time of *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard II*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in the mid-1590s, Shakespeare had begun to write a more natural poetry. He increasingly tuned his metaphors and images to the needs of the drama itself.

Shakespeare's standard poetic form was blank verse, composed in iambic pentameter. In practice, this meant that his verse was usually unrhymed and consisted of ten syllables to a line, spoken with a stress on every second syllable. The blank verse of his early plays is quite different from that of his later ones. It is often beautiful, but its sentences tend to start, pause, and finish at the end of lines, with the risk of monotony. Once Shakespeare mastered traditional blank verse, he began to interrupt and vary its flow. This technique releases the new power and flexibility of the poetry in plays such as *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet*. Shakespeare uses it, for example, to convey the turmoil in Hamlet's mind:

*Sir, in my heart there was a kind of fighting
That would not let me sleep. Methought I lay
Worse than the mutines in the bilboes. Rashly—
And prais'd be rashness for it—let us know
Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well...*

After *Hamlet*, Shakespeare varied his poetic style further, particularly in the more emotional passages of the late tragedies. The literary critic A. C. Bradley described this style as "more concentrated, rapid, varied, and, in construction, less regular, not seldom twisted or elliptical". In the last phase of his career, Shakespeare adopted many techniques to achieve these effects. These included run-on lines, irregular pauses and stops, and extreme variations in sentence structure and length. In *Macbeth*, for example, the language darts from one unrelated metaphor or simile to another: "was the hope drunk/ wherein you dressed yourself?"; "...pity, like a naked new-born babe/ Striding the blast, or heaven's cherubim, hors'd/ upon the sightless couriers of the air...". The listener is challenged to complete the sense. The late romances, with their shifts in time and surprising turns of plot, inspired a last poetic style in which long and short sentences are set against one another, clauses are piled up, subject and object are reversed, and words are omitted, creating an effect of spontaneity.

Shakespeare's poetic genius was allied with a practical sense of the theatre. Like all playwrights of the time, Shakespeare dramatised stories from sources such as Petrarch and Holinshed. He reshaped each plot to create several centres of interest and show as many sides of a narrative to the audience as possible. This strength of design ensures that a Shakespeare

play can survive translation, cutting and wide interpretation without loss to its core drama. As Shakespeare's mastery grew, he gave his characters clearer and more varied motivations and distinctive patterns of speech. He preserved aspects of his earlier style in the later plays, however. In his late romances, he deliberately returned to a more artificial style, which emphasised the illusion of theatre.

Influence

Shakespeare's work has made a lasting impression on later theatre and literature. In particular, he expanded the dramatic potential of characterisation, plot, language, and genre. Until *Romeo and Juliet*, for example, romance had not been viewed as a worthy topic for tragedy. Soliloquies had been used mainly to convey information about characters or events; but Shakespeare used them to explore characters' minds. His work heavily influenced later poetry. The Romantic poets attempted to revive Shakespearean verse drama, though with little success. Critic George Steiner described all English verse dramas from Coleridge to Tennyson as "feeble variations on Shakespearean themes."

Shakespeare influenced novelists such as Thomas Hardy, William Faulkner, and Charles Dickens. Dickens often quoted Shakespeare, drawing 25 of his titles from Shakespeare's works. The American novelist Herman Melville's soliloquies owe much to Shakespeare; his Captain Ahab in *Moby-Dick* is a classic tragic hero, inspired by *King Lear*. Scholars have identified 20,000 pieces of music linked to Shakespeare's works. These include two operas by Giuseppe Verdi, *Otello* and *Falstaff*, whose critical standing compares with that of the source plays. Shakespeare has also inspired many painters, including the Romantics and the Pre-Raphaelites. The Swiss Romantic artist Henry Fuseli, a friend of William Blake, even translated *Macbeth* into German. The psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud drew on Shakespearean psychology, in particular that of Hamlet, for his theories of human nature.

In Shakespeare's day, English grammar and spelling were less standardised than they are now, and his use of language helped shape modern English. Samuel Johnson quoted him more often than any other author in his *A Dictionary of the English Language*, the first serious work of its type. Expressions such as "with bated breath" (*Merchant of Venice*) and "a foregone conclusion" (*Othello*) have found their way into everyday English speech.

Critical reputation

Shakespeare was never revered in his lifetime, but he received his share of praise. In 1598, the cleric and author Francis Meres singled him out from a group of English writers as "the most excellent" in both comedy and tragedy. And the authors of the *Parnassus* plays at St John's College, Cambridge, numbered him with Chaucer, Gower and Spenser. In the First Folio, Ben Jonson called Shakespeare the "Soul of the age, the applause, delight, the wonder of our stage", though he had remarked elsewhere that "Shakespeare wanted art".

Between the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 and the end of the seventeenth century, classical ideas were in vogue. As a result, critics of the time mostly rated Shakespeare below John Fletcher and Ben Jonson. Thomas Rymer, for example, condemned Shakespeare for

mixing the comic with the tragic. Nevertheless, poet and critic John Dryden rated Shakespeare highly, saying of Jonson, "I admire him, but I love Shakespeare". For several decades, Rymer's view held sway; but during the eighteenth century, critics began to respond to Shakespeare on his own terms and acclaim what they termed his natural genius. A series of scholarly editions of his work, notably those of Samuel Johnson in 1765 and Edmond Malone in 1790, added to his growing reputation. By 1800, he was firmly enshrined as the national poet. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, his reputation also spread abroad. Among those who championed him were the writers Voltaire, Goethe, Stendhal and Victor Hugo.

During the Romantic era, Shakespeare was praised by the poet and literary philosopher Samuel Taylor Coleridge; and the critic August Wilhelm Schlegel translated his plays in the spirit of German Romanticism. In the 19th century, critical admiration for Shakespeare's genius often bordered on adulation. "That King Shakespeare," the essayist Thomas Carlyle wrote in 1840, "does not he shine, in crowned sovereignty, over us all, as the noblest, gentlest, yet strongest of rallying signs; indestructible". The Victorians produced his plays as lavish spectacles on a grand scale. The playwright and critic George Bernard Shaw mocked the cult of Shakespeare worship as "bardolatry". He claimed that the new naturalism of Ibsen's plays had made Shakespeare obsolete.

The modernist revolution in the arts during the early twentieth century, far from discarding Shakespeare, eagerly enlisted his work in the service of the avant garde. The Expressionists in Germany and the Futurists in Moscow mounted productions of his plays. Marxist playwright and director Bertolt Brecht devised an epic theatre under the influence of Shakespeare. The poet and critic T. S. Eliot argued against Shaw that Shakespeare's "primitiveness" in fact made him truly modern. Eliot, along with G. Wilson Knight and the school of New Criticism, led a movement towards a closer reading of Shakespeare's imagery. In the 1950s, a wave of new critical approaches replaced modernism and paved the way for "post-modern" studies of Shakespeare. By the eighties, Shakespeare studies were open to movements such as structuralism, feminism, African American studies, and queer studies.

Speculation about Shakespeare

Authorship

Around 150 years after Shakespeare's death, doubts began to emerge about the authorship of Shakespeare's works. Alternative candidates proposed include Francis Bacon, Christopher Marlowe, and Edward de Vere, the Earl of Oxford. Although all alternative candidates are almost universally rejected in academic circles, popular interest in the subject, particularly the Oxfordian theory, has continued into the 21st century.

Religion

Some scholars claim that members of Shakespeare's family were Catholics, at a time when Catholic practice was against the law. Shakespeare's mother, Mary Arden, certainly came from a pious Catholic family. The strongest evidence might be a Catholic statement of faith signed by John Shakespeare, found in 1757 in the rafters of his former house in Henley Street.

The document is now lost, however, and scholars differ on its authenticity. In 1591, the authorities reported that John had missed church "for fear of process for debt", a common Catholic excuse. In 1606, William's daughter Susanna was listed among those who failed to attend Easter communion in Stratford. Scholars find evidence both for and against Shakespeare's Catholicism in his plays, but the truth may be impossible to prove either way.

List of works:

Classification of the plays

Shakespeare's works include the 36 plays printed in the First Folio of 1623, listed below according to their folio classification as comedies, histories and tragedies. Shakespeare did not write every word of the plays attributed to him; and several show signs of collaboration, a common practice at the time. Two plays not included in the First Folio, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, are now accepted as part of the canon, with scholars agreed that Shakespeare made a major contribution to their composition. No poems were included in the First Folio.

In the late 19th century, Edward Dowden classified four of the late comedies as romances, and though many scholars prefer to call them *tragicomedies*, his term is often used. These plays and the associated *Two Noble Kinsmen* are marked with an asterisk (*) below. In 1896, Frederick S. Boas coined the term "problem plays" to describe four plays: *All's Well That Ends Well*, *Measure for Measure*, *Troilus and Cressida* and *Hamlet*. "Dramas as singular in theme and temper cannot be strictly called comedies or tragedies", he wrote. "We may therefore borrow a convenient phrase from the theatre of today and class them together as Shakespeare's problem plays." The term, much debated and sometimes applied to other plays, remains in use, though *Hamlet* is definitively classed as a tragedy. The other problem plays are marked below with a double dagger (‡).

Name of some Works

Comedies

- *As You Like It*
- *The Comedy of Errors*
- *Love's Labour's Lost*
- * *The Merchant of Venice*
- *The Merry Wives of Windsor*
- *A Midsummer Night's Dream*
- *The Tempest**
- *Twelfth Night*,
- *The Two Gentlemen of*

Histories

- *King John*
- *Richard II*
- *Henry IV, part 1*
- *Henry IV, part 2*
- *Henry V*
- *Henry VI, part 2*
- *Henry VI, part 3*
- * *Richard III*

Tragedies

- **Romeo and Juliet*
- *Coriolanus*
- *Julius Caesar*
- **Macbeth*‡
- *Hamlet*
- *King Lear*
- *Othello*
- *Antony and Cleopatra*

Verona

Poems

- *Shakespeare's Sonnets*
- *Venus and Adonis*
- *The Rape of Lucrece*
- *The Passionate Pilgrim*
- *The Phoenix and the Turtle*
- *A Lover's Complaint*

Lost plays

- *Love's Labour's Won*
- *Cardenio*†

- *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*
- *Sir John Oldcastle*
- *Thomas Lord Cromwell*
- *A Yorkshire Tragedy*

Edmund Spenser (1552-1599)

Edmund Spenser, English poet, author of *The Faery Queen*, was born in London about the year 1552. The received date of his birth rests on a passage in sonnet lx. of the *Amoretti*. He speaks there of having lived forty-one years; the *Amoretti* was published in 1595, and described on the titlepage as "written not long since"; this would make the year of his birth 1552 or 1553. We know from the *Prothalamion* that London was his birthplace. This at least seems the most natural interpretation of the words "Merry London, my most kindly nurse that to me gave this life's first native source." In the same poem he speaks of himself as taking his name from "an house of ancient fame." Several of his pieces are addressed to the daughters of Sir John Spencer, head of the Althorp family; and in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* he describes three of the ladies as "The honour of the noble family of which I meanest boast myself to be." Mr R. B. Knowles, however, is of the opinion (see the *Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell*, privately printed, 1877) that the poet's kinsmen must be sought among the humbler Spencers of north-east Lancashire. Robert Nowell, a London citizen, left a sum of money to be distributed in various charities, and in the account-books of his executors among the names of other beneficiaries has been discovered that of "Edmund Spensore, scholar of the Merchant Taylor School, at his going to Pembroke Hall in Cambridge." The date of this benefaction is the 28th of April 1569. As the poet is known to have been a sizar of Pembroke, the identification is beyond dispute. Till this discovery it was not known where Spenser received his school education. The speculations as to the poet's parentage, started by the Nowell MS., are naturally more uncertain. Mr Knowles found three Spensers in the books of the Merchant Taylors, and concluded that the poorest of them, John Spenser, a "free journeyman" in the "art or mystery of clothmaking," might have been the poet's father, but he afterwards abandoned this theory. Dr Grosart, however, adhered to it, and it is now pretty generally accepted. The connexion of Spenser with Lancashire is also supported by the Nowell MS. - several Spensers of that county appear among the "poor kinsfolk" who profited by Nowell's bounty. The name of the poet's mother was Elisabeth, and he notes as a happy coincidence that it was borne by the three women of most consequence to him - wife, queen and mother.

It is natural that a poet so steeped in poetry as Spenser should show his faculty at a very early age; and there is strong reason to believe that verses from his pen were published just as he left school at the age of sixteen or seventeen. Certain pieces, translations from Du Bellay and Petrarch, afterwards included in a volume of poems by Spenser published in 1591, are found

in a miscellany, *Theatre for Worldings*, and issued by a Flemish Protestant refugee, John van der Noodt, on the 25th of May 1569. The translations from Du Bellay appear in blank verse in the miscellany, and are rhymed in sonnet form in the later publication, but the diction is substantially the same; the translations from Petrarch are republished with slight variations. Poets were so careless of their rights in those days and publishers took such liberties that we cannot draw for certain the conclusion that would be inevitable if the facts were of more modern date; but the probabilities are that these passages in Van der Noodt's *Theatre*, although the editor makes no acknowledgment, were contributed by the schoolboy Spenser.¹ As the exercises of a schoolboy writing before our poetic diction was enriched by the great Elizabethans, they are remarkable for a sustained command of expression which many schoolboys might exhibit in translation now, but which was a rarer and more significant accomplishment when **Surrey** and **Sackville** were the highest models in post-Chaucerian English.

Little is known of Spenser's Cambridge career, except that he was a sizar of Pembroke Hall, took his bachelor's degree in 1572, his master's in 1576, and left Cambridge without having obtained a fellowship. Dr Grosart's inquiries have elicited the fact that his health was not good - college allowances while he was in residence being often paid "Spenser legrotanti." One of the fellows of Pembroke strongly influenced his destiny. This was Gabriel Harvey, a prominent figure in the university life of the time, an enthusiastic educationist, vigorous, versatile, not a little vain of his own culture and literary powers, which had gained him a certain standing in London society. The revival and advancement of English literature was a passion of the time, and Harvey was fully possessed by it. His fancy for reforming English verse by discarding rhyme and substituting unrhymed classical metres, and the tone of his controversy with **Thomas Nash**, have caused him to be regarded as merely an obstreperous and pragmatic pedant; but it is clear that Spenser, who had sense enough not to be led astray by his eccentricities, received active and generous help from him and probably not a little literary stimulus. Harvey's letters to Spenser² throw a very kindly light on his character. During his residence at the university the poet acquired a knowledge of Greek, and at a later period offered to impart that language to a friend in Ireland (see Ludowick Bryskett, *Discourse of Civil Life*, London, 1606, written twenty years previously). Spenser's affinity with Plato is most marked, and he probably read him in the original.

Three years after leaving Cambridge, in 1579, Spenser issued his first volume of poetry, the *Shepherd's Calendar*. Where and how he spent the interval has formed subjects for elaborate speculation. That most of it was spent in the study of his art we may take for granted. That he lived for a time in the "north parts" of England; that there or elsewhere he fell in love with a lady whom he celebrates under the anagram of "Rosalind," and who was most likely Rose, a daughter of a yeoman named Dyneley, near Clitheroe; that his friend Harvey urged him to return south, and introduced him to **Sir Philip Sidney**; that Sidney took to him, discussed poetry with him, introduced him at court, put him in the way of preferment - are ascertained facts in his personal history. Dr Grosart conjectures with considerable plausibility that he was in Ireland in 1577. The words "for long time far estranged" in E.K.'s preface to the *Shepherd's Calendar* point that way. Spenser undoubtedly entered the service of the **Earl of Leicester** either in 1578 or a year earlier. The interest of the *Shepherd's Calendar* is mainly personal to Spenser. Its twelve poems continue to be read chiefly because they were the first published essays of the author of the *Faery Queen*, the poems in which he tried and disciplined his powers. They mark no stage in the history of pastoral poetry. The title, borrowed from a

French almanack of the year 1496, which was translated into English in 1503 and frequently reprinted, is attractive but hardly tallies with the subject. It may have been an afterthought. Spenser had too strong a genius not to make his own individuality felt in any form that he attempted, and his buoyant dexterity in handling various schemes of verse must always afford delight to the connoisseur in such things. But a reader not already interested in Spenser, or not already familiar with the artificial eclogue, would find little to attract him in the *Shepherd's Calendar*. The poems need a special education; given this, they are felt to be full of charm and power, a fresh and vivid spring to the splendid summer of the Faery Queen. The diction is a studiously archaic artificial compound, partly Chaucerian, partly North Anglian, partly factitious; and the pastoral scenery is such as may be found in any country where there are sheep, hills, trees, shrubs, toadstools and running streams. That Spenser, having been in the north of England, should have introduced here and there a touch of North Country colour is natural enough, but it is not sufficient to give a character to the poems as pastoral poems. As such they follow continuously and do not violently break away from Latin, Italian and French predecessors and Professor George Saintsbury is undoubtedly right in indicating Marot as the most immediate model.

At the same time one can quite understand on historical grounds why the *Shepherd's Calendar* was hailed with enthusiasm as the advent of a "new poet." Not only was it a complete work in a form then new to English literature, but the execution showed the hand of a master. There had been nothing so finished, so sustained, so masterful in grasp, so brilliant in metre and phrase, since **Chaucer**. It was felt at once that the poet for whom the age had been waiting had come. The little coterie of friends whose admiration the young poet had won in private was evidently concerned lest the wider public should be bewildered and repelled by the unfamiliar pastoral form and rustic diction. To put the public at the right point of view the poems were published with a commentary by "E.K." - supposed to be one Edward Kirke, who was an undergraduate with Spenser at Pembroke. This so-called "glosse" explained the archaic words, revealed the poet's intentions, and boasted that, as in the case of Virgil, the pastoral poetry of the "new poet" was but "a proving of the wings for higher and wider flights." The "new poet's" name was withheld; and the identification of the various "shepherds" - of Cuddie and Roffy and Diggon Davie, and the beauteous golden-haired "widow's daughter of the glen" - was fortunately reserved to yield delight to the ingenious curiosity of a later age. On the subject of Spenser's obligations the "glosse" is very misleading. An eclogue drawn almost entirely from Virgil is represented as jointly inspired by Virgil and Theocritus and chiefly by the latter. Marot is belittled and his claim to be a poet called in question. As regards the twelfth eclogue suggested by and in part translated from his poetry, his influence is ignored. The stanzas Professor Hales cites as autobiographical are actually taken from Marot's eclogue, *Au Roi sous les noms de Pan et Robin*. Dr Grosart falls into the same error.

The Shepherd's Calendar was published at Gabriel Harvey's instance, and was dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney. It was one out of many poetical schemes on which the young poet was busy in the flush of conscious power and high hopes excited by the admiration of the literary authorities whose approval was then most to be coveted. His letters to Harvey and Harvey's letters to him furnish hints for a very engaging fancy picture of Spenser at this stage of his life - looking at the world through rose-coloured spectacles, high in favour with Sidney and Leicester, dating his letters from Leicester House, gaily and energetically discussing the technicalities of his art, with some provision from his powerful friends - certain, but the form

of it delightfully uncertain - going to court in the train of Leicester, growing pointed beard and mustachios of fashionable shape, and frightening his ever-vigilant friend and mentor Harvey by the light courtier-like tone of his references to women. The studious pastoral poet from "north parts" had blossomed with surprising rapidity in the image of the gay fortune-seeking adventurers who crowded the court of the virgin queen in those stirring times. Some of the poems which he mentions to Harvey as then completed or on the anvil - his *Dreams*, his *Nine Comedies*, his *Dying Pelican* and his *Stemmata dudleiana* (singing the praises of the noble family which was befriending him) - have not been preserved, at least in any form that can be certainly identified. Among the lost works was his *English Poet* - a contribution to literary criticism. He had sent Harvey a portion of the *Faery Queen*, which he was eager to continue; but Harvey did not think much of it - a judgment for which Harvey is often ridiculed as a dull pedant, as if we knew for certain that what was submitted to him was identical with what was published ten years later.

Spenser was appointed secretary to the lord-deputy of Ireland in 1580, and was one of the bands of adventurers who, with mixed motives of love of excitement, patriotism, piety and hopes of forfeited estates, accompanied Lord Arthur Grey of Wilton to Ireland to aid in the suppression of Desmond's rebellion. Regret is sometimes expressed that the author of the *Faery Queen*, who ought to have been dreamy, meditative, gentle and refined, should have been found in such company, and should have taken part in the violent and bloody scenes of Lord Grey's two years' attempt at "pacification." But such things must be judged with reference to the circumstances and the spirit of the time, and it must be remembered that England was then engaged in a fierce struggle for existence against the Catholic powers of the Continent. Of Lord Grey's character his secretary was an enthusiastic admirer, exhibiting him in the *Faery Queen* as Arthegal, the personification of justice; and we know exactly what were his own views of Irish policy, and how strongly he deplored that Lord Grey was not permitted to carry them out. Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland* drawn up after fourteen years' experience, but first printed in 1633 by Sir James Ware, who complains of Spenser's harshness and inadequate knowledge (*History of Ireland*, appendix), is not the work of a gentle dreamer, but of an energetic and shrewd public official.

The View is not a descriptive work; there is nothing in the style to indicate that it was written by a poet; it is an elaborate state paper, the exposition in the form of a dialogue of a minutely considered plan for the pacification of Ireland, written out of zeal for the public service for the eyes of the government of the day. A very thoroughgoing plan it is. After passing in review the history and character of the Irish, their laws, customs, religion, habits of life, armour, dress, social institutions and finding "evil usages" in every department, he propounds his plan of "reformation." Reformation can be effected only by the sword, by the strong hand. The interlocutor in the dialogue holds up his hands in horror. Does he propose extermination? By no means; but he would give the Irish a choice between submission and extermination. The government had vacillated too long, and, fearing the cost of a thorough operation, had spent twice as much without in any way mending matters. Let them send into Ireland 10,000 foot and 1000 horse, disperse them in garrisons - a complete scheme of localities is submitted - give the Irish twenty days to come in; if they did not come in then, give no quarter afterwards, but hunt them down like wild beasts in the winter time when the covert is thin; "if they be well followed one winter, ye shall have little work to do with them the next summer"; famine would complete the work of the sword; and in eighteen months' time peace would be restored and the ground cleared for plantation by English colonists. There must be no flinching in the

execution of this plan - "no remorse or drawing back for the sight of any such rueful object as must thereupon follow, nor for compassion of their calamities, seeing that by no other means it is possible to recover them, and that these are not of will but of very urgent necessity." The government had out of foolish compassion drawn back before when Lord Grey had brought the recalcitrant Irish to the necessary extremity of famine; the gentle poet warns them earnestly against a repetition of the blunder.

Such was Spenser's plan for the pacification of Ireland, propounded not on his own authority, but as having support in "the consultations and actions of very wise governors and counsellors whom he had sometimes heard treat thereof." He knew that it was "bloody and cruel"; but he contended passionately that it was necessary for the maintenance of English power and the Protestant religion. The method was repugnant to the kindly nature of average Englishmen; from the time of Lord Grey no English authority had the heart to go through with it till another remorseless zealot appeared in the person of Cromwell. That Cromwell knew the treatise of "the sage and serious Spenser," perhaps through **Milton**, is probable from the fact that the poet's Irish estates were secured to his grandson by the Protector's intervention in 1657. These estates had been granted to Spenser as his share in the redistribution of Munster - 3000 acres of land and Kilcolman Castle, an ancient seat of the Desmonds, in the north of the county of Cork. The elaborate and business-like character of the *View* shows that the poet was no sinecurist, but received his reward for substantial political services. He ceased to be secretary to the lord-deputy when Lord Grey was recalled in 1582; but he continued in the public service, and in 1586 was promoted to the onerous position of clerk to the council of Munster.

Amidst all the distractions of his public life in Ireland Spenser kept up his interest in literature, and among proper subjects for reform included Irish poetry, of which he could judge only through the medium of translations. He allows it some merit - "sweet wit," "good invention," "some pretty flowers" - but laments that it is "abused to the gracing of wickedness and vice." Meanwhile he seems to have proceeded steadily with the composition of the *Faery Queen*, translating his varied experience of men and affairs into the picturesque forms of his allegory, and expressing through them his conception of the immutable principles that ought to regulate human conduct.

He had, as we have seen, conceived a work of the kind and made a beginning before he left England. The conception must have been very much deepened and widened and in every way enriched by his intimate daily contact with the actual struggle of conflicting individuals and interests and policies in a great crisis. Some four or five years later, being asked in a mixed company of English officials in Ireland (as recorded in Lodowick Bryskett's *Discourse of Civil Life*) to give off-hand a short sketch of "the ethical part of moral philosophy" and the practical uses of the study, Spenser explained to these simpleminded men that the subject was too intricate for an impromptu exposition, but that he had in hand a work called the *Faery Queen* in which an ethical system would be exhibited in action. The respect paid by his official brethren to Spenser as a man, "not only perfect in the Greek tongue, but also very well read in philosophy, both moral and natural," is an interesting item in his biography. Some years later still, when Spenser was settled at Kilcolman Castle, **Sir Walter Raleigh** found him with three books of the *Faery Queen* completed, and urged him to come with them to London. London accordingly he revisited in 1589, after nine years' absence. There is a very pretty record of this visit in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, published in 1595, but written in 1591,

immediately after his return to Kilcolman. The incidents of the visit, by that time matters of wistful memory, are imaged as a shepherd's excursion from his quiet pastoral life into the great world. Colin Clout calls round him once again the masked figures of the *Shepherd's Calendar*, and describes to them what he saw, how he fared, and whom he met at the court of Cynthia, and how, through the influence of "the Shepherd of the Ocean," he was admitted at timely hours to play on his oaten pipe in the great queen's presence.

How much is pure fiction and how much veiled fact in this picture cannot now be distinguished, but it is undoubted that Spenser, though his chief patrons Leicester and Sidney were now dead, was very graciously received by the great world on his return to London. Not only did the queen grant him an audience, but many ladies of the court, several of whom he afterwards honoured with dedications, honoured him with their patronage. The first three books of the *Faery Queen*, which were entered at Stationers' Hall on the 1st of December 1589, were published in 1590, and he was proclaimed at once with remarkable unanimity by all the writers of the time as the first of living poets.

From the first week of its publication the literary world has continued unanimous about the *Faery Queen*, except on minor points. When romanticism was at its lowest ebb Pope read Spenser in his old age with as much delight as in his boyhood. Spenser speaks himself of having had his detractors, of having suffered from the venomous tooth of the Blatant Beast, and he seems to have had in more than ordinary share the poet's sensitiveness to criticism; but the detraction or indifference have generally been found among men who, like the lord high treasurer **Burghley**, have no liking for poetry of any kind. The secret of Spenser's enduring popularity with poets and lovers of poetry lies specially in this, that he excels in the poet's peculiar gift, the instinct for verbal music. Shakespeare, or the author of the sonnet usually assigned to him, felt and expressed this when he drew the parallel between "music and sweet poetry": "Thou lovest to hear the sweet melodious sound That Phoebus' lute, the queen of music, makes; And I in deep delight am chiefly drowned Whenas himself to singing he betakes." This is an early word in criticism of Spenser, and it is the last word about his prime and unquestionable excellence - a word in which all critics must agree. Whether he had imagination in the highest degree or only luxuriant fancy, and whether he could tell a story in the highest epic manner or only put together a richly varied series of picturesque incidents, are disputable points; but about the enchantment of his verse there can be no difference of opinion. It matters not in the least that he gains his melody often by archaic affectations and licences of diction; there, however purchased, the marvellously rich music is. In judging of the structure of the *Faery Queen* we must always remember that, long and diffuse as it is, what we have is but a fragment of the poet's design, and that the narrative is regulated by an allegorical purpose; but, however intricate, however confused, the reader may feel the succession of incidents to be, when he studies the succession of incidents, it is only at the call of duty that he is likely to occupy himself with such a study in reading Spenser. The ethical value of the allegory has been very variously estimated. The world would probably never have divined that there was any allegory if he had not himself drawn attention to it in a prose dedication and in doggerel headings to the cantos. It was apparently at his friend Raleigh's suggestion that the poet condescended to explain his ethical purpose in *A Letter of the Author's* addressed to Sir Walter and dated the 23rd of January 1589-1590; otherwise it would have been as problematical as the similar intention in the case of the *Idylls of the King* before that intention was expressly declared. It is almost to be regretted, as far as the allegory is concerned, that the friendly "E. K." was not employed to furnish a "glosse" to

the *Faery Queen* as he had done to the *Shepherd's Calendar*. Undoubtedly the peculiar "poetic luxury" of the *Faery Queen* can be enjoyed without any reference to the allegory; even Professor Dowden, the most eloquent champion of Spenser's claims as a "teacher," admits that it is a mistake to look for minute correspondence between outward symbol and underlying sense, and that the poet is least enjoyable where he is most ingenious. Still the allegory governs the structure of the poem, and Spenser himself attached great importance to it as determining his position among poets.

The ethical purpose is distinctive of the poem as a whole; it was foremost in Spenser's mind when he conceived the scheme of the poem, and present with him as he built up and articulated the skeleton; it was in this respect that he claimed to have "overpassed" his avowed models Ariosto and Tasso. If we wish to get an idea of Spenser's imaginative force and abundance, or to see his creations as he saw them, we must not neglect the allegory. It is obvious from all that he says of his own work that in his eyes the ethical meaning not only heightened the interest of the marvellously rich pageant of heroes and heroines, enchanters and monsters, but was the one thing that redeemed it from romantic commonplace. For the right appreciation of many of the characters and incidents a knowledge of the allegory is indispensable. For example, the slaughter of Error by the Red Cross knight would be merely disgusting but for its symbolic character; the iron Talus and his iron flail is a revolting and brutally cruel monster if he is not regarded as an image of the executioner of righteous law; the Blatant Beast, a purely grotesque and ridiculous monster to outward view, acquires a serious interest when he is known to be an impersonation of malignant detraction.

Notwithstanding its immense range, the *Faery Queen* is profoundly national and Elizabethan, containing many more or less cryptic allusions to contemporary persons and interests. It has never been popular abroad, as is proved by the fact that there is no complete translation of it in any of the Continental languages. This is doubtless on account of certain monotony in the subject-matter, which is only partially relieved by subtle variations. The same objection applies to the famous "Spenserian stanza" with its concluding Alexandrine. It was by no means a happy invention, but its infelicity is disguised by its author's marvellous skill in rhythm, and thus recommended it was adopted by Byron and Keats. In his own day Spenser was criticized by **Sidney, Ben Jonson, Daniel** and others for the artificiality of his language, his "aged accents and untimely words," but Ben Jonson went further - "Spenser's stanza pleased him not, nor his matter." **Milton**, on the other hand, duly appreciated "our sage and serious poet," and he has been followed by a long line of distinguished judges. It was Charles Lamb who named Spenser "the poet's poet."

After the publication of the *Faery Queen* Spenser seems to have remained in London for more than a year, to enjoy his triumph. It might be supposed, from what he makes the Shepherd of the Ocean say in urging Colin Clout to quit his banishment in Ireland, that Raleigh had encouraged him to expect some permanent provision in London. If he had any such hopes, they were disappointed. The thrifty queen granted him a pension of £50, which was paid in February 1591, but nothing further was done for him. Colin Clout's explanation that the selfish scrambling and intriguing of court life were not suited to a lowly shepherd swain, and that he returned to country life with relief, may be pastoral convention, or it may have been an expression of the poet's real feelings on his return to Kilcolman, although as a matter of fact there seems to have been as much scrambling for good things in Munster as in London.

Certain it is that he did return to Kilcolman in the course of the year 1591, having probably first arranged for the publication of *Daphnaida* and *Complaints*.

Daphnaida is a pastoral elegy on the death of the niece of the mistress of the robes. The fact implied in the dedication that he was not, personally, known to the lady has more than once provoked the solemn remark that the poet's grief was assumed. Of course it was assumed; and it is hardly less obvious that sincerity of personal emotion, so far from being a merit in the artificial forms of pastoral poetry, the essence of which lies in its dreamy remoteness from real life, would be a blemish and a discord. Any suggestion of the poet's real personality breaks the charm; once raise the question of the poet's personal sincerity, and the pastoral poem may at once be thrown aside. The remark applies to all Spenser's minor poetry, including his love sonnets; the reader who raises the question whether Spenser really loved his mistress may have a talent for disputation, but none for the full enjoyment of hyperbolic poetry. *Complaints*, also published in 1591, is a miscellaneous collection of poems written at different periods. The volume contained *The Ruins of Time*; *The Tears of the Muses*; *Virgil's Gnat*; *Mother Hubbard's Tale*; *The Ruins of Rome*; *Muiopotmos*; *Visions of the World's Vanity*; *Bellay's Visions*; *Petrarch's Visions*. **Some of these pieces are translations already alluded to and interesting only as the exercises of one of our greatest masters of melodious verse; but two of them, *The Tears of the Muses* and *Mother Hubbard's Tales*, have greater intrinsic interest. The first is the complaint of the decay of learning alluded to in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. i. 52 "The thrice three Muses mourning for the death Of Learning late deceased in beggary." The lament, at a time when the Elizabethan drama was "mewing its mighty youth," was not so happy as some of Spenser's political prophecies in his *View of Ireland*; but it is idle work to try to trace the undercurrents and personal allusions in such an occasional pamphlet. *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, a fable in Chaucerian couplets, shows a keenness of satiric force not to be paralleled in any other of Spenser's writings, and suggests that he left the court in a mood very different from Colin Clout's.**

Spenser returned to London probably in 1595. He had married in the interval a lady whose Christian name was **Elizabeth - Dr Grosart says Elizabeth Boyle**. The marriage, celebrated on the **11th of June 1594**, was followed by a rapid succession of publications. The first was a volume (entered at Stationers' Hall, on the 19th of November 1594; published 1595) containing the *Amoretti*, a series of exquisite sonnets commemorative of the moods and incidents of his courtship, and the magnificent *Epithalamion*, incomparably the finest of his minor poems. As in the case of the *Complaints*, the publisher for obvious reasons issued this volume nominally without his authority. *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* was published in the same year, with a dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh, dated 1591. Early in 1596 the second three books of the *Faery Queen* were entered in the register of Stationers' Hall, and in the course of the same year were published his *Four Hymns*, his *Prothalamion*, and his *Astrophel*, a pastoral lament for Sir Philip Sidney, which he dedicated to the countess of Essex.

That Spenser wrote more of the *Faery Queen* during the last two years of his life, and that the MS. perished in the sack of Kilcolman Castle by the rebels, may plausibly be conjectured, but cannot be ascertained. During those years he would seem to have been largely occupied with political and personal cares. He describes himself in the *Prothalamion* as a disappointed suitor at court. He drew up his *View of Ireland* in 1596 when he was in London, and from various circumstances it is evident that he had hopes of some kind from the favour of **Essex**. The

View, with its urgent entreaty that Essex should be sent to Ireland, was entered at Stationers' Hall in April 1598, but he did not obtain leave to publish it. Burghley, who had long stood in his way, died in August of that year, and next month Spenser, who seems to have returned to Ireland in 1597, was appointed sheriff of Cork. In October Tyrone's rebellion broke out, and Spenser's house was sacked and burned. The poet himself escaped, and in December was sent to London with despatches. Again he ventured to urge upon the queen his plan for the thorough "reformation" of Ireland. But his own end was near. On the 16th of January 1599 he died at Westminster, ruined in fortune, if not heart-broken, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, near his master Chaucer. Ben Jonson asserted that he perished for lack of bread, and that when the earl of Essex, hearing of his distress, sent him "20 pieces," the poet declined, saying that he had no time to spend them. This report of his end is mentioned also by the author of *The Return from Parnassus*, but, having regard to Spenser's position in the world, it is inherently improbable. Still there is an ugly possibility of its truth. The poet left three sons and a daughter. A pedigree of the family appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1842.

Christopher Marlowe (1564-1593)

Christopher Marlowe, English dramatist, the father of English tragedy, and instaurator of dramatic blank verse, the eldest son of a shoemaker at Canterbury, was born in that city on the 6th of February 1564. He was christened at St George's Church, Canterbury, on the 26th of February, 1563/4, some two months before Shakespeare's baptism at Stratford-on-Avon. His father, John Marlowe, is said to have been the grandson of John Morley or Marlowe, a substantial tanner of Canterbury. The father, who survived by a dozen years or so his illustrious son, married on the 22nd of May 1561 Catherine, daughter of Christopher Arthur, at one time rector of St Peter's, Canterbury, who had been ejected by Queen Mary as a married minister. The dramatist received the rudiments of his education at the King's School, Canterbury, which he entered at Michaelmas 1578, and where he had as his fellow-pupils Richard Boyle, afterwards known as the great Earl of Cork, and Will Lyly, the brother of [John Lyly] the dramatist. Stephen Gosson entered the same school a little before, and William Harvey, the famous physician, a little after Marlowe. He went to Cambridge as one of Archbishop Parker's scholars from the King's School, and matriculated at Benet (Corpus Christi) College, on the 17th of March 1571, taking his B.A. degree in 1584, and that of M.A. three or four years later. Francis Kett, the mystic, burnt in 1589 for heresy, was a fellow and tutor of his college, and may have had some share in developing Marlowe's opinions in religious matters. Marlowe's classical acquirements were of a kind which was then extremely common, being based for the most part upon a minute acquaintance with Roman mythology, as revealed in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. His spirited translation of Ovid's *Amores* (printed 1596), which was at any rate commenced at Cambridge, does not seem to point to any very intimate acquaintance with the grammar and syntax of the Latin tongue. Before 1587 he seems to have quitted Cambridge for London, where he attached himself to the Lord Admiral's Company of Players, under the leadership of the famed actor Edward Alleyn, and almost at once began writing for the stage.

Of Marlowe's career in London, apart from his four great theatrical successes, we know hardly anything; but he evidently knew Thomas Kyd, who shared his unorthodox opinions. Nash criticized his verse, Greene affected to shudder at his atheism; Gabriel Harvey maligned his memory. On the other hand Marlowe was intimate with the Walsinghams of Scadbury,

Chiselhurst, kinsmen of Sir Francis Walsingham: he was also the personal friend of Sir Walter Raleigh, and perhaps of the poetical Earl of Oxford, with both of whom, and with such men as Walter Warner and Robert Hughes the mathematicians, Thomas Harriot the notable astronomer, and Matthew Royden, the dramatist is said to have met in free converse. Either this free converse or the licentious character of some of the young dramatist's tirades seems to have sown a suspicion among the strait-laced that his morals left everything to be desired. It is probable enough that this attitude of reprobation drove a man of so exalted a disposition as Marlowe into a more insurgent attitude than he would have otherwise adopted. He seems at any rate to have been associated with what was denounced as Sir Walter Raleigh's school of atheism, and to have dallied with opinions which were then regarded as putting a man outside the pale of civilized humanity.

As the result of some depositions made by Thomas Kyd under the influence of torture, the Privy Council was upon the eve of investigating some serious charges against Marlowe when his career was abruptly and somewhat scandalously terminated. The order had already been issued for his arrest, when he was slain in a quarrel by a man variously named (Archer and Ingram) at Deptford, at the end of May 1593, and he was buried on the 1st of June in the churchyard of St Nicholas at Deptford. The following September Gabriel Harvey referred to him as "dead of the plague." The disgraceful particulars attached to the tragedy of Marlowe in the popular mind would not seem to have appeared until four years later (1597) when Thomas Beard, the Puritan author of *The Theatre of God's Judgements*, used the death of this playmaker and atheist as one of his warning examples of the vengeance of God. Upon the embellishments of this story, such as that of Francis Meres the critic, in 1598, that Marlowe came to be "stabbed to death by a bawdy servingman, a rival of his in his lewde love," or that of William Vaughan in the *Golden Grove* of 1600, in which the unfortunate poet's dagger is thrust into his own eye in prevention of his felonious assault upon an innocent man, his guest, it is impossible now to pronounce.

We really do not know the circumstances of Marlowe's death. The probability is he was killed in a brawl, and his atheism must be interpreted not according to the ex parte accusation of one Richard Baines, a professional informer (among the Privy Council records), but as a species of rationalistic antinomianism, dialectic in character, and closely related to the deflection from conventional orthodoxy for which Kett was burnt at Norwich in 1589. A few months before the end of his life there is reason to believe that he transferred his services from the Lord Admiral's to Lord Strange's Company, and may have thus been brought into communication with Shakespeare, who in such plays as *Richard II* and *Richard III* owed not a little to the influence of his romantic predecessor.

Marlowe's career as a dramatist lies between the years 1587 and 1593, and the four great plays to which reference has been made were *Tamburlaine the Great*, an heroic epic in dramatic form divided into two parts of five acts each (1587, printed in 1590); *Dr Faustus* (1588, entered at Stationers' Hall 1601); *The Famous Tragedy of the Rich Jew of Malta* (dating perhaps from 1589, acted in 1592, printed in 1633); and *Edward the Second* (printed 1594). The very first words of *Tamburlaine* sound the trumpet note of attack in the older order of things dramatic:

"From jiggling veins of riming mother wits
And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay
We'll lead you to the stately tent of war,
Where you shall hear the Scythian Tamburlaine
Threatening the world with high astounding terms
And scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword."

It leapt with a bound to a place beside Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, and few plays have been more imitated by rivals (Greene's *Alphonsus of Aragon*, Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*) or more keenly satirized by the jealousy and prejudice of out-distanced competitors. With many and heavy faults, there is something of genuine greatness in *Tamburlaine the Great*; and for two grave reasons it must always be remembered with distinction and mentioned with honour. It is the first play ever written in English blank verse, as distinguished from mere rhymeless decasyllabics; and it contains one of the noblest passages, perhaps indeed the noblest, in the literature of the world, ever written by one of the greatest masters of poetry in loving praise of the glorious delights and sublime submission to the everlasting limits of his art. In its highest and most distinctive qualities, in unfaltering and infallible command of the right note of music and the proper tone of colour for the finest touches of poetic execution, no poet of the most elaborate modern school, working at ease upon every consummate resource of luxurious learning and leisurely refinement, has ever excelled the best and most representative work of a man who had literally no models before him and probably or evidently was often if not always compelled to write against time for his living.

The just and generous judgment passed by Goethe on the *Faustus* of his English predecessor in tragic treatment of the same subject is somewhat more than sufficient to counterbalance the slighting or the sneering references to that magnificent poem which might have been expected from the ignorance of Byron or the incompetence of Hallam. Of all great poems in dramatic form it is perhaps the most remarkable for absolute singleness of aim and simplicity of construction; yet is it wholly free from all possible imputation of monotony or aridity. *Tamburlaine* is monotonous in the general roll and flow of its stately and sonorous verse through a noisy wilderness of perpetual bluster and slaughter; but the unity of tone and purpose in *Doctor Faustus* is not unrelieved by change of manner and variety of incident. The comic scenes, written evidently with as little of labour as of relish, are for the most part scarcely more than transcripts, thrown into the form of dialogue, from a popular prose *History of Dr Faustus*, and therefore should be set down as little to the discredit as to the credit of the poet. Few masterpieces of any age in any language can stand beside this tragic poem — it has hardly the structure of a play — for the qualities of terror and splendour, for intensity of purpose and sublimity of note. In the vision of Helen, for example, the intense perception of loveliness gives actual sublimity to the sweetness and radiance of mere beauty in the passionate and spontaneous selection of words the most choice and perfect; and in like manner the sublimity of simplicity in Marlowe's conception and expression of the agonies endured by Faustus under the immediate imminence of his doom gives the highest note of beauty, the quality of absolute fitness and propriety, to the sheer straightforwardness of speech in which his agonizing horror finds vent ever more and more terrible from the first to the last equally beautiful and fearful verse of that tremendous monologue which has no parallel in all the range of tragedy. It is now a commonplace of criticism to observe and regret the decline of

power and interest after the opening acts of *The Jew of Malta*. This decline is undeniable, though even the latter part of the play (the text of which is very corrupt) is not wanting in rough energy; but the first two acts would be sufficient foundation for the durable fame of a dramatic poet. In the blank verse of Milton alone — who perhaps was hardly less indebted than Shakespeare was before him to Marlowe as the first English master of word-music in its grander forms — has the glory or the melody of passages in the opening soliloquy of Barabbas been possibly surpassed. The figure of the hero before it degenerates into caricature is as finely touched as the poetic execution is excellent; and the rude and rapid sketches of the minor characters show at least some vigour and vivacity of touch.

In *Edward the Second* the interest rises and the execution improves as visibly and as greatly with the course of the advancing story as they decline in *The Jew of Malta*. The scene of the king's deposition at Kenilworth is almost as much finer in tragic effect and poetic quality as it is shorter and less elaborate than the corresponding scene in Shakespeare's *King Richard II*. The terror of the death-scene undoubtedly rises into horror; but this horror is with skilful simplicity of treatment preserved from passing into disgust. In pure poetry, in sublime and splendid imagination, this tragedy is excelled by *Doctor Faustus*; in dramatic power and positive impression of natural effect it is certainly the masterpiece of Marlowe. It was almost inevitable, in the hands of any poet but Shakespeare, that none of the characters represented should be capable of securing or even exciting any finer sympathy or more serious interest than attends on the mere evolution of successive events or the mere display of emotions (except always in the great scene of the deposition) rather animal than spiritual in their expression of rage or tenderness or suffering. The exact balance of mutual effect, the final note of scenic harmony, between ideal conception and realistic execution is not yet struck with perfect accuracy of touch and security of hand; but on this point also Marlowe has here come nearer by many degrees to Shakespeare than any of his other predecessors have ever come near to Marlowe.

Of *The Massacre at Paris* (acted in 1593, printed 1600?) it is impossible to judge fairly from the garbled fragment of its genuine text which is all that has come down to us. To Mr. Collier, among numberless other obligations, we owe the discovery of a noble passage excised in the piratical edition which gives us the only version extant of this unlucky play, and which, it must be allowed, contains nothing of quite equal value. This is obviously an occasional and polemical work, and being as it is overcharged with the anti-Catholic passion of the time has a typical quality which gives it some empirical significance and interest. That antipapal ardour is indeed the only note of unity in a rough and ragged chronicle which shambles and stumbles onward from the death of Queen Jeanne of Navarre to the murder of the last Valois. It is possible to conjecture, what it would be fruitless to affirm, that it gave a hint in the next century to Nathaniel Lee for his far superior and really admirable tragedy on the same subject, issued ninety-seven years after the death of Marlowe. In the tragedy of *Dido Queen of Carthage* (completed by Thomas Nash, produced and printed 1594), a servile fidelity to the text of Virgil's narrative has naturally resulted in the failure which might have been expected from an attempt at once to transcribe what is essentially inimitable and to reproduce it under the hopelessly alien conditions of dramatic adaptation. The one really noble passage in a generally feeble and incomposite piece of work is, however, uninspired by the unattainable model to which the dramatists have been only too obsequious in their subservience. It is as nearly certain as anything can be which depends chiefly upon cumulative and collateral evidence that the better part of what is best in the serious scenes of *King Henry VI* is mainly

the work of Marlowe. That he is at any rate the principal author of the second and third plays passing under that name among the works of Shakespeare, but first and imperfectly printed as *The Contention between the two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster*, can hardly be now a matter of debate among competent judges. The crucial difficulty of criticism in this matter is to determine, if indeed we should not rather say to conjecture, the authorship of the humorous scenes in prose, showing as they generally do a power of comparatively high and pure comic realism to which nothing in the acknowledged works of any pre-Shakespearian dramatist is even remotely comparable. Yet, especially in the original text of these scenes as they stand unpurified by the ultimate revision of Shakespeare or his editors, there are tones and touches which recall rather the clownish horseplay and homely ribaldry of his predecessors than anything in the lighter interludes of his very earliest plays. We find the same sort of thing which we find in their writings, only better done than they usually do it, rather than such work as Shakespeare's a little worse done than usual. And even in the final text of the tragic or metrical scenes the highest note struck is always, with one magnificent and unquestionable exception; rather in the key of Marlowe at his best than of Shakespeare while yet in great measure his disciple.

A Taming of a Shrew, the play on which Shakespeare's comedy was founded, has been attributed, without good reason, to Marlowe. The passages in the play borrowed from Marlowe's works provide an argument against, rather than for his authorship; while the humorous character of the play is not in keeping with his other work. He may have had a share in *The Troublesome Raigne of King John* (1591), and Fleay conjectured that the plays *Edward III* and *Richard III* usually included in editions of Shakespeare are at least based on plays by Marlowe. *Lust's Dominion*, printed in 1657, was incorrectly ascribed to him, and a play no longer extant, *The True History of George Scanderbague*, was assumed by Fleay on the authority of an obscure passage of Gabriel Harvey to be his work. *The Maiden's Holiday*, assigned to Day and Marlowe, was destroyed by Warburton's cook. Day was considerably Marlowe's junior, and collaboration between the two is not probable. Had every copy of Marlowe's boyish version or perversion of Ovid's *Elegies* (*P. Ovidii Nasonis Amorum compressed into three books*) deservedly perished in the flames to which it was judicially condemned by the sentence of a brace of prelates, it is possible that an occasional bookworm, it is certain that no poetical student, would have deplored its destruction, if its demerits could in that case have been imagined. His translation of the first book of Lucan alternately rises above the original and falls short of it,— often inferior to the Latin in point and weight of expressive rhetoric, now and then brightened by a clearer note of poetry and lifted into a higher mood of verse. Its terseness, vigour and purity of style would in any case have been praiseworthy, but are nothing less than admirable, if not wonderful, when we consider how close the translator has on the whole (in spite of occasional slips into inaccuracy) kept himself to the most rigid limit of literal representation, phrase by phrase and often line by line. The really startling force and felicity of occasional verses are worthier of remark than the inevitable stiffness and heaviness of others, when the technical difficulty of such a task is duly taken into account. One of the most faultless lyrics and one of the loveliest fragments in the whole range of descriptive and fanciful poetry would have secured a place for Marlowe among the memorable men of his epoch, even if his plays had perished with himself. His *Passionate Shepherd* remains ever since unrivalled in its way — a way of pure fancy and radiant melody without break or lapse. Marlowe's poem of *Hero and Leander* (entered at Stationers' Hall in September 1593; completed and brought out by George Chapman, who

divided Marlowe's work into two sestads and added four of his own, 1598), closing with the sunrise which closes the night of the lovers' union, stands alone in its age, and far ahead of the work of any possible competitor between the death of Spenser and the dawn of Milton. In clear mastery of narrative and presentation, in melodious ease and simplicity of strength, it is not less pre-eminent than in the adorable beauty and impeccable perfection of separate lines or passages. It is doubtful whether the heroic couplet has ever been more finely handled.

The place and the value of Christopher Marlowe as a leader among English poets it would be almost impossible for historical criticism to over-estimate. To none of them all, perhaps, have so many of the greatest among them been so deeply and so directly indebted. Nor was ever any great writer's influence upon his fellows more utterly and unmixedly an influence for good. He first, and he alone, guided Shakespeare into the right way of work; his music, in which there is no echo of any man's before him, found its own echo in the more prolonged but hardly more exalted harmony of Milton's. He is the greatest discoverer, the most daring and inspired pioneer, in all our poetic literature. Before him there was neither genuine blank verse nor a genuine tragedy in our language. After his arrival the way was prepared, the paths were made straight, for Shakespeare.

Ben Jonson (1572-1637)

Benjamin Jonson(c. 11 June 1572 – 6 August 1637) was an English Renaissance dramatist, poet and actor. A contemporary of William Shakespeare, he is best known for his satirical plays, particularly *Volpone*, *The Alchemist*, and *Bartholomew Fair*, which are considered his best, and his lyric poems. A man of vast reading and a seemingly insatiable appetite for controversy, Jonson had an unparalleled breadth of influence on Jacobean and Caroline playwrights and poets. A house in Dulwich College is named after him.

Early life

Although he was born in Westminster, London, Jonson claimed his family was of ScottishBorder country descent, and this claim may have been supported by the fact that his coat of arms bears three spindles or rhombi, a device shared by a Borders family, the Johnstones of Annandale. His father died a month before Ben's birth, and his mother remarried two years later, to a master bricklayer. Jonson attended school in St. Martin's Lane, and was later sent to Westminster School, where one of his teachers was William Camden. Jonson remained friendly with Camden, whose broad scholarship evidently influenced his own style, until the latter's death in 1623. On leaving, Jonson was once thought to have gone on to the University of Cambridge; Jonson himself said that he did not go to university, but was put to a trade immediately: a legend recorded by Fuller indicates that he worked on a garden wall in Lincoln's Inn. He soon had enough of the trade, probably bricklaying, and spent some time in the Low Countries as a volunteer with the regiments of Francis Vere. Jonson reports that while in the Netherlands, he killed an opponent in single combat and stripped him of his weapons. .

Ben Jonson married, some time before 1594, a woman he described to Drummond as "a shrew, yet honest." His wife has not been definitively identified, but she is sometimes

identified as the Ann Lewis who married a Benjamin Jonson at St Magnus-the-Martyr, near London Bridge. The registers of St. Martin's Church state that his eldest daughter Mary died in November, 1593, when she was only six months old. His eldest son Benjamin died of the plague ten years later (Jonson's epitaph to him *On My First Sonne* was written shortly after), and a second Benjamin died in 1635. For five years somewhere in this period, Jonson lived separate from his wife, enjoying instead the hospitality of Lord Aubigny.

By the summer of 1597, Jonson had a fixed engagement in the Admiral's Men, then performing under Philip Henslowe's management at The Rose. John Aubrey reports, on uncertain authority, that Jonson was not successful as an actor; whatever his skills as an actor, he was evidently more valuable to the company as a writer. By this time, Jonson had begun to write original plays for the Lord Admiral's Men; in 1598, he was mentioned by Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* as one of "the best for tragedy." None of his early tragedies survive, however. An undated comedy, *The Case is Altered*, may be his earliest surviving play.

In 1597, a play co-written with Thomas Nashe entitled *The Isle of Dogs* was suppressed after supposedly causing great offense, much to the bemusement of modern-day critics and sensibilities. Arrest warrants for Jonson and Nashe were subsequently issued by Elizabeth's so-called interrogator, Richard Topcliffe. Jonson was jailed in Marshalsea Prison and famously charged with "Leude and mutynous behaviour", while Nashe managed to escape to Great Yarmouth. A year later, Jonson was again briefly imprisoned, this time in Newgate Prison, for killing another man, an actor Gabriel Spenser, in a duel on 22 September 1598 in Hogsden Fields, (today part of Hoxton). While in prison, Jonson was visited by a Roman Catholic priest and converted to Catholicism. Tried on a charge of manslaughter, Jonson pleaded guilty but was subsequently released by benefit of clergy (a legal ploy through which he gained leniency by reciting a brief bible verse in Latin), forfeiting his "goods and chattels" and being branded on his left thumb.

In 1598, Jonson produced his first great success, *Every Man in his Humour*, capitalising on the vogue for humour plays that had been begun by George Chapman with *An Humorous Day's Mirth*. William Shakespeare was among the first cast. This play was followed the next year by *Every Man Out of His Humour*, a pedantic attempt to imitate Aristophanes. It is not known whether this was a success on stage, but when published, it proved popular and went through several editions.

Jonson's other work for the theatre in the last years of Elizabeth I's reign was, unsurprisingly, marked by fighting and controversy. *Cynthia's Revels* was produced by the Children of the Chapel Royal at Blackfriars Theatre in 1600. It satirized both John Marston, who Jonson believed had accused him of lustfulness, probably in *Histrion-Mastix*, and Thomas Dekker, against whom Jonson's animus is not known. Jonson attacked the same two poets again in 1601's *Poetaster*. Dekker responded with *Satiromastix*, subtitled "the untrussing of the humorous poet." The final scene of this play, while certainly not to be taken at face value as a portrait of Jonson, offers a caricature that is recognizable from Drummond's report: boasting about himself and condemning other poets, criticizing actors' performances of his plays, and calling attention to himself in any available way. This "War of the Theatres" appears to have been concluded with reconciliation on all sides. Jonson collaborated with Dekker on a pageant welcoming James I to England in 1603, although Drummond reports that Jonson called Dekker a rogue. Marston dedicated *The Malcontent* to Jonson, and the two collaborated with

Chapman on *Eastward Ho*, a 1605 play whose anti-Scottish sentiment landed both authors in jail for a brief time.

At the beginning of the reign of James I of England in 1603, Jonson joined other poets and playwrights in welcoming the reign of the new King. Jonson quickly adapted himself to the additional demand for masques and entertainments introduced with the new reign and fostered by both the king and his consort, Anne of Denmark.

Ben Jonson's ascendance

Jonson flourished as a dramatist during the first decade or so of James's reign; by 1616, he had produced all the plays on which his reputation as a dramatist depends. These include the tragedy of *Catiline* (acted and printed 1611), which achieved only limited success, and the comedies *Volpone*, (acted 1605 and printed in 1607), *Epicoene, or the Silent Woman* (1609), *The Alchemist* (1610), *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) and *The Devil is an Ass* (1616). *The Alchemist* and *Volpone* appear to have been successful at once. Of *Epicoene*, Jonson told Drummond of a satirical verse which reported that the play's subtitle was appropriate, since its audience had refused to applaud the play (i.e., remained silent). Yet *Epicoene*, along with *Bartholomew Fair* and (to a lesser extent) *The Devil is an Ass* have in modern times achieved a certain degree of recognition. While his life during this period was apparently more settled than it had been in the 1590s, his financial security was still not assured. In 1603, Overbury reported that Jonson was living on Aurelian Townsend and "scorning the world."

His trouble with English authorities continued. In 1603, he was questioned by the Privy Council about *Sejanus*, a politically-themed play about corruption in the Roman Empire. He was again in trouble for topical allusions in a play, now lost, in which he took part. After the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, he appears to have been asked by the Privy Council to attempt to prevail on a certain priest to cooperate with the government; the priest he found was Father Thomas Wright, who heard Fawkes's confession (Teague, 249). At the same time, Jonson pursued a more prestigious career as a writer of masques for James' court. *The Satyr* (1603) and *The Masque of Blackness* (1605) are but two of the some two dozen masques Jonson wrote for James or for Queen Anne; the latter was praised by Swinburne as the consummate example of this now-extinct genre, which mingled speech, dancing, and spectacle. On many of these projects he collaborated, not always peacefully, with designer Inigo Jones. Perhaps partly as a result of this new career, Jonson gave up writing plays for the public theaters for a decade. Jonson later told Drummond that he had made less than two hundred pounds on all his plays together.

1616 saw a pension of 100 marks (about £60) a year conferred upon him, leading some to identify him as England's first Poet Laureate. This sign of royal favour may have encouraged him to publish the first volume of the folio collected edition of his works that year. Other volumes followed in 1640-1 and 1692. In 1618, Ben Jonson set out for his ancestral Scotland on foot. He spent over a year there, and the best-remembered hospitality which he enjoyed was that of the Scottish poet, Drummond of Hawthornden. Drummond undertook to record as much of Jonson's conversation as he could in his diary, and thus recorded aspects of Jonson's personality that would otherwise have been less clearly seen. Jonson delivers his opinions, in Drummond's terse reporting, in an expansive and even magisterial mood. In the postscript added by Drummond, he is described as "a great lover and praiser of himself, a contemner and

scorner of others". While in Scotland, he was made an honorary citizen of Edinburgh. On returning to England, he was awarded an honorary Master of Arts degree from Oxford University.

The period between 1605 and 1620 may be viewed as Jonson's heyday. In addition to his popularity on the public stage and in the royal hall, he enjoyed the patronage of aristocrats such as Elizabeth Sidney (daughter of Sir Philip Sidney) and Lady Mary Wroth. This connection with the Sidney family provided the impetus for one of Jonson's most famous lyrics, the country house poem *To Penshurst*.

Decline and death

The 1620s begin a lengthy and slow decline for Jonson. He was still well-known; from this time dates the prominence of the Sons of Ben or the "Tribe of Ben", those younger poets such as Robert Herrick, Richard Lovelace, and Sir John Suckling who took their bearing in verse from Jonson. However, a series of setbacks drained his strength and damaged his reputation. Jonson returned to writing regular plays in the 1620s, but these are not considered among his best. They are of significant interest for the study of the culture of Charles I's England. *The Staple of News*, for example, offers a remarkable look at the earliest stage of English journalism. The lukewarm reception given that play was, however, nothing compared to the dismal failure of *The New Inn*; the cold reception given this play prompted Jonson to write a poem condemning his audience (the *Ode to Myself*), which in turn prompted Thomas Carew, one of the "Tribe of Ben," to respond in a poem that asks Jonson to recognize his own decline.

The principal factor in Jonson's partial eclipse was, however, the death of James and the accession of King Charles I in 1625. Justly or not, Jonson felt neglected by the new court. A decisive quarrel with Jones harmed his career as a writer of court masques, although he continued to entertain the court on an irregular basis. For his part, Charles displayed a certain degree of care for the great poet of his father's day: he increased Jonson's annual pension to £100 and included a tierce of wine. Despite the strokes that he suffered in the 1620s, Jonson continued to write. At his death in 1637 he seems to have been working on another play, *The Sad Shepherd*. Though only two acts are extant, this represents a remarkable new direction for Jonson: a move into pastoral drama. During the early 1630s he also conducted a correspondence with James Howell, who warned him about disfavour at court in the wake of his dispute with Jones.

His works:-

Drama

Apart from two tragedies, *Sejanus* and *Catiline*, that largely failed to impress Renaissance audiences, Jonson's work for the public theatres was in comedy. These plays vary in some respects. The minor early plays, particularly those written for the boy players, present somewhat looser plots and less-developed characters than those written later, for adult companies. Already in the plays which were his salvos in the Poet's War, he displays the keen eye for absurdity and hypocrisy that marks his best-known plays; in these early efforts, however, plot mostly takes second place to variety of incident and comic set-pieces. They are,

also, notably ill-tempered. Thomas Davies called *Poetaster* "a contemptible mixture of the serio-comic, where the names of Augustus Caesar, Mecaenas, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Tibullus, are all sacrificed upon the altar of private resentment." Another early comedy in a different vein, *The Case is Altered*, is markedly similar to Shakespeare's romantic comedies in its foreign setting, emphasis on genial wit, and love-plot. Henslowe's diary indicates that Jonson had a hand in numerous other plays, including many in genres such as English history with which he is not otherwise associated.

The comedies of his middle career, from *Eastward Ho* to *The Devil is an Ass* are for the most part city comedy, with a London setting, themes of trickery and money, and a distinct moral ambiguity, despite Jonson's professed aim in the Prologue to *Volpone* to "mix profit with your pleasure". His late plays or "dotages," particularly *The Magnetic Lady* and *The Sad Shepherd*, exhibit some signs of an accommodation with the romantic tendencies of Elizabethan comedy.

Within this general progression, however, Jonson's comic style remained constant and easily recognizable. He announces his programme in the prologue to the folio version of *Every Man in His Humour*; he promises to represent "deeds, and language, such as men do use." He planned to write comedies that revived the classical premises of Elizabethan dramatic theory—or rather, since all but the loosest English comedies could claim some descent from Plautus and Terence; he intended to apply those premises with rigour. This commitment entailed negations: after *The Case is Altered*, Jonson eschewed distant locations, noble characters, romantic plots, and other staples of Elizabethan comedy. Jonson focused instead on the satiric and realistic inheritance of new comedy. He sets his plays in contemporary settings, peoples them with recognizable types, and sets them to actions that, if not strictly realistic, involve everyday motives such as greed and jealousy. In accordance with the temper of his age, he was often so broad in his characterisation that many of his most famous scenes border on the farcical (as Congreve, for example, judged *Epicoene*.) He was, moreover, more diligent in adhering to the classical unities than many of his peers--although as Margaret Cavendish noted, the unity of action in the major comedies was rather compromised by Jonson's abundance of incident. To this classical model Jonson applies the two features of his style which save his classical imitations from mere pedantry: the vividness with which he depicts the lives of his characters, and the intricacy of his plots. Coleridge, for instance, claimed that *The Alchemist* had one of the three most perfect plots in literature.

Poetry

Jonson's poetry, like his drama, is informed by his classical learning. Some of his better-known poems are close translations of Greek or Roman models; all display the careful attention to form and style that often came naturally to those trained in classics in the humanist manner. Jonson, however, largely avoided the debates about rhyme and meter that had consumed Elizabethan classicists such as Campion and Harvey. Accepting both rhyme and stress, Jonson uses them to mimic the classical qualities of simplicity, restraint, and precision.

"Epigrams" (published in the 1616 folio) is an entry in a genre that was popular among late-Elizabethan and Jacobean audiences. Jonson's epigrams explore various attitudes, most of them from the satiric stock of the day: complaints against women, courtiers, and spies abound. The condemnatory poems are short and anonymous; Jonson's epigrams of praise, including a

famous poem to Camden and lines to Lucy Harington, are somewhat longer and mostly addressed to specific individuals. The poems of "The Forest" also appeared in the first folio. Most of the fifteen poems are addressed to Jonson's aristocratic supporters, but the most famous are his country-house poem "To Penshurst" and the poem "To Celia" ("Come, my Celia, let us prove") that appears also in "Volpone."

"Underwoods," published in the expanded folio of 1640, is a larger and more heterogeneous group of poems. It contains "A Celebration of Charis," Jonson's most extended effort at love poetry; various religious pieces; encomiastic poems including the poem to Shakespeare and a sonnet on Mary Wroth; the "Execration against Vulcan" and others. The 1640 volume also contains three elegies which have often been ascribed to Donne (one of them appeared in Donne's posthumous collected poems).

Relationship with Shakespeare

There are many legends about Jonson's rivalry with Shakespeare, some of which may be true. Drummond reports that during their conversation, Jonson scoffed at two apparent absurdities in Shakespeare's plays: a nonsensical line in *Julius Caesar*, and the setting of *The Winter's Tale* on the non-existent seacoast of Bohemia. Drummond also reports Jonson saying that Shakespeare "wanted art." Whether Drummond is viewed as accurate or not, the comments fit well with Jonson's well-known theories about literature.

In *Timber*, which was published posthumously and reflects his lifetime of practical experience, Jonson offers a fuller and more conciliatory comment. He recalls being told by certain actors that Shakespeare never blotted (i.e., crossed out) a line when he wrote. His own response, "Would he had blotted a thousand," was taken as malicious. However, Jonson explains, "He was, indeed, honest, and of an open and free nature, had an excellent phantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions, wherein he flowed with that facility that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped". Jonson concludes that "there was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned." Also when Shakespeare died he said "He was not of an age, but for all time."

Thomas Fuller relates stories of Jonson and Shakespeare engaging in debates in the Mermaid Tavern; Fuller imagines conversations in which Shakespeare would run rings around the more learned but more ponderous Jonson. That the two men knew each other personally is beyond doubt, not only because of the tone of Jonson's references to him but because Shakespeare's company produced a number of Jonson's plays, at least one of which (*Every Man in his Humour*) Shakespeare certainly acted in. However, it is now impossible to tell how much personal communication they had, and tales of their friendship cannot be substantiated in the present state of knowledge.

Jonson's most influential and revealing commentary on Shakespeare is the second of the two poems that he contributed to the prefatory verse that opens Shakespeare's First Folio. This poem, "To the memory of my beloved, The AUTHOR, Mr. William Shakespeare: And what he hath left us," did a good deal to create the traditional view of Shakespeare as a poet who, despite "small Latine and less Greek," had a natural genius. The poem has traditionally been thought to exemplify the contrast Jonson perceived between himself, the disciplined and erudite classicist, scornful of ignorance and skeptical of the masses, and Shakespeare,

represented in the poem as a kind of natural wonder whose genius was not subject to any rules except those of the audiences for which he wrote. But the poem itself qualifies this view: "Yet must I not give Nature all: Thy Art, / My gentle Shakespeare, must enjoy a part." Some view this elegy as a conventional exercise, but a rising number of critics see it as a heartfelt tribute to the "Sweet Swan Of Avon," the "Soul of the Age!" It has been compellingly argued that Jonson helped to edit the First Folio, and he may have been inspired to write this poem, surely one of his greatest, by reading his fellow playwright's works, a number of which had been previously either unpublished or available in less satisfactory versions, in a relatively complete form.

Reception and Influence

During most of the 17th century Jonson was a towering literary figure, and his influence was enormous. Before the civil war The Tribe of Ben touted his importance, and during the Restoration Jonson's satirical comedies and his theory and practice of "humour characters" (which are often misunderstood; see William Congreve's letters for clarification) was extremely influential, providing the blueprint for many Restoration comedies. In the eighteenth century Jonson's status began to decline. In the Romantic era, Jonson suffered the fate of being unfairly compared and contrasted to Shakespeare, as the taste for Jonson's type of satirical comedy decreased. Jonson was at times greatly appreciated by the Romantics, but overall he was denigrated for not writing in a Shakespearean vein. In the twentieth century, Jonson's status rose significantly.

Drama

As G. E. Bentley notes in *Shakespeare and Jonson: Their Reputations in the Seventeenth Century Compared*, Jonson's reputation was in some respects equal to Shakespeare's in the 17th century. After the English theatres were reopened on the Restoration of Charles II, Jonson's work, along with Shakespeare's and Fletcher's work, formed the initial core of the Restoration repertory. It was not until after 1710 that Shakespeare's plays (ordinarily in heavily revised forms) were more frequently performed than those of his Renaissance contemporaries. Many critics since the eighteenth century have ranked Jonson below only Shakespeare among English Renaissance dramatists. Critical judgment has tended to emphasize the very qualities that Jonson himself lauds in his prefaces, in *Timber*, and in his scattered prefaces and dedications: the realism and propriety of his language, the bite of his satire, and the care with which he plotted his comedies.

For some critics, the temptation to contrast Jonson (representing art or craft) with Shakespeare (representing nature, or untutored genius) has seemed natural; Jonson himself may be said to initiate this interpretation in his poem on Shakespeare. Leonard Digges echoed this line of thought in his verses affixed to the second folio, and Samuel Butler drew the same comparison in his commonplace book later in the century.

At the Restoration, this sensed difference became a kind of critical dogma. Saint-Évremond, indeed, placed Jonson's comedies above all else in English drama, and Charles Gildon called Jonson the father of English comedy. John Dryden offered a more common assessment in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesie*, in which his avatar Neander compares Shakespeare to Homer and Jonson to Virgil: the former represented profound creativity, the latter polished artifice. But "artifice" was in the seventeenth century almost synonymous with "art"; Jonson, for instance,

used "artificer" as a synonym for "artist" (*Discoveries*, 33). For Lewis Theobald, too, Jonson "ow[ed] all his Excellence to his Art," in contrast to Shakespeare, the natural genius. Rowe, to whom may be traced the legend that Jonson owed the production of *Every Man in his Humour* to Shakespeare's intercession, likewise attributed Jonson's excellence to learning, which did not raise him quite to the level of genius. A consensus formed: Jonson was the first English poet to understand classical precepts with any accuracy, and he was the first to apply those precepts successfully to contemporary life. But there were also more negative spins on Jonson's learned art; for instance, in the 1750s, Edward Young casually remarked on the way in which Jonson's learning worked, like Samson's strength, to his own detriment. Earlier, Aphra Behn, writing in defence of female playwrights, had pointed to Jonson as a writer whose learning did not make him popular; unsurprisingly, she compares him unfavorably to Shakespeare. Particularly in the tragedies, with their lengthy speeches abstracted from Sallust and Cicero, Augustan critics saw a writer whose learning had swamped his aesthetic judgment.

In this period, Alexander Pope is exceptional in that he noted the tendency to exaggeration in these competing critical portraits: "It is ever the nature of Parties to be in extremes; and nothing is so probable, as that because Ben Johnson had much the most learning, it was said on the one hand that Shakespear had none at all; and because Shakespear had much the most wit and fancy, it was retorted on the other, that Johnson wanted both." For the most part, the eighteenth century consensus remained committed to the division that Pope doubted; as late as the 1750s, Sarah Fielding could put a brief recapitulation of this analysis in the mouth of a "man of sense" encountered by David Simple.

Though his stature declined during the eighteenth century, Jonson was still read and commented on throughout the century, generally in the kind of comparative and dismissive terms just described. Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg translated parts of Peter Whalley's edition into German in 1765. Shortly before the Romantic revolution, Edward Capell offered an almost unqualified rejection of Jonson as a dramatic poet, who (he writes) "has very poor pretensions to the high place he holds among the English Bards, as there is no original manner to distinguish him, and the tedious sameness visible in his plots indicates a defect of Genius." The disastrous failures of productions of *Volpone* and *Epicoene* in the early 1770s no doubt bolstered a widespread sense that Jonson had at last grown too antiquated for the contemporary public; if Jonson still attracted enthusiasts such as Earl Camden and William Gifford, he all but disappeared from the stage in the last quarter of the century.

The romantic revolution in criticism brought about an overall decline in the critical estimation of Jonson. Hazlitt refers dismissively to Jonson's "laborious caution." Coleridge, while more respectful, describes Jonson as psychologically superficial: "He was a very accurately observing man; but he cared only to observe what was open to, and likely to impress, the senses." Coleridge placed Jonson second only to Shakespeare; other romantic critics were less approving. The early nineteenth century was the great age for recovering Renaissance drama. Jonson, whose reputation had survived, appears to have been less interesting to some readers than writers such as Thomas Middleton or John Heywood, who were in some senses "discoveries" of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the emphasis the romantic writers placed on imagination, and their concomitant tendency to distrust studied art, lowered Jonson's status, if it also sharpened their awareness of the difference traditionally noted between Jonson and Shakespeare. This trend was by no means universal, however; William Gifford,

Jonson's first editor of the nineteenth century, did a great deal to defend Jonson's reputation during this period of general decline. In the next era, Swinburne, who was more interested in Jonson than most Victorians, wrote, "The flowers of his growing have every quality but one which belongs to the rarest and finest among flowers: they have colour, form, variety, fertility, vigour: the one thing they want is fragrance" — by "fragrance," Swinburne means spontaneity.

In the 20th century, Jonson's body of work has been subject to a more varied set of analyses, broadly consistent with the interests and programmes of modern literary criticism. In an essay printed in *The Sacred Wood* T.S. Eliot attempts to repudiate the charge that Jonson was an arid classicist by analysing the role of imagination in his dialogue. Eliot was appreciative of Jonson's overall conception and his "surface," a view consonant with the modernist reaction against Romantic criticism, which tended to denigrate playwrights who did not concentrate on representations of psychological depth. Around mid-century, a number of critics and scholars followed Eliot's lead, producing detailed studies of Jonson's verbal style. At the same time, study of Elizabethan themes and conventions, such as those by E.E. Stoll and M. C. Bradbrook, provided a more vivid sense of how Jonson's work was shaped by the expectations of his time.

The proliferation of new critical perspectives after mid-century touched on Jonson inconsistently. Jonas Barish was the leading figure in a group of critics that was appreciative of Jonson's artistry. On the other hand, Jonson received less attention from the new critics than did some other playwrights and his work was not of programmatic interest to psychoanalytic critics. But Jonson's career eventually made him a focal point for the revived sociopolitical criticism. Jonson's work, particularly his masques and pageants, offers significant information regarding the relations of literary production and political power, as do his contacts with and poems for aristocratic patrons; moreover, his career at the centre of London's emerging literary world has been seen as exemplifying the development of a fully commodified literary culture. In this respect, Jonson has been seen as a transitional figure, an author whose skills and ambition led him to a leading role both in the declining culture of patronage and in the rising culture of mass consumption.

Poetry

If Jonson's reputation as a playwright has traditionally been linked to Shakespeare, his reputation as a poet has, since the early twentieth century, been linked to that of John Donne. In this comparison, Jonson represents the cavalier strain of poetry, which emphasized grace and clarity of expression; Donne, by contrast, epitomized the metaphysical school of poetry, with its reliance on strained, baroque metaphors and often vague phrasing. Since the critics who made this comparison (Herbert Grierson for example), were to varying extents rediscovering Donne, this comparison often worked to the detriment of Jonson's reputation.

In his time, though, Jonson was at least as influential as Donne. In 1623, historian Edmund Bolton named him the best and most polished English poet. That this judgment was widely shared is indicated by the admitted influence he had on younger poets. The grounds for describing Jonson as the "father" of cavalier poets are clear: many of the cavalier poets described themselves as his "sons" or his "tribe." For some of this tribe, the connection was as much social as poetic; Herrick describes meetings at "the Sun, the Dog, and the Triple

Tunne." All of them, including those like Herrick whose accomplishments in verse are generally regarded as superior to Jonson's, took inspiration from Jonson's revival of classical forms and themes, his subtle melodies, and his disciplined use of wit. In all of these respects, Jonson may be regarded as among the most important figures in the prehistory of English neoclassicism.

The best of Jonson's lyrics have remained current since his time; periodically, they experience a brief vogue, as after the publication of Peter Whalley's edition of 1756. Jonson's poetry continues to interest scholars for the light it sheds on English literary history, particularly as regards politics, systems of patronage, and intellectual attitudes. For the general reader, Jonson's reputation rests on a few lyrics that, though brief, are surpassed for grace and precision by very few Renaissance poems: " On My First Sonne"; " To Celia"; " Drink to Me Only With Thine Eyes"; the poem on Penshurst; and the epitaph on boy player Solomon Pavy.

Jonson's works

Plays

- *A Tale of a Tub*, comedy (ca. 1596? revised? performed 1633; printed 1640)
- *The Case is Altered*, comedy (ca. 1597-8; printed 1609), with Henry Porter and Anthony Munday?
- *Every Man in His Humour*, comedy (performed 1598; printed 1601)
- *Every Man out of His Humour*, comedy (performed 1599; printed 1600)
- *Cynthia's Revels* (performed 1600; printed 1601)
- *The Poetaster*, comedy (performed 1601; printed 1602)
- *Sejanus His Fall*, tragedy (performed 1603; printed 1605)
- *Eastward Ho*, comedy (performed and printed 1605), a collaboration with John Marston and George Chapman
- *Volpone*, comedy (ca. 1605-6; printed 1607)
- *Epicoene, or the Silent Woman*, comedy (performed 1609; printed 1616)
- *The Alchemist*, comedy (performed 1610; printed 1612)
- *Catiline His Conspiracy*, tragedy (performed and printed 1611)
- *Bartholomew Fair*, comedy (performed Oct. 31, 1614; printed 1631)
- *The Devil is an Ass*, comedy (performed 1616; printed 1631)
- *The Staple of News*, comedy (performed Feb. 1626; printed 1631)
- *The New Inn, or The Light Heart*, comedy (licensed Jan. 19, 1629; printed 1631)
- *The Magnetic Lady, or Humors Reconciled*, comedy (licensed Oct. 12, 1632; printed 1641)
- *The Sad Shepherd*, pastoral (ca. 1637, printed 1641), unfinished
- *Mortimer his Fall*, history (printed 1641), a fragment

Masques

- *The Coronation Triumph, or The King's Entertainment* (performed March 15, 1604; printed 1604); with Thomas Dekker
- *A Private Entertainment of the King and Queen on May-Day (The Penates)* (May 1, 1604; printed 1616)
- *The Entertainment of the Queen and Prince Henry at Althorp (The Satyr)* (June 25, 1603; printed 1604)
- *The Masque of Blackness* (Jan. 6, 1605; printed 1608)
- *Hymenaei* (Jan. 5, 1606; printed 1606)
- *The Entertainment of the Kings of Great Britain and Denmark (The Hours)* (July 24, 1606; printed 1616)
- *The Masque of Beauty* (Jan. 10, 1608; printed 1608)
- *The Masque of Queens* (Feb. 2, 1609; printed 1609)
- *The Hue and Cry after Cupid, or The Masque at Lord Haddington's Marriage* (Feb. 9, 1608; printed ca. 1608)
- *The Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers, or The Lady of the Lake* (Jan. 6, 1610; printed 1616)
- *Oberon, the Faery Prince* (Jan. 1, 1611; printed 1616)
- *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* (Feb. 3, 1611; printed 1616)
- *Love Restored* (Jan. 6, 1612; printed 1616)
- *A Challenge at Tilt, at a Marriage* (Dec. 27, 1613/Jan. 1, 1614; printed 1616)
- *The Irish Masque at Court* (Dec. 29, 1613; printed 1616)
- *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists* (Jan. 6, 1615; printed 1616)
- *The Golden Age Restored* (Jan. 1, 1616; printed 1616)
- *Christmas, His Masque* (Christmas 1616; printed 1641)
- *The Vision of Delight* (Jan. 6, 1617; printed 1641)
- *Lovers Made Men, or The Masque of Lethe, or The Masque at Lord Hay's* (Feb. 22, 1617; printed 1617)
- *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (Jan. 6, 1618; printed 1641) The masque was a failure; Jonson revised it by placing the anti-masque first, turning it into:
- *For the Honour of Wales* (Feb. 17, 1618; printed 1641)
- *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* (Jan. 7, 1620; printed 1641)
- *The Entertainment at Blackfriars, or The Newcastle Entertainment* (May 1620?; MS)
- *Pan's Anniversary, or The Shepherd's Holy-Day* (June 19, 1620?; printed 1641)
- *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (Aug 3 and 5, 1621; printed 1640)
- *The Masque of Augurs* (Jan. 6, 1622; printed 1622)
- *Time Vindicated to Himself and to His Honours* (Jan. 19, 1623; printed 1623)
- *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion* (Jan. 26, 1624; printed 1624)
- *The Masque of Owls at Kenilworth* (Aug. 19, 1624; printed 1641)
- *The Fortunate Isles and Their Union* (Jan. 9, 1625; printed 1625)
- *Love's Triumph Through Callipolis* (Jan. 9, 1631; printed 1631)

- *Chloridia: Rites to Chloris and Her Nymphs* (Feb. 22, 1631; printed 1631)
- *The King's Entertainment at Welbeck in Nottinghamshire* (May 21, 1633; printed 1641)
- *Love's Welcome at Bolsover* (July 30, 1634; printed 1641)

Other works

- *Epigrams* (1612)
- *The Forest* (1616), including *To Penshurst*
- *A Discourse of Love* (1618)
- Barclay's *Argenis*, translated by Jonson (1623)
- *The Execration against Vulcan* (1640)
- *Horace's Art of Poetry*, translated by Jonson (1640), with a commendatory verse by Edward Herbert
- *Underwoods* (1640)
- *Timber, or Discoveries*, a commonplace book.
- *On My First Sonne* (1616), elegy
- *To Celia*, poem
- *Drink to Me Only With Thine Eyes*, poem

As with other English Renaissance dramatists, a portion of Ben Jonson's literary output has not survived. In addition to *The Isle of Dogs* (1597), the records suggest these lost plays as wholly or partially Jonson's work: *Richard Crookback* (1602); *Hot Anger Soon Cold* (1598), with Porter and Henry Chettle; *Page of Plymouth* (1599), with Dekker; and *Robert II, King of Scots* (1599), with Chettle and Dekker. Several of Jonson's masques and entertainments also are not extant: *The Entertainment at Merchant Taylors* (1607); *The Entertainment at Salisbury House for James I* (1608); *The Entertainment at Britain's Burse for James I* (1609); and *The May Lord* (1613-19).

Finally, there are questionable or borderline attributions. Jonson may have had a hand in *Rollo, Duke of Normandy, or The Bloody Brother*, a play in the canon of John Fletcher and his collaborators. The comedy *The Widow* was printed in 1652 as the work of Thomas Middleton, Fletcher and Jonson, though scholars have been intensely skeptical about Jonson's presence in the play. A few attributions of anonymous plays, like *The London Prodigal*, have been ventured by individual researchers, but have met with cool responses.

Elizabethan Theatre

Elizabethan theatre and the name of William Shakespeare are inextricably bound together, yet there were others writing plays at the same time as the bard of Avon. One of the most successful was Christopher Marlowe, who many contemporaries considered Shakespeare's superior. Marlowe's career, however, was cut short at a comparatively young age when he died in a tavern fight in Deptford; the victim of a knife in the eye. Theatre had an unsavory reputation. London authorities refused to allow plays within the city, so theatres opened across the Thames in Southwark, outside the authority of the city administration.

The first proper theatre as we know it was the Theatre, built at Shoreditch in 1576. Before this time plays were performed in the courtyard of inns, or sometimes, in the houses of noblemen. A noble had to be careful about which play he allowed to be performed within his home, however. Anything that was controversial or political was likely to get him in trouble with the crown! After the Theatre, further open air playhouses opened in the London area, including the Rose (1587), and the Hope (1613). The most famous playhouse was the Globe (1599) built by the company in which Shakespeare had a stake.

The Globe was only in use until 1613, when a canon fired during a performance of *Henry VIII* caught the roof on fire and the building burned to the ground. The site of the theatre was rediscovered in the 20th century and a reconstruction built near the spot. These theatres could hold several thousand people, most standing in the open pit before the stage, though rich nobles could watch the play from a chair set on the side of the stage itself.

Theatre performances were held in the afternoon, because, of course, there was no artificial lighting. Women attended plays, though often the prosperous woman would wear a mask to disguise her identity. Further, no women performed in the plays. Female roles were generally performed by young boys.

Development of Scientific Spirit

Francis Bacon (1561-1626)

Francis Bacon was the son of Nicolas Bacon, the Lord Keeper of the Seal of Elisabeth I. He entered Trinity College Cambridge at age 12. Bacon later described his tutors as "Men of sharp wits, shut up in their cells of a few authors, chiefly Aristotle, their Dictator." This is likely the beginning of Bacon's rejection of Aristotelianism and Scholasticism and the new Renaissance Humanism. His father died when he was 18, and being the youngest son this left him virtually penniless. He turned to the law and at 23 he was already in the House of Commons. His rich relatives did little to advance his career and Elisabeth apparently distrusted him. It was not until James I became King that Bacon's career advanced. He rose to become Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans and Lord Chancellor of England. His fall came about in the course of a struggle between King and Parliament. He was accused of having taken a bribe while a judge, tried and found guilty. He thus lost his personal honour, his fortune and his place at court.

Loren Eiseley in his beautifully written book about Bacon *The Man Who Saw Through Time* remarks that Bacon: "...more fully than any man of his time, entertained the idea of the universe as a problem to be solved, examined, meditated upon, rather than as an eternally fixed stage, upon which man walked."

This is the title page from Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* which contains his *Novum Organum* which is a new method to replace that of Aristotle. The image is of a ship passing through the Pillars of Hercules, which symbolized for the ancients the limits of man's possible explorations. The image represents the analogy between the great voyages of discovery and the explorations leading to the advancement of learning. In *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon makes this analogy explicit. Speaking to James I, to whom the book is dedicated, he writes: "For why should a few received authors stand up like Hercules columns, beyond

which there should be no sailing or discovering, since we have so bright and benign a star as your Majesty to conduct and prosper us." The image also forcefully suggests that using Bacon's new method, the boundaries of ancient learning will be passed. The Latin phrase at the bottom from the Book of Daniel means: "Many will pass through and knowledge will be increased."

Bacon saw himself as the inventor of a method which would kindle a light in nature - "a light that would eventually disclose and bring into sight all that is most hidden and secret in the universe." This method involved the collection of data, their judicious interpretation, the carrying out of experiments, thus to learn the secrets of nature by organized observation of its regularities. Bacon's proposals had a powerful influence on the development of science in 17th century Europe. Thomas Hobbes served as Bacon's last *amunensis* or secretary. Many members of the British Royal Society saw Bacon as advocating the kind of enquiry conducted by that society.

Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727)

Sir Isaac Newton was an Englishman, physicist, astronomer, mathematician, theologian, alchemist, and government official. He is one of the most well known scientists in world history for his Theory of Universal Gravitation, his Laws of Motion, and his theories in optics, as well as invention of differential calculus. In addition, Newton invented the reflecting telescope, and made numerous other contributions to his fields of study. His Classical mechanics comprises of the four main fields of modern physics (alongside the later fields of electricity and magnetism, thermodynamics, and quantum mechanics). Newton attributed his insights to his efforts in translating the Bible: "Amongst the Interpreters of the last age there is scarce one of note who hath not made some discovery worth knowing; and thence seem to gather that God is about opening these mysteries."

Newton's view of science was that far more remained undiscovered. "I do not know what I may appear to the world; but to myself I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the seashore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, whilst the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me."

Newton rejected basing scientific theories on assumptions rather than observations. "Hypotheses non fingo," Newton famously declared, which is Latin for "I feign no hypotheses." [Newton] "... believed that ideas in science should be tested and only accepted if their usefulness could be demonstrated." This stands in contrast with the Theory of Relativity that is contrary to Newtonian physics.

Newton emphasized that conclusions are drawn from experiments, "But hitherto I have not been able to discover the cause of those properties of gravity from phenomena, and I frame no hypotheses; for whatever is not deduced from the phenomena, is to be called an hypothesis; and hypotheses, whether metaphysical or physical, whether of occult qualities or mechanical, have no place in experimental philosophy."

In 1705, in recognition of Isaac Newton's role as master of the Mint, **Queen Anne knighted** him. It was the first knighthood to be given for scientific achievement rather than prowess on the battlefield or work in government. Newton is often seen as one of the most influential men

in all of history and perhaps the greatest scientist ever. His work was influential in shaping the philosophical outlook of the entire **Enlightenment**, especially after writers such as **Voltaire** published simplified versions comprehensible to the non-scientist.

Life

Newton was born on Christmas day December 25, 1642 in Woolsthorpe, Lincolnshire; his father, also Isaac, died before his birth. The senior Isaac Newton (1606–1642) was a wealthy but illiterate farmer who left extensive lands as well as goods worth £459, including a flock of 235 sheep and a herd of 46 cattle. The annual income was about £150, and Newton drew on that income to supplement his college fellowship while at Cambridge. The Newtons were a well-to-do, upwardly mobile family of farmers, but never had a prominent member. When he was a little more than two years old, his mother Hannah (1610–1679), remarried, and his upbringing was taken over by his maternal grandmother. He began his schooling in neighboring villages, and, at ten, was sent to the grammar school at Grantham, the nearest town of any size. He boarded during terms at the house of an apothecary from whom he may have derived his lifelong interest in chemistry. The young Newton seems to have been a quiet, not particularly bookish, lad, but very ready with his hands; he made sun dials, model windmills, a water clock, a mechanical carriage, and flew kites with lanterns attached to their tails. Throughout his life he built mechanical devices and fashioned his own tools for high-precision work.

In 1656, Newton's mother, on the death of her second husband, returned to Woolsthorpe and took her son out of school with the idea of making him a farmer. He hated farming. His mother, after considerable persuasion by his teacher at Grantham, who had recognized his intellectual gifts, allowed him to prepare for entrance to Cambridge University. In June 1661, he was admitted to prestigious Trinity College as a lowly "sub-sizar" (a student required to do work-study). The main curriculum was the study of Aristotle, but early in 1664, as Newton's notebooks indicate, he began an intensive self-study of geometry, Copernican astronomy and optics. On his own he read Descartes, Pierre Gassendi, Galileo, Robert Boyle, Thomas Hobbes, Kenelm Digby, Joseph Glanville, and Henry More. He was a loner with only one friend, but he was stimulated by the distinguished mathematician and theologian Isaac Barrow, Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, who recognized Newton's genius and did all he could to foster it.

Newton took his bachelor's degree in January 1665 and was selected for a scholarship in 1664 and a fellowship in 1667. Upon taking his MA he became one of Trinity college's sixty fellows, with an income of £60, part of which came in the form of room and board. He had no duties at Trinity over the next 28 years; he did no teaching apart from a few lectures (to nearly empty halls) and tutoring an occasional student. At the urging of Isaac Barrow in 1669 he wrote out some of his findings, which circulated in manuscript. He invented the reflecting telescope, which caused a sensation in London in 1671 and his election to the Royal Society. Newton became Lucasian professor of mathematics in 1669 at £100 per annum. Added to his fellowship and family estate, Newton was well off. He spent most of his time with experiments in alchemy and speculations in Arian theology, which had no influence whatever at the time or later. Newton made enemies easily, with an almost paranoid style of disputation. Many scientists in the era were repeatedly charging each other with plagiarism, and

sometimes hid their discoveries in code so that in future years they could decode the message and claim priority. In 1704 he published his great book on *Opticks*, which had been mostly written three decades before.

After his death and burial, Newton was exhumed so he could be buried in a more prominent location in Westminster Abbey. During this exhumation process, it was discovered that Newton had large amounts of mercury in his body, probably as a direct result of his alchemical experiments. Exposure to large amounts of mercury may explain Newton's eccentricity in his latter years, as well as his cause of death.

National affairs

Publication in 1687 of the *Principia* made Newton one of the best known intellectual figures in Europe. At the same time Newton became a leader of the University against King James II, who was promoting Catholicism there. When James was overthrown, Newton's political reputation soared. In 1694 he suffered an emotional breakdown and his intellectual productivity ended. In 1696 he left Cambridge for London, where he became Warden of the Royal Mint. The appointment was intended as an honorary sinecure for England's most famous intellectual, but Newton characteristically threw himself into a successful effort to reform the nation's coinage and crack down on counterfeiters. He became Master of the Mint in 1699; in 27 years as Master he averaged an income of about £1650 a year, one of the highest salaries in London. He was president of the Royal Society from 1703 to his death, turning that honorific position into an operational one that upgraded the Society's usefulness. In 1705 he became the first scientist in European history to be knighted.

Newton never married, but he brought his niece to London as his hostess and lived in upper class style.

Year of great discovery

The year 1666 is known as Newton's *annus mirabilis* (miraculous year--more precisely the two years 1665-1666), about twenty-four years of age. He later recalled, "For in those days I was in the prime of my age for invention & minded Mathematicks & Philosophy more than at any time since." (By "philosophy" he meant physics.)

Calculus

Newton broke ground with his innovative work founding the field of calculus. He had been motivated by the need for alternate ways to compute pi. He isolated a formulation of pi as the area under an arc of the unit circle; thus to calculate pi he would only have to compute this area. Whereas Pierre de Fermat had already worked out how to compute the areas under polynomial curves, Newton faced a curve given by a formula involving a square root. To solve this problem, he re-expressed the square root in terms of an infinite sum of polynomials--this was the motivating idea for his generalized binomial theorem. The standard binomial theorem gave an expansion for $(x+y)^n$ for any nonnegative integer n . The resulting expression involves binomial coefficients. Newton's work extended this theorem to all real values of n , by using convergent infinite series and generalized binomial coefficients. Therefore, to compute the area under the arc, he simply had to use Fermat's theorem to compute the area

under each of the polynomial terms of the infinite series and then add them together (proving along the way that this sum converges).

Proceeding from this method, Newton formulated the idea of integration -- a computation of the area under any curve by using infinite series of areas. He followed that with a method for differentiation, and came upon the fundamental theorem of calculus, which relates differentiation and integration. Having invented the calculus, he put aside mathematics for two years and turned to physics. Although Newton had communicated his discoveries in the calculus privately, he did not publish anything formal about it until finally, in 1704, he published *Opticks*. In the meantime the German mathematician Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz had developed his own very similar version of the calculus. Both mathematicians used similar ideas of infinitesimals to smooth out details of division by zero and other seeming mathematical obstacles.

Although Leibniz acknowledged that Newton was earlier, a nasty priority conflict broke out in the 1710s. Newton and his (mainly English) followers accused Leibniz of plagiarism, and the Germans retaliated in kind. The modern view is that both mathematicians discovered the calculus independently. The symbolism in modern use comes from Leibniz and 18th century French mathematicians.

Optics

While waiting out The Plague he began to investigate the nature of light. White light, according to the prevailing theories, was homogeneous. His first experiments with a prism provided the true explanation of color. Passing a beam of sunlight through a prism, he observed that the beam spread out into a colored band of light (spectrum) like a rainbow. While others had undoubtedly performed similar experiments, it was Newton who showed that the differences in color were caused by differing degrees of refrangibility. A ray of violet light, for example, when passed through a refracting medium, was refracted through a greater angle than a ray of red light. His conclusions, checked by ingenious experiments, were that sunlight was a combination of all the colors and that the colors themselves were monochromatic (his term was "homogeneous"), and separated merely because they were of differing refrangibility.

Gravity

Newton developed the Theory of Universal Gravitation, more commonly known as gravity, when, according to Newton himself, he was thinking about the moon and saw an apple fall one day. It fell straight down, and why was that? Then he had one of the most astonishing and brilliant thoughts in human history: the moon and the apple were just alike and both were being drawn straight toward the earth. What then kept the moon up there, or the four moons of Jupiter in their orbits? His theory stated that all matter is attracted to matter by a force, whose strength increases proportionally to the mass of the objects involved, and inversely proportional to the squared distance between them. The moons stayed in place because they had a momentum that offset gravity and forced them into elliptical orbits. Newton's theory is based on action-at-a-distance which has always been opposed by some scientists, and now most physicists endorse the very different theory of relativity. Both theories predict identical

results at small scales, similar results at the scale of the solar system and very different results at cosmological scales beyond the solar system.

Newton had already made great progress in his devising "method of fluxions" (the infinitesimal calculus). During the plague years he recorded his first thoughts on gravitation, inspired by watching an apple fall. It fell straight down--why was that? He was trying at that time to determine what type of force could hold the moon in its path. The fall of the apple led him to think that it might be the same gravitational force, suitably diminished by distance that had acted on the apple. Thereby he discovered the law of gravitation (attraction is proportional with inverse distance squared). He verified his conjecture approximately by a numerical calculation. He did not, at the time, pursue the matter, because the problem of calculating the combined attraction of the whole earth on a small body near its surface was obviously one of great difficulty.

Newton struggled with how to conceptualize gravity. He had early rejected Descartes's vortex account of the cause of the motion of the planets. Descartes had argued that forces were transmitted through contact and that this required that matter be continuous and that hence there could be no vacuums. As early as 1665 Newton attempted to find a physical explanation of the cause of gravity but never found a suitable answer. As Newton said later in his *Principia*, "I have not as yet been able to deduce from phenomena the reason for these properties of gravity, and I do not feign hypotheses. For whatever is not deduced from the phenomena must be called hypothesis; and hypotheses, whether metaphysical or physical, or based on occult qualities, or mechanical, have no place in experimental philosophy". Thus Newton offers no explanation of gravity but shows through his mathematics that it "acts" in accordance to the mathematical laws he offers us in the *Principia*. This was a difficult approach for his contemporaries to accept. Robert Hooke, in particular, saw experimentation as the heart of science and disapproved of Newton's focus on theory and mathematics.

Three laws

Later in life, as a holder of the Cambridge Lucasian chair of mathematics, Newton worked out his initial ideas into a set of mechanical laws, with his second and most important law: Force is mass times acceleration ($F=ma$). Newton was the first to understand the concept of inertial forces, notably the centrifugal force, although Christian Huyghens was close to understanding this effect. In 1684 Newton proved that Kepler's laws follow from his own second law in conjunction with his gravitational law. This proof completed the astronomical revolution initiated by Nicolaus Copernicus.

Principia Mathematica

Newton avoided publishing his results, preferring to communicate them to close colleagues. It took Edmond Halley great efforts to convince Newton to write his opus magnum *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* ("Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy" written in Latin, it was called the *Principia*) that appeared in 1687. A second expanded edition appeared in 1713. It was a work on mechanics that used Newton's new principle of universal gravitation to explain falling bodies on the earth and the motions of planets and comets in the heavens. The first part covers dynamics and includes Newton's three famous laws of motion. The second part concerns fluid motion; the third part deals with "the system of the world" ("De mundi systemate"), that is, the unification of terrestrial and

celestial mechanics under the principle of gravitation and the explanation of Kepler's laws of planetary motion. The material was very advanced and difficult, especially since the underlying calculus was deliberately hidden from view. Scientists across Europe immediately recognized its importance and tried to read it.

Newtonianism

Feingold (2004) explains the rapid dissemination of Newton's science came first via the members of the Royal Society, both British and Continental. The scientists, mathematicians, and philosophers of Germany, Holland, France, and Italy read the editions of the *Principia* and the *Opticks* and taught the ideas to their students. Newton's work was widely accepted, except in Italy, where the Catholic Church, having silenced Galileo, tried as well to suppress Newton's ideas. Despite the importance of Descartes to the French, Newton carried the day in France. Voltaire in particular made Newton the great hero of the modern world of ideas. Voltaire's *Elemens de la philosophie de Neuton*, (1737), was a success that rendered Newton intelligible and his work accessible, to the nonspecialists and amateurs who flourished in the Enlightenment. In Germany Leibniz praised Newton's *Principia*, but was uncomfortable with Newton's position regarding gravity. It was philosophically untenable to merely dismiss the problem of its cause. French scientists, especially Pierre Simon Laplace (1749-1827) developed and systemized Newton's ideas into modern Classical mechanics in the late 18th century.

Newton's science dominated science and educated thought throughout the 18th century, being seen as the highest achievement of pure reason and classical culture. In the 19th century, however, Romantic scientists went in entirely new directions, exploring non-Newtonian topics in electricity, magnetism and thermodynamics, and in mathematics turning to topics unrelated to calculus, like group theory. The leading German poet, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe - who was also a renowned Natural philosopher - even tried to challenge Newton's optics.

Religious Beliefs

Newton was an Arian (Illegalized in Europe since the First Council of Nicaea) who rejected the Trinity and was ambiguous about the divinity of Christ. As his leading biographer concludes, "Well before 1675, Newton had become an Arian in the original sense of the term." That is, he emphasized the powers of God the father and deemphasized Jesus. He considered himself a Christian who accepted the Bible as the Word of God, after the age of 25 he devoted much--perhaps most--of his thinking to religion. His unorthodox views violated the rules at Cambridge University, but his colleagues protected him. Newton wrote the book 'An Historical Account of Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture'.

Newton was a sincere religious believer, who said his discoveries were inspired by God. He devoted more time to the study of Scripture than to science. Newton wrote, "This most beautiful system of the sun, planets, and comets, could only proceed from the counsel and dominion of an intelligent being... All variety of created objects which represent order and life in the universe could happen only by the willful reasoning of its original Creator, Whom I call the Lord God." Newton believed that God's creation of the universe was self evident given its grandeur. He also warned against using his laws to replace the creator. He said, "Gravity explains the motions of the planets, but it cannot explain who set the planets in motion. God governs all things and knows all that is or can be done."

Newton wrote over a million words on religion--nearly all in unpublished hand-written manuscripts and unavailable for research until the 20th century. Although older scholars did not have access to his writings, "Among contemporary scholars, the consensus is that Newton was an Arian," concludes Pfizenmaier (1997). Arians were Christians but the Arian theology died out as an organized force a thousand years before; Newton read the old texts and identified himself with Arius and his beliefs. In an effort to debunk widespread claims of his time that the world would be ending soon, Newton wrote a private manuscript estimating that the world would not end prior to the year A.D. 2060.

UNIT-V

IMPACT OF ROYAL ABSOLUTISM

The Stuart Dynasty

"The Tudor period reconstructed English civilization" wrote one historian. The same Dynasty not only accomplished a social revolution but also achieved an ecclesiastical revolution. The Church and Baronage were great powers on which the medieval civilization in England had revolved. Both these were overthrown by the Tudor dynasty. After the death of Elizabeth I, James I became the King of England. It was the beginning of Stuart Dynasty in England. The Line of the Stuarts stretched from 1603 to 1714 AD. The following are the English rulers of this period.

- 1) James I (1603-1625 A.D)
- 2) Charles I (1625-1649 AD)
- 3) Commonwealth Interlude (1649-1660 AD)

- 4) Charles II (1660-1685 AD)
- 5) James II (1685-1688 AD)
- 6) William and Mary (1689-1702 AD)
- 7) Queen Anne (1702-1714 AD)

Conflicts of Stuarts with their Parliaments

According to the historian Southgate, "The history of England in Stuart times is the story of a struggle between the Kings and the Parliaments of the period. In the middle of the century this struggle developed into open warfare, and a King was beheaded, but the contest had begun many years before the actual outbreak of war, and it did not end even when Charles I was executed. There were many issues upon which the King and the Parliament quarreled, but the real cause of the struggle is not to be found merely by considering these points. It was a struggle for supremacy." Before the advent of the Stuarts, the Tudors who were despotic rulers had ruled for England more than a century. They tactfully manipulated popular support. This is why during the Tudor period not a single instance of any serious conflict was reported between the Parliament and the Monarchy. On the contrary, the Stuart Kings, who were themselves Scots, could not understand the temper of the English people. They were frank and straightforward in their opinions and possessed no political skill or tact like the Tudors to humor the Parliament or the people. Therefore, several crises occurred during the whole period of Stuart rule from 1603 to 1688. Ultimately, the Parliament achieved its final victory in 1688 with the Glorious Revolution.

The Theory of Divine Rights of Kings

James I was the first ruler of the Stuart period. He was a Scot and was considered as the 'wisest fool' in Europe. He had the notion that the King derived his authority from god and was answerable only to him.

Certain historians have formulated the theory of the Divine Rights of the King on the basis of the beliefs of various despotic rulers. According to them the Theory maintained:

That the supremebeing regarded hereditary monarchy as opposed to other forms of Government with peculiar favor;

That no human power could deprive a legitimate prince of his rights;

That the authority of such a prince was necessarily always despotic;

That the laws, in England and other countries, were to be regarded merely as concessions which the sovereign had freely made and might, at his pleasure, resume;

That any treaty which a King might concede to his people was merely a declaration of his present intentions and not a contract of which the performance could be demanded.

Main Reasons for the Conflict

Some of the essential factors that were responsible for the frequent clashes between the King and their Parliament are:

i. The Financial Reasons

Money matters have always been the most important factor in any revolution or conflict. Finance was another matter of dispute between the Stuart Kings and their Parliaments. The Stuart monarchs could not establish their despotism without making themselves financially sound. There is no doubt that Elizabeth was a very popular monarch; still she could not get substantial grants from the Parliament. The reason was that Parliament was growing conscious of its rights. It was not willing to place heavy finances at the disposal of the ruler lest these be misused. In order to govern the nation absolutely the Stuarts needed an army. They were also on the look out for allies. As a result of this economic difficulties went on multiplying. To meet the situation, the early Stuarts took recourse to arbitrary taxation. The Parliament resented this. Ultimately, this resulted in a quarrel between the two.

ii. Political Consciousness

The people of England were politically aware regarding their rights and they took up the cause of freedom. These Englishmen clashed with the Kings, when they were denied their rights. Their recent learning had influenced the middle class. They were conscious of their rights. This could well be one of the results of Renaissance humanism.

iii. Personal nature of the early Stuart Kings

The personalities of James I and Charles I to a very great extent was reason enough for the conflict between Parliament and King. Assuming themselves to be the representatives of God they did not like the Parliament's interference in the affairs of the State. The first two kings showed future kings the way to raise money to meet personal expenditure. They employed several illegal methods to raise money. Their successors followed these methods. Due to over-expenditure however, they had to look to the Parliament for economic grants quite often. But when the Parliament questioned their expenditure they dissolved it.

iv. The issue of Control over Ministers

Another point of discord between the kings and the Parliament was the question of the control over the Ministers. The Parliament, basing its arguments on the practices of the Augevin and Lancastrian kings claimed that it had the right to exercise control over the King's ministers. The Parliament impeached several ministers of the Stuarts. In such duels it was invariably the King who lost against the Parliament. The kings were obstinate and did not give up their practice. The result was that the Stuarts earned disrepute and fell low in popular estimation.

v. Unreasonable use of the Prerogative of making laws

The Stuart monarchs issued prerogatives from time to time. The power of making laws rested with the Parliament. The King used his special powers to counteract Parliamentary laws. This

broadened the gulf between the two. The conflict was regarding who should be considered sovereign in the land, answerable only to god.

vi. Tax Collection

The King's means of tax collection were very unfair. The Stuarts made every attempt to collect money from the people by using all sorts of means, fair or foul. These included selling out monopolies, raising forced loans and selling Knighthood. The Parliament resented this.

vii. Issue of Religion

Religion was another factor contributing to this rift. When the first Stuart came to the throne, there were several religious parties striving to gain some concessions from the ruler of the new dynasty. The most powerful party was that of the Puritans. They had gained a majority in the House of Commons. They had organized themselves to see the Ecclesiastical settlement of Elizabeth revised. There were Catholics too, who with the change in dynasty, had begun to think of restoring England's connection with the Roman Pope. But James had made up his mind. He had decided to uphold the same Church system, which Queen Elizabeth had instated. Immediately after his accession, Charles I married Henrietta Maria of France.

Since France was Catholic, Charles was bound to have Catholic leanings. Ultimately, he became a Catholic. The people of England turned against him. The Puritans had a majority in the Parliament and as such they could not tolerate undue favors made to Catholics. The religious policies of Charles I led to the famous Civil War.

viii. The Foreign Affairs issue of James I and Charles II

The foreign policy of James I and Charles I also contributed to this struggle. Under them England's foreign policy came to be colored by religious sentiments. James' engagement with Spain and the alliance of Charles with France appeared to the Parliament to imperil Protestantism.

ix. King's Role in Elections

Fair and free elections are considered the foundation of democracy. The Stuart monarchs did not believe in this principle. They had developed the habit of interfering in the elections of members of Parliament. Their main object was to have such members in the Parliament who would carry out their wishes. This way they could do whatever they liked under the guise of Parliament.

x. Defensive England

Time was not in favor of the Stuarts. Before the Stuarts, England was subject to constant foreign threats. In 1603, the situation completely changed. There was peace and order in the country. The people could now pay attention to the attainments of their rights and under these circumstances; suppression of the Parliament was not an easy task. Ironically, the absence of external dangers became another reason why the Parliament and Monarch came to quarrel.

xi. Judiciary was influenced

The Stuart monarchs considered themselves to be above the law of the land and wanted the various discussions to be proclaimed according to their wishes. In order to punish their political opponents and critics they had established courts like the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission etc. These Courts were engines of tyranny and excesses. The Parliament and the King picked up a quarrel on this account also. The Parliament was successful in getting the **Habeas Corpus Act** passed in **1679**. After the Act, the courts were extricated from the clutches of the King.

Petition of Rights (1628)

The reign of Charles I (1625-49) saw the peak of the struggle between the king and the Parliament. His attempts to rule and tax the people, without the consent of the Parliament, led to failure in 1628. He was forced to call a parliament, which laid certain conditions on him in the famous document known as "The Petition of Rights." It included the following terms:

- i. Loans and taxes, without consent of Parliament, were illegal.
- ii. No one should be imprisoned without a fair trial.
- iii. Martial law should not be imposed during peacetime.
- iv. People should be forced to meet the expense of the army.

The Petition of Rights was an important step in the evolution of parliamentary democracy in England. Though the 'Petition of Rights' was accepted by Charles I, he dissolved the Parliament and ruled from 1629 to 1640 without a parliament.

The English Civil War (1642-1649)

The Civil War of England (1642-1649) is one of the most remarkable and important events in the history of England. The monarchy and the popular will were in open conflict for the first time. During this war the King was defeated and then executed. The parties that contended were the **Royalists** and the Puritans. The former was on the side of the King. They were also called the **Cavaliers**. They consisted of the nobility and the gentry. The Catholics also sided with the Royalists in large numbers.

Nature of Civil War

The nature of this war was dual. This was a religious and a political war. The Puritans and the Parliament united against the King and condemned his interference in the religious affairs. Both the Parliament and the Puritans were dissatisfied, as the King did not care for the existence of either. The Parliament along with the Puritans combined to dispute the King's authority to lay down the law in Church and State. The main issue at stake was whether sovereignty resided in the King alone, or whether both the King and Parliament should share power. This discontentment broke out into an open struggle between the King, on the one

hand, and the Parliament, on the other. This came to be known as **the English Civil War** or the **Puritan Revolution**.

The **Main Reasons** for this war were as stated under

i. Economic Problems

The King desired to extract money by unreasonable means and the Parliament wanted to have full control over the State Exchequer. The Parliament passed the **Triennial Act**, which made it obligatory for the King to call the Parliament for a session thrice a year. Another clause in the Act stated that the parliament could be dissolved only with its own consent, not as per the whims of the King.

The Tonnage and Poundage Act was passed in June 1614. Tonnage meant the tax levied upon each ton of wine coming in or going out of the Kingdom. Poundage was the tax levied upon every pound of dry goods. Although the tax was granted to the King (Charles I) for a year only, he continued to levy these custom duties well after the permitted duration.

ii. Religious Issues

The English King followed the Anglican Church. Catholicism and Puritanism were the other faiths that existed in England at that time. Charles desired to convert his subjects to his own faith. At the same time the Puritans, who were in majority in the Parliament, desired to convert the nation to their faith. The King tried to give some concessions and amenities to the Catholics by appointing them in high positions. He appointed William Laud as the Archbishop of Canterbury and wanted the people to be guided by him. Due to this there was war with the Parliament. The Puritans were badly suppressed. This added to the growing unpopularity of Charles.

iii. Political Issues

When the King visited Scotland to settle the Scottish issue, he had to accept the full Restoration of the Presbyterian system. The King also met some Scottish nobles, who did not want the struggle to continue longer. A plot was also framed by some of the King's friends to seize some of the Presbyterian leaders. These issues aroused anti-Regal feelings, and the confidence in the King was also lost.

An incident occurred in Ireland that once again created a rift between the King and the Parliament. A revolt broke out in which many Protestants were killed. The Irish rebels claimed that they were acting for the King. Crushing this rebellion became very difficult, The Parliament, meanwhile, debated the issue of no confidence in the King.

The impeachment and execution of Strafford and the impeachment of Archbishop Laud caused by the **Act of Attainder** was responsible for the widening of the gap between the King and the Parliament. For this Act allowed the declaration of guilt and the imposition of punishment on an individual without a proper trial. The Royal Counselors, the Secretary of State and Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal fled to save their lives.

Charles I charged five parliament members with high treason, and sent armed forces to arrest them. The Parliament refused to hand them over. Charles planned to go personally to arrest the five Knights. But they received information of this in advance and fled. In 1642 AD the Parliament placed before the King a proposal known as "**Nineteen Propositions.**" This ultimatum was delivered to the King on June 1, 1642. He refused to accept the terms of the proposal.

IV. The Immediate Cause of the War

The parliament wanted the sole command of the military forces. This was contrary to English law and Charles I refused to agree to this enactment. As Charles would not surrender his control over the army, the rupture was complete. Charles raised his troops and set up his standard at Nottingham as a signal that the Civil War had begun.

The English Civil War had two phases: Phase I from 1642 - 1646; Phase II from 1646 – 1649.

Main Events of Civil War - Phase I (1642-46)

At the foot of Edge Hill a heated battle was fought. In this battle, the Royalists gained a victory but they could not gain London. Again at Chalgrove Field, the parliamentary army was beaten and John Hampden, one of main rebels against the king was killed. The Royalist forces won on behalf of the Parliament at other places too. Oliver Cromwell, the leader of the parliamentary forces set up an association of eastern counties. They formed a new army "Ironsides."

At the battle of Marston Moor the royal army suffered heavily. A self-denying ordinance was passed. By this members of Parliament resigned their commands in the army and were replaced by experienced soldiers. Cromwell retained command over this army. This army was the "New Model."

Main Events of Civil War - Phase II (1646-49)

King Charles I took the advantage of the confusion between the Parliament and the army. He refused the demands of both. Attempting to take advantage of the political turmoil, the Scots invaded England. They were routed at the battle of Preston (August 1648). The second Civil War made Cromwell an undisputed leader of the masses. Nobody dared to oppose Cromwell. Now the nation was at the mercy of Cromwell and his army. Charles I was punished for his incurable duplicity.

After a formal trial in 1649 Charles I was accused of treason and was executed, on January 30, 1649. He was beheaded before the White Hall. Cromwell called the execution of Charles I as a 'Cruel necessity'. However, the last words of Charles were:

"For the people truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatsoever, but I must tell you their liberty and freedom consists in having that government, those laws by which their lives and their goods may be most their own. It is nothing appertaining to them. A subject and a sovereign are clearly different things."

Impact of the Civil War

The people were stirred deeply due to the King's execution. Sympathy was aroused for this monarch and the entire monarchy. Besides this some even viewed Charles I as 'martyr'. There was a total breakdown of the constitution. The Commonwealth was established. Oliver Cromwell now established army rule. This Commonwealth was to be administered by a Council consisting of 41 members, who were Puritan supporters of Oliver Cromwell.

Historical Importance

This Civil War has great historical importance. In this war the people of England i.e. the Parliament won. This proved that the ultimate power rests with the people. This marked the end of the concept of the Divine Rights of the King. Absolute monarchy ended in England.

PURITANISM

The Puritan movement was a broad trend toward a militant, biblically based Calvinistic Protestantism -- with emphasis upon the "purification" of church and society of the remnants of "corrupt" and "unscriptural" "papist" ritual and dogma -- which developed within the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Church of England. Puritanism first emerged as an organized force in England among elements -- Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, for example -- dissatisfied with the compromises inherent in the religious settlement carried out under Queen Elizabeth in 1559. They sought a complete reformation both of religious and of secular life, and advocated, in consequence, the attacks upon the Anglican establishment, the emphasis upon a disciplined, godly life, and the energetic evangelical activities which characterized their movement. The Presbyterian wing of the Puritan party was eventually defeated in Parliament, and after the suppression in 1583 of Nonconformist ministers, a minority moved to separate from the church and sought refuge first in the Netherlands and later in New England .

By the 1660s Puritanism was firmly established amongst the gentry and the emerging middle classes of southern and eastern England, and during the Civil Wars the Puritan "Roundheads" fought for the parliamentary cause and formed the backbone of Cromwell's forces during the Commonwealth period. After 1646, however, the Puritan emphasis upon individualism and the individual conscience made it impossible for the movement to form a national Presbyterian church, and by 1662, when the Anglican Church was re-established, Puritanism had become a loose confederation of various Dissenting sects. The growing pressure for religious toleration within Britain itself was to a considerable degree a legacy of Puritanism, and its emphasis on self-discipline, individualism, responsibility, work, and asceticism was also an important influence upon the values and attitudes of the emerging middle classes.

Oliver Cromwell, 1599-1658

Rose from relatively humble origins to become the most successful military and political leader of the Civil Wars. Lord Protector of England from 1654-8, he was offered — and refused — the Crown itself. Oliver Cromwell was born into a family of minor Huntingdon

gentry on 25 April 1599 and baptised at St John's Church in Huntingdon four days later. He attended the free school attached to the hospital of St John in Huntingdon, where he was taught by Dr Thomas Beard, then spent a year at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, where he was noted for his enthusiasm for sports and games rather than for his academic abilities. Cromwell's university career was cut short when his father died in June 1617 and he returned home to manage his family estate and to look after his widowed mother and seven unmarried sisters. According to some accounts he also studied law at Lincoln's Inn in London.

In August 1620, Cromwell married Elizabeth Bourchier (1598–1665), daughter of Sir James Bourchier, a London merchant. The marriage was long and stable and produced nine children. Cromwell and his growing family settled in Huntingdon. He was elected MP for Huntingdon in the Parliament of 1628, where he became associated with the opposition to King Charles that culminated in the declaration of the Petition of Right in June 1628. At some time during the late 1620s, following a period of illness and depression, Cromwell experienced a profound spiritual awakening that left him with deep and uncompromising Puritan beliefs.

In 1631, Cromwell's fortunes were in decline. He was forced to sell nearly all his property around Huntingdon and to lease a farmstead at St Ives, where he worked as a farmer for five years. The tide turned in 1636 when Cromwell's childless and widowed maternal uncle Sir Thomas Steward died, leaving him a substantial inheritance, including a house next to St Mary's Church in Ely and the position of local tax collector of the two Ely parishes of St Mary's and Holy Trinity.

Cromwell's improved social status and his connections with local Puritans led to his nomination as a freeman of the borough of Cambridge and election as MP for Cambridge in the two Parliaments of 1640. During the first week of the Long Parliament, he made a passionate speech that called attention to the injustice of the imprisonment of John Lilburne, and during the following month he was prominent in parliamentary attacks on episcopacy. Although he was not regarded as a fluent speaker, Cromwell's passion and sincerity gained him a reputation as a solid supporter of opposition leaders such as John Pym and Cromwell's own cousin, John Hampden.

On the outbreak of the First Civil War in August 1642, Cromwell took up arms for Parliament. He led one of the earliest military actions of the war when with 200 lightly-armed volunteers he prevented the King's men from carrying off the silver plate of the Cambridge colleges. Cromwell raised a troop of sixty horsemen and effectively secured Cambridgeshire for Parliament. In October 1642, Cromwell's troop joined the army of the Earl of Essex. The superiority of the Royalist horse impressed upon him the need for a disciplined Parliamentarian cavalry. Returning to East Anglia, Cromwell was careful to recruit only "godly, honest men" as his troopers and to lead them with firm discipline. His innate skills as a cavalry commander were in evidence at the skirmishing around Gainsborough in July 1643. Having helped to secure most of East Anglia for Parliament by the summer of 1643, Cromwell was appointed governor of Ely and promoted to colonel in the new Eastern Association army raised by the Earl of Manchester.

Rising to prominence in the Eastern Association, Cromwell attained the rank of lieutenant-general of horse in January 1644. He played a major role in Parliament's victory at Marston Moor, where his highly-disciplined cavalry routed both Prince Rupert's and Lord Goring's

cavaliers. Rupert himself is said to have coined the name "Ironsides" for Cromwell, which became popular with the army and was extended to his troopers. However, Cromwell's practice of promoting godliness amongst his officers and men drew criticism from Major-General Crawford, a Scottish Presbyterian attached to Manchester's army, who objected to Cromwell's encouragement of unorthodox Independents and Anabaptists. Cromwell also became increasingly critical of the leadership of Manchester himself, and denounced him before the House of Commons in November 1644 for his unwillingness to take decisive action against the Royalists.

A leading supporter of the Self-Denying Ordinance, Cromwell was one of the few Members of Parliament exempted from resigning his commission in the army under its terms. He was officially appointed lieutenant-general of horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax in the New Model Army just before the decisive Parliamentary victory at Naseby in June 1645, during which Cromwell routed Langdale's Northern Horse and rallied the Ironsides for a charge against the Royalist infantry that decided the outcome of the battle. Despite having no military training or experience prior to 1642, Cromwell was generally regarded as the greatest soldier in England by the time he and Fairfax received the surrender of Oxford in June 1646.

Cromwell supported the Agitators in the conflict between the Army and Parliament of 1647. He was a firm advocate of parliamentary authority but he lost patience with those Presbyterian MPs who seemed willing to risk another civil war rather than settle the soldiers' grievances honourably. Acting independently of Fairfax, and in close association with his son-in-law Henry Ireton, he used the threat of military force to oust the Presbyterian Eleven Members from the House of Commons in August 1647. However, Cromwell opposed Leveller demands for manhood suffrage ("one man, one vote") and other social and political reforms. He tried to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards the King, proposing to restore him to power in the interests of achieving a peaceful settlement. This alienated radicals in the Army and in Parliament, who came to regard Cromwell as a hypocrite motivated by his own self-interest. In any case, Cromwell's attempts to secure a peaceful settlement were frustrated by the King's refusal to compromise and by his negotiations to bring a Scottish army into England, thus provoking the Second Civil War.

When war broke out in 1648, Cromwell marched to crush a Royalist uprising in South Wales while Fairfax dealt with the Royalists in Kent and Essex. Cromwell then went north to take command of Parliament's forces against the Duke of Hamilton's Engager army and their English Royalist allies. In August 1648, Cromwell led a daring and brilliantly-executed campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Scots at the battle of Preston. He then marched into Scotland and negotiated with the Marquis of Argyll to remove all Engagers and Royalist sympathisers from office in Scotland.

Cromwell was in the north clearing up the last Royalist military resistance during the dramatic events of November and December 1648, when Ireton and the Council of Officers resolved to prosecute King Charles, the "Man of Blood". Cromwell delayed his return to London until the day after the Army's enemies in Parliament had been ejected in Pride's Purge. He claimed to have known nothing of the design, but nevertheless expressed his approval of the purge. Having realised at last that Charles could not be trusted, and recognising that the Army was determined to avenge itself upon the King, Cromwell became a relentless supporter of the

King's trial and subsequent execution in January 1649. He had come to believe that regicide was an act of justice and the will of God.

In 1649, Cromwell suppressed the Leveller mutinies in the New Model Army and prosecuted John Lilburne, whom he held personally responsible for the unrest amongst the soldiery. After meticulous preparations, Cromwell then took the army to Ireland (1649-50) where Royalist supporters of the Stuart dynasty had formed an alliance with the Irish Confederates. Cromwell's Irish campaign was a military success. By the time he left Ireland in May 1650, the provinces of Ulster, Leinster and Munster were substantially under English control. However, Cromwell's reputation was indelibly stained by notorious massacres at Drogheda and Wexford, which have lived on in Irish folk memory, making his name into one of the most hated in Irish history.

When Charles II was proclaimed King of Scots in Edinburgh with the support of the Covenanters, Fairfax declined to lead an army of invasion into Scotland and resigned his commission. Cromwell was appointed Captain-General and commander-in-chief of the Army in his place and marched into Scotland in July 1650. He was initially outmanoeuvred by the Earl of Leven and David Leslie but succeeded in defeating the Scots at the battle of Dunbar (3 September 1650), which is regarded as the greatest of Cromwell's victories. After spending nearly a year trying unsuccessfully to persuade the Covenanters that Charles II was an unsuitable king for a godly nation, Cromwell lured Charles and the Scots into an attempt to invade England. Cromwell pursued from the north and decisively defeated the Scots and Royalists at the battle of Worcester on 3 September 1651, the anniversary of Dunbar and the last major battle of the civil wars.

After the execution of Charles I and the declaration of the republic in 1649, the English Commonwealth was governed by the so-called Rump Parliament and the Council of State. The Rump Parliament was regarded as an interim government and was expected to prepare for a permanent representative but divisions arose between factions in Parliament and in the Army over what form the new government should take. After the military campaigns in Ireland and Scotland were over, Army leaders became increasingly impatient over Parliament's lethargy in formulating the new representative. Although Cromwell attempted to moderate the more extreme demands, he too finally lost patience. On 20 April 1653, he led a body of musketeers to Westminster and forcibly expelled the Rump Parliament. His exact reasons for doing so are unclear; he may have come to believe that Parliament was planning to perpetuate itself. There were no plans for an alternative government in place and Cromwell made no attempt to take power himself.

The Rump Parliament was replaced by the Nominated Assembly, popularly known as "**Barebone's Parliament**", which first met in July 1653. Cromwell regarded the Assembly as a "Parliament of Saints" and expected it to bring righteous, godly government to the Commonwealth. The Nominated Assembly was the most radical constitutional experiment of the 1650s, but the legal and ecclesiastical reforms it tried to introduce were regarded as too extreme by moderates. In December 1653 — less than six months after its inauguration — moderates manoeuvred to dissolve the Assembly and hand power over to Cromwell, whom they regarded as having granted it to them in the first place.

Headed by Major-General John Lambert, the Council of Officers proposed a new constitution. In discussions with the officers, Cromwell made it clear that he did not want to be made King. Seeking to maintain links with the ancient constitution yet distance himself from the disgraced monarchy, Cromwell proposed a revival of the title "Lord Protector", which had a number of precedents going back to the 15th century. Under the terms of the Instrument of Government, executive power now passed to an elected Lord Protector advised by a Council of State. Cromwell was declared Lord Protector for life and formally installed at Westminster Hall on 16 December 1653. His decision to accept the office of Protector alienated many republicans and religious radicals, who regarded it as a betrayal of the principles for which the civil wars had been fought. In April 1654, Cromwell moved into Whitehall Palace, the former residence of King Charles.

Despite opposition from many quarters, Cromwell held on to power throughout the 1650s principally by retaining the loyalty of the Army. He also tended to grant important positions in civil and military government to those with personal attachments to himself or who had reason to be grateful to him for their advancement. Senior army commands were granted to officers who had served with him during the civil wars, particularly those connected to his own family such as his son-in-law Charles Fleetwood and brother-in-law John Disbrowe. The dependence of the Protectorate régime upon a standing army in England, armies of occupation in Scotland and Ireland as well as a powerful navy led to unprecedented levels of taxation. Despite an aggressive foreign policy, Cromwell gradually reduced army numbers and levels of taxation, but this was never enough to satisfy his critics or to deal with arrears of pay in the armed forces.

"...No-one rises so high as he who knows not whither he is going..."

Cromwell on personal fortune

Cromwell's overriding concern in domestic policy was the creation of a broadly-based national church with toleration of radical Protestant groups who remained outside it but were prepared to keep the peace. During the first year of the Protectorate, a central commission of clergy and laymen was established to examine candidates for the ministry ("Triers") and local commissions were appointed to eject ministers who proved unsuitable ("Ejectors"). Although Cromwell's religious policy made steady progress towards reconciliation among the Protestant sects, the emergence of the Quakers, who opposed all organised churches, was disruptive and alarming.

Within months of his inauguration as Protector, Cromwell negotiated a treaty to bring the first Anglo-Dutch war to an end, having never been in favour of war against a Protestant nation. However, his hopes of forming a grand alliance of Protestant European powers came to nothing, and during 1654, Cromwell became involved in secret negotiations with the two great Catholic powers France and Spain. The two nations were at war with one another and each sought an alliance with the Protectorate against the other. Cromwell finally opted for an alliance with France and secretly promoted the Western Design to attack Spanish colonies in the West Indies. The Anglo-Spanish war resulted in the seizure of Jamaica in 1655 and Dunkirk in 1658, but Cromwell's anti-Spanish foreign policy was criticised as anachronistic even during the Protectorate because it was damaging to English trade and commerce.

In September 1654, Cromwell summoned the First Protectorate Parliament, which was elected on a wider franchise than any previous parliament and which included MPs from Scotland and Ireland for the first time. Distrust between the Army leaders and civilian politicians became strikingly clear, however. Heated constitutional debates, amendments to the *Instrument of Government* aimed at strengthening Parliament's powers at the expense of the Protector's, and criticism of Cromwell's leadership by republican MPs prompted him to dissolve this Parliament at the earliest possible opportunity, in January 1655.

Following Royalist insurrections in March 1655 (Penruddock's Uprising), Cromwell felt obliged to impose direct military rule rather than attempt to govern through another civilian assembly. He had already come to regard the failure of the Western Design in its principal objectives as a sign of God's displeasure at the nation's progress. Consequently, England and Wales were divided into twelve districts, each governed by a Major-General answerable directly to the Protector. The Major-Generals were charged not only with maintaining security but also with enforcing moral reform in the localities. The Rule of the Major-Generals proved deeply unpopular. Growing civilian disquiet and the need to finance military operations against Spain forced Cromwell to call a Second Protectorate Parliament in September 1656. Bowing to pressure from MPs who insisted that the Major-Generals were unconstitutional and against law and custom, Cromwell agreed to abolish the system in January 1657.

The Protectorate gradually adopted the trappings of a Monarchy. Cromwell was usually addressed as "your Highness" and by 1656 he was rewarding his loyal followers with knighthoods. In February 1657, a group of MPs headed by Lord Broghill presented a new constitution known as The Humble Petition and Advice, under which Cromwell was formally offered the Crown. This was primarily an attempt to stabilise the constitution under a civilian-led style of government. Cromwell's powers would be limited as King because they would then be defined by precedent. Furthermore, since the offer came from an elected Parliament, there could be no further doubts regarding the legality of the Cromwellian régime. However, after much agonising and in the face of strong opposition from republicans and army leaders, Cromwell finally decided to reject the offer, saying "I will not build Jericho again".

The *Humble Petition* was modified to remove references to the royal title and Cromwell was re-installed as Lord Protector on 26 June 1657. The installation ceremony was still reminiscent of a coronation, with Cromwell wearing a robe of purple velvet lined with ermine and carrying a golden sceptre. He took an adapted form of the royal coronation oath and left Westminster Hall in a coach of state amid cries of "God save the Lord Protector". Under the revised *Humble Petition*, he was now allowed to name his own successor. Lacking only a crown, Cromwell was "King in all but name".

In 1658, Cromwell convened an Upper House of Parliament in which his nominees sat as peers. Republicans regarded this as too similar to the House of Lords and MPs questioned the titles, rights and legitimacy of the Upper House. Amid fears that elements of the army supported the republicans, Cromwell went in person to Westminster on 4 February 1658 and abruptly dissolved the Second Protectorate Parliament. Discouraged by his failure to settle the constitution or to reconcile the Puritan sects in a cohesive national church, Cromwell withdrew from public affairs. Over the next few months his health went into a sharp decline, particularly after the death from cancer of his favourite daughter, Elizabeth, in August.

During a bout of the recurring malarial fever that had afflicted him since the 1630s, Oliver Cromwell died at Whitehall on 3 September 1658 — the anniversary of his great military victories at Dunbar and Worcester. A violent storm wracked England during the night of his death, said by his enemies to be the Devil carrying away his soul. He was buried in Westminster Abbey with a funeral service based upon that of King James I. Oliver's eldest son Richard was nominated to succeed him, but the Protectorate had ended within a year of his death, to be followed in due course by the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy.

LIFE IN THE STUART ERA (17TH CENTURY)

During the 17th century the population of England and Wales grew steadily. It was about 4 million in 1600 and it grew to about 5 1/2 million by 1700. England became steadily richer. Trade and commerce grew and grew. By the late 17th century trade was an increasingly important part of the English economy. Meanwhile industries such as glass, brick making, iron and coal mining expanded rapidly. The port of London grew rapidly. By the late 17th century London had a population of more than half a million. Towns like Liverpool, which were well placed to trade with North America and the West Indies, also grew rapidly.

In the 17th century England began to found colonies in North America and the West Indies. In 1607 the first permanent colony was founded in North America at Jamestown, Virginia. In 1609 the English settled in Bermuda. In 1620 the Mayflower sailed from Plymouth to Massachusetts carrying English settlers. In 1629 the English settled in the Bahamas. In 1655 they took Jamaica from the Spaniards. In 1664 they took New York and New Jersey from the Dutch. Meanwhile the East India Company was founded in 1600. The English founded a trading post at Canton, China in 1637.

Banking

Furthermore banking developed in the 17th century. As England grew more commercial so lending money became more important. In the early 17th century goldsmiths lent and changed money. Then in 1640 King Charles I confiscated gold, which London merchants had deposited at the mint for safety. Afterwards people began to deposit money with goldsmiths instead. The goldsmiths gave receipts for the gold in the form of notes promising to pay on demand. In time merchants and tradesmen began to exchange these notes as a form of money. The goldsmiths realised that not all of their customers would withdraw their gold at the same time. So it was safe to issue notes for more gold than they actually had. They could then lend money using the extra notes. The Bank of England was founded in 1694.

Society

During the 17th century the status of merchants improved. People saw that trade was an increasingly important part of the country's wealth so merchants became more respected. However political power and influence was held by rich landowners. At the top of society were the nobility. Below them were the gentry. Gentlemen were not quite rich but they were certainly well off. Below them were yeomen, farmers who owned their own land. Yeomen were comfortably off but they often worked alongside their men. Gentlemen did not do

manual work! Below them came the mass of the population, craftsmen, tenant farmers and labourers.

At the end of the 17th century a writer estimated that half the population could afford to eat meat every day. In other words about 50% of the people were wealthy or at least reasonably well off. Below them about 30% of the population could afford to eat meat between 2 and 6 times a week. They were 'poor'. The bottom 20% could only eat meat once a week. They were *very* poor. At least part of the time they had to rely on poor relief.

By an act of 1601 overseers of the poor were appointed by each parish. They had power to force people to pay a local tax to help the poor. Those who could not work such as the old and the disabled would be provided for. The overseers were meant to provide work for the able-bodied poor. Anyone who refused to work was whipped and, after 1610, they could be placed in a house of correction. Pauper's children were sent to local employers to be apprentices.

Towns

In 1600 Westminster was separate from London. However in the early 17th century rich people built houses along the Thames between the two. In the late 17th century many grand houses were built west of London. Meanwhile working class houses were built east of the city. So as early as the 17th century London was divided into the affluent west end and the poor east end. Stuart towns were dirty and unsanitary. People threw dirty water and other rubbish in the streets. Furthermore the streets were very narrow. At night they were dark and dangerous. However there were some improvements in London. In the early 17th century a piped water supply was created. Water from a reservoir travelled along elm pipes through the streets then along lead pipes to individual houses. However you had to pay to be connected to the supply and it was not cheap.

In 1600 people in London walked from one street to another or if they could afford it they travelled by boat along the Thames. However from the early 17th century you could hire a horse drawn carriage called a hackney carriage to take you around London. In the 1680s the streets of London were lit for the first time. An oil lamp was hung outside every tenth house and was lit for part of the year. The oil lamps did not give much light but they were better than nothing at all.

During the 17th century towns grew much larger. That was despite outbreaks of plague. Fleas that lived on rats transmitted bubonic plague. If the fleas bit humans they were likely to fall victim to the disease. Unfortunately at the time nobody knew what caused the plague and nobody had any idea how to treat it. Plague broke out in London in 1603, 1636 and in 1665. Each time it killed a significant part of the population but each time London recovered. There were always plenty of poor people in the countryside willing to come and work in the town. Of course, other towns as well as London were also periodically devastated by the plague. However the plague of 1665, which affected London and other towns, was the last. We are not certain why.

Rich people's Homes

In the late 17th century furniture for the wealthy became more comfortable and much more finely decorated. In the early 17th century furniture was plain and heavy. It was usually made of oak. In the late 17th century furniture for the rich was often made of walnut or (from the 1680s) mahogany. It was decorated in new ways. One was veneering. (Thin pieces of expensive wood were laid over cheaper wood). Some furniture was also inlaid. Wood was carved out and the hollow was filled in with mother of pearl. At this time lacquering arrived in England. Pieces of furniture were coated with lacquer in bright colours.

Furthermore new types of furniture were introduced. In the mid 17th century chests of drawers became common. Grandfather clocks also became popular. Later in the century the bookcase was introduced. Chairs also became far more comfortable. Upholstered (padded and covered) chairs became common in wealthy people's homes. In the 1680s the first real armchairs appeared.

In the early 17th century the architect Inigo Jones introduced the classical style of architecture (based on ancient Greek and Roman styles). He designed the Banqueting Hall in Whitehall, which was the first purely classical building in England. The late 17th century was a great age of building grand country homes, displaying the wealth of the upper class at that time.

Poor people's Homes

However all the improvements in furniture did not apply to the poor. Their furniture, such as it was remained very plain and basic. However there were some improvements in poor people's houses in the 17th century. In the Middle Ages ordinary people's homes were usually made of wood. However in the late 16th and early 17th centuries many were built or rebuilt in stone or brick. By the late 17th century even poor people usually lived in houses made of brick or stone. They were a big improvement over wooden houses. They were warmer and drier.

Furthermore in the 16th century chimneys were a luxury. However during the 17th century chimneys became more common and by the late 17th century even the poor had them. Furthermore in 1600 glass windows was a luxury. Poor people made do with linen soaked in linseed oil. However during the 17th century glass became cheaper and by the late 17th century even the poor had glass windows.

In the early 17th century there were only casement windows (ones that open on hinges). In the later 17th century sash windows were introduced. They were in two sections and they slid up and down vertically to open and shut. Although poor people's homes improved in some ways they remained very small and crowded. Most of the poor lived in huts of 2 or 3 rooms. Some families lived in just one room.

Food

In the early 17th century people began eating with forks for the first time. During the century new foods were introduced into England (for the rich) such as bananas and pineapples. New drinks were introduced, chocolate, tea and coffee. In the late 17th century there were many

coffee houses in the towns. Merchants and professional men met there to read newspapers and talk shop.

In the late 17th century the rich began eating ice cream. Many rich people built special underground chambers in the grounds of their houses for preserving ice during the summer. The ice was covered in straw to preserve it. However for the poor food remained plain and monotonous. They subsisted on food like bread, cheese and onions. Ordinary people also ate pottage each day. This was a kind of stew. It was made by boiling grain in water to make a kind of porridge. You added vegetables and (if you could afford it) pieces of meat or fish.

Clothes

At the beginning of the 17th century men wore starched collars called ruffs. Women wore frames made of wood or whalebone under their dresses. **However the farthingale was soon discarded and the ruff evolved into a large lace collar (for those who could afford it!).** In the 17th century men wore knee length, trouser like garments called breeches. They also wore stockings and boots.

On the upper body men wore linen shirts. In the early 17th century they wore a kind of jacket called a doublet with a cape on top. Men wore their hair long. They also wore beards.

In the late 17th century a man's doublet became a waistcoat and men wore a frock coat over it. With breeches it was rather like a three-piece suit. Men were now clean shaven and they wore wigs. Women wore a linen nightie like garment called a shift. Over it they wore long dresses. The dress was in two parts the bodice and the skirt. Sometimes women wore two skirts. The upper skirt was gathered up to reveal an underskirt. Women in the 17th century did not wear knickers. From the mid 17th century it was fashionable for women to wear black patches on their faces such as little stars or crescent moons.

Pastimes

In the 17th century traditional pastimes such as cards and bowls continued. So did games like tennis and shuttlecock. People also played board games like chess, draughts, backgammon and fox and goose. The wealthy also played a game called pale-maille (Pall Mall in London gets its name from an area where the game was played). Charles II also made yachting a popular sport.

The theatre remained popular. However the Puritans disapproved of the theatre and in 1642 they banned it completely. Theatre began again in 1660. In the early 17th century the stage jutted out into the audience. In the late 17th century it took on its modern form. In the early 17th century boys played women's parts. However after 1660 actresses performed.

Among the poor cruel 'sports' like cock fighting and bull and bear baiting were popular. (A bear or bull was chained to a post and dogs were trained to attack it). The first English newspaper was printed in 1621. At first newspapers only printed foreign news. They did not print domestic news until 1641. The first womens magazine was The Ladies Mercury in 1693.

Education

In well off families both boys and girls went to a form of infant school called a petty school. However only boys went to grammar school. Upper class girls (and sometimes boys) were taught by tutors. Middle class girls might be taught by their mothers. Moreover during the 17th century boarding schools for girls were founded in many towns. In them girls were taught subjects like writing, music and needlework. (It was considered more important for girls to learn 'accomplishments' than to study academic subjects). In the grammar schools conditions were hard. Boys started work at 6 or 7 in the morning and worked to 5 or 5.30 pm, with breaks for meals. Corporal punishment was usual. Normally the teacher hit naughty boys on the bare buttocks with birch twigs. Other boys in the class would hold the naughty boy down.

Transport

In 1600 the royal posts were exclusively used to carry the king's correspondence. However in 1635, to raise money, Charles I allowed members of the public to pay his messengers to carry letters. This was the start of the royal mail. From the middle of the 17th century stagecoaches ran regularly between the major towns. However they were very expensive and they must have been very uncomfortable without springs on rough roads. There was also the danger of highwaymen.

In 1663 the first Turnpike roads opened. You had to pay to use them. The money was used to maintain the roads. In towns wealthy people were carried in sedan chairs. In Tudor times goods were carried by packhorse. Or carriers with carts carried goods. However it was still easier to transport goods by water. Around Britain there was a 'coastal trade'. Ships and boats carried goods from one part of the coast to another.

Medicine

During the 17th century operations were performed by barber-surgeons. Their knowledge of anatomy improved. Medicine also improved. In 1628 William Harvey published his discovery of how blood circulates around the body. Doctors also discovered how to treat malaria with bark from the cinchona tree. However medicine was still handicapped by wrong ideas about the human body. Most doctors still thought that there were four fluids or 'humours' in the body, blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile. Illness resulted when you had too much of one humour. Nevertheless during the 17th century a more scientific approach to medicine emerged and some doctors began to question traditional ideas.

The Chinese invented the toothbrush. (It was first mentioned in 1498). Toothbrushes arrived in Europe in the 17th century. In the late 17th century they became popular with the wealthy in England. The average life span in the 17th century was shorter than today. Average life expectancy at birth was only 35. That does not mean that people dropped dead when they reached that age! Instead many of the people born died while they were still children. Out of all people born between one third and one half died before the age of about 16. However if

you could survive to your mid-teens you would probably live to your 50s or early 60s. Even in Stuart times some people did live to their 70s or 80s.

Warfare

In the early 17th century firearms were either matchlocks or wheel locks. A matchlock held a slow burning match, which was touched to the powder when the trigger was pulled. With a wheel lock a metal wheel spun against iron pyrites making sparks. During the 17th century both of these were gradually replaced by the flintlock which worked by hitting a piece of flint and steel making sparks. Furthermore in the early 17th century the cartridge was invented. The musket ball was placed in a container, which held the right amount of gunpowder to fire it. The soldier no longer had to measure powder from a powder horn into his gun.

Apart from artillery there were two branches of an army. The cavalry were usually armed with Wheelock pistols and sabres. They were protected by back plates, breastplates and helmets. The infantry consisted men armed with muskets and those armed with pikes. A musket took a long time to reload and the soldiers were very vulnerable while they did so. Therefore they were protected by men with pikes (a weapon like a long spear). In theory there were two musketeers to each pike man. The pike men usually had a steel helmet but musketeers did not usually wear armour. About 1680 the ring bayonet was invented. With bayonet fixed a musket could be used as a weapon even if it had been fired and was not reloaded. The bayonet did away with the need for pike men.

The scientific Revolution

A revolution in thought occurred during the 17th century. The ancient Greeks could be said to be scientists. They thought by using their reason they could work out why the natural world behaves as it does. However the Greeks never tested their theories by carrying out practical experiments. As a result many of their ideas about the natural world were wrong. Unfortunately the ancient Greek philosophers were held in very high esteem and for centuries hardly anyone questioned their theories. This began to change in the late 16th century and the early 17th century. People began to conduct experiments to see if theories about the world were true.

In England a man named Francis Bacon 1561-1626 declared that people should not accept that a theory was true just because a Greek philosopher said it was. He argued that careful observation and experiment was the key to finding out how the natural world works. Gradually this new method of understanding the world took over. By the late 17th century the new scientific approach had triumphed everywhere in Europe. By then scientists were carrying out careful observations and experiments to find out how the world works.

There was a change in attitude during the 17th century. Previously people saw nature almost as a living thing. Now they began to see it as a machine (Isaac Newton called God the 'Divine Watchmaker'). Furthermore Francis Bacon believed that science (or natural philosophy as it was called) could greatly improve people's lives. By the late 17th century there was a new mood of optimism. In 1645 a group of philosophers and mathematicians began holding meetings to discuss science or natural philosophy. Charles II was interested in science and in 1662 he made the club the Royal Society.

The great scientist Isaac Newton was born in 1642. He published his great work *Principia Mathematica* in 1687. The arts also flourished in late 17th century England. The great architect Christopher Wren 1632-1723 designed many buildings including the most famous St Paul's Cathedral. The poet John Milton 1608-1674 wrote his masterpiece *Paradise Lost*. It was also the era of the great English composer Henry Purcell 1659-1695. During the 17th century belief in witchcraft and magic also declined. The last person to be executed for witchcraft in England met her death in 1685. (Incidentally witches were hanged in England not burned).

RESTORATION OF CHARLES II (1660)

Cromwell at his death nominated his son Richard Cromwell as the next Protector. He found it difficult to govern this turbulent nation. Hence the army officers themselves under General Monk decided to restore the Stuarts. A letter of invitation was sent to Charles, Charles's son. He was in Holland at the time. His advisor was Edward Hyde, later made Earl of Clarendon. Under his guidance Charles sent from Holland to England a statement called the Declaration of Breda. In this document Charles agreed to 1) pardon all the Roundheads 2) settle claims to land lost during the civil war, 3) to grant religious liberty to all those whose views did not disturb the peace of the realm 4) to pay arrears to the Ironsides. This was approved by the officers and Charles landed with his brother James at Dover on May 25, 1660 and four days later entered London amid general rejoicing. The coming back of the monarchy is called the Restoration in England history.

Charles, son of Charles I who was executed by the Parliament in 1649, was given the throne by the Parliament and he became Charles II in 1660. He was a much better man than his father but he was fond of pleasures and extravagant living to use his ability for the advantage of his country. The Cavalier Parliament which met in 1661 restored the English Prayer Book followed by an Act of Uniformity to enhance its use in all the churches of England. This Parliament also passed a number of acts collectively termed as the Clarendon Code which imposed various restrictions on the dissenters. The Clarendon Code included the Corporation Act (1661) making it illegal for any dissenter to be members of the Corporation which governed the towns, the Conventicle Act (1664) which prohibited the meetings of dissenters (those against the King) for religious worship and a Five Mile Act (1665) which barred any dissenting minister from coming within five miles of any town. This policy of intolerance, however, did not destroy protestant non-conformity in England.

Soon Clarendon fell from power. Charles II, in the meanwhile, wished to grant freedom to the Roman Catholics because both he and his brother James, Duke of York, were Catholics. Charles II made a secret treaty with the French Monarch, Louis XIV by which the English monarch promised to help the French against the Dutch and also to grant toleration to the Roman Catholic as well as the protestant non-conformists in return for money payments. With the help of the CABAL ministry, Charles issued a proclamation known as the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 granting forgiveness or indulgence to Catholics and dissenters if they worshipped in their own faith. The King's move was restricted by Parliament and they passed the Test Act in 1673 which stated that everyone holding office in the State must worship according to the rites of the Anglican Church. As a result, many were dismissed from state service. The Duke of York gave up his post of Lord High Admiral.

RESTORATION THEATRE

The theatre was also restored by the restoration court. The revived theatres of the restoration period differed in several respects from those at the time of Queen Elizabeth. The whole playhouse was now roofed in. The stage was artificially lighted with candles. There were footlights, drop curtains and painted scenery. Moreover, women's parts were no longer taken by boys but by women actresses. Men came to see the actresses as much as the play. Acting was not, however, accepted as a national pastime. The drama was localized in London and even there it appealed not to the citizens but to the court and the fashionable people of the town. It was to their taste that the drama of the early years of the Restoration cleared. A hard hearted and financial frivolity prevailed among the courtiers much more than among the people at large. The men who haunted Charles II's court, the first leaders of Whig and Tory parties laughed at all forms of virtue as hypocrisy and believed that everyman had his price. Even at this time there were many who gave up their living for their faith. The truth was England was sound enough. But her countries and politicians became rotten their disbelief in any sort of virtue found expression in the early Restoration Drama. The drama depended on the patronage of the King and the courtiers. One of the most successful pieces of the period was Wycherley's *Country Wife*. The hero pretending to be a eunuch secures admission to privacies which enables him to seduce women; one is expected to admire his character and proceedings. Such a plot would have appealed to no Englishman in any other age. The upper classes during the period became licentious and those who held domestic virtues were scoffed by their fellow beings. Corruption reigned supreme. The age also revived the plays of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. Another notable dramatist of the time was Dryden who was a political opportunist himself. Soon Wycherley's brutalities went out of fashion and he was succeeded by a number of new dramatists. They wrote Comedies of Manner in which wit and polish were given importance. Congreve, one of the important dramatists of period, was famous for his sparkling dialogues. These dramatists wrote in the days of William and Anne. The Wycherlyn period of English drama lasted only for a short period but it had done permanent harm to English Drama. Many pious and decent minded families had a hostile attitude to Drama which had, in Shakespeare's time, been peculiar to puritans alone.

Alexander Pope (1688-1744)

The English poet Alexander Pope is regarded as one of the finest poets and satirists (people who use wit or sarcasm to point out and devalue sin or silliness) of the Augustan (mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century English literature) period and one of the major influences on English literature in this time and after.

Early years

Alexander Pope was born on May 21, 1688, in London, England, to Alexander and Edith Pope. His Roman Catholic father was a linen merchant. His family moved out of London and settled in Binfield in Windsor Forest around 1700. Pope had little formal schooling. He educated himself through extensive studying and reading, especially poetry.

Although Pope was healthy and plump in his infancy, he became severely ill later in his childhood, which resulted in a slightly disfigured body—he never grew taller than 4 feet 6

inches. He suffered from curvature of the spine, which required him to wear a stiff canvas brace. He had constant headaches. His physical appearance, frequently ridiculed by his enemies, undoubtedly gave an edge to Pope's satire (humor aimed at human weaknesses), but he was always warmhearted and generous in his affection for his many friends.

Early poems

Pope was precocious (showed the characteristics of an older person at a young age) as a child and attracted the notice of a noted bookseller who published his *Pastorals* (1709). By this time Pope was already at work on his more ambitious *Essay on Criticism* (1711) designed to create a rebirth of the contemporary literary scene.

The Rape of the Lock (1712) immediately made Pope famous as a poet. It was a long humorous poem in the classical style (likeness to ancient Greek and Roman writing). Instead of treating the subject of heroic deeds, though, the poem was about the attempt of a young man to get a lock of hair from his beloved's head. It was based on a true event that happened to people he knew. Several other poems were published by 1717, the date of the first collected edition of Pope's works.

Translations of Homer

Pope also engaged in poetic imitations and translations. His *Messiah* (1712) was an imitation of Virgil (70–19 B.C.E.). He also did a version of Geoffrey Chaucer's (1342–1400) poetry in the English of Pope's day. But it was Pope's versions of Homer (c. 700 B.C.E.) that were his greatest achievement as a translator.

Pope undertook the translation of Homer's *Iliad* because he needed money. The interest earned from his father's annuities (money from investments) had dropped sharply. The translation occupied him until 1720. It was a great financial success, making Pope independent of the customary forms of literary patronage (support from wealthy people), and it was highly praised by critics.

From the time parts of *Iliad* began to appear, Pope became the victim of numerous pamphlet attacks on his person, politics, and religion. In 1716 an increased land tax on Roman Catholics forced the Popes to sell their place at Binfield and to settle at Chiswick. The next year Pope's father died, and in 1719 the poet's increased wealth enabled him to move with his mother to Twickenham.

From 1725 to 1726 Pope was engaged in a version of *Odyssey*. He worked with two other translators, William Broome and Elijah Fenton. They completed half of the translation between them. It was Pope's name, however, that sold the work, and he naturally received the lion's share (biggest part) of the profits.

Editorial work

Pope also undertook several editorial projects. Parnell's *Poems* (1721) was followed by an edition of the late Duke of Buckingham's *Works* (1723). Then, in 1725, Pope's six volumes on the works of William Shakespeare (1564–1616) were published. Pope's edits and explanatory

notes were notoriously capricious (impulsive and not scholarly). His edition was attacked by Lewis Theobald in *Shakespeare Restored* (1726), a work that revealed a superior knowledge of editorial technique. This upset Pope, who then made Theobald the original hero of *Dunciad*.

The Dunciad

In 1726 and 1727 the writer Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) was in England and a guest of Pope. Together they published three volumes of poetry. Renewed contact with Swift must have given a driving force to Pope's poem on "Dulness," which appeared as the three-book *Dunciad* (1728). Theobald was the prime dunce, and the next year the poem was enlarged by a burlesque (broad comedy) on commentators and textual critics.

Clearly Pope used *Dunciad* as personal satire to pay off many old scores. But it was also prompted by his distaste for that whole process by which worthless writers gained undeserved literary prominence (fame). The parody (comic imitation) of the classical epic (heroic poem) was accompanied by further mock-heroic elements, including the intervention of a goddess, the epic games of the second book, and the visit to the underworld and the vision of future "glories." Indeed, despite its devastating satire, *Dunciad* was essentially a phantasmagoric (created by the imagination) treatment by a great comic genius. In 1742 Pope published a fourth book to *Dunciad* separately, and his last published work was the four-volume *Dunciad* in 1743.

An Essay on Man

Pope's friendship with the former statesman Henry St. John Bolingbroke, who had settled a few miles from Twickenham, stimulated his interest in philosophy and led to the composition of *An Essay on Man*. Some ideas expressed in it were probably suggested by Bolingbroke. For example, the notion that earthly happiness is enough to justify the ways of God to man was consistent with Bolingbroke's thinking.

In essence, the *Essay* is not philosophy (the study of knowledge) but a poet's belief of unity despite differences, of an order embracing the whole multifaceted (many-sided) creation. Pope's sources were ideas that had a long history in Western thought. The most central of these was the doctrine of plenitude, which Pope expressed through the metaphors (a figure of speech in which words or phrases are used to find similarities in things that are not comparable) of a "chain" or "scale" of being. He also asserted that the discordant (not harmonious) parts of life are bound harmoniously together.

Later years

Pope wrote *Imitations of Horace* from 1733 to 1738. (Horace was a Roman poet who lived from 65 to 8 B.C.E.) He also wrote many "epistles" (letters to friends) and defenses of his use of personal and political satire. As Pope grew older he became more ill. He described his life as a "long disease," and asthma increased his sufferings in his later years. At times during the last month of his life he became delirious. Pope died on May 30, 1744, and was buried in Twickenham Church.

Alexander Pope used language with genuine inventiveness. His qualities of imagination are seen in the originality with which he handled traditional forms, in his satiric vision of the contemporary world, and in his inspired use of classical models.

Jonathan Swift (1667-1745)

The Anglo-Irish poet, political writer, and clergyman Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) ranks as the foremost prose satirist in the English language and as one of the greatest satirists in world literature. Jonathan Swift was born in Dublin, Ireland, on Nov. 30, 1667. His father, Jonathan Swift (1640-1667), an Englishman who had settled in Ireland, died a few months before Swift's birth. He had married Abigaile Erick, the daughter of an old Leicestershire family, about 1664. Swift's uncle, Godwin Swift, a Tipperary official, supported the young Jonathan. With his help he entered Kilkenny School, where William Congreve was a fellow student, at the age of 6. In 1682 Swift matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin, where his record was undistinguished. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1686. Swift continued his education at Trinity, having almost obtained a master of arts degree when his uncle's death and political violence in Ireland combined in 1688 to make him leave Ireland and to seek his mother's counsel in Leicester.

Swift began his first employment toward the end of 1689 by becoming secretary to Sir William Temple, a retired diplomat and distant relative of his mother's, at Moor Park near London. Here Swift first met Esther Johnson (1680-1728), the "Stella" of his famous *Journal to Stella*, who was 8 years old at the time. She was the daughter of a servant at Moor Park, and Swift – who was 22 years old – taught her how to write and formed a lifelong friendship with her. Swift's position at Moor Park was frequently disagreeable to him because of his uncertain status and prospects. In 1692, after a short residence at Oxford, he obtained a Master of Arts degree from that institution. Returning to Temple's employ, he remained at Moor Park until 1694, when he left in anger at Temple's delay in obtaining him preferment. That year Swift was ordained in the Church of Ireland (Anglican). In January 1695 Swift obtained the small prebend of Kilroot near Belfast.

First Works

Temple proposed that Swift return to Moor Park in 1696 as a literary executor to help him prepare his papers for publication. Tired of Irish life, Swift gladly accepted, living at Moor Park until Temple's death in 1699. During this 3-year period Swift read and wrote extensively. His Pindaric Odes, written in the manner of Abraham Cowley, date from this period, as does his first essay in satiric prose, *The Battle of the Books*, written in 1697 in defense of Temple's *Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning* but not published until 1704.

After Temple's death Swift, after several delays, obtained the rectory of Agher in Meath with the united vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeggan, to which was added the prebend of Dunlavin in St. Patrick's, Dublin. He also became chaplain to the 2d Earl of Berkeley, a lord justice of Ireland. In 1701 Swift received a doctor of divinity degree from Trinity College, Dublin, but his hopes for higher Church office were disappointed. Unhappy with life in Ireland, he paid frequent visits to Leicester and London. With the advent of a new Tory government in England and the pending impeachment of Whig leaders responsible for William III's second Partition Treaty, Swift decided to put his pen to political use. In 1701 he published *A*

Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome in an attempt to dissuade the impeachment of John Somers and Lords Orford, Halifax, and Portland.

Swift lived in England between 1701 and 1704, and he became friends with Alexander Pope, Joseph Addison, and Richard Steele. In 1704 he published in one volume his first great satires, *A Tale of a Tub*, *The Battle of the Books*, and *The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*. Full of brilliant parody and extravagant wit, these satires exhibit Swift at his most dazzling.

Meantime, in 1701 Swift had invited Esther Johnson and her companion, Rebecca Dingley, a poor relative of Temple's, to Laracor. They soon permanently established themselves in Dublin. Swift's friendship with Johnson lasted through her lifetime, and contemporary rumor reported he married her in 1716. No marriage was ever acknowledged. Swift's letters to Johnson from London between 1710 and 1713 make up his *Journal to Stella*, first published in 1768.

In November 1707 Swift wrote his most distinguished narrative poem, *Baucis and Philemon*, and a few months later he produced one of the finest examples of his irony, the *Argument to Prove That the Abolishing of Christianity in England May, as Things Now Stand, Be Attended with Some Inconveniences* (1708). In the early months of 1708 Swift also wrote an amusing piece decrying the quackery of astrologers, *Vindication of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.*

Political Activities

From February 1708 to April 1709 Swift was domiciled in London, attempting to obtain for the Irish clergy the financial benefits of Queen Anne's Bounty, in which he failed. By November 1710 he was again in London and produced a series of brilliant pamphlets, including *A Letter concerning the Sacramental Test*, *the Sentiments of a Church of England Man*, and *a Project for the Advancement of Religion*.

Finally convinced that the Whigs would not aid his Church cause, Swift turned to the ministers of the new Tory government in 1710 and became for the next 4 years the chief journalist and principal pamphleteer for Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke. Swift wrote for the Tory paper, the *Examiner*, from Nov. 2, 1710, to June 7, 1711, and in his weekly contributions he lampooned the reputation of Whig leaders and their popular hero, the Duke of Marlborough. His most influential work of this period of his greatest political power in England was *The Conduct of the Allies* (1711), which helped to prepare public opinion for the end of the war with France and the Peace of Utrecht.

In 1713 Queen Anne appointed Swift to the deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and in June 1713 he left London to take possession of it, disappointed he had not received as a reward for his political writings an English deanery or bishopric. Dissensions between Oxford and Bolingbroke speedily forced his return to London. Unable to smooth over the differences between them and probably sensing Oxford's impending fall, Swift retired for several weeks to Upper Letcombe, Berkshire, where he wrote *Some Free Thoughts on the Present State of Affairs*, a pamphlet detailing Swift's conversion to Bolingbroke's policies. Queen Anne died on Aug. 1, 1714, and with the accession of George I, the Tories were a ruined party. Swift's career in England was over.

But his past 4 years of London life had been important ones for Swift. In addition to his political activities and writings, he had become treasurer and a leading member of the *Brothers*, a society of wits; he had contributed to the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and the *Intelligence*; he had promoted the subscription for Pope's *Homer*; and he had joined with Pope, John Arbuthnot, John Gay, and others to found the celebrated *Scriblerus Club*, contributing to *Martin Scriblerus*. To this busy era also belong several miscellanies, including *A Meditation upon a Broomstick*, and the poems "Sid Hamet's Rod," "The City Shower," "The Windsor Prophecy," "The Prediction of Merlin," and "The History of Vanbrugh's House." His *Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712) also dates from these London years.

During his various stays in London, Swift had become friendly with the Vanhomrighs, the family of a Dublin merchant of Dutch origins. Their daughter Esther – Swift called her Vanessa – had fallen passionately in love with Swift, and she followed him to Ireland, hoping that Swift would marry her.

Return to Ireland meant for Swift a sudden fall from great political power to absolute insignificance. Coldly received by the Irish as the dean of St. Patrick's, he was also denied all share in the administration of Irish affairs. Johnson and Dingley continued to reside near him, and Esther Vanhomrigh (1690-1723) lived at Cellbridge, about 10 miles distant. Perhaps Swift wished to marry Johnson, but he could not do so without destroying Vanhomrigh. He seemed psychologically incapable of deserting either beauty, although his feeling for each was devoid of passion. He was capable of friendship and even tender regard but not of love. He probably preferred Johnson, but his attempts were directed toward soothing Vanhomrigh. He had earlier addressed one of the best examples of his serious poetry, "Cadenus and Vanessa," to her in 1713. Finally, Vanhomrigh, exhausted by Swift's evasions, demanded to know the nature of his relations with Johnson in a letter, in 1723. After a final confrontation with Swift, Vanhomrigh died a few weeks later. Johnson died on Jan. 28, 1728.

In 1720 Swift published anonymously his *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures*, in which he urged the Irish to discontinue using English goods. Political events once again made Swift a national hero in 1724-1725. His six famous letters, signed M. B. Drapier, written between April and December 1724, were a protest against English debasement of Irish coinage and the inflation that would ensue. The *Drapier's Letters* inflamed all Ireland, caused the cancellation of the coinage scheme, and made Swift into an Irish hero. The fourth of the six letters, *A Letter to the Whole People of Ireland*, which rose to a pitch of defiance, was labeled seditious, but no one charged Swift, who was known to be the author.

Gulliver's Travels

As early as 1720 Swift had started the composition of his great satirical masterpiece, *Gulliver's Travels*. It was published anonymously in 1726 as *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World*, in four parts, by Lemuel Gulliver. Immediate acclaim greeted it, many people choosing to read as childish fantasy its mordant satire on courts, parties, and statesmen. The work purported to be the travels of Captain Lemuel Gulliver, and Swift told his story in the first person, with simplicity and directness. The *Travels* constitute a subtle commentary on political and social conditions in 18th-century England. Gulliver first visits Lilliput, a land of

pygmies. Their court factions and petty intrigues seem ridiculous on so miniature a scale. He next visits Brobdingnag, a land of giants. When he relates the glories of England, the inhabitants are as disdainfully and scornfully amused as he had been in the land of the Lilliputians. Gulliver's third voyage carries him to the flying island of Laputa, the Island of the Sorcerers, and the land of the Struldbrugs. Their inhabitants exhibit the extremities of literary and scientific pedantry, the deceptiveness of written history, and the curse of the desire for immortal life. Gulliver's final visit, to the land of the Houyhnhnms, a country governed by noble and rational horses who are served by bestial creatures in debased human form, shows the depths to which mankind may sink when it allows passions to overcome reason.

Swift next displayed his powers in his *Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People from Being a Burden to Their Parents or Their Country* in 1729. This ironic pamphlet proposed to cure Ireland's imbalance of people and exports by fattening poor people's children and selling them as delicacies for gentlemen's tables. A satire on domestics, *Directions to Servants* (first published in 1745), followed, and it was succeeded by *Polite Conversation*, written in 1731 and published in 1738. Occasional verse – often indecent – rolled from Swift's pen, but the 1730s were also marked by three important poems: the delightful *Hamilton's Bawn*, the verses on his own death (1731), and the fierce satire *The Legion Club* (1736).

Swift's popularity remained at a high pitch, and he performed his ecclesiastical duties with strictness and regularity. But his melancholy and his attacks of giddiness increased with his sense of growing isolation and of failing powers. At first a cousin, Martha Whiteway, cared for him, and in March 1742 both his person and his estate were entrusted to guardians. In September his illness reached a crisis, and he emerged paralyzed. Swift died in Dublin on Oct. 19, 1745, and he was buried in St. Patrick's. He left his great fortune to build a hospital for the mentally challenged.

John Dryden (1631-1700)

John Dryden was born at the vicarage of Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire, on August 9, 1631, son of Erasmus Dryden and Mary Pickering. His family were Parliamentary supporters with Puritan leanings. He attended **Westminster School** as a king's scholar under Richard Busby and was an avid student of the classics. While at Westminster, Dryden published his first verses, an elegy "Upon the Death of Lord Hastings", in *Lachrymæ Musarum* (1649). He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1650, and took a BA in 1654.

Dryden moved to London around 1657, and first gained notice with his 'Heroic Stanzas' (1659) on the death of Lord Protector Cromwell. In the Royalist climate of the Restoration, he sensibly wrote *Astraea Redux* (1660) to celebrate the return of **King Charles II**. For the coronation, Dryden wrote "To His Sacred Majesty, A Panegyric" (1661). In 1662, Dryden wrote verses "To My Lord Chancellor" Clarendon, and was elected to the Royal Society. The theatres had been reopened, demand for entertainments was high, and Dryden set to writing plays. In 1663, Dryden married Lady Elizabeth Howard, the sister of his theatrical partner Sir Robert Howard, and the eldest daughter of the Earl of Berkshire. His first play was the prose comedy of humours *A Wild Gallant* (1663), a wholly unremarkable piece, followed by the tragicomedy *The Rival Ladies* (1664) and *The Indian Queen* (1664). In 1665, the theatres

were closed down because of the plague that raged in London, and the King's court relocated to Oxford. There, Dryden finally established a reputation as a playwright with *The Indian Emperor* (1665), a heroic drama.

The year 1666 was eventful in English history, including both the naval war with the Dutch, and the **Great Fire of London**. Dryden commemorated this 'year of wonders' in his long poem, **Annus Mirabilis**, in 1667. This poem secured him the position of Poet Laureate on the death of William D'Avenant in 1668. The same year, he was also given the degree of M. A. by the Archbishop of Canterbury. As a fellow of the Royal Society, he was furthermore made Historiographer Royal in 1670, which brought him an annual income of £200.

In 1668, Dryden began a fruitful period of both critical and dramatic writing. His first major critical work was the **Essay of Dramatic Poesy** (1668), followed by *A Defence of an Essay* (1668), and *Essay of Heroic Plays* (1672). His plays from this period include the comedy *Secret Love* (1667); the heroic drama *Tyrannic Love* (1669); the two-part *The Conquest of Granada* (1670-71); and the comedy *Marriage à la Mode* (1672). In 1674, Dryden published a tribute to **Milton** in the form of a musical adaptation of *Paradise Lost*, entitled *The State of Innocence*—it was never performed. The tragedy *Aureng-Zebe* (1676) was Dryden's first play in blank verse, followed by his masterpiece **All for Love** (1678), based on the story of Anthony and Cleopatra.

The success and fame Dryden enjoyed naturally garnered him enemies. He was ridiculed in Buckingham's *The Rehearsal* (1671), and brutally beaten in an attack in Rose Alley, Covent Garden, on December 18, 1679. It has been suggested, though never proved, that Lord Rochester had a hand in hiring the ruffians responsible for the attack. Rochester had lampooned Dryden earlier, and had in turn suspected of Dryden for complicity in ridiculing him in Lord Mulgrave's *Essay on Satire*.

With the the unsuccessful prose comedy "Limberham" (1678), the poor adaptation of *Troilus and Cressida* (1679), and the play "Spanish Friar" (1681), Dryden left his career as dramatist for a time and turned his attention to satire. His political satire on Monmouth and Shaftesbury, **Absalom and Achitophel**, appeared in 1681. It is one of the great English satires, and it brought him further favor with Charles II, who was pleased at this attack against the Whigs during the Exclusion Crisis. Dryden dutifully wrote the **Second Part of Absalom and Achitophelin** in collaboration with Nahum Tate, as well as another attack on Shaftesbury's supporters, *The Medal* (1682). These naturally provoked counterattacks, including Thomas Shadwell's *The Medal of John Bayes*. Dryden in turn responded **Mac Flecknoe**, full of ridicule for Shadwell, perhaps his most entertaining poem, pirated in 1682, and officially printed in 1684.

Dryden also had a keen interest in theology, and this resulted first in the publication of **Religio Laici** (1682). This work, the title of which translates as "A Layman's Faith", was a long religious poem arguing Christianity over Deism, the Bible as the guide to salvation, and the Anglican Church over the Catholic Church. This period saw some of Dryden's best poems, the Pindaric ode "Threnodia Augustalis" (1685) at the death of Charles II, the beautiful lyrical ode "To the Pious Memory ... of Mrs Anne Killigrew" (1686) written to commemorate a painter who drowned in the Thames, and "A Song for Saint Cecilia's Day" (1687). Dryden had long grappled with religious uncertainty, and converted into Roman Catholicism in 1686,

the year after the ascension to the throne of **King James II**, a Catholic. In 1687, Dryden published *The Hind and the Panther*, an allegorical fable criticizing the Anglican church. Dryden suffered for this almost immediately. The Revolution of 1688, which placed the Protestant William III on the throne, caused him to be deprived of his laureateship, and what was worse; he was replaced by his old enemy, Shadwell.

Dryden returned to the theatre. He wrote the libretto to Purcell's opera *King Arthur* (1691); a tragicomedy, *Don Sebastian* (1690); a comedy of errors, *Amphitryon* (1690); and *Cleomenes: the Spartan Hero* (1692). Dryden's *Love Triumphant* (1694), the prologue of which announced it as his last play, was a failure. Dryden turned to writing translations, including the satires of Perseus and Juvenal (1693) and Virgil's *Aeneid* (1697). He also wrote more poetry, including "An Ode, on the death of Mr Henry Purcell" (1696) commemorating the composer, a second ode for St. Cecilia's Day, "Alexander's Feast" (1697), which was later incorporated into his *Fables Ancient and Modern* (1700), paraphrases of Ovid, Boccaccio, and Chaucer.

Dryden died on April 30, 1700, soon after the publication of the *Fables*, of inflammation caused by gout. He was buried in Westminster Abbey. Dryden was a good playwright and poet, a fine translator, a solid critic, and an excellent satirist whose works are still worthy of much admiration.

The Glorious Revolution

The greatest landmark in the history of England is the Glorious Revolution of 1688. This revolution is called 'Glorious' because it achieved its objective without any bloodshed. James II came to the throne of England in 1685, after Charles II his brother died. He desired to rule despotically and to re-establish the **Roman Catholic** religion in England. The common people did not like this. They rose in revolt. This struggle between the King and the Parliament ended in victory for the people (i.e. the representative of the people - the parliament). A constitutional monarchy was now established in England. All the power rested in the hands of people and they availed long cherished freedom. Modern rules were framed according to which the King ruled only as per the wishes and will of the people.

The Main Reasons of Revolution of 1668

Socio-political factors combined with religious issues to produce a chain of events that led to this revolution.

i. Religious Issues

The efforts of James II to restore Catholicism in England bothered the English people. Re-instating -Catholicism in England was his dream and he was prepared to sacrifice even his throne for the sake of his religion. James II was a Roman Catholic and openly so. No one would have minded that. But the trouble with him was that he was not contented with himself being a Catholic. James II issued a statement on his accession to the throne in which he had promised to uphold the Church of England and to regard his own religion as a personal affair. The people at large felt gratified over it. But after the suppression of Argyll and Monmouth's rebellions he felt himself so strong that he foolishly thought of Catholicizing the whole nation.

The Tory and the church party had espoused his cause in the beginning because they had trusted him and taken his early statement as true. But crafty as James II was, he did not prove true to his promise. He could not hope to count on the help of the Tories and the Church, if his religious designs were to be prejudiced and aggressive. He was thus playing into the hands of the Whigs.

The Test Act was passed during the reign of Charles II. It required that every person who wanted to get civil or military posts must accept the Anglican Church and its principles. The **Catholics** were thus deprived of these privileges. The new King, James wanted to attach more importance to the Catholics and therefore he made fervent efforts to reject his act. He dissolved it. He dismissed his High Court Tory ministers, and surrounded himself with sycophants, chief among whom was the very clever but utterly corrupt Earl of Sutherland. He did not hesitate to announce his conversion to Catholicism in order to please the King. In place of the Earl of Clarendon, James gave the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland to the Catholic Earl of Tyrconnell. Tyrconnell's instructions were to attack the **Protestant** ascendancy.

ii. First Declaration of Indulgence

James II was a Roman Catholic and he treated his fellow religious believers' most sympathetically by appointing them to high positions in the state and the army. Not only that James II invited **the Pope** of Rome to England and restored his old position officially on him. James II issued his first "Declaration of Indulgence" in 1687 which he suspended wholesale the penal laws against the Roman Catholics. The result was that the **Roman Catholics** and other Dissenters began to **worship** openly. The Tories, who stood for the Church of England, were exasperated. The Whigs were unreconciliatory. They were scared that James II was supporting Catholicism under the religious toleration.

iii. Second Declaration of Indulgence

In 1688, James II issued the Second Declaration of Indulgence. It was ordered that this declaration should be spread in every Church on two consecutive Sundays. Almost all priests opposed the reading of the Declaration. He condemned the seven **bishops** to be imprisoned in the London Tower who refused to obey King's orders and opposed James but they were set free by court amidst public rejoicing. This act made James II unpopular.

James wanted to spread Catholicism in the universities also. For pushing the Catholics to high positions, James used many unfair means. For instance, the post of Head of Megdallan College of Oxford **University was** vacated and one James Parker, a Catholic was appointed. He even dismissed the vice-chancellor of Cambridge University because he had refused to accommodate a Catholic in the University. The Parliament could not tolerate this high-handedness of the monarch. Moreover the university people also disliked it.

iv. Army and Defense

After the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, James II did not agree to the disbanding of the army regiments. He failed to realize the feeling of the English people against the maintenance of the standing army. The Englishmen could not tolerate the standing army. This was against

the interest and feeling of common Englishmen. The people developed negative sentiments for the King.

James II made a mistake when he got the Duke of Monmouth executed after his defeat in the battle of Sedgemoor. It was a blunder on his part. It would have been better if the Duke had been kept in the Tower or allowed to escape overseas. The death of the Duke cleared the Whigs of any possible ill will of the people. The result was that the Whigs began to gain in strength and popularity and ultimately they were responsible for the overthrow of James in 1688. But for this unpolitical act of James II, the Whigs might not have got an opportunity to come into prominence and lead the opposition against James II.

With a view to overawe the Londoners, he posted soldiers in the neighborhood of London. The King was actually trying to play the part of a bully. He should have known that Englishmen would not tolerate such an attitude.

After the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion all his supporters were arrested and jailed. A special court was established to try them. Jeffrey was the Chief Justice. He was a notorious tyrant and barbarian who hanged about three hundred of them and transported some 800 to various countries, especially to West Indies, to work as slaves. Due to Jeffrey's cruel deeds, this court came to be known as 'Bloody Assizes'. It was considered a crime against humanity and a great political blunder. A fierce wave of anger swept over the country and executions and imprisonment fanned to flame the smoldering fire of widespread unrest and discontent.

v. Policy for Ireland and Scotland

The appointment of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland turned all the Irish Protestants against the Stuart monarchy. In the same manner his policy towards Scotland of Presbyterian persecution turned most of the Scottish people against James II.

vi. The Birth of a Son - An Important Factor

At that critical time, news came from the court announcing that James' wife, Queen Mary of Modena, had given birth to a son. This was a bolt from the blue. The people thought that with a successor in James' line of descent, there was no possibility of relief from the Catholic regime. The people hoped that James II would die without a son and after his death, his daughter Mary, wife of William of Orange, Protestant King of Holland, would ascend the throne. They were prepared to put up with James II because they knew that he was not going to live long on account of his old age.

They submitted to the tyranny of James II because they knew that it was bound to end sooner or later. Thereupon the nation tried to take a revolutionary step. The Whig and Tory leaders all united and they decided to invite William of Holland, the husband of Mary, the Protestant daughter of James II to come and ascend the throne of England.

Events of the Glorious Revolution

An incredibly smooth development of events led to the Glorious Revolution. The people of England decided to dethrone James and invited his son-in-law, William of Orange to occupy the throne of England. Though William was busy in a battle with France, he gladly accepted the invitation extended to him. He felt that it provided him an opportunity to combine the strength of England and Holland against France, the latter having an eye on Holland.

The people of England sent an invitation to William and Mary to come over with an army "to save the Protestant religion and the constitutional liberties of England." They landed in England after some difficulty. James II might have been permitted to retain his throne even then if he had repented for whatever illegal things he had done in the past and if he had promised to rule according to the law of the land. However, his stubbornness lost him all his friends. His army went over to the other side and he fled to France in December 1688, after throwing into the Thames the Great Seal of the Realm.

William's professional Army consisted of the English, the Dutch, the Swedes and the Germans. For some weeks, William did not get much encouragement. Gradually the nobility deserted James. The Council of Peers was busy making preparations to call a free Parliament. At this time news came that James had been captured at Faversham in Kent. He was brought back to London. But he managed to escape. He took off for his final fight to France. His enemies were too glad to get rid of him. The members of the attending parliament discussed the question of Kingship. Finally the attending parties decided that the Royal power should be vested in William and Mary, who thus became the rulers of England. In this way with the fleeing of James II without putting up a fight, the bloodless Glorious Revolution took place. The Revolution of 1688 was a unique Revolution, not only in the history of England but probably in the history of Europe. In this connection Macaulay observes: "The highest eulogy which can be pronounced on the Revolution of 1688 is this that this was our last Revolution.

"It finally decided the great question whether the popular element which had, ever since the age of Fitz Walter and de Montfort, been found in the English policy should be suffered to develop itself freely and to become dominant. The strife between the two principles had been long, fierce and doubtful. It had lasted through four reigns. It had produced seditions, impeachments, rebellions, battles, sieges, proscription, and judicial massacres. Sometimes liberty, sometimes royalty, had seemed to be on the point of perishing."

Nature of Glorious Revolution

Although the reasons of this revolution were socio-political and religious, its nature was political. It was accomplished without bloodshed. Before the revolution of 1688, all-important political changes were brought in the wake of great bloodshed and excesses. England was compelled to pass through a great Civil War with it. Even the French Revolution of 1785 had the sacrifice of thousands of innocent people. However, in the case of Glorious Revolution in England nothing of the kind happened. In this regard Professor Trevelyan writes, "For many generations to come, the Revolution of 1688 was spoken of by our ancestors as the Glorious Revolution. Its glory did not consist in any deed of arms, in facts of heroism on the part of Englishmen nor in the fact that a whole nation proved itself stronger than their official King did. There was indeed a certain ignominy in the fact that a foreign King and army, however, friendly and welcome, had been required to enable Englishmen to recover the liberties they had muddled away in their frantic faction feuds. The true glory of the revolution lay in the fact

that it was bloodless, that there was no Civil War, no massacre, no proscription, and above all, that a settlement by consent was reached on the religious and political differences that had so long and so fiercely divided men and parties." Some other historians also support the views of Professor Trevelyan. For instance, according to well-known historian Burkey, the events of 1688-89 were, "a happy and Glorious Revolution. It was the good fortune of England that the transition from despotism to constitutional monarchy, was brought about without any bloodshed. But some historians do not give much importance to the revolution of 1688. For instance, according to Marriot, "It was essentially conservative in nature. It conserved most things of the past and was not a radical departure from the old order. It only made explicit, what was previously only implicit and thus did not introduced any radical changes." The historian further says, "It was not a democratic movement in any sense and the wisest among them benefited by it."

John Locke (1632-1704)

John Locke was born on August 29, 1632, in Wrington, a village in Somerset, England. In 1646 he went to Westminster school and in 1652 to Christ Church in Oxford. In 1659 he was elected to a senior studentship, and tutored at the college for a number of years. Still, contrary to the curriculum, he complained that he would rather be studying Descartes than Aristotle. In 1666 he declined an offer of preferment, although he thought at one time of taking up clerical work. In 1668 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1674 he finally graduated as a bachelor of medicine. In 1675 he was appointed to a medical studentship at the college. He owned a home in Oxford until 1684, until his studentship was taken from him by royal mandate.

Locke's mentor was Robert Boyle, the leader of the Oxford scientific group. Boyle's mechanical philosophy saw the world as reducible to matter in motion. Locke learned about atomism and took the terms "primary and secondary qualities" from Boyle. Both Boyle and Locke, along with Newton, were members of the English Royal Society. Locke became friends with Newton in 1688 after he had studied Newton's *Principia Mathematica Philosophiae Naturalis*. It was Locke's work with the Oxford scientists that gave him a critical perspective when reading Descartes. Locke admired Descartes as an alternative to the Aristotelianism dominant at Oxford. Descartes' "way of ideas" was a major influence on Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*.

Locke studied medicine with Sydenham, one of the most notable English physicians of the 17th century. His skills in medicine led to an accidental encounter with Lord Ashley (later to become the Earl of Shaftesbury) in 1666, which would mark a profound change in his career. Locke became a member of Shaftesbury's household and assisted him in business, political and domestic matters. Locke remained at Shaftesbury's side when the Earl was made Lord Chancellor in 1672, making presentations to benefices, and eventually becoming his secretary to the board of trade until 1675, when Shaftesbury lost his title.

Locke's ideas on freedom of religion and the rights of citizens were considered a challenge to the King's authority by the English government and in 1682 Locke went into exile in Holland. It was here that he completed *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, and published *Epistola de Tolerantia* in Latin. The English government tried to have Locke, along with a group of English revolutionaries with whom he was associated, extradited to England. Locke's position at Oxford was taken from him in 1684. In 1685, while Locke was still in Holland,

Charles II died and was succeeded by James II who was eventually overthrown by rebels (after more than one attempt). William of Orange was invited to bring a Dutch force to England, while James II went into exile in France. Known as the Glorious Revolution of 1688, this event marks the change in the dominant power in English government from King to Parliament. In 1688 Locke took the opportunity to return to England on the same ship that carried Princess Mary to join her husband William.

Locke had written *Two Treatises of Civil Government* in the early 1680s while Whig revolutionary plots against Charles II were still in the works, and in 1690 he was finally able to publish them. This work is a theory of natural law and rights in which he makes a distinction between legitimate and illegitimate civil governments and argues for the legitimacy of revolution against tyrannical governments. He saw that the reason government is established is to protect the life, liberty and property of a people, and if these goals are not respected, then rebellion is entirely permissible by the population who originally consented to the government's power. The first treatise is an attack on Sir Robert Filmer and his text *Patriarcha* (1680), which he wrote in defense of divine monarchy. Locke uses this critique to launch his criticism of the work of Thomas Hobbes. In the Second Treatise Locke states his theory of natural law and natural right, revealing a rational purpose to government. Locke felt that the public welfare made government necessary and was the test of good government, and he always defended the government as an institution.

In 1690 Locke was also able to publish *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, which he had been working on since 1671. In this book he establishes the principles of modern Empiricism, and attacks the rationalist concept of innate ideas. Drawing on earlier writings by Chillingworth in which human understanding is said to be limited, Locke sets out to determine these limits. He writes that we can be certain that God exists, and be as certain of mortality as we are of mathematics, because we create moral and political ideas. He states that we cannot, however, know the underlying realities of natural substances, as we can only know their appearance. He imagined that the human mind begins as a "tabula rasa," and that we learn by our experience.

The new government of England offered Locke the post of ambassador to Berlin or Vienna in recognition of his part in the revolution; however Locke declined the honorable position. In 1689 he became commissioner of appeals, and from 1696 to 1700 acted as commissioner of trade and plantations. In 1691 Locke responded to financial difficulties in the government by publishing *Some Considerations of the Consequences of Lowering of Interest*, and *Raising the Value of Money*, and in 1695 *Further Considerations* on the topic of money. In 1693 he published *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, and in 1695 *The Reasonableness of Christianity*. He was later inspired to write two Vindications of this last work in response to some criticism. Locke invested a great deal of energy in theology in his later years, and among his work published post mortem are commentaries on the Pauline epistles, a *Discourse on Miracles*, a fragment of the *Fourth Letter for Toleration*, and *An Examination of Father Malebranche's Opinion of Seeing all things in God*, *Remarks on Some of Mr. Norris's Books*. After his death another chapter of *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* was published under the title *The Conduct of the Understanding*.

In his final years he lived in the country at Oates in Essex at the home of Sir Francis and Lady Masham (Damaris Cudworth). Locke had met Cudworth in 1682, a philosopher and

daughter of the Cambridge Platonist Ralph Cudworth. They had an intellectual and amorous relationship, which was cut short by Locke's exile in Holland. Cudworth had married Sir Francis Masham in Locke's absence, yet she and Locke remained close friends. Before his death, Locke saw four more editions of *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and entertained controversy and critiques regarding the work, engaging in a series of letters with Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, which has since been published. He died at Oates in Essex on October 28, 1704.

Bill of Rights (1689)

The Bill of Rights, entitled "An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown", is one of the basic documents of English constitutional law. It was signed in **1689** by **William of Orange** and **Mary II** in return for their being affirmed as co-rulers of **England** and **Ireland** by the English **Parliament** after the **Glorious Revolution**.

The basic tenets of the Bill of Rights were:

- Englishmen possessed certain civil and political rights that could not be taken away. These included:
 - freedom from royal interference with the law
 - freedom from **taxation** by royal prerogative, without agreement by Parliament
 - freedom to petition the king
 - freedom to bear arms for self-defence
 - freedom to elect members of Parliament
 - the freedom of speech in Parliament
 - freedom from cruel and unusual punishments
 - freedom from fines and forfeitures without trial
- Certain acts of **James II** were specifically named and declared illegal on this basis.
- The flight of James from England in the wake of the Glorious Revolution amounted to abdication of the throne.
- **Roman Catholics** could not be king or queen of England.
- William and Mary were the successors of James.
- Succession should pass to the heirs of Mary, then to Mary's sister **Princess Anne of Denmark** and her heirs, then to any heirs of William by a later marriage.

The bill was later supplemented by the Act of Settlement in 1701.

The Bill of Rights was a major step in the evolution of the British government towards parliamentary supremacy, and the curtailment of the rights of the monarchy. In doing so it largely settled the political and religious turmoil that had convulsed Scotland, England and Ireland in the 17th century. After the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights is an important step in England's progress towards a constitutional monarchy.

Development of party system

There has been considerable debate over when political parties came into existence in England—whether it was during the Exclusion Crisis (1679–1681), when the terms Whig and Tory were first used as party labels, or not until after the Glorious Revolution (1688–1689)—

as well as over the nature of the relationship between court and country identities and partisan political loyalties.

In England, rival political grouping, reflecting an intensifying conflict between court and country interests, can be detected from the mid-1660s through the 1670s, although these are normally thought of as factions rather than parties. Although the court experimented with new forms of parliamentary management, political organization remained rudimentary and the unity of the court interest fragile; likewise, the country interest, although beginning to cohere around an ideological platform of opposition to the growth of popery and arbitrary government (especially from the mid-1670s, when Anthony Ashley Cooper, the first earl of Shaftesbury [1621–1683], emerged as the leading country spokesman), is best seen as a series of coalitions of place-seekers, back-benchers, and separate politician-connections with discrete political agendas who were temporarily united by a desire to bring down the ministry of the day.

The first age of political parties is usually dated to the Exclusion Crisis and the struggle between the Whigs—who sought to exclude the Catholic heir, the future James II (ruled 1685–1688), from succession on the grounds of his religion—and the Tories, who championed divine right monarchy and indefeasible hereditary right. However, some would maintain that while the first Whigs were a party, the Tories were not; others insist that neither grouping was a true party, since they lacked a recognizable leader and ideological coherence, and because political allegiances remained fluid throughout this period. The old view of a monolithic Whig party with Shaftesbury as its leader has long been discredited: The Whigs incorporated a number of discrete interests (Shaftesbury's being just one) and reflected a spectrum of belief from supporters of a strong, albeit Protestant, monarchy to those who wanted to reform the powers of the monarch to bring England nearer to a republic (some of whom preferred limitations on a popish successor to Exclusion). However, the Whigs did evince a degree of political organization that was impressive by the standards of the day: they had political clubs, to coordinate tactics and strategy; they employed electoral agents; they orchestrated a highly sophisticated propaganda campaign, deploying a wide range of visual, aural, and printed media; and they sought to mobilize the populace nationwide to support their platform through mass petition campaigns and political rallies. Although they might have differed over England's ideal constitutional settlement, all Whigs would have agreed that government existed to protect people's lives, liberties, and estates; they were also united in their condemnation of the religious intolerance of the high Anglican establishment. To counter the Whig challenge, the Tories mimicked many of the Whigs' organizational and propaganda techniques, but rallied around a platform of commitment to the existing settlement in church and state (as established by law) and opposition to Protestant Nonconformists. If political parties are understood as organized groupings of people, with mass followings that are united in the promotion of a series of principles that were intended for the public good then both the Whigs and the Tories of that time would qualify.

Party identities were temporarily blurred in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. The dethroning of James II and his replacement by William III (ruled 1689–1702) seemed to have solved the issue that had given rise to party strife in the first place; moreover, the Whigs, who had started as a party in opposition to the executive, now found themselves in power, whereas the Tories, who had been the court interest, were now disfavored. Indeed, during the first half of the 1690s it is more accurate to see politics as dividing once more along court-versus-country lines. Historian Robert Walcott has even denied that parties existed during the reign

of Queen Anne (ruled 1702–1714), insisting instead that political connections based on family ties were more important, though his views have been discredited. Division lists show that from the mid-1690s through the reign of Anne, most peers and members of Parliament voted consistently along party lines. Likewise, poll books reveal that the parliamentary electorate voted for party tickets (voters rarely split their votes between rival Whig and Tory candidates), while local research has demonstrated how many communities throughout the land were divided by partisan rivalries. From the mid-1690s through the end of Queen Anne's reign in 1714, the two parties had developed fairly sophisticated organizational structures to ensure unity: regular planning meetings, political clubs, circular letters and regional whips, electoral organizations, and extensive propaganda campaigns. Ideologically, the parties were divided over a series of issues. One was the conduct of foreign policy, specifically how to fight the wars against France (1689–1697 and 1702–1713) that England had become involved in as a result of the Glorious Revolution; the Whigs favored an all-out commitment to the Continental theater, and the Tories a blue-water campaign with an emphasis on maritime and colonial operations. Another divisive issue concerned religious policy: The Whigs remained the party of the "Low Church," sympathetic to the plight of dissenters, whereas the Tories were the High Church party, convinced that the Anglican establishment was in danger of being undermined by the growth of Protestant heresy and the practice of occasional conformity, which had flourished in the wake of the Toleration Act of 1689. A third issue centered on the parties' respective attitudes toward the Glorious Revolution, with the Whigs believing that James II had been overthrown for breaking his contract, the Tories that the king had deserted and left the throne vacant, and therefore that no resistance had taken place in 1688. Although a few Tories remained loyal to the exiled Stuarts, the Tory party was not, on a whole, a Jacobite party, and most Tories were prepared to accept the Hanoverian succession in 1714. The implication of some leading Tory politicians in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, however, split the Tory party and permanently discredited them in the eyes of the new Hanoverian monarchs, leading to Tory political proscription and the rise of Whig oligarchy under the first two Georges.

Coffee Houses

Coffee became a usual drink in Queen Anne's reign. It afforded a much-needed relaxation of the severe drinking habits of the time. Many coffee-houses were established in England during this period. In Queen Elizabeth's time, the inns acted as social centers. In Queen Anne's England it was the coffee houses that acted as social centers where men could talk and discuss things freely. Women usually did not go to these coffee houses and men got plenty of freedom to talk. In the coffee houses gentlemen mingled freely with persons whom they would not dream of admitting to their houses. The rich and the poor, the aristocracy and the peasantry sat together, talked and drank coffee together. It was an age when men stood much on their rank; but the nobility leaving their quality and degrees of distance at home, mingled with the poorer classes. Thus the Coffee houses had a leveling influence on society.

The coffee houses of the period acted also as Centres of Information in days before telegrams and effective journalism. News could be most easily gained at the various coffeehouses. To Edward Lloyd's coffee house people went for the latest information. The Coffee Houses were very popular in the eighteenth century but with the passing away of the century many lost their importance.

It was an age of periodicals and pamphleteering. There were bitter quarrels between the Whigs and the Tories. Both these parties made use of the literary talents of their members to the maximum. The politicians of the period fought out their battles with pen rather than sword.

Bank of England

The Bank of England is the central most bank in the United Kingdom. The building itself is located in the city of London on Threadneedle Street and is a large, beautiful building with huge columns. The Bank of England was first established in 1694 and is home to the Monetary Policy Committee, which is in charge of the monetary policy for the entire country of England. Its main function is to ensure that the economy and money in England remains stable and that all of the economic policies of England are upheld. Aside from that, it also serves the normal bank functions such as providing financial services to the citizens of England. There are two main and important positions within the Bank of England. The first is the chief cashier, and the second is the governor of the Bank of England. Both of these positions require an extreme attention to detail and a thorough knowledge of the economy within the country of England and the importance of its monetary system.

Although the Bank of England has been a part of the country for a few centuries, it was not officially a public central bank until 1946. Much like the United States Federal Reserve, the Bank of England determined the country's interest rates, making it an extremely important institution. In addition, it christens the bank notes and pound notes as well as retires them. The bank is a well known landmark and important fixture in the society of England. It has also been used in a few films, including Walt Disney's "Mary Poppins" when she takes the children to London to visit their father at work. It is an important part of the economy of England and of the world, and will continue to be for a very long time to come.

UNIT-VI

EIGHTEENTH CENTUARY ENGLAND

Union of England and Scotland

Act of Union 1707

The "Glorious Revolution" that saw the deposition of James II from both his English and Scottish thrones in 1688 resulted in a new constitutional settlement in each country, with the balance of power shifted from the person of the Sovereign to the political class(es) represented in each Parliament. However, an inadvertent consequence of this change was that underlying tensions between the two realms were now exacerbated: where a single monarch had once led, the two parliaments now sought paths that were not necessarily headed in the same direction.

English political ambition, anxieties over the security of the common border, and the seeming logic of two nations sharing both an island and a common tongue also sharing common institutions, had seen a number of abortive attempts at securing a political union between England and Scotland throughout the course of the seventeenth century. However, neither country had shown much enthusiasm for the union proposed by various Stuart monarchs, nor the union achieved by force of arms during the republican period of the mid-seventeenth century lapsed with the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.

By the early 1700s, a number of factors were increasing tensions between the two kingdoms: Scotland found itself fighting wars that were entered into in pursuance of English interests; England was anxious to secure the succession of both thrones in the Protestant line; Scotland's economy was in decline particularly as a consequence of the failure of the Darien scheme. A series of tit-for-tat Acts were passed by each country's Parliament, striking at the others' anxieties: for example, Scotland threatened to break the personal union by changing the succession to the throne, while England in turn threatened the end of Scottish access to English markets.

By April 1706, however, England's greater political, military, and economic weight proved in the end to be sufficient threat (and inducement) to Scotland's Parliament to agree to appoint commissioners to meet with counterparts from its neighbour, with the aim of negotiating terms for a Union. After three months the Articles of Union had been agreed, and were presented to Queen Anne; a bill to bring the treaty into Scots law was then presented to the parliament at Edinburgh. Against a backdrop of both threats and promises from England, the Act of Union was eventually passed into law in Scotland, albeit with some amendments. A bill incorporating both the treaty and the Scottish amendments was then put through the English parliament at Westminster, in time for the union to take place on May 1, 1707, in accordance with Art. I of the treaty: Scotland and England now became constituent parts of the new united kingdom of Great Britain. England's parliament was expanded as the Parliament of Great Britain to include representatives from Scotland in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and Scotland's parliament ceased to exist.

On January 1, 1801, the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland were in turn united to form what is today known as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. In 1999, following an abortive attempt twenty years previously, a Scottish Parliament was re-established at Edinburgh, although this time as a subordinate legislature within the United Kingdom rather than as the legislative body of an independent kingdom.

THE HANOVERIANS

George I (1714-27)

George II (1727-69)

George III (1760-1820)

George IV (1820-30)

William IV (1830-37)

Queen Victoria (1837-1901)

The First Two Georges and the Development of the Cabinet System of Government

When Queen Anne died in 1714, George, Elector of Hanover, became King of England by the Act of Settlement. His accession marked the beginning of Hanoverian Dynasty in England. George I was an unexciting and, to great extent, uninterfering monarch. He remained a stranger in England throughout his reign. He was a German and knew no English. He was little interested in English politics also. This paved the way for the development of the Cabinet system of government in England.

The Cabinet system of Government is a government by an executive committee of the Parliament of a country. The members of the cabinet are chosen from the majority party whose leader becomes the Premier. The Ministers are responsible to the parliament and if they lose the support of the majority they resign and seek a fresh mandate from the people. The Prime Minister and his ministers are individually and collectively responsible. A censure motion against even one member should lead to the dissolution of the entire cabinet. Now cabinet is the real Executive in Britain. It is, in Bagehot's words "A hyphen which joins, a buckle that fastens the legislative part of the state to the executive part." Even in the Anglo-Saxon times the monarchs had an advisory body to help them to govern the country. Under the Normans the Great Council took up the job of assisting the monarchs. The modern Cabinet was evolved after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 which ensured the supremacy of Parliament in England. It was under the Hanoverians that the Parliament assumed its modern form.

The first two Georges were pure Germans who showed little interest in English politics. They knew that they owed their throne to the Whigs and hence were willing to leave things in the hands of their ministers. One of the chief characteristics of Cabinet system of Government, namely, the exclusion of the monarch from the meetings of the Cabinet came into existence under the first two Hanoverians. As the two Georges did not understand English, they refused to attend the meetings of the Cabinet. Hitherto, the meetings of the Cabinet were presided over by the monarchs. In the absence of the monarch somebody had to take the chair and this person later was called the Premier. The leader of the party who presided over the cabinet meetings, in course of time, came to direct its proceedings and he started choosing his ministers also. By and by, the King lost the power of deciding on what was to be done. He would be told that such and such things had happened at the meetings and the advice of his ministers was to do certain things. It was the Prime Minister who acted as the channel of communication between the Crown and the Parliament. Thus another characteristic feature of the Cabinet System was evolved – The ascendancy of the Prime Minister. All the members of the Cabinet usually held the same political opinions and this came into existence when the Hanoverians were given only the gist of what had happened at the Cabinet meetings

by Robert Walpole, George's Chief Adviser. Walpole saw to it that all differences were kept back from the King. The differences of the opinions of the ministers were not made known to the public either. The Political Homogeneity of the Cabinet was evolved mainly because of the masterful nature of Walpole. The Cabinet during the time of the Hanoverians did not depend on the Kings for existence but on the support of the majority of the Parliament. Thus was evolved another feature of the Cabinet system – the joint responsibility of the ministry of the House of Commons. The members of the Cabinet were answerable to the House for every policy they adopted and every action they took. They held their office so long as they commanded the majority and the confidence of the House of Commons. When they ceased to have it, by convention they resigned.

Robert Walpole

The English statesman Robert Walpole, 1st Earl of Orford (1676-1745), was the first minister to maintain continuing support for royal government by exercising both careful use of Crown patronage and untiring leadership in the House of Commons. Robert Walpole entered political life during the turbulent era of party strife that marked the reigns of William III and Anne. Walpole dominated English politics from 1722 to 1742, and when he departed from political life, Britain enjoyed the benefits of stable government. This change was in large measure a fruit of his efforts.

The son of a leading Norfolk squire, Walpole was born at Houghton, the family seat, on Aug. 26, 1676. After Eton he attended King's College, Cambridge, but had to withdraw to manage the family estate. He first entered the House of Commons in 1701 as member for Castle Rising, his deceased father's seat; the following year he stood successfully for King's Lynn, which he represented for the rest of his career. A blunt, cheerful man, adept at parliamentary business and impressive in debate, he quickly made his mark in the Commons. In 1708 he was appointed war secretary and in 1710 treasurer of the navy.

Walpole and the Whigs

From the outset Walpole was firmly attached to the Whig party, a party pledged to continue the war against France; when war weariness eroded its strength in 1710, he suffered accordingly. By 1711 he was out of office—not merely dismissed, but subjected to an investigation of his War Office dealings. After voting him guilty of shaking down several forage contractors, the House expelled him in 1712 and sent him to the Tower. His guilt cannot be doubted. Yet, by the standards of the time the crime was not serious, and his conduct was not censured by his friends. Indeed, he became a Whig martyr. Like the voters of King's Lynn, who reelected their imprisoned candidate, he judged himself a victim of party malice and he vowed revenge.

Walpole's fortunes rose when George I's accession restored the power of the Whig party. Walpole became paymaster general of the forces. The job offered manifold opportunities for self-enrichment, and he made the most of them. Indeed, throughout his career he used public office for personal gain, and the results, if not the precise methods, were plainly visible: he lived high, indulged his wife's expensive whims, rebuilt Houghton on a grand scale, poured

money into his London town house, and assembled a magnificent art collection. But power, not wealth, was the main object of his driving ambition. In 1715 he entered the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer and first lord of the Treasury, thus acquiring command of a vast resource of patronage. He did not have it long, because neither he nor his ally and brother-in-law, Lord Townshend, who was a secretary of state, were in close touch with George I. Isolated from the court when the King visited Hanover, they could not answer the accusations of their enemies, and by April 1717 Townshend and Walpole felt obliged to resign.

Attainment of Power

At once, and with no qualms about using Tory support, Walpole launched a vigorous opposition. His object was not to oust the King's ministers but to make political management so difficult for them that they would have to take him back. He would demonstrate that no government could long ignore an aroused House of Commons. Indeed, the success of the strategy he developed in his 4-year struggle to regain the Treasury stood as an object lesson for 18th-century politicians.

Walpole's first step was to stir up the Commons. A talented debater, expert in government business, he spoke often and with telling authority. Attacking abuses in the army and probing the Hanoverian basis of foreign policy, he played on the suspicions of independent minded gentlemen in the Commons. In 1719 a pet Cabinet measure, the Peerage Bill, was sent down to defeat. This was not enough; Walpole also needed acceptance at court. To gain influence over the mind of the Prince of Wales, he developed an intimate friendship with the princess. By bribing George I's most trusted mistress, he established a line of communication with the King. Thus, in 1720 he could offer George I, who hated his son and had openly quarreled with him, the prince's submission. He could also offer safe passage through Parliament of funds to meet the Civil List debt. These were tempting offers, and no one but Walpole could make good on them. The King's ministers, shaken by their defeat on the Peerage Bill, agreed to take him back, and he again became paymaster general.

The leading ministers in 1720 were Lord Sunderland and Lord Stanhope. Although Walpole had joined their government, they remained his rivals, and his indispensability would depend on their need for his skills. The need soon arose. When the "South Sea Bubble" burst, the cries of the wounded echoed in the Commons. The opposition wanted blood, and the leading ministers, having accepted free options on South Sea shares, were deeply implicated. Walpole, newly in office, was clear of the scandal. He could have sided with the opposition and brought the government down. It would have meant political chaos—a mixed ministry containing unruly dissidents. He sided instead with the men in power and then he labored to screen Sunderland and Stanhope from the attacks. It was a supreme test of his talents and his courage. Patiently he answered the government's critics in the Commons. His reward was the Treasury, once again, in 1721. It was, however, luck—the deaths within a year of Stanhope and Sunderland—that accounted for the speed with which he became the King's leading minister, because George I had not yet learned to trust him.

Walpole's Policy

Walpole dominated British government for 20 years, from 1722 to 1742. He may be considered the first "prime minister," but in those days the title implied an unwarranted usurpation of royal authority, so Walpole disclaimed it. His long supremacy stemmed from his unwavering dedication to the task of governing and from the willingness of the first two Georges to avoid wild adventures in politics. He never took royal confidence for granted.

To an unprecedented degree, Walpole mobilized Crown patronage for the purpose of obtaining majorities in Parliament. Allying himself with powerful aristocrats, such as the Duke of Newcastle, he melded their influence and patronage with that of the Crown. He refused a peerage during active political life (while accepting one for his son), being the first leading minister to perceive the necessity of forceful defense of policy in the House of Commons. There the same talents that he had formerly employed to incite, he now used to calm. His object was always to win over the independent-minded gentlemen. Drawing on his vast knowledge of affairs, he regularly exhibited to them the reasonableness of government policy. As the years passed, his foreign policy was increasingly adjusted to the wishes of such men. They hated military involvement on the Continent and the high taxes that war meant. Walpole gave them peace, and he tried to limit diplomatic commitments. In order to reduce the land tax, which the independent squires of the Commons hated, he was prepared to increase the amounts raised by excise taxes, which hit the lower orders of society. Walpole did not care about the lower orders. When his excise scheme gave rise to a popular uproar in 1733, he ignored the London mob as best he could; although he backed down and withdrew his bill, it was because he feared the way in which the uproar was being used by ambitious men to undermine his position at court and in the House of Lords.

But Walpole was never ruled by ideals or hatreds. Like most successful politicians, he dealt with problems immediately before him and sought the least troublesome solutions. Truthfully he said, "I am no saint, no Spartan, no reformer." At length Walpole's power waned. The death of Queen Caroline rendered his influence at court less secure. When William Pitt the Elder and the Patriots excited the Commons by clamoring for war with Spain, Walpole proved unable to calm either the House or his colleague the Duke of Newcastle, and war was allowed to begin in 1739. By 1742 Walpole no longer commanded the situation, and he resigned. A grateful George II created him Earl of Orford. He died on March 18, 1745, and was buried at Houghton.

The American War of Independence

In the Stuart period twelve colonies were established in America. The first settlement was made in Jamestown in 1607. The next American colony was formed by religious exiles from England. Early in James I's reign a few puritans, mainly from Lincolnshire, disgusted with their treatment in England, left England and sought refuge in Holland. After some years some of these Englishmen decided to immigrate to North America. They were joined by other puritans from England and these Pilgrim Fathers, as they were later called, left Plymouth in the May Flower in September 1620. The first township which they established in America was called Plymouth. Later, various other colonies were found. They were Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Hampshire. The whole group came to be known as New England. The colony of Maryland was founded in 1634 and named after Charles I's wife. In Charles II's reign North and South Carolina were founded. The Dutch colonies like New

York, New Jersey and Delaware also were captured by the English. Pennsylvania was also established in the seventeenth century. The last of the colonies, Georgia was founded in 1732 under George II.

The colonists always had grievances on account on account of the commercial policy of Britain. The Home government discouraged the manufacture of goods in the colonies that could be made in England. The various Navigation Acts put restraints on the colonies. Things like sugar, tobacco, cotton, etc might not be manufactured by the colonists. Colonial trade was to be carried out only in English ships or the built by the colonists. Export and import were to be carried on only via Britain. The Navigation Acts were also resented but the colonists did not care much for them. However, when George III became the monarch, his ministers insisted on the strict observation of these acts and often quarrel was inevitable.

The overthrow of the French power in Canada was a turning point in the history of the American colonies. The trouble began after the end of the Seven Years War (1757-63). Canada, a French colony, was handed over to Britain after the seven years war. The colonists, so far, had been patient as they knew that if the British were driven out the French would attack them. The British government decided to send an army of ten thousand men to garrison the colonies. The home government naturally expected the colonists to assist in the cost of the upkeep of the force provided for their security. A Stamp Act was introduced by Grenville, the then Prime Minister of Britain. It said that the colonists must pay a tax on every legal document by purchasing and affixing a stamp in proportion to the cost of the paper or the value of the transaction. The colonists flatly refused to pay the tax. Their objection was to be principle behind the taxation. The slogan they raised was "No taxation without representation". The New England colonies protested vehemently; persons appointed to sell the stamps were mobbed and legal transactions were brought to a standstill. Associations were formed to protest. They also decided not to buy or sell British goods. Some eminent statesmen of Britain also were opposed to the Stamp Act and ultimately the government repealed it. For the next few years all was quiet on the American front.

Charles Townshend, the young Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Chatham ministry stood up trouble again by imposing taxes on articles like tea, glass and paper taken to the colonies. At this the Assembly of Massachusetts drew up a letter which they sent to all other colonies suggesting that they should unite in common action against the government of King George III. The British government called upon the leaders in Massachusetts to withdraw this circular. When they refused, the Government sent two regiments of soldiers to Boston, the capital of the colony. Soon, disorder broke out and some soldiers were killed. 'The Boston Massacre', as the Americans called it, was followed by the withdrawal of all duties except that on tea. In 1773, a Cargo of tea arrived at Boston harbour and a party of colonists, disguised as Red Indians, boarded the ship and threw off all the chests of tea into the water. Parliament at Westminster replied to the Boston Tea Party by closing the harbour at Boston to commence and by depriving Massachusetts of its self-government. Instead of surrendering themselves to the home government, the colonists held a meeting of delegates from all the colonies except Georgia in the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia. It recommended a policy of non-intercourse with Great Britain until the colonists had recovered their 'just rights and liberties'. In Many 1775 the colonists declared war against Great Britain and appointed George Washington as Commander of the American army. Britain then sent a force of twenty thousand men to put don the rebellion. Thus began the American War of Independence which was a war for both political and economic liberty.

To conduct a campaign three thousand miles away in a country thousand miles long and covered with forest was for Great Britain a difficult task. The Americans were helped by the French and they were fighting in their own territory. The British underestimated their enemy and fought the war in a half-hearted manner. They also failed to produce a competent general who would be a match for Washington, a man who was untiring in organization and persistently courageous and steadfast even in the darkest periods of war. On July 4th, 1776 the colonists issued a Declaration of Independence which stated the "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states". The war, however, continued for some more years. Britain found itself at war with not only America but also France, Spain and Holland. In 1781, a British army under Lord Cornwallis was trapped at Yorktown in Virginia and surrendered to Washington. This practically ended the war of American Independence. In 1783, Britain and all the other European powers formally recognized the Independence of the thirteen colonies by the Treaty of Versailles which brought the close of the war.

The war ended officially; still the colonists did not have a central government to hold them together. They did not have even a desire for union among themselves. However, some of the leading Americans decided that something should be done to create a government that would gain the respect of the world. In 1787 a new body called the Convention made up of representatives of all the states met at Philadelphia and after much discussion agreed on a plan of common government which was formulated as the Constitution of the United States of America. This constitution established a republic at the head of which there was to be an elected President who was to hold office for four years. George Washington was chosen as the first President of the United States.

In Britain the loss of the colonies in America ended the personal rule of George III. This defeat dealt a staggering blow at the old colonial policy. The Americans continued to trade with the mother country without much regulation. The result was that British commerce with America doubled in the years following the war. The futility of commercial regulations was shown to the world and an era of free trade followed. The American war provided the French with inspiration and the French peasants fought against feudal oppression of their lords. The French Revolution of 1789 was actually the child of the American War of Independence.

Thomas Paine (1737-1809)

Thomas Paine was born on 29 January 1737 at Thetford, Norfolk. He was the son of Joseph Paine, by his wife Frances (Cocke). The father was a freeman of Thetford, a staymaker, and a small farmer. He was a member of the Society of Friends, who had a small meeting-house at Thetford. The mother belonged to the Church of England; and though the register, which is defective at the time of Paine's birth, does not record his baptism, his sister was baptised in 1738, and Paine was himself subsequently confirmed. Paine's father was registered as a Quaker at his death, and the son, as he often avows, was much influenced by Quaker principles. He was sent to the grammar school, but did not learn Latin, on account, he says, of the objections of the Quakers to the Latin books used at school. He showed mathematical ability, and 'rather repressed than encouraged' a turn for poetry. At the age of thirteen Paine was put to his father's business. The usher at the school had told him stories of life at sea, and Paine tells us in his *Rights of Man* that he joined a privateer when 'little more than sixteen.' He entered on board the *Terrible*, commanded by Captain Death, but was brought back by his father's remonstrances. He afterwards, however, went to sea in the King of Prussia. War with

France was declared 28 May 1756, and the Terrible was taken in action 28 December Paine must therefore have been nineteen at the time of these adventures.

He soon returned to staymaking. He worked for two years in London, and (at this period or in 1766-7) showed his scientific taste by buying a pair of globes and attending the lectures of the self-taught men of science, Benjamin Martin and James Ferguson (1710-1776). He also became known to the astronomer John Bevis. In 1758 he moved to Dover, and in April 1759 set up as a staymaker at Sandwich. On 17 September 1759 he married Mary Lambert. His business was unsuccessful, and he moved to Margate, where his wife died in 1760.

Paine now managed to obtain an appointment in the excise. He returned to Thetford in July 1761, where he was a supernumerary officer. In December 1762 he was sent to Grantham and in August 1764 to Alford. His salary was £50 a year, on which he had to keep a horse. On 27 August 1765 he was discharged for neglect of duty by entering in his books examinations which had not been actually made. On 3 July 1766 he wrote an apologetic letter to the board of excise begging to be restored, and on 4 July it was ordered that he should be restored 'on a proper vacancy.' Meanwhile he worked for a time as a staymaker at Diss in Norfolk. He was then employed as usher, first by a Mr. Noble in Goodman's Fields, and afterwards by a Mr. Gardiner at Kensington. Oldys, a hostile biographer, reports that he preached about this time in Moorfields, and that he made some applications for ordination in the Church of England. He was appointed excise officer at Grampond, Cornwall on 15 May 1767, but asked leave to wait for another vacancy, and on 19 February 1768 was appointed to Lewes in Sussex. He lodged with a Quaker tobacconist named Samuel Ollive; here he became the friend of Thomas 'Clio' Rickman, afterwards his biographer.

Rickman describes him as a strong Whig, and a member of a club which met at the White Hart. Paine was an eager and obstinate debater, and wrote humorous and political poems; one upon the death of Wolfe became popular, and was published by him in his magazine at Philadelphia. On 26 March 1771 he married Elizabeth, daughter of his landlord, Ollive, who had died in 1769. Mrs. Paine and her mother, who had carried on the tobacco business, opened a grocer's shop with Paine's help. In 1772 the excisemen were agitating for a rise in their salaries; they collected money, and employed Paine to draw up a statement of their grievances, and to agitate in London. Four thousand copies of Paine's tract were printed. He distributed them to members of parliament and others, and sent one, with a letter asking for a personal interview, to Goldsmith. The agitation failed, and soon afterwards, on 8 April 1774, he was dismissed from the excise. Oldys says that he had dealt in smuggled tobacco, but the official document states simply that he had left his business without leave, and gone off on account of debts. His share in the agitation would not tend to recommend him to the board, although, according to Oldys, one of the commissioners, G. L. Scott, had been pleased by his manners, and tried to protect him. His debts were discharged by the sale of his goods, but a petition for replacement in his office was disregarded.

On 4 June 1774 a deed of separation was signed by Paine and his wife. Paine declined to explain the cause of this trouble when Rickman spoke to him, and it remains unknown. Rickman declares, however, that Paine always spoke tenderly of his wife, and sent her money without letting her know whence it came. A letter published by Oldys from his mother to his wife, and dated 27 July 1774, speaks bitterly of his 'undutiful' behaviour to his parents, and of his 'secreting £30 entrusted to him' by the excisemen. The letter was produced with a view to

injuring Paine by Oldys, and is not beyond suspicion. It was published, however, when Paine might have challenged it. Oldys says that the mother was eccentric and of 'sour temper,' and Paine, though speaking affectionately of his father, never refers to her. Paine's wife, from whom the letter must have come, survived till 1808; and it is stated in a deed of 1800 that she did not know whether her husband was alive or dead.

Paine went to London. G. L. Scott, according to Oldys, introduced him to Franklin, to whom he might also have become known through his scientific friends. Franklin gave him a letter, dated 30 September 1774, to Bache (Franklin's son-in-law), describing him as an 'ingenious, worthy young man,' and suggesting that he might be helped to employment as clerk, surveyor, or usher. Paine reached America on 30 November 1774, and obtained many friends at Philadelphia through Franklin's introduction. He became connected with Robert Aitkin, a bookseller in Philadelphia, who was anxious to start a magazine. The first number of this, the *Pennsylvania Magazine or American Museum*, appeared at the end of January 1775. Paine contributed from the first, and soon afterwards became editor, with a salary of £50 a year. He wrote articles attacking slavery and complaining of the inferior position of women, and others showing his republican tendencies. He made acquaintance with Dr. Rush, who had already written against slavery. Rush claims to have suggested Paine's next performance.

The first blood of the American war was shed in the skirmish at Lexington on 19 April 1775, and Paine resolved to express the sentiment, which had long been growing up, though hitherto not avowed, in favour of independence of the colonies. Paine had already spoken out in a letter to the *Pennsylvania Journal*, signed 'Humanus' (18 October 1775). In the same month Franklin had suggested that he should prepare a history of the transactions which had led to the war. Paine was already at work upon a pamphlet, which he showed to Rush and a few friends. Bell, a Scottish bookseller, ventured to print it, other publishers having declined; and it appeared as *Common Sense* on 10 January 1776. Friends and enemies agree in ascribing to it an unexampled effect. In a letter dated 8 April following, Paine says that 120,000 copies had been sold. He fixed the price so low that he was finally in debt to the publisher. The pamphlet was anonymous, and was at first attributed to Franklin, John Adams, and others, though the authorship was soon known. A controversy followed in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, in which Paine, under the signature 'Forester,' defended himself against 'Cato,' the Rev. William Smith, Tory president of the University of Philadelphia.

Paine thus became famous. He was known to Jefferson, and is supposed by Mr. Conway to have written the suppressed clause against the slave trade in the Declaration of Independence. He resigned his magazine, and joined the provincial army in the autumn of 1776. After a short service under Roberdeau, he was appointed in September a volunteer aide-de-camp to General Nathaniel Greene, then at Fort Lee on the Hudson. In November the fort was surprised, and Paine was in the retreat to Newark. At Newark Paine began writing his *Crisis*. It appeared on 19 December in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, and began with the often-quoted words, 'These are the times that try men's souls.' It was read at every corporal's guard in the army, and received with enthusiasm.

On 21 January 1777 Paine was appointed secretary to a commission sent by congress to treat with the Indians at Easton, Pennsylvania; and on 17 April he was made secretary to the committee of foreign affairs. On 26 September Philadelphia was occupied by the British forces, and congress had to seek refuge elsewhere. On 10 October Paine was requested to

undertake the transmission of intelligence between congress and Washington's army. A letter to Franklin of 16 May 1778 describes his motions at this time. Paine, after sending off his papers, was present at several military operations, and distinguished himself by carrying a message in an open boat under a cannonade from the British fleet. He divided his time between Washington's headquarters at Valley Forge and York, where the congress was sitting. He published eight *Crises* during 1777 and 1778. The British army evacuated Philadelphia in June 1778, and Paine returned thither with the congress. The *Crises*, vigorously written to keep up the spirits of the Americans, had additional authority from his official position.

In January 1779 Paine got into trouble. The French government had adopted the scheme suggested by Beaumarchais for supplying funds to the insurgents under cover of an ostensible commercial transaction. The precise details are matter of controversy. The American commissioners, Silas Deane, Franklin, and Arthur Lee, had written from Paris stating that no repayment would be required for the sum advanced. Beaumarchais, however, sent an agent to congress demanding payment of his bill; and Deane was thereupon recalled to America to give explanations. Deane was suspected of complicity with Beaumarchais, and made an unsatisfactory statement to congress. He published a paper, appealing to the people, and taking credit for having obtained supplies. Paine, who had seen the official despatches, replied in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of 15 December 1779, declaring (truly) that the matter had been in train before Deane was sent to France, and in a later letter intimated that the supplies were sent gratuitously by the French government. This was to reveal the secret which the French, although now the open allies of the Americans, desired to conceal. The French minister, Gérard, therefore appealed to congress, who were bound to confirm his statement that the alliance had not been preceded by a gratuitous supply.

Paine, ordered to appear before congress, was only permitted to say 'Yes' in answer to the question whether he was the author of letters signed *Common Sense*. He offered his resignation on 6 January 1779, and applied for leave to justify himself. He desired to prove that Deane was a 'rascal,' and had a private 'unwarrantable connection' with members of the house. The letters were suppressed; and though a motion for dismissing him was not carried, the states being equally divided, he resigned his post. Gérard, according to his despatches, fearing that Paine would 'seek to avenge himself with his characteristic impetuosity and impudence,' offered to pay him one thousand dollars yearly to defend the French alliance in the press. Paine, he adds, accepted the offer, and began his functions. Afterwards, however, Paine's work proved unsatisfactory, and Gérard engaged other writers. Paine stated in the following autumn that Gérard had made him such an offer, but that he had at once declined to accept anything but the minister's 'esteem'. Paine's conduct in the affair was apparently quite honourable, though certainly very indiscreet. Deane was dishonest, and Paine was denouncing a job. The revelation was not inconsistent with the oath which he had taken to disclose nothing 'which he shall be directed to keep secret;' but it showed a very insufficient appreciation of the difference between the duty of a journalist and of a public official. Discretion was never one of Paine's qualities.

Paine, who had published his *Crises*, like his *Common Sense*, at prices too low to be remunerative, was now in difficulties. His salary, which had been only seventy dollars a month, had hitherto supported him, and he was now obliged to become a clerk in the office of Owen Biddle. He appealed to the executive council of Pennsylvania to help him towards a proposed collection of his works. He asked for a loan of £1,500 for a year, when he would be

able to propose a publication by subscription. The council asked Gérard whether he would be offended by their employing Paine. He replied in the negative, though making some complaints of Paine's conduct.

On 2 November 1779 the Pennsylvania assembly appointed Paine their clerk, and in that capacity he wrote a preamble to the act for the abolition of slavery in the state, which was passed on 1 March 1780. He published three more *Crises* in the course of this year. On 4 July the University of Pennsylvania gave him the degree of M.A. The financial position of the insurgents was becoming almost desperate, and Washington addressed a letter to the assembly, speaking of the dangerous state of feeling in the army. Paine had to read it, and he suggested next day a voluntary subscription. He drew his own salary, amounting to £1,699 1s. 6d., and started the subscription with a sum of five hundred dollars. Mr. Conway gives accounts according to which Paine received over £5,500 between November 1779 and June 1780; but the currency was so depreciated that the true value cannot be inferred, and pounds seem to be confused with dollars. A subscription was raised of £400 'hard money' and £101,360 'continental.' At a meeting held soon afterwards it was decided to abandon this plan and form a bank, which was of service in the autumn, and led in the next spring to the constitution, by Robert Morris of the Bank of North America. Paine published at the end of the year a pamphlet called *Public Good* in opposition to the claims of Virginia to the north-western territory. After the war a motion in the Virginian legislature to reward Paine for his services was lost on account of this performance.

Paine resigned his position as clerk at the end of the year, stating his intention to devote himself to a history of the revolution. He had also a scheme for going to England, where he imagined he could open the eyes of his countrymen to the folly of continuing the struggle by a pamphlet as effective as *Common Sense*. Congress now resolved to make an application to the French government for a loan, and entrusted the mission to Colonel Laurens, an aide-de-camp of Washington. Laurens took Paine as his secretary, Paine intending to make his expedition to England after completing the business. They sailed from Boston in February 1781, and had a favourable reception in France. Paine was persuaded to give up the English plan, and returned with Laurens in a French frigate, reaching Boston on 25 August 1781, with 2,500,000 livres in silver, besides military stores. Sixteen ox teams were sent with the money to Philadelphia. Washington was meanwhile advancing with Rochambeau upon Yorktown, and the surrender of Cornwallis ended the campaign. He had to obtain a loan from Rochambeau, which was repaid from the money brought by Laurens. Paine refers to this mission in his published *Letter to Washington*, 1796.

In 1808 he asked a reward from congress, claiming to have made the original suggestion of applying for a loan, and stating that the advance upon Yorktown was only made possible by the money obtained. Americans were probably capable of asking for loans without Paine's suggestion. On the virtual conclusion of the war, Paine appealed to Washington for some recognition of his services, and stated that he thought of retiring to France or Holland. At the suggestion of Washington, Robert Morris, and Livingston (10 February 1782), a salary of eight hundred dollars was allowed to him from the secret service money in order to enable him to write. He received one year's salary under this arrangement, and wrote five more *Crises* in 1782. The last appeared on 19 April 1783, the eighth anniversary of Lexington.

Paine took part in a controversy excited by the refusal of Rhode Island to join in imposing a continental duty upon imports, and was present at discussions with a view to the formation of a stronger union. He was not proposed for the convention elected in 1787 to frame the constitution of the United States. Paine had retired to a small house at Bordentown, New Jersey, on the east bank of the Delaware, and was devoting himself to mechanical contrivances. In 1784 the state of New York presented to him the estate of New Rochelle, of about 277 acres, the confiscated property of a loyalist. Washington wrote letters on his behalf, Pennsylvania voted £500 to him in December, and congress in October 1785 gave him three thousand dollars.

Paine, at the beginning of 1786, wrote his *Dissertations*, mainly in defence of the Bank of North America. He was now, however, devoting himself to an invention for an iron bridge. He consulted Franklin, and his plans were considered by a committee of the Pennsylvania assembly, who were proposing a bridge over the Schuylkill. At the end of March 1787 he wrote to Franklin that he intended to go to Europe with the model of his bridge, and was anxious to see his parents. He sailed in April, went to Paris, where he was received as a distinguished guest, and laid his model before the academy of sciences. In August he reached London. His father, who had shortly before written an affectionate letter to him, had died in 1786; but he went to Thetford, where his mother was still living, and made her an allowance of 9s. a week. She died in May 1790.

Paine had brought to London some papers, approved by Cardinal de Brienne, in favour of friendly relations between France and England, and presented it to Burke. The real purpose of this overture is explained by a pamphlet called *Prospects on the Rubicon*, which Paine published on his arrival. The French were in close alliance with the Dutch Republican Party; but the Prussians intervened in the autumn to support the stadtholder, who represented the opposite politics. Pitt made a secret treaty with the King of Prussia, and was prepared to support him if necessary in a war with France. Paine's pamphlet is directed against Pitt's scheme, and insists chiefly upon the incapacity of England to stand another French war. De Brienne naturally wished to stimulate the English opposition against Pitt's policy, which, however, succeeded, as the French shrank from war. Paine thus became known to Burke, Fox, the Duke of Portland, and other Whig politicians. He employed himself, however, chiefly upon his bridge, the construction of which was undertaken by Messrs. Walker of Rotherham, Yorkshire. It was brought to London and set up in June 1790 at leasing (now Paddington) Green for exhibition. The failure of an American merchant, Whiteside, who had some interest in the speculation, caused Paine's arrest for debt, but he managed to pay the money. The bridge was finally broken up in 1791. The first attempt at an iron bridge was made at Lyons in 1755, but it failed. In 1779 the first iron bridge, constructed by Abraham Darby, was opened at Coalbrookdale. According to Mr. Smiles, the bridge over the Wear at Sunderland, opened in 1796, was constructed from the materials of Paine's bridge, and his designs were adopted with some modification. The credit has also been given to Rowland Burdon, who actually executed the plan. It would seem that, in any case, Paine's scheme must have helped to suggest the work. He wrote about other scientific projects to Jefferson, and had a strong taste for mechanical inventions. But his attention was diverted to other interests.

In the early part of 1790 Paine was in Paris, where he was entrusted by Lafayette with the key of the Bastille for transmission to Washington. In November appeared Burke's *Reflexions on the Revolution*, and Paine immediately replied by the first part of the *Rights of Man*.

Johnson, the radical publisher, had undertaken it, but became frightened after a few copies had been issued with his name, and handed it over to Jordan. Paine went over to Paris, leaving his book to the care of Godwin, Holcroft, and Brand Holles. It appeared 13 March 1791, and succeeded rapidly. Paine, writing to Washington on 2 July 1791, to whom the book was dedicated, says that he has sold over eleven thousand out of sixteen thousand copies printed. It was reprinted in America with a preface, stating that it was approved by 'the secretary of state' - i.e. Jefferson. Jefferson and Mallison made some attempt to secure a place in the cabinet for Paine. The federalists disapproved. Washington replied diplomatically to Paine's letter, and 'Publicola,' who was supposed to be John Adams, and was really his son, John Quincy Adams, attacked him in the *Columbian Sentinel*.

Paine went to Paris directly after the publication, and gave the work to Lanthenas for translation. He was present at the return of the king from the flight to Varennes on 26 June, and was assailed by the crowd for not having a cockade in his hat. He was one of five who formed themselves into the Société Républicaine. Condorcet, and probably Brissot, published a placard on 1 July suggesting the abolition of monarchy, and started *Le Républicain*, a journal of which only one number appeared, containing a letter from Paine. Paine returned to London, but abstained from attending a meeting to celebrate the fall of the Bastille for fear of compromising supporters. Another meeting was to be held on 4 August to celebrate the abolition of feudal rights in France. The landlord of the Crown and Anchor closed his doors. A meeting was then held at the Thatched House tavern on 20 August, and a manifesto, signed by Horne Tooke as chairman, and written by Paine, was issued, expressing sympathy with the French revolution and demanding reforms in England.

Paine lodged with his friend Rickman, a bookseller, and met many of the reformers: Lord Edward FitzGerald, Mary Wollstonecraft, Sharp the engraver, Romney, 'Walking' Stewart, Horne Tooke, and others, are mentioned by Rickman. He was toasted by the societies which were beginning to spring up; and began the second part of the *Rights of Man*. His printer, Chapman, became alarmed, and handed over the sheets which he had printed to Jordan. Paine also gave a note to Jordan (dated 16 February 1792). In it Jordan was directed, if questioned by any one in authority, to give Paine's name as author and publisher. On 14 May Jordan received a summons; he pleaded guilty, and gave up his papers. Paine was summoned on 21 May. He wrote to the attorney-general stating that he was prepared to meet the case fully, and had ordered his attorney to put in an appearance. He appeared in court on 8 June, when the trial was postponed to December. He also published letters to Dundas (6 June), to Lord Onslow (17 and 21 June), who had summoned a county meeting at Epsom, and to the sheriff of Sussex (20 June), who had summoned a meeting at Lewes. He spoke at a meeting of the 'Friends of the People' on 12 September. His friends heard that he would be arrested for his speech. The next evening he was at the house of Johnson, the publisher, when William Blake told him that he would be a dead man if he went home. He started at once with John Frost (1750-1842), who took him by a circuitous route to Dover. They were searched by the custom-house officer, upon whom Paine made an impression by a letter from Washington, and were allowed to sail, twenty minutes before a warrant for Paine's arrest arrived from London.

The attorney-general, Archibald Macdonald, explained in the trial that he had not prosecuted the first part, because he thought that it would only reach the 'judicious reader.' The second had been industriously circulated in all shapes and sizes, even as a wrapper for

‘children's sweetmeats.’ It was said, in fact, that two hundred thousand copies had been circulated by 1793. The real reasons were obvious. The respectable classes had taken alarm at the events in France. The old and new Whigs had fallen out, and the reforming societies were becoming numerous. The ‘Society for Constitutional Information,’ of which Horne Tooke was the leading member, thanked Paine on the appearance of each part of his book. The ‘Corresponding Society,’ formed at the beginning of 1792, and affiliated to the ‘Constitutional,’ with numerous other societies which now sprang up throughout the country, joined in commending Paine's books, and circulated copies in all directions. The *Rights of Man* was thus adopted as the manifesto of the party which sympathised with the French revolution. Although they disavowed all intentions of violence, the governing classes suspected them of Jacobinism, and a prosecution of Paine was inevitable. Paine on 4 July handed over £1,000, produced by the sale of the *Rights of Man* to the Constitutional Society. Chapman had offered him successively £100, £500 and £1,000 for the second part at different stages of the publication, but Paine preferred to keep the book in his own hands. It was suggested that the money was really to be paid by government with a view to suppressing the book. It is, however, highly improbable that government would guarantee to pay hush-money with so little security for permanent effect. The trial took place on 18 December 1792. Paine wrote a letter from Paris on 11 November 1792 to the attorney-general, saying that he had business of too much importance to be present, and cared nothing for the result. He suggested that the attorney-general and ‘Mr. Guelph’ [the king] might take warning from the examples made of similar persons in France. Erskine, who defended him, tried to treat this letter as a forgery, but conviction, if before doubtful, became now inevitable.

Several prosecutions for publishing or circulating the *Rights of Man* followed in 1793, as the alarm in England became more intense. Paine was welcomed enthusiastically in France. On 26 August the title of French citizen had been conferred upon him and other celebrities by the national assembly. On 6 September he was elected by the Pas de Calais a member of the convention. The departments of Oise and Puy de Dôme also elected him. Paine was met by salutes and public addresses, and on 19 September reached Paris. He appeared that night at the national assembly. Frost reports next day that Paine was in good spirits, though ‘rather fatigued by the kissing.’ On 21 September the abolition of royalty was decreed, and on 11 October a committee was appointed to frame a constitution, which included Paine. Brissot, another member, had already become known to him in America. The king's trial was now the absorbing question. Paine published several papers on the subject. He was unable to speak French, but gave in translations of his addresses. He voted for the ‘detention of Louis during the war, and his perpetual banishment afterwards.’

He suggested that the United States might be the ‘guard and the asylum of Louis Capet [Louis XVI], and urged, on the final vote for immediate execution, that the United States would be offended by the death of their benefactor. Paine's courage exposed him to the denunciations of Marat, but his friends, the Girondists, were not yet crushed. Paine used his influence to obtain the release of a Captain Grimston, by whom he had been struck at a restaurant; and another instance of his interference on behalf of an arrested person is told by Landor. The constitution framed by the committee was ready during the winter, but postponed by the influence of the Jacobins, and, though adopted by the convention in June, never came into operation. Paine co-operated in forming it with Condorcet, and was instructed to prepare, with Condorcet and others, an address to the people of England. The fall of the Girondins put an end to this and to Paine's influence. He had been denounced by Marat for his attempt to

save the king's life, and gave some evidence at Marat's trial in April. On 20 April, during the crisis of the struggle, he wrote to Jefferson expressing despondency, and saying that he meant to return to America when the constitution was settled.

Paine, however, was not personally involved in the catastrophe which befell the Girondists in June. He was greatly depressed, and for a time sought for consolation in brandy. He lodged in a house which had formerly belonged to Mme. de Pompadour, saw a few friends, and rarely visited the convention. He now occupied himself in writing his *Age of Reason*. He had just finished the first part when he was arrested on 27 December 1793. His arrest was caused by certain intrigues of the American minister, Gouverneur Morris. Morris was hostile to the revolution, and desired to break off the French alliance for the United States. Certain American ships had been detained at Bordeaux, and when their captains appealed to Morris, he was slow to interfere in such a way as to remove their grievance. They applied to Paine, who suggested a petition to congress, which succeeded. Morris thought that Paine was intriguing against him, and intimated to a French official his objections to an influence 'coming from the other side of the Channel.' Shortly afterwards Paine was denounced in the convention (3 October), and in December it was decreed that 'foreigners should be excluded from public functions during the war;' and Paine, thus excluded from the convention, was considered liable to arrest under a previous law as citizen of a country at war with France.

Some Americans resident in Paris petitioned for Paine's release, but received an evasive answer. Paine applied to Morris, who made, in consequence, a very formal and lukewarm remonstrance. Paine in vain requested a further 'reclamation.' He remained in prison, and Robespierre made a memorandum for his trial. He seems to have been marked for execution by the committee of public safety, during their struggle with Robespierre, and thinks that he owed his escape to a fever which made him unconscious for a month. He also says that a chalk-mark placed against the door of his room as a signal for the guillotine escaped notice by an accident. After the death of Robespierre, appeals were made to Merlin de Thionville by Lanthenas, who had translated the *Age of Reason*; and Paine himself wrote to the committee of public safety and to the convention. Monroe had arrived in Paris as Morris's successor in August. Upon hearing of this, Paine sent him a memorial, to which Monroe replied cordially; Monroe claimed Paine as a citizen of the United States, in a letter (2 November 1794) to the 'committee of general surety,' and Paine was immediately set free, after an imprisonment of over ten months. He had employed part of the time in the composition of the second part of the *Age of Reason*.

Paine became the guest of Monroe, and was restored to the convention. On 3 January 1795 he was first on a list of persons recommended for pensions on account of literary services. He did not accept the offer. The convention declined to sanction a proposal from Monroe that Paine should be employed on a mission to America. He was still in bad health, but on 7 July was present at the convention, when the secretary read a speech of his protesting against the limitation of the franchise to direct taxpayers. This was also the subject of his pamphlet on *The first Principles of Government*, published in July. Paine was naturally aggrieved by the neglect of the American government to interfere on his behalf. He wrote a reproachful letter to Washington on 22 February 1795, which he suppressed at Monroe's request. On 20 September he wrote another, calling upon Washington to clear himself from the charge of 'treachery;' and, having received no answer to this, he wrote and published a letter, dated 3 August 1796. It is a long and bitter attack upon Washington's military career, as well as upon his policy as

president. Paine's very intelligible resentment at Morris's inaction is some palliation, though not an adequate excuse.

Paine's *Age of Reason* had strengthened the feeling against him in England. Thomas Williams was convicted for the publication in June 1797, when Paine published a vigorous letter to Erskine, who was counsel for the prosecution. During the following years the publication of Paine's books in England was a service of danger, and by all the respectable writers he was treated as the typical 'devil's advocate.' Paine remained at Paris till the peace of Amiens. He stayed with Monroe for a year and a half. In 1831 a sum of \$1,118 was paid to Monroe by act of congress for moneys paid to Paine or on his account.

After finishing the second part of the *Age of Reason*, Paine had a severe relapse in the autumn of 1795. Early in 1796 he went into the country to recover his health, and in April published a pamphlet against the *English System of Finance*. Cobbett, who had fiercely attacked Paine, and in his earlier writings defended Washington against him, became the panegyrist of his old enemy upon long afterwards reading this pamphlet, which expressed his own views of paper money.

Paine was for a time the guest of Sir Robert Smith, a banker in Paris. Lady Smith had made Paine's acquaintance just before his arrest, and they carried on a complimentary correspondence. Monroe was recalled at the end of 1796, and Paine, after preparing to return with him, was deterred by a prospect of British cruisers in the Channel. He afterwards took up his abode with Nicolas de Bonneville, a French journalist, who had translated some of Paine's works, and been one of the five members of his 'Republican Club.' Paine wrote a few papers, made suggestions to French ministers, and subscribed a hundred livres in 1798 towards a descent upon England. Napoleon, it is said, invited him to join the expedition, and Paine hoped to proclaim liberty at Thetford under Napoleon's wing. The hope of such a consummation recurred to him in 1804, when he published a pamphlet in America upon the then expected invasion. Paine's philanthropy had quenched any patriotic weakness. In 1797 he established in Paris a sect of 'Theophilanthropists,' consisting of five families, and delivered an inaugural address. It was supported by Larévellière-Lépeaux of the Directory, but was suppressed in October 1801.

Jefferson, now president of the United States, offered Paine a passage to America in a ship of war. Paine declined the offer, upon hearing a report that Jefferson had apologised for making it. He decided, however, to return; his friend Sir Robert Smith died, and the Bonneville's promised to follow him to America. He landed at Baltimore on 30 October 1802. His property had risen in value, and was expected to produce £400 a year. Some of his friends, such as Rush and Samuel Adams, had been alienated by the *Age of Reason*. He stayed, however, with Jefferson, who consulted him about the Louisiana Purchase and other political affairs, and published various pamphlets and articles in the following years, but without any marked effect.

He went to Bordentown early in 1803, and, though welcomed by his own party, was hooted by an orthodox mob on a visit to New York shortly afterwards. Mme. Bonneville, with her three children, reached America in the autumn. She settled in Paine's house at Bordentown, as a teacher of French. Finding Bordentown dull, she followed Paine to New York in 1804. Her husband was under surveillance in France, and could neither follow her nor send her money.

Paine had to prove that he was not legally responsible for her debts. He now resolved to settle at New Rochelle, where Mme. Bonneville began to keep house for him. Here, at Christmas 1804, a man named Derrick, who owed him money, fired a gun into Paine's room. Derrick appears to have been drunk, and, although he was arrested, the charge was not pressed. Mme. Bonneville again went to New York to teach French. Paine put her younger children to school in New Rochelle, and went into a lodging. He found his income insufficient, and applied to Jefferson to obtain for him some reward for past services from Virginia.

He spent the winter 1805-6 in New York, in the house of William Carver, where he joined Elihu Palmer in a 'deistic propaganda.' He wrote for Palmer's organ, *The Prospect*. Palmer died in 1806. Paine gave a part of his reply to Bishop Watson to Palmer's widow, who published it in the *Theophilanthropist* in 1810. Another part, given to Mme. Bonneville, disappeared. Early in 1806 Paine returned to New Rochelle, and had to sell the house at Bordentown for three hundred dollars. Paine was dejected by his unsatisfactory position, and his health was beginning to fail. His vote was rejected at New Rochelle, on the ground that he was not an American citizen; and, in spite of his protests, he failed to get his claim recognised. He let his farm at New Rochelle, and lodged with a painter named Jarvis in New York.

In August 1806 he writes that he has had a fit of apoplexy. His last book, an *Essay on Dreams*, continuing the argument of the *Age of Reason*, had been written previously, and was published in 1807. In the autumn of that year he was much irritated by attacks in a New York paper, which led, in the next year, to a bitter controversy with James Cheetham, editor of the *American Citizen*. Cheetham was an Englishman, and had been a disciple of Paine. Paine now attacked him for deserting Jefferson while still enjoying the government patronage. Paine, in the beginning of 1808, again applied to congress for some reward. He was anxious about money. He lodged during ten months of 1808 with a baker named Hitt in New York. He afterwards went to a miserable lodging at 63 Partition Street, and contracted to sell his farm at New Rochelle for ten thousand dollars. In July 1808 he moved to a better house in Herring Street, near Mme. Bonneville. In January 1809 he made his will, leaving all his property to Mme. Bonneville and her children; and in April moved to a house, now 59 Grove Street, where Mme. Bonneville came to nurse him. He died there on 8 July 1809.

Paine was more or less 'ostracised' by society during his last stay in America. Political and theological antipathies were strong, and Paine, as at once the assailant of Washington and the federalists and the author of the *Age of Reason*, was hated by one party, while the other was shy of claiming his support. It has also been said that his conduct was morally offensive, and charges against him have been accepted without due caution. His antagonist, Cheetham, made them prominent in a life published in 1809. He accused Paine of having seduced Mme. Bonneville, of habitual drunkenness, and of disgustingly filthy habits. The charges were supported by a letter to Paine from Carver, with whom Paine had lodged. Mme. Bonneville immediately sued Cheetham for slander. Cheetham made some attempt to support his case with the help of Carver, but Carver retracted the charge; it completely broke down, and the jury at once found Cheetham guilty. Cheetham was sentenced to the modest fine of \$150. The judge, said to be a federalist, observed in mitigation that his book 'served the cause of religion.' It is very intelligible that Mme. Bonneville's position should have suggested scandal, but all the evidence goes to show that it was groundless. Paine's innumerable enemies never accused him of sexual immorality, and in that respect his life seems to have been blameless. The special charges of drunkenness made by Cheetham and Carver are discredited

by this proof of their character; Carver's letter to Paine was written or dictated by Cheetham, and seems to have been part of an attempt to extort money. Carver afterwards confessed that he had lied as to the drink.

It is admitted, however, that the charge of drinking was not without foundation. Paine confessed to Rickman that he had fallen into excesses in Paris. Mr. Conway thinks that this refers solely to a few weeks in 1793. Even Cheetham admits that the habit began at the time of the French revolution. It seems, indeed, that Paine had occasionally yielded to the ordinary habits of the day. His publisher, Chapman, at the trial in 1792, spoke of Paine's intoxication on one occasion. It was 'rather unusual,' he says, for Paine to be drunk, but he adds that when drunk he was given to declaiming upon religion. A similar account of an after-dinner outburst upon religion is given by Paine's friend, Henry Redhead Yorke, who visited him in Paris in 1802, found him greatly broken in health, and speaks also of the filthy state of his apartment. Mr. Conway says that his nose became red when he was about fifty-five, i.e. about 1792. In America Paine changed from brandy to rum. Bale was told that he took a quart of rum a week at New Rochelle, and in 1808 his weekly supply seems to have been three quarts. He had, it appears, to be kept alive by stimulants during one of his illnesses, and his physical prostration may account for the stimulants and for some of the slovenly habits of which Carver gives disgusting, and no doubt grossly exaggerated, details. Paine had been neat in his dress, 'like a gentleman of the old school'; but after coming to New York, the neglect of society made him slovenly. Barlow's account, though Mr. Conway attributes it to an admission of a statement by Cheetham, indicates a belief that Paine's habits of drinking had excluded him from good society in his last years. On the other hand, various contemporary witnesses, including Jarvis, with whom Paine lodged for five months, deny the stories of excessive drinking altogether; and Rickman, who was with him, says that he had given up drinking and objected to laying in spirits for his last voyage. The probability is that the stories, which in any case refer only to the last part of his career, were greatly exaggerated. Various stories circulated to show that Paine repented of his opinions on his deathbed were obviously pious fictions meant to 'serve the cause of religion.'

Paine was buried at New Rochelle on 10 June 1809. His bones were dishumed by Cobbett in 1819, and taken to Liverpool. They were left there till after Cobbett's death, and were seized in 1836 as part of the property of his son, who became bankrupt in 1836. They were last heard of in possession of a Mr. Tilly in 1844. A monument was erected at New Rochelle in 1839. Paine was about five feet nine inches in height, with a lofty forehead and prominent nose, and a ruddy complexion, clean shaven till late in life, well made and active, a good rider, walker, and skater.

Paine is the only English writer who expresses with uncompromising sharpness the abstract doctrine of political rights held by the French revolutionists. His relation to the American struggle, and afterwards to the revolution of 1789, gave him a unique position, and his writings became the sacred books of the extreme radical party in England. Attempts to suppress them only raised their influence, and the writings of the first quarter of the century are full of proofs of the importance attached to them by friends and foes. Paine deserves whatever credit is due to absolute devotion to a creed believed by himself to be demonstrably true and beneficial. He showed undeniable courage, and is free from any suspicion of mercenary motives. He attached an excessive importance to his own work, and was ready to accept the commonplace that his pen had been as efficient as Washington's sword. He

attributed to the power of his reasoning all that may more fitly be ascribed to the singular fitness of his formulae to express the political passions of the time. Though unable to see that his opponents could be anything but fools and knaves, he has the merit of sincerely wishing that the triumph should be won by reason without violence.

With a little more 'human nature,' he would have shrunk from insulting Washington or encouraging a Napoleonic invasion of his native country. But Paine's bigotry was of the logical kind which can see only one side of a question, and imagines that all political and religious questions are as simple as the first propositions of Euclid. This singular power of clear, vigorous exposition made him unequalled as a pamphleteer in revolutionary times, when compromise was an absurdity. He also showed great shrewdness and independence of thought in his criticisms of the Bible. He said, indeed, little that had not been anticipated by the English deists and their French disciples; but he writes freshly and independently, if sometimes coarsely.

FRENCH REVOLUTION

An important event of the 18th century was the French Revolution. France was the home of despotism. Louis XIV was an absolute monarch and following the example of his predecessors swept away all political rivalry. There were great social inequalities in France. The peasants were heavily taxed while the nobility remained idle. The State General (or Estates General) had not met since 1614 and the peasant classes had to suffer much. The Bourgeoisie class (middle class) were highly influenced by the teaching of French writers like Voltaire and Rousseau. Voltaire attacked injustice wherever he saw it. His writings helped to awaken public conscience in France. Rousseau's *Social Contract* made a profound impact on the reading and thinking community. His words "man is born free but everywhere he is in chains" fired the imagination of many thinkers in France. 'If the rulers a country did not govern well, the ruled could oppose them without any sense of guilt' Rousseau argued. These revolutionary ideas were spread among the people soon. However, it was financial difficulties of the monarch Louis XVI which acted as the immediate cause of the Revolution.

Louis XVI summoned the States General in 1789. Soon the third Estate formed a National Assembly which drew up a new constitution for France. The common people wanted to have limited monarchy in France. Soon the King spurred on by his spirited Queen. Mary Antoinette started intriguing with other European nations and the revolutionaries became hostile.

The Paris mob stormed the Bastille (the state Prison) and all the prisoners were set free. Louis XVI, in the meanwhile, tried to escape from France but was captured and brought back by the Jacobins. They created a Reign of Terror – thousands of noblemen including the members of the Royal family were killed. The 'rivers of France ran red with the blood of aristocracy. Soon France was declared a Republic and the whole of Europe became alarmed. The various European countries like Austria, Russia and Britain were forced to declare war against France. When the Reign of Terror subsided a military despotism was established in France under Napoleon Bonaparte. England declared war against France in 1793. By this time France was at war with fifteen European countries. The French soldiers were inspired by the ideals of fraternity, equality and liberty. By 1797 the French were able to defeat all other European countries except England. Several coalitions were formed against

Napoleons' France. But there was little unity among the various nations. The Peninsular War was the last of the wars the English fought against Napoleon. At the Battle of Waterloo (1815) Napoleon was completely crushed by the Duke of Wellington.

Impact on the Society of England

Many in England welcomed the revolution in the beginning. Poets like Wordsworth and Coleridge were highly influenced by the ideals of the revolutionaries. When Charles James Fox heard of the fall of Bastille he cried "how much the greatest event it is in the history of the world and much the best!" Pitt himself sympathized with the revolution at first. Wordsworth saw in it the dawn of a new era of happiness and freedom "Bliss it was in that age to be alive/to be young was very heaven" wrote Wordsworth. However, Edmund Burke struck a different note in his "Reflections on the French Revolution" (1790). He warned his readers that the revolution would pass into more and more violent hands and the outcome would be a military despotism. Burke really failed to appreciate the true significance of the revolution but many of his prophecies came true and the governing classes in England reacted strongly.

With the declaration of war against France something like panic seized the rulers of England. All suggestions of reforms were regarded as Jacobin. Between 1793 and 1794 various men were tried in England for holding democratic ideas. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended by the government which meant that any suspected Jacobin could be seized and kept in prison without trial. Many humane men suggested reform during the period but the Prime Minister William Pitt had no ears for reforms. He was afraid of the presence of the presence of possible Jacobins in England. Besides this there was a series of bad harvests in England; poverty gripped the lower classes. To relieve the labouring population some magistrates of Spenshamland decided to make up wages out of parish rates. Those who were paid lower wages could receive help from the parish rates. Even though the intention was good, this Spenshamland system encouraged capitalists system to pay low wages. It thus thrust an unfair burden on the rate payers. The working population, instead of receiving fair wages, had to be satisfied with a 'dole'. The government struck another blow at the factory workers of the time. Various Combination Acts were passed which made it a punishable offence for workmen to combine with each other for the purpose of demanding an increase in their wages. Trade unions were thus declared illegal by the government still nervous of Jacobins. Thus during the reign of George III the poorer classes of England were hard hit. They were deprived of their lands by enclosure movement, pauperized by the Spenshamland system and victimized by the factory owners. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus act and the passing of the Combination Act decided the fate of England liberty for a period. All hopes of reforms were postponed indefinitely.

The Impact of the French Revolution on Pitt and the Government

The events in France in and after 1789 produced a number of reactions in Britain. These are epitomised by the attitudes of Pitt and his government, that of Edmund Burke and that of Thomas Paine. Between July 1789 and April 1792 Pitt's government adopted an attitude of neutrality. Pitt felt that France was on the path of self-destruction in which Britain was only a spectator. He could not financially or diplomatically afford to get involved because of the

parlous state of the British economy. There was no aggression by Britain, but Pitt's neutral stand began to change when France started to interfere with other European nations.

For example, the French encouraged rebellion in Holland in 1792 and denounced the right of Holland to control the navigation and commerce of the Scheldt. This arrangement dated back to the 1648 Peace of Westphalia and Britain wanted to uphold that treaty. At this time Holland was an ally of Britain and Pitt was concerned about the possible effects on Britain's trade and naval power if Holland came under French control. This was the clear aim of the French government. Pitt needed to be wary also, because of the risk of invasion from Holland up the Thames.

In November 1792, after the French had issued the Edict of Fraternity calling on people to overthrow their rulers, Pitt's attitude towards France grew much colder. Much suspicion of supporters of the Revolution was generated. On 21 January 1793, Louis XVI was executed and the Jacobins set up a dictatorship through the Committee of Public Safety. This was seen by Pitt as a threat to national stability in Britain.

On 1 February 1793, France declared war on Britain and Pitt reciprocated. Most people supported Pitt and the king in this action. Pitt's reforming policies were frozen by the French Revolution and he reverted to the two traditional duties of an 18th century PM

- i. maintenance of domestic law and order**
- ii. defence of the realm from foreign invasion**

These became his primary aims. He also felt that the republicanism of the Revolution would spread in England if it was not checked. He therefore changed from being a reformer to being a reactionary

Edmund Burke

Burke was opposed to the Revolution. In 1790 he published his book *Reflections on the Revolution in France* as a warning to many English reformers such as the Country Gentry, the Foxites and Wilkesites who believed that the French were having their own Glorious Revolution. Clubs had been set up to celebrate Britain's centenary of the Glorious Revolution and these clubs began to celebrate with the French, to aid and encourage their revolution.

There were two types of club: Revolutionary Societies for the gentry and Reform Clubs for the lower orders. *Reflections* was written in answer to these clubs and specifically to speeches and sermons by Priestley and Price, both of whom were radical, democratic Unitarian ministers. They advocated that the example of the French Revolution should be copied in England. Burke warned these groups to stop supporting the French, since the Revolution was not what it seemed.

Burke had built up his reputation on the defence of the rights of parliament and in supporting the underdog. He had done this over issues in America, India, Ireland and the rights of Catholics, particularly in Ireland. Now it seemed he was contradicting himself because he

appeared to be defending the French monarchy. However, Burke did not oppose reform per se. He believed in organic reform and organic growth: that is, natural evolution. He had no time for drastic revolution. He opposed rapid, uncontrolled change, as was happening in France, particularly since the demolition of the Ancien Regime was in the hands of amateurs who had little or no political expertise.

Burke said that the French were not having their own version of the Glorious Revolution but that events in France were something very different. He asserted that events in France would lead to conflict and bloodshed and that wars would result from the Revolution, ending in the establishment of a military dictatorship. Burke 'got it right', but died 1797 and never saw the rise of Napoleon. However, he failed to see the reasons for the Revolution. Burke had been in France in 1773-4 but had spent the time with the nobility and had been well-treated. He had not seen the oppression, the appalling living and working conditions or the misery that existed in France.

Burke had practical political reasons for his attitude to events in France and commented:

◆ 'I reprobate no form of government upon abstract principles'. Paine accused Burke of
◆ 'pitying the plumage and forgetting the dying bird'. Burke saw no need for the violent changes in France and said it would lead to disaster because all the foundations of government had been swept away leaving nothing on which to build. There were no men of experience in government, only theorists.

Burke increasingly gained support as he was proved right. Most people stopped endorsing the Revolution as it became violent and became conservative and reactionary. The exceptions were Paine, Fox, their supporters and the extremists. For the majority of the population, the word 'revolution' came to mean bloodshed, mobs and violent change. However, it is worth noting that *Reflections* was written well in advance of all this.

Burke had the greatest impact in Britain because the politically powerful followed his ideas. The Revolutionary Societies ceased to exist after 1793 and the landed, ecclesiastical and government powers fell in with Burke's attitude and adopted it, although misinterpreted, because they believed that any reform would lead to revolution. The only group in parliament advocating reform after the start of the wars against France was the Foxite Whigs. Fox was seen as a traitor and consequently did not hold office until 1806. Fox and Burke fell out very publicly in 1791 and never spoke to each other again.

Thomas Carlyle

When Thomas Carlyle sat down in 1834 to write *The French Revolution: A History*, he wanted to do more than chronicle the mere procession of events. He wanted readers to smell the fear in the streets during the Terror, to taste the decadence of the Bourbon monarchy, to observe the sartorial cavalcade when the Estates-General meets for the first time since 1614, to picture blood spilling from guillotines. To accomplish his task he marshaled the same tools used by novelists—shifting point of view, imagery, and telling details—and borrowed tone

and grandeur from Homer, Virgil, and Milton. What sprang forth from Carlyle's pen was not a dry account of the French Revolution, but a book brimming with passion and philosophy, one that offered a new style of storytelling that influenced a generation of Victorian writers.

That Carlyle would produce such a fervent account is somewhat surprising given his dour upbringing. Born in Ecclefechan, Scotland, in 1795, he was the eldest son of a household defined by his father's temper and consuming devotion to Calvinism. A bright but sickly boy, he mastered French and Latin, and excelled at mathematics. His father agreed to let him attend university provided he study to become a minister. At fourteen he enrolled at the University of Edinburgh, continuing his math studies, tutoring students on the side, and devoting his free time to reading. As he grew more confident socially, he began to participate in debate clubs, where he was celebrated for his wit.

Each year Carlyle spent at Edinburgh, the less inclined he was to fulfill his promise to become a minister. Near the end of his studies, he grudgingly enrolled in a nonresidential divinity course, convinced that he would never finish, but aware of his promise to his parents. In 1814, with neither divinity nor arts degree in hand, Carlyle took his first in a series of teaching jobs, first in Annan, later in Kirkcaldy. His days were spent instructing indifferent young men, while his nights were devoted to literature. In the spring of 1817, he abandoned all pretense of becoming a minister.

A growing disaffection with teaching and a surety that his future career lay in writing led Carlyle to give up his teaching post and move back to Edinburgh in the fall of 1818. He cobbled together a meager living doing translations, tutoring, and hack writing. Carlyle continued his voracious reading, looking for hints of craft and style that he could adopt. He considered Coleridge "very great but rather mystical, sometimes absurd." Essayist William Hazlitt was "worth little, tho' clever." Alexander Pope was "eminently good," while Thomas Gray was found to be "very good and diverting." Carlyle lamented the death of Washington Irving: "It was a dream of mine that we two should be friends!" He regarded Byron and those like him to be "opium eaters," people who "raise their minds by brooding over and embellishing their sufferings, from one degree of fervid exaltation and dreamy greatness to another, till at length they run amuck entirely, and whoever meets them would do well to run them thro' the body."

He found solace and inspiration in an unlikely place: the writings of the German Romantics. After struggling to teach himself German, he made it through Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust*, in which God and Mephistopheles fight over the soul of scholar Heinrich Faust. Goethe's ideas and writings electrified him, prompting him to encourage his friends to persist with studying German, because "in the hands of the gifted does it become supremely good." It wasn't long before Carlyle was privileging German over French literature. His enthusiasm led to a book-length essay on Friedrich Schiller and then a translation of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* that earned him his first big paycheck, in the amount of £180.

In October 1824, Carlyle took a trip to France that he later claimed helped him to write the vivid descriptions in *The French Revolution*. He did not go to Paris as a young man taking his grand tour, ready to indulge in the delights of French culture; he went as a man who, despite

having renounced life as a minister, still viewed the world through the lens of Scots Presbyterianism. After only a few days in Paris, he observed: “France has been so betravelled and beridden and betridden by all manner of vulgar people that any romance connected with it is entirely gone off ten years ago; the idea of studying it is for me at present altogether out of the question; so I quietly surrender myself to the direction of guide books and *laquais de place* [local flunkys], and stroll about from sight to sight.”

Carlyle grudgingly respected Napoleon and his attempts to rationalize French civil life, but held contempt for anything that smacked of the *ancien régime*. In Carlyle’s estimation, Protestant Germany emphasized work, faith, and personal responsibility, while Roman Catholic France revered whimsy, secularism, and voluptuous delights. “They cannot live without artificial excitements, without *sensations agréables*. Their houses are not homes, but places where they sleep and dress; they live in cafés and promenades and theatres; and ten thousand dice are set a-rattling every night in every quarter of their city. Every thing seems gilding and fillagree, addressed to the eye not the touch. Their shops and houses are like toy-boxes; every apartment is tricked out with mirrors and expanded into infinitude by their illusion,” wrote Carlyle.

In October 1826, Carlyle wed. Jane Welsh was a woman of formidable intelligence with literary ambitions of her own whom Carlyle had courted for five years. She had had reservations about the man who talked endlessly about his poor health and tried to impress her with his knowledge of German literature. Jane’s mother had found Carlyle’s lack of steady employment troublesome and had forbidden her daughter from encouraging his attentions. But Jane had defied the maternal edict. “I am as nervous as if I were committing a murder,” she’d written in her illicit correspondence with Carlyle, who won out over Jane’s other suitors by engaging her mind. In return for his persistence, Carlyle earned a wife who championed his aspirations, served as his first reader, and tolerated the financial uncertainty that came from living by his pen.

After the wedding, they set up house in Craigenputtock, a farm in Dumfriesshire, Scotland. “It is certain that for living and thinking in, I have never since found in the world a place so favourable. . . . How blessed, might poor mortals be in the straitest circumstances if only their wisdom and fidelity to Heaven and to one another were adequately great!” Carlyle also began to correspond regularly with Ralph Waldo Emerson, with whom he shared an interest in transcendentalism, as well as Goethe, whom he regarded as a literary mentor. At the farm, Carlyle wrote *Sartor Resartus*, a satirical work featuring a fictional German philosopher and a critique of utilitarianism and British society. By 1831, the isolation of Craigenputtock had made it an inhospitable home to both Carlyles, so they decamped to London. Living in rural Scotland had kept Carlyle from mingling with the London literati to the detriment of his career, but once in town Carlyle quickly expanded his circle, falling into an easy friendship with John Stuart Mill.

Following the publication of *Sartor Resartus*, Mill suggested Carlyle tackle the French Revolution. Unable to produce a history Mill had contracted to write, he felt the project would suit Carlyle, who had penned essays about Voltaire, Diderot, and the Diamond Necklace affair, in which Marie Antoinette was falsely accused of defrauding the crown jewelers. To help Carlyle along, Mill also handed over the library of books and pamphlets he had collected. Carlyle agreed and plunged into the project. “I am busy constantly studying with my whole

might for a Book on the French Revolution. It is part of my creed that the only Poetry is History could we tell it right," he wrote Emerson.

After two years of study, Carlyle started to write in September 1834. He predicted that he would finish the book by March 1835, but after finishing three chapters he realized his ambitions did not match his progress. One volume would not suffice, so his plan changed: in December, one book became two; in January 1835, he determined he would need to write three. In February 1835, Carlyle shared a draft of the first book with Mill. At midnight on the evening of March 6, a hysterical Mill appeared at Carlyle's door and delivered the news that one of his servants mistook Carlyle's manuscript for wastepaper and threw it in the fire. "Poor manuscript, all except some four tattered leaves, was annihilated!" he wrote of the upsetting news.

Carlyle now had to reconstruct the first book. There were no drafts or backup copies from which to work. He didn't take notes. His method was to read, then write like mad. Sections he found lacking were tossed in the fire. "I was as a little Schoolboy, who had laboriously written out his Copy as he could, and was shewing, it not without satisfaction to the Master: but . . . the Master had suddenly torn it, saying: 'No, boy, thou must go and write it *better*.' Mill felt terrible and asked if Carlyle would accept £200 to "repair . . . the loss . . . of time and labour—that is of income?" Embarrassed by the offer, but in financial straits, Carlyle accepted half the sum. Wanting to demonstrate there were no hard feelings, Carlyle suggested that Mill read the first section of book two. Grateful for the renewed trust, Mill agreed, but suggested that Carlyle give the manuscript to Harriet Taylor for safekeeping. Carlyle did not approve of Mill's intimate relationship with the married Taylor. He also believed that she played a part in the accident, as Mill had confessed he'd read the manuscript to her. Carlyle never delivered the pages and the book went to print without Mill's comments.

Re-writing the first book was torture for Carlyle. The destroyed manuscript became an ideal in his mind, allowing him to despair at the poor quality of the new draft. He initially made good progress, but abandoned its writing in favor of reading the "trashiest heap of novels." After his reading holiday, he began again, completing the first and second chapters by the beginning of May. By September 1835, he had rewritten book one. He finished the second book at the end of April 1836. Book three went slower. "The Revolution History goes on about as ill as anybody could wish," he wrote his brother. "I sit down to write, there is not an idea discernible in the head of me; one dull cloud of pain and stupidity; it is only with an effort like swimming for life that I get begun to think at all." On January 12, 1837, two years after he began, Carlyle completed book three, "ready both to weep and pray."

When Carlyle began his book he did so with the idea of writing an epic poem about the French Revolution. "The old Epics are great because they (musically) show us the whole world of those old days: a modern Epic that did the like would be equally admired, and for us far more admirable. But where is the genius that can write it? Patience! Patience!" he wrote in February 1831.

What emerged from Carlyle's pen was not an epic poem, but an epic history. Although full of lyrical writing, *The French Revolution: A History* is, of course, a work of prose. Many standard conventions of the epic are absent, such as opening mid-story and intervention of the gods into human affairs. Carlyle does, however, invoke Clio, the muse of history, to guide

him and his reader. And like the epics, *The French Revolution* tells a story that is central to the history of its people. But instead of the founding of Rome or the victory over Troy, Carlyle writes of a revolution that unseated a long-standing monarchy and gave way to the New France.

To judge it as a conventional work of history would not be fair. Writing more than four decades after the French Revolution, Carlyle had enough material to reconstruct the outlines of what had happened. Printing presses ran constantly during the revolution, turning out broadsheets and pamphlets. And, in the aftermath, those who managed to avoid the guillotine penned memoirs. But, despite such abundant sources, Carlyle rejected the model offered by Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, with its objective approach and use of notes to document sources. If he acted as the disinterested narrator, he would remain above the action, unable to put the reader outside the walls of the Bastille the way that Homer put his reader outside the walls of Troy. Carlyle admired Gibbon, citing his ability to offer his readers a "rich and various feast," but he was not interested in the lessons of history. Instead, he wanted to write a book that captured the frenzy of the revolution, its dramatic power, its most unforgettable details.

To do this, Carlyle had to invent a new way of writing history. From the beginning of book one, Carlyle calls upon readers to move with him through time and space. He asks us to gaze upon the dying King Louis XV and to follow the newly crowned Louis XVI as he retires to his chambers. He constantly assumes the roll of fortune teller. When he first introduces Marie Antoinette, he writes: "Meanwhile the fair young Queen, in her halls of state, walks like a goddess of Beauty, the cynosure of all eyes; as yet mingles not with affairs; heeds not the future; least of all, dreads it."

For the procession that marks the opening of the Estates-General, Carlyle invites us to "take our station on some coign of vantage." From his omniscient perch, Carlyle sketches vivid descriptions of the men who will influence the course of the revolution, while speculating as to who will emerge as "king." Will it be Jean Paul Marat, a "squalidest bleared mortal, redolent of soot and horse-drugs" or the "swart burly-headed" Riquetti Mirabeau, who cuts a "fiery rough figure, with black Samson-locks under the slouch-hat"? Or the "meanest" of the six hundred, Maximilien Robespierre, "that anxious, slight, ineffectual-looking man, under thirty, in spectacles . . . complexion of a multiplex atrabiliar colour, the final shade of which may be the pale sea-green"? Carlyle's character studies double as moral judgments: He likens Mirabeau to a biblical hero, while painting Marat and Robespierre in putrid terms. He uses their exteriors to caricature their souls.

The combination of eyewitness account and commentary runs throughout the book, allowing Carlyle to make us part of the action. The storming of the Bastille: "A slight sputter;—which has *kindled* the too combustible chaos; made it a roaring fire—chaos! Bursts forth Insurrection, at sight of its own blood (for there were deaths by that sputter—of fire), into endless rolling explosion of musketry, distraction, execration;—and over head, from the Fortress, let one great gun, with its grape-shot, go booming, to show what we *could do*." Carlyle uses the third person to describe the scene and action, then switches to the royal "we" (more precisely the antiroyal "we") as he and his readers join the mob as it takes the Bastille.

For Louis XVI's beheading, he puts us in the crowd: "Executioner Sampson shews the Head: fierce shout of *Vive la République* rises and swells; caps raised on bayonets, hats waving; students of the College of Four Nations take it up, on the far Quai; fling it over Paris. . . . And so, in some half-hour it is done; and the multitude has all departed. Pastrycooks, coffee-sellers, milkmen sing out their trivial quotidian cries." Carlyle's use of present tense to describe the sequence of events lends an almost journalistic quality to his work. He is in the moment, recording the scene as it happens, breathing energy and emotion into history.

By taking this approach Carlyle recognized he was doing something new and different, and it terrified him. After writing the first two pages of the book in September 1834, he reported to his brother Jack that: "I am altering my style too, and troubled about many things; bilious too in these smothering windless days. It shall be such a Book! Quite an Epic Poem of the Revolution: an Apotheosis of Sansculottism! Seriously, when in good spirits, I feel as if there were the matter of a very considerable Work within me; but the task of shaping and uttering it will be frightful. Here, as in so many other respects, I am alone: without models, without *limits* (this is a great want); and must—just do the best I can."

Just how different what Carlyle was doing can be seen by comparing the opening three sentences of Gibbon's work with his. Gibbon begins: In the second century of the Christian Æra, the empire of Rome comprehended the fairest part of the earth, and the most civilized portion of mankind. The frontiers of that extensive monarchy were guarded by ancient renown and disciplined valor. The gentle but powerful influence of laws had cemented the union of the provinces.

Carlyle starts:

President Hénault, remarking on royal Surnames of Honour how difficult it often is to ascertain not only why, but even when, they were conferred, takes occasion in his sleek official way to make a philosophical reflection. 'The Surname of Bien-aimé (Well-beloved),' says he, 'which Louis XV bears, will not leave posterity in the same doubt. This Prince, in the year 1744, while hastening from one end of his kingdom to the other, and suspending his conquests in Flanders that he might fly to the assistance of Alsace, was arrested at Metz by a malady which threatened to cut short his days.'

Gibbon uses the past tense and speaks in an authoritative tone as he provides a measured account of the state of the Roman Empire. For Gibbon, the past is a fixed and ordered place where the outcome of events is certain. Carlyle, on the other hand, begins with a philosophical quip and the tale of Louis XV's near demise more than forty years before the revolution. The use of the present tense ("he says") puts the reader directly in the scene. Carlyle doesn't ask us to sit at his feet as Gibbon implicitly does, he asks us to gallivant through the revolution with him, experiencing events as they happen. In Carlyle's history, the outcome of events may be foreshadowed but is never certain.

The episode that marks Carlyle's opening is indicative of the structure of the book itself. Rather than provide a narrative-style account, he offers a procession of vignettes that tell the story of the revolution. This format suits Carlyle's preference for dramatic moments over procedural ones. Consequently, his emphasis does not always match the significance of

events. For example, the mutiny by French troops in the town of Nancy in the summer of 1790 and the machinations of the Legislative Assembly receive the same number of pages. The mutiny was an episode that showed France's disarray, but the failure of the Legislative Assembly to govern during 1791–1792 led to a constitutional crisis that further inflamed the revolution.

What Carlyle emphasizes can be attributed to favoring the dramatic, but it also stems from his positioning of the mob, particularly the Paris mob, at the center of the story. While he openly admires men like Honoré-Gabriel Riqueti, the Comte de Mirabeau, for his handling of the parliament and the king and queen, Carlyle never turns him into a Hector. Instead, the hero of his history is the mob—they are like Achilles, full of rage and anger, eager to fight. In his other writings, Carlyle questioned the ability of men to organize themselves, believing they need to have order imposed on them. Yet in *The French Revolution*, Carlyle time and again praises the mob. “Other mobs are dull masses; which roll onwards with a dull fierce tenacity, a dull fierce heat, but emit no light-flashes of genius as they go. The French mob, again, is among the liveliest phenomena of our world. So rapid, audacious; so clear-sighted, inventive, prompt to seize the moment; instinct with life to its finger-ends! That talent, were there no other, of spontaneously standing in queue, distinguishes, as we said, the French People from all Peoples, ancient and modern.” The French mob succeeds because it is not artificially constructed, but organic: “Your mob is a genuine outburst of Nature; issuing from, or communicating with, the deepest deep of Nature.”

Carlyle's attention to the mob comes from the character of the revolution itself. There would be no French Revolution without the French people questioning the monarchy and taking action. But by focusing on the mob and what happens in the streets to everyday people, Carlyle was laying the seeds for the approach taken by social historians more than a century later. In showing the actions of ordinary people, he demonstrated that a rich history could be crafted when the king and parliament share the stage with the butcher and the fishmonger.

The first reviews of *The French Revolution: A History* began appearing in mid-July 1837, their placement arranged by Carlyle, Mill, and the publisher. Writing in the *London and Westminster Review*, Mill called *The French Revolution* a “most original book,” one whose “every idea and sentiment is given out exactly as it is thought and felt, fresh from the soul of the writer, and in such language . . . as is most capable of representing it in the form in which it exists there.” Mill compared the book to the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*: “This is not so much a history, as an epic poem . . . the history of the French Revolution, and the poetry of it, both in one; and on the whole no work of greater genius, either historical or poetical, has been produced in this country for many years.” Mill's words pleased Carlyle. “No man, I think, need wish to be better reviewed. You have said openly of my poor Book what I durst not myself dream of it, but should have liked to dream had I dared,” he wrote Mill upon receiving the review.

William Makepeace Thackeray, a young journalist and aspiring novelist, gave it a favorable review in the *Times*, although he described it as “prose run mad.” Criticism of the style of writing was a common theme among those who did not care for the book. They objected to its prose being too German. For Carlyle who revered German authors, their complaint was almost a compliment. He could also rejoice in its reception by other writers, receiving praise from Robert Browning, John Forster, and Alfred, Lord Tennyson. Dickens relied heavily on

the book while writing *A Tale of Two Cities*. Emerson claimed Carlyle as “my bard,” while Thoreau regarded the book as “a poem, at length got translated into prose; an *Iliad*.” Mark Twain would later call it one of his favorite works.

Kathleen Tillotson, a scholar of Victorian literature, believes *The French Revolution* had a profound influence on a generation of Victorian novelists, including Thackeray and the Brontës, showing them “the poetic, prophetic, and visionary possibilities of the novel.” Indeed, George Eliot observed in 1855 “there has hardly been an English book written for the last ten or twelve years that would not have been different if Carlyle had not lived.” For Eliot and others, Carlyle’s charm lay not in his history, but in his literary talents: “No novelist has made his creations live for us more thoroughly than Carlyle has made Mirabeau and the men of the French Revolution, Cromwell, and Puritans.”

The publication of *The French Revolution* and its popularity solved Carlyle’s financial problems, earning him not only acclaim but profits and lecture invitations. More books followed on Chartism, the political and social reform movement that swept England from 1838–1848, the role of heroes in history, a study of Oliver Cromwell, and a biography of Frederick II of Prussia. But *The French Revolution* would remain Carlyle’s greatest achievement, providing a literary history for a post-revolutionary age.

Neo-classicism

The English Neoclassical movement, predicated upon and derived from both classical and contemporary French models, (see Boileau's *L'Art Poétique* (1674) and Pope's "Essay on Criticism" (1711) as critical statements of Neoclassical principles) embodied a group of attitudes toward art and human existence — ideals of order, logic, restraint, accuracy, "correctness," "restraint," decorum, and so on, which would enable the practitioners of various arts to imitate or reproduce the structures and themes of Greek or Roman originals. Though its origins were much earlier (the Elizabethan Ben Jonson, for example, was as indebted to the Roman poet Horace as Alexander Pope would later be), Neoclassicism dominated English literature from the Restoration in 1660 until the end of the eighteenth century, when the publication of *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) by Wordsworth and Coleridge marked the full emergence of Romanticism.

For the sake of convenience the Neo-classic period can be divided into three relatively coherent parts: the Restoration Age (1660-1700), in which Milton, Bunyan, and Dryden were the dominant influences; the Augustan Age (1700-1750), in which Pope was the central poetic figure, while Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett were presiding over the sophistication of the novel; and the Age of Johnson (1750-1798), which, while it was dominated and characterized by the mind and personality of the inimitable Dr. Samuel Johnson, whose sympathies were with the fading Augustan past, saw the beginnings of a new understanding and appreciation of the work of Shakespeare, the development, by Sterne and others, of the novel of sensibility, and the emergence of the Gothic school — attitudes which, in the context of the development of a cult of Nature, the influence of German romantic thought, religious tendencies like the rise of Methodism, and political events like the American and French revolutions — established the intellectual and emotional foundations of English Romanticism.

To a certain extent Neoclassicism represented a reaction against the optimistic, exuberant, and enthusiastic Renaissance view of man as a being fundamentally good and possessed of an infinite potential for spiritual and intellectual growth. Neoclassical theorists, by contrast, saw man as an imperfect being, inherently sinful, whose potential was limited. They replaced the Renaissance emphasis on the imagination, on invention and experimentation, and on mysticism with an emphasis on order and reason, on restraint, on common sense, and on religious, political, economic and philosophical conservatism. They maintained that man himself was the most appropriate subject of art, and saw art itself as essentially pragmatic — as valuable because it was somehow useful — and as something which was properly intellectual rather than emotional.

Hence their emphasis on proper subject matter; and hence their attempts to subordinate details to an overall design, to employ in their work concepts like symmetry, proportion, unity, harmony, and grace, which would facilitate the process of delighting, instructing, educating, and correcting the social animal which they believed man to be. Their favorite prose literary forms were the essay, the letter, the satire, the parody, the burlesque, and the moral fable; in poetry, the favorite verse form was the rhymed couplet, which reached its greatest sophistication in heroic couplet of Pope; while the theatre saw the development of the heroic drama, the melodrama, the sentimental comedy, and the comedy of manners. The fading away of Neoclassicism may have appeared to represent the last flicker of the Enlightenment, but artistic movements never really die: many of the primary aesthetic tenets of Neoclassicism, in fact have reappeared in the twentieth century — in, for example, the poetry and criticism of T. S. Eliot — as manifestations of a reaction against Romanticism itself: Eliot saw Neoclassicism as emphasising poetic form and conscious craftsmanship, and Romanticism as a poetics of personal emotion and "inspiration," and pointedly preferred the former.

Samuel Johnson

(1709-1784)

English poet, essayist, critic, journalist, lexicographer, conversationalist, regarded as one of the outstanding figures of 18th-century life and letters. Johnson's literary reputation is part dependent on James Boswell's (1740-1795) biography *The Life of Samuel Johnson LL.D.* (1791), with whom he formed one of the most famous friendships in literary history. The writer **Ford Madox Ford** has considered Johnson the most tragic figures of English literature, "whose still living writings are always ignored, a great honest man who will remain forever a figure of half fun because of the leechlike adoration of the greatest and most ridiculous of all biographers. For it is impossible not to believe that, without Boswell, Johnson for us today would shine like a sun in the heavens whilst Addison sat forgotten in coffee houses." Johnson became Doctor Johnson when Dublin University gave him the honorary degree in 1765. He had a huge, strong athletic build, his appetite was legendary and it is said that he often drank over 25 cups of tea at one sitting."One of the disadvantages of wine is that it makes a man mistake words for thoughts."

Samuel Johnson was born in Lichfeld, the son of a bookseller. His childhood was marred by ill health: a tubercular infection affected both his sight and hearing and his face was

scarred by scrofula. Johnson was educated at Pembroke College, Oxford. His father died in 1731 and left the family in poverty. Johnson's studies were cut short and he returned to Lichfield, affected by depression which haunted him for his life. He worked as a teacher at the grammar school in Market Bosworth and published his first essays in the *Birmingham Journal*. In 1735 he married Mrs Elisabeth Porter, a widow 20 years his senior. They started a school at Edial, near Lichfield, but the school did not prosper. Johnson's lack of degree and convulsive mannerisms hindered his success as a teacher. Two years later they moved to London where Johnson worked for Edward Cave, the founder of *The Gentleman's Magazine*. When he applied to a publisher for employment, he was found unfit for the job. "You had better get a porter's knot and carry trunks," he was advised.

The death of the poet Richard Savage, who was Johnson friend, gave rise in 1743 to his first biographical work. He addressed to Lord Chesterfield his *Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language* in 1747 and worked for eight years with the project. Lord Chesterfield refused to support Johnson while he was at work on his dictionary and later Johnson wrote: "This man I thought had been a Lord among wits; but I find, he is only a wit among Lords." A patron was in his *Dictionary* "one who countenances, supports or protects. Commonly a wretch who supports with insolence, and is paid with flattery." Johnson's longest poem, THE VANITY OF HUMAN WISHES, appeared in 1749. On that same year his tragedy IRENE was staged and appeared at Drury Lane. Between the years 1750 and 1752 he edited Cave's magazine *The Rambler*, writing nearly all of its numbers. When Cave died in 1754 Johnson wrote a life of the bookseller for *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Johnson's working method was complex: he first made a rough draft, then "turned over in his mind all the Latin words into which the sentence could be formed. Finally, he made up Latin-derived English words to convey his sense."

A DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE was published finally in 1755, and the abridged edition in 1756. Johnson's financial situation was weak, although the work as a whole remained without rival until the creation of the Oxford English Dictionary (1884-1928), initially compiled by James Murray (1837-1915). Johnson wrote the definitions of over 40 000 words, illustrating them with about 114 000 quotations drawn from every field of learning. On the lines laid down by earlier French and Italian dictionaries, Johnson selected a 'golden age' from which he would work. For him this was the century that ran from the later sixteenth century until the English Restoration of 1660. It was not that Johnson did not understand that language changed. But he regarded most of the changes as degenerate. Johnson was not afraid of vulgar expressions in his dictionary.

In addition to his *Dictionary* and the philosophical romance of THE PRINCE OF ABYSSINIA (1759, later known as RASSELAS), Johnson published essays in *The Adventurer* (1752-54) and *The Idler* (1758-60). He produced a number of political articles, biographies of Sir Thomas Browne and Roger Ascham, and contributed to the *Universal Chronicle*.

The new monarch George III awarded Johnson in 1762 an annual pension, which improved his circumstances. He spent his time in coffee houses in conversation and in idleness; in the 1770s, after Johnson was widowed, he had a close relationship with the society hostess Hester Thrale. In 1763 Johnson met at Tom Davies's book shop the young Scot James Boswell, who became later his biographer. With Boswell he traveled in 1773 in Scotland and published his observations in A JOURNEY TO THE WESTERN ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND (1775). One of

Johnson's motives to embark on the tour was to investigate the authenticity of Macpherson's Ossian poems; he was sure that they were fakes. Boswell's own account, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, appeared ten years later, after the death of Johnson. Of Johnson's many remarks about Scotchmen perhaps the most famous was his reply when Boswell told him at their first meeting, "I do indeed come from Scotland, but I cannot help it..." Johnson replied: "That, sir, I find, is what a very good many of your countrymen cannot help." He continued his travels and went to Wales with Hester Lynch Thrale, a wealthy brewer, and accompanied him to Paris in 1775, Johnson's only visit to the Continent. Johnson's biographical essays of English poets were published in 1781 as *THE LIVES OF THE POETS*. The idea for the work came in 1777 from London booksellers and others. In this work Johnson abandoned his distinctive style full of long abstract words, which was already considered old-fashioned by his contemporaries. He wrote in short enough words, with a style that was sufficiently learned but comprehensible. Years he had practiced his conversational skills marked his rhythm and vocabulary.

"My dear friend, clear your *mind* of cant. You may say to a man, "Sir, I am your most humble servant." You are *not* his most humble servant. You tell a man, "I am sorry you had such bad weather and were so much wet." You don't care sixpence whether he is wet or dry. You *talk* in this manner; it is a mode of talking in Society: but don't *think* foolishly."

(Johnson to Boswell May 15, 1783)

Johnson spent the summer of 1784 visiting Lichfield, Birmingham, and Oxford and returned to London depressed and exhausted. He died of pneumonia during the night of 13 December and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Before his death, Johnson threw into the fire a number of his manuscripts, letters, and personal papers. The bulk of his estate was left in trust for his black manservant, Francis Barber, a former slave from Jamaica. Although Johnson's celebrity at that time was phenomenal, views about him as a witty but pedantic and pompous writer came to dominate the 19th century. Walter Raleigh's *Six Essays on Johnson* in 1910 and T.S. Eliot's essay *Johnson as Critic and Poet* (1944) made evident the need for a thorough reevaluation of Johnson's work. In 1944 Joseph Wood Krutch produced the first modern biography of the rigorous and eloquent author.

The Romantic Revival (1800 - 1850)

Historical Background

During the late 18th century, Democracy and opportunity for the masses was a thought that was becoming more and more popular. Many citizens who had not benefited from the victory of Parliament in the Civil War voiced their discontent. The United States declared independence in 1776 and in 1789 the French Revolution violently ended the power of the monarchy and aristocracy in France. The new philosophy of the rights of all men was expressed both in politics and literature. This new form philosophy became one of the main guidelines of a new school of Romantic poets, writers and philosophers. It was at this time that the government extended the right to vote to the middle classes because of the threat of a

popular revolution. The working classes however were not allowed to do so until the very end of the 19th century. The working class survived under awful conditions. As the migration from an agricultural society to an industrial society gathered force, towns became cities, the population grew out of control and more and more villagers, forced by economic necessity to seek work in the growing factories, crowded together in dirty slums. Men, women and children worked from sunrise to sunset for insignificant wages. During this so called Industrial Revolution no child who was able to pull a cart in the polluted coal mines or sweep a floor in a factory, was considered too young to work. The poor had practically no access to education.

The Romantic spirit affected practically every aspect of English life reflected the effects of revolutions abroad, the demand for more democratic government and a growing awareness of social injustices. Artificiality was superseded by simplicity and naturalness as characterization of this new era.

There was a resurgence of interest in wild and lonely portions of forest or mountains instead of manicured gardens. Architecture tried to recapture the mysterious atmosphere of the middle Ages and rejected the rigid Classical style. Dress, too, became more simple and natural.

The Romantic sense that had in the past been so strongly felt during the Elizabethan Age, and had been repressed during the Augustan Age, was back again. The British cast off the Augustan restraint in a more daring and imaginative approach to both literature and life. The Augustan idea of order and reason were not supported by the realities of life and thus were rejected. Romanticism represents a revolt against Reason as the only supreme guide in all areas of living and rejects the idea that life can be reduced to a few scientific formulas. The prevailing point of view was a personal and subjective one.

The Development of the Language

Because 18th century English had often proved limited and artificial, poets and novelists of the Romantic Period looked for inspiration to the folk ballads and the speech of everyday life. The 18th century idea of creating majestic literary English which was different in style from spoken English was rejected. Since the beginning of the 19th century, written English has become progressively less formal and closer to the spoken language. At this time Greek began to have a direct effect upon the language. Many new philosophical and scientific words were being added to English. Combining two or more words or roots from Latin or Greek was a popular way of forming scientific words. This process created words such as Barometer and thermometer. Another way of creating new names was the addition of Greek prefixes and suffixes such as micro- (small), macro- (large), tele- (far), per- (maximum), -oid (like), -ic (smaller), -ous (larger), to names already in use. Therefore such modern words as microskirt, macroeconomics, telephone, peroxide, paranoid, sulphuric and sulphurous were added to the English Language.

Clear across the Atlantic, in North America, English was also changing; before 1750 American speech was probably very similar to that of England. However, by the year 1800, differences in pronunciation began to take place. For example, during the late 18th century, speakers in England had turned tousing an 'ah' sound in words like 'path', 'ask', 'glass'. Most speakers in America, which had recently become independent, were not affected by the British

trend and continued to pronounce these words with the flat 'a' sound heard in 'cat' and 'man'. This difference, one of the most noticeable, can still be observed today.

British and American differences in spelling also originated in this period. Most of them are due to the work of an American named Webster, who was interested in spelling reform. He concluded that it would be more convenient as well as more practical to use a simplified form of spelling certain words, eg; honor instead of honour, color instead of colour, wagon instead of waggon. He registered these spellings in his dictionary which was widely read and came to be regarded as the authoritative opinion on spelling in America. What the Romantic Period most importantly contributed to the development of the English language was its movement away from the rigidity of the Augustan Age to a much more colorful and flexible language, similar to that which had existed during the Elizabethan Age.

Romantic Poetry

The World is too much with us Wordsworth said "Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings". He received a philosophical strength from nature. He believed man and Nature are manifestations of the same force and man's maturity is marked by an awareness of this truth.

William Wordsworth

(1770- 1850)

Inspired by the epic grandeur of the Lake District landscape, where he was born and lived most of his life, William Wordsworth, the Victorian Poet Laureate, is the foremost of English Romantic poets. The great Lakeland poet was born at Wordsworth House in the Cumbrian town of Cockermouth on the western edge of the National Park on 7 April, 1770, the second son of John Wordsworth and Anne Cookson. John Wordsworth came from middle class Yorkshire stock. William's childhood was spent at Cockermouth and Penrith, the family lived at Wordsworth House, in Cockermouth, an elegant Georgian mansion which became their home in 1766 when William's father was appointed to the position of steward to James Lowther. The young Wordsworth attended school at Cockermouth between 1776 and 1777. He lost his mother when he was but eight years old, and tragically, his father followed her to the grave but five years later.

William was separated from his much loved sister Dorothy and went to live with his two uncles. Dorothy was brought up by their maternal grandmother. A highly imaginative child, he was educated at Hawkshead Grammar School. During his period of residence in Hawkshead he lodged at Anne Tyson's cottage, which today proudly declares the fact on a plaque for the information of visitors to the village. In these early, formative years, the young Wordsworth developed a great love and appreciation of the Lakeland landscape, which he was to vividly retain for the rest of his life. In 1790, Wordsworth embarked on a summer walking tour through revolutionary France. During this time he met Annette Vallon, who was to become his mistress and later bore him an illegitimate daughter, Anne Caroline. Largely influenced by the events of the French Revolution, he made an attempt to break away from the artificial diction and the neo-classical traditions of his age.

William first acquired critical attention at the age of 28 with the publication of his 'Lyrical Ballads' with Samuel Taylor Coleridge in 1798. It included his 'Lines Composed Above Tintern Abbey', written in a simplistic style which was widely criticized at the time. Undaunted, William continued to write his celebrations of nature, producing such masterpieces as his long autobiographical poem 'The Prelude', which was published in 1839. William married his childhood schoolfriend, Mary Hutchinson, in 1802, the couple moved to the village of Grasmere, where they eventually settled at Dove Cottage in the village, his sister Dorothy, to whom he remained very close, moved in with them.

Dove Cottage was William Wordsworth's first home in the lakes, the poet, his wife Mary and Sister Dorothy lived there from 1799 to 1808 and it is where he is believed to have written his best poetry. A tireless walker, he traversed the Lakeland fells ceaselessly on foot and wrote a pioneering guide book to the Lake District.

Local tradition states that when Sir Walter Scott stayed with the tee-total Wordsworth, who would not allow alcohol in the house, he would lock the door of his room, climb out of the window and make straight for the Swan Hotel, to which ends he was driven, to obtain his daily dram of Scotch whisky. The household it is reported, on entering the inn with him, were puzzled as to why all the staff appeared to greet him as an old friend.

The well tended, steeply sloping gardens were laid out by Wordsworth himself, he would often on rambles in the area, obtain wild flowers and ferns to replant there. The adjoining Wordsworth Museum holds many of the poets' original manuscripts and family portraits.

After vacating Dove Cottage, the Wordsworth's lived at nearby Allan Bank, once referred to by the poet as a 'temple of abomination', as at the time he strongly felt it ruined the view of Grasmere, but later changed his views on the building and occupied it for a period of three years. They later lived at the Rectory at Grasmere; neither of these houses are open to the public. The great poets best works were written between 1797-1808, in 1813, the family moved into Rydal Mount (pictured right) , which at first was rented from Lady Fleming of nearby Rydal Hall, but later purchased, they continued to live in the house for the rest of their lives.

An avid gardener, William landscaped the gardens himself. The Wordsworths were honoured with a royal visit in 1840, when Queen Adelaide, widow of William IV, called on them at Rydal Mount. The house returned to the Wordsworth family in 1969, when Mary Henderson, nee Wordsworth, great-great granddaughter of William, bought Rydal Mount, opening it to the public the following year. The poet himself, a keen gardener, designed the informal garden, planting the trees carefully, so as not to spoil the views. The grounds cover four and a half acres, the highly attractive gardens containing a variety of rare shrubs, rhododendrons, daffodils and bluebells.

The tour of the house commences in the oldest part of the building, which dates back to the 16th century. The house contains a great deal of furniture which was owned by the Wordsworths and some excellent family portraits as well as personal items such as ice skates and picnic boxes. The views of Rydal Water and the Lakeland fells from the gardens are superb. In 1843, on the death of Robert Southey, William was appointed Poet Laureate. Fate

dealt a terrible blow when the Wordsworth's much loved daughter, Dora, died of tuberculosis in 1847; both William and Mary were crushed by their loss.

In nearby Dora's Field, bought by them some years previously and where they had intended to build a house, they planted a mass of daffodils to her memory, Dora's Field, at Rydal Village, is now owned by the National Trust. It was during a visit to Gowbarrow, at Ullswater on Thursday, 15th April, 1802, that William was inspired to write what is perhaps one of his most famous and evocative poems, 'the Daffodils'.

Surprisingly, William was not alone, but had been accompanied by Dorothy on the excursion to the lake. Dorothy apparently wrote a description on the spot in her journal for that date reporting 'They tossed and reeled and danced and seemed as if they verily laughed with the wind that blew upon them over the lake.' William is reported to have relied upon her description when composing the famous poem.

The Daffodils

I wander'd lonely as a cloud
That floats on high o'er vales and hills,
When all at once I saw a crowd,
A host, of golden daffodils;
Beside the lake, beneath the trees,
Fluttering and dancing in the breeze.

Continuous as the stars that shine
and twinkle on the Milky Way,
They stretch'd in never-ending line
Along the margin of a bay:
Ten thousand saw I at a glance,
Tossing their heads in sprightly dance.

The waves beside them danced; but they
Out-did the sparkling waves in glee:
A poet could not but be gay,
In such a jocund company:
I gazed -- and gazed -- but little thought
What wealth the show to me had brought:

For oft, when on my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude;
And then my heart with pleasure fills,
And dances with the daffodils.

William Wordsworth died after a heavy cold turned to pleurisy on St. George's Day, 23 April, 1850; at the time of his death he was considered one of England's greatest poets. He was buried at St. Oswald's Church, Grasmere, where the graves of he and his family, beneath a towering yew tree which was planted by him, can still be seen by the public.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge

Samuel Taylor Coleridge, a leader of the British Romantic movement, was born on October 21, 1772, in Devonshire, England. His father, a vicar of a parish and master of a grammar school, married twice and had fourteen children. The youngest child in the family, Coleridge was a student at his father's school and an avid reader. After his father died in 1781, Coleridge attended Christ's Hospital School in London, where he met lifelong friend Charles Lamb. While in London, he also befriended a classmate named Tom Evans, who introduced Coleridge to his family. Coleridge fell in love with Tom's older sister Mary.

Coleridge's father had always wanted his son to be a clergyman, so when Coleridge entered Jesus College, University of Cambridge in 1791, he focused on a future in the Church of England. Coleridge's views, however, began to change over the course of his first year at Cambridge. He became a supporter of William Frend, a Fellow at the college whose Unitarian beliefs made him a controversial figure. While at Cambridge, Coleridge also accumulated a large debt, which his brothers eventually had to pay off. Financial problems continued to plague him throughout his life, and he constantly depended on the support of others.

En route to Wales in June 1794, Coleridge met a student named Robert Southey. Striking an instant friendship, Coleridge postponed his trip for several weeks, and the men shared their philosophical ideas. Influenced by Plato's Republic, they constructed a vision of pantisocracy (equal government by all), which involved emigrating to the New World with ten other families to set up a commune on the banks of the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. Coleridge and Southey envisioned the men sharing the workload, a great library, philosophical discussions, and freedom of religious and political beliefs.

After finally visiting Wales, Coleridge returned to England to find that Southey had become engaged to a woman named Edith Fricker. As marriage was an integral part of the plan for communal living in the New World, Coleridge decided to marry another Fricker daughter, Sarah. Coleridge wed in 1795, in spite of the fact that he still loved Mary Evans, who was engaged to another man. Coleridge's marriage was unhappy and he spent much of it apart from his wife. During that period, Coleridge and Southey collaborated on a play titled *The Fall of Robespierre* (1795). While the pantisocracy was still in the planning stages, Southey abandoned the project to pursue his legacy in law. Left without an alternative plan, Coleridge spent the next few years beginning his career as a writer. He never returned to Cambridge to finish his degree.

In 1795 Coleridge befriended William Wordsworth, who greatly influenced Coleridge's verse. Coleridge, whose early work was celebratory and conventional, began writing in a more natural style. In his "conversation poems," such as "The Eolian Harp" and "This Lime-Tree Bower My Prison," Coleridge used his intimate friends and their experiences as subjects. The

following year, Coleridge published his first volume of poetry, *Poems on Various Subjects*, and began the first of ten issues of a liberal political publication entitled *The Watchman*. From 1797 to 1798 he lived near Wordsworth and his sister, Dorothy, in Somersetshire. In 1798 the two men collaborated on a joint volume of poetry entitled *Lyrical Ballads*. The collection is considered the first great work of the Romantic school of poetry and contains Coleridge's famous poem, "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner."

That autumn the two poets traveled to the Continent together. Coleridge spent most of the trip in Germany, studying the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, Jakob Boehme, and G.E. Lessing. While there he mastered the German language and began translating. When he returned to England in 1800, he settled with family and friends at Keswick. Over the next two decades Coleridge lectured on literature and philosophy, wrote about religious and political theory, spent two years on the island of Malta as a secretary to the governor in an effort to overcome his poor health and his opium addiction, and lived off of financial donations and grants. Still addicted to opium, he moved in with the physician James Gillman in 1816. In 1817, he published *Biographia Literaria*, which contained his finest literary criticism. He continued to publish poetry and prose, notably *Sibylline Leaves* (1817), *Aids to Reflection* (1825), and *Church and State* (1830). He died in London on July 25, 1834.

P.B.Shelley

Percy Bysshe Shelley was one of the greatest contributors to the romantic poetry in the English language and author of the *Prometheus Unbound* and many other poems. Best known for his anthology works such as *Ode to the West wind* and *To a Skylark*, Shelley also wrote the most excellent lyric poems in the English language. The author is also known for his atheist views that became the central idea of his work *The Necessity of Atheism*, written and published in 1811, when he was still in the college. His major works mainly consist of lengthy and imaginative poems including *Adonais*, *The Revolt of Islam* and his unfinished poem *The Triumph of Life*. In his short but successful career, Shelley gained appreciation from eminent persons such as Karl Marx, Henry Stephens Salt and from other contemporary authors as well including eminent poet and friend Lord Byron.

Childhood & Education

Percy was born on 4 August 1792 in England to Sir Timothy Shelley and his wife Elizabeth Pilfold and was the eldest of seven children born to them. His father Timothy was the Baronet of Castle Goring and a Whig member of parliament. After receiving his early schooling at home, Percy was admitted into the Syon House Academy of Brentford in 1802 and two years later in 1804, Shelly went on to study at Eton College, Oxford University. Throughout his education, Percy remained an average student and his performance in academics could be hailed as 'poor and disappointing'.

In 1810, Percy matriculated from the University College. These years at Oxford were tough for him, as the college authority were not pleased with his subversive idealism and atheistic philosophy. His first work *Zastrozzi*, a Gothic novel, was published in 1810 followed by *Original Poetry by Victor and Cazire* in the same year. While at Oxford, he wrote *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson*- a joint effort of Percy and Thomas Jefferson Hogg- which earned him the unfavorable attention of the college authorities.

However, the first work which would put him under fire from the college authorities was a pamphlet called *The Necessity of Atheism*, written and published in 1811. This resulted in his confrontation by the college administration and he was expelled from the college after his refusal to rebut the authorship of the book. He could have been reinstated on the condition of renouncing his atheistic views expressed in the pamphlet, which he again refused to do. End result of this was his final expulsion from the college on 25 March 1811 and fall-out with his father.

First Marriage

Now expelled from the college and estranged from his father, Shelley eloped to Scotland with a sixteen year old Harriet Westbrook. They married on 28 August 1811. Here Shelly attempted an open marriage with inviting his friend Hogg to their house, which led to an opposition from his wife Harriet and eventually demise of their marriage. For the next three years he paid several visits to London where he became associated with an atheist and journalist William Godwin and eventually became involved with his daughter Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin. Unhappy in his first marriage, Shelly found Mary to be his intellectual equal at first instance and grew immensely close to her.

On 28 July 1814, Percy deserted his wife Harriet, who had given birth to their daughter Lanthe Shelley and was pregnant again, and eloped with Mary for a second time. They were accompanied by Mary's step sister Claire Clairmont to Switzerland where the three stayed for sometime before finally returning to England after few months. During this period, Shelley grew hugely impressed with the poems of Williams Wordsworth and wrote *Alastor, the spirit of solitude* in 1816 followed by *History of Six Weeks Tour*, which was published in 1817.

Second Marriage

In 1816, Shelley's previous wife Harriet killed herself by drowning in the Serpentine River in Hyde Park, London, living behind their son Charles Shelley. It was less than two months after her body was recovered when Shelley wedded Mary in a hastily arranged marriage with an intention to take custody of his son by Harriet. However it did not help him in any manner, as the children were handed over to foster parents. Now married to Mary, Shelley settled in Marlow, Buckinghamshire where he made acquaintances with people like Leigh Hunt and John Keats.

Notable Works

After his marriage to Mary, Percy became acquaintance with the great poet Lord Byron and the two consolidated a strong friendship which would last until his death. In a company of more famous and established poet, Shelley was motivated to write his *Hymn to intellectual Beauty*, which was his first landmark success as a poet. His friendship with Byron proved to be constructive for his career and he continued to write fiercely. During this period he wrote a poem *Mont Blanc* in which he spoke of the relationship between human mind and natural creations.

After initial success, he produced some major work this time including two long poems *Laon and Cythna* in which he again expresses his atheistic views through its characters. After being objected t for its contemptuous content, the original copies were withdrawn from the market and an edited version of it appeared entitled as *The Revolt of Islam* in 1818. Shelley

embarked on writing political pieces with the publication of *nom de plume* and *The Hermit of Marlowe*.

Later Life

In 1818, The Shelley couple moved to Italy where their son Percy Florence Shelley was born a year later in 1819. Lord Byron, who was in Venice at that time, inspired the poet to write once again and Shelley produced *Julian and Maddalo*, an account of his travel and association with Byron. Once again, he began writing long verses and finished his first drama *Prometheus Unbound*, which was based on a lost play initially written by the Greek Poet Aeschylus. In 1819, Shelley embarked on writing a tragedy poem *The Cenci* and completed his two best known poems in 19th century, which were based on political theme- *The Masque of Anarchy* and *Men of England*. However, his first great success in this genre came with the essay called *The Philosophical View of Reform*.

Death

In his later life, Shelley planned to set up a magazine *The Liberal* with the support from his lifelong friends Leigh Hunt and Lord Byron. However, the fate had something else for him and he drowned in a storm on 8 July 1822 while sailing back from Livorno in his boat *Don Juan*. He was cremated on the beach near Viareggio. He had not even reached the 30th year of his life at that time. His body was found offshore and decomposed beyond recognition, which led to several speculations regarding his death; however, the mystery of his death remains unsolved.

John Keats

English Romantic poet John Keats was born on October 31, 1795, in London. The oldest of four children, he lost both his parents at a young age. His father, a livery-stable keeper, died when Keats was eight; his mother died of tuberculosis six years later. After his mother's death, Keats's maternal grandmother appointed two London merchants, Richard Abbey and John Rowland Sandell, as guardians. Abbey, a prosperous tea broker, assumed the bulk of this responsibility, while Sandell played only a minor role. When Keats was fifteen, Abbey withdrew him from the Clarke School, Enfield, to apprentice with an apothecary-surgeon and study medicine in a London hospital. In 1816 Keats became a licensed apothecary, but he never practiced his profession, deciding instead to write poetry.

Around this time, Keats met Leigh Hunt, an influential editor of the *Examiner*, who published his sonnets "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer" and "O Solitude." Hunt also introduced Keats to a circle of literary men, including the poets Percy Bysshe Shelley and William Wordsworth. The group's influence enabled Keats to see his first volume, *Poems by John Keats*, published in 1817. Shelley, who was fond of Keats, had advised him to develop a more substantial body of work before publishing it. Keats, who was not as fond of Shelley, did not follow his advice. *Endymion*, a four-thousand-line erotic/allegorical romance based on the Greek myth of the same name, appeared the following year. Two of the most influential critical magazines of the time, the *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine*, attacked the collection. Calling the romantic verse of Hunt's literary circle "the Cockney school of poetry," *Blackwood's* declared *Endymion* to be nonsense and recommended that Keats give up poetry.

Shelley, who privately disliked *Endymion* but recognized Keats's genius, wrote a more favorable review, but it was never published. Shelley also exaggerated the effect that the criticism had on Keats, attributing his declining health over the following years to a spirit broken by the negative reviews.

Keats spent the summer of 1818 on a walking tour in Northern England and Scotland, returning home to care for his brother, Tom, who suffered from tuberculosis. While nursing his brother, Keats met and fell in love with a woman named Fanny Brawne. Writing some of his finest poetry between 1818 and 1819, Keats mainly worked on "Hyperion," a Miltonic blank-verse epic of the Greek creation myth. He stopped writing "Hyperion" upon the death of his brother, after completing only a small portion, but in late 1819 he returned to the piece and rewrote it as "The Fall of Hyperion" (unpublished until 1856). That same autumn Keats contracted tuberculosis, and by the following February he felt that death was already upon him, referring to the present as his "posthumous existence."

In July 1820, he published his third and best volume of poetry, *Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St. Agnes, and Other Poems*. The three title poems, dealing with mythical and legendary themes of ancient, medieval, and Renaissance times, are rich in imagery and phrasing. The volume also contains the unfinished "Hyperion," and three poems considered among the finest in the English language, "Ode on a Grecian Urn," "Ode on Melancholy," and "Ode to a Nightingale." The book received enthusiastic praise from Hunt, Shelley, Charles Lamb, and others, and in August, Frances Jeffrey, influential editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, wrote a review praising both the new book and *Endymion*.

The fragment "Hyperion" was considered by Keats's contemporaries to be his greatest achievement, but by that time he had reached an advanced stage of his disease and was too ill to be encouraged. He continued a correspondence with Fanny Brawne and—when he could no longer bear to write to her directly—her mother, but his failing health and his literary ambitions prevented their getting married. Under his doctor's orders to seek a warm climate for the winter, Keats went to Rome with his friend, the painter Joseph Severn. He died there on February 23, 1821, at the age of twenty-five, and was buried in the Protestant cemetery.

Sir Walter Scott (1771 – 1832)

(Novelist and Poet)

Walter Scott was born on August 15, 1771 in Edinburgh, Scotland. Scott created and popularized historical novels in a series called the *Waverley Novels*. In his novels Scott arranged the plots and characters so the reader enters into the lives of both great and ordinary people caught up in violent, dramatic changes in history.

Scott's work reflects the influence of the 18th century enlightenment. He believed every human was basically decent regardless of class, religion, politics, or ancestry. Tolerance is a major theme in his historical works. The *Waverley Novels* express his belief in the need for social progress that does not reject the traditions of the past. He was the first novelist to portray peasant characters sympathetically and realistically, and was equally just to merchants,

soldiers, and even kings.

Central themes of many of Scott's novels are about conflicts between opposing cultures. "Ivanhoe" (1819) is about war between Normans and Saxons. "The Talisman" (1825) is about conflict between Christians and Muslims. His novels about Scottish history deal with clashes between the new English culture and the old Scottish. Scott's other great novels include "Old Mortality" (1816), "The Heart of Midlothian" (1819), and "St. Ronan's Well" (1824). His Waverley series includes "Rob Roy" (1817), "A Legend of Montrose" (1819), and "Quentin Dunward" (1823).

Scott's amiability, generosity, and modesty made him popular with his contemporaries. He was also famous for entertaining on a grand scale at his Scottish estate, Abbotsford.

Jane Austen (1775-1817)

As Jane Austen's life began, the global power that was Great Britain, under the rule of King George III was in the midst of a growing conflict with its American colonies which would result in the American Revolutionary War. This military conflict would be the first of three wars Great Britain would participate in during Austen's short life. A decade after the North American colonies gained independence, the British Empire in the wake of the French Revolution would enter the Napoleonic Wars, and by 1812 was once again clashing with its former protectorate the United States. During this period of foreign upheaval the domestic English society in which Jane Austen was born into, women were not usually given the educational opportunities offered to men and marriage was the only viable option for economic security and being part of the social norm. Ironically, while most of Austen's works centered on the business of providing husbands for daughters, she never married leading to speculation on her sexuality and social graces.

In the 18th century English society in which Jane Austen lived, the male members of a family were given educational opportunities that were not always afforded to the ladies of the household. Fortunately for Austen, she was born into a family that valued education to both sons and daughters, and she was encouraged by her family to produce literature. Born in Hampshire England in the parish of Steventon, she was the daughter of Reverend George and Cassandra Leigh Austen. She came into the world on December 16, 1775 and was the sixth child in a family of five boys and two girls. Reverend Austen was a refined and successful clergyman who fostered education in his family so Jane and her siblings received most of their schooling at home. Reading and play acting were favorite past times of the children, so Jane began her writings at an early age, and at times used them for family entertainment. Some of her earliest writings were Eleanor and Marianne and Lady Susan both written in 1795. In 1796 she wrote First Impressions. From 1797 to 1798 Austen wrote three novels; Sense and Sensibility, Pride and Prejudice and Northanger Abbey. Sense and Sensibility was published in 1811 and it is the story of two sisters and their romantic adventures. Pride and Prejudice was published in 1813 and tells the tale of the five Bennett sisters and their search for husbands. Northanger Abbey was published in 1818 and was a satire of the popular gothic romances of the era.

In 1801, the Austen family moved to Bath and in 1805 Reverend Austen died. The family

left Bath for Clifton in 1806 and then to Castle Square, Southampton in 1807. In 1809, they settled at Chawton Hampshire in a home owned by Jane's brother Edward. By 1811, after a period of unproductiveness, Jane quickly created three new novels; *Mansfield Park* in 1811, *Emma* in 1814 and *Persuasion* in 1815, all of which deal with romantic entanglements of strongly characterized heroines.

Although Jane Austen wrote of romance and idealistic love she never married. She was engaged briefly to Harris Bigg Wither a long time friend, but she withdrew from the offer the following day. She was considered an attractive and intelligent woman so these were not deterrents to marriage. Jane lived with her mother, her sister Cassandra and a friend Martha Lloyd in Hampshire England until Jane moved to Winchester in May of 1817 because of ill health. Diagnosed with Addison's disease, a tubercular disease of the kidneys, Austen was only forty one years old when she died in her sisters arms in the early hours of July 18, 1817. Austen was buried in Winchester Cathedral.

Jane Austen is now thought of as one of the greatest English authors and considered by many as the first great woman novelist. Austen wrote of the provincial life times in which she lived and had sufficient knowledge of the middle class, gentry and aristocracy, and these surroundings became the places and characters of her novels. The plots of her works focus on misunderstood feelings, human weakness and social obligations. Her novels are still being republished with most of them gaining present day acceptance and have been made into motion picture and television productions. The characters of Mr. Darcy and Elizabeth Bennett of *Pride and Prejudice*; Eleanor and Marianne Dashwood of *Sense and Sensibility*, and Emma Woodhouse and Mr. Knightly of *Emma* have become the romantic counterparts of today's chick flicks.

Overall, the pretty, clever Jane Austen, author of six books, four which were published before her death, was a woman of true intellectual talent and passion for her time. She left an indelible imprint on a literary world that did not accept her talents during her lifetime. Although she was not recognized for her work during her life because of her writing style, her character development, and because she was female, Austen is remembered for rising above the social restrictions that were placed on women during the late 18th and early 19th century producing literature that inspires and influences readers today.

Britain and Ireland 1789-1801

In 1789 the French Revolution began, and in 1793 France declared war against Britain. The ideas of the French Revolution — liberty, equality, fraternity and democracy — plus the religious link, were favoured by the Irish, and Ireland traditionally had been the back door to England. The Irish could see that religious inequality had been abolished in France and that a democratic government had been set up. Irish Roman Catholics wanted equality; Irish Protestants wanted parliamentary reform. Both groups wanted economic reform.

Many moderate Irish politicians wanted Catholic Emancipation and parliamentary reform, but thought that Ireland should support England in the crisis and wanted to preserve the link with Britain. However, there were others who were more extreme in their views. Among these were Theobald Wolfe Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald who formed the United Irishmen in

1792 which aimed at "breaking the connection with England, asserting the independence of our country, and uniting all Irishmen in place of the denominations of Protestants and Catholics." The organisation tried to unite Dissenters and Catholics against Anglican rule, and it grew rapidly. Pitt moved equally quickly. In 1793 the Irish parliament was persuaded to pass the Catholic Relief Act which gave Catholics the right to vote. Voters still had to be 40/- freeholders, and Roman Catholics, although they could stand as candidates, were not allowed to take a seat in parliament. Catholic voters could realistically only vote for Protestants. Pitt's 1793 Act was only a part-solution.

In 1795 Earl Fitzwilliam was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was a Whig and an Irish absentee landowner who believed that Roman Catholics should have complete political equality. This he announced as a policy which raised hopes in Ireland, but Fitzwilliam was recalled within three months on the King's orders and in disgrace. After 1795 there were increasing incidents of sectarian violence in Ireland, exacerbated by the attempts of the United Irishmen to enlist French help in their struggle to free Ireland from English control. The Protestants in Ireland formed the Orange to safeguard Protestantism in Ireland which merely escalated the problem.

In May 1798 an Irish rising occurred with the avowed aim of Catholic Emancipation and parliamentary reform. Many peasants joined because they wanted tithes to be abolished; some educated men wanted independence. Pitt believed that Ireland could not be allowed the luxury of an independent parliament, because the Irish might decide on an independent nation and make Ireland a base for England's enemies. Pitt therefore decided on an Act of Union which would totally tie Ireland to Great Britain.

The 1801 Act of Union

In 1800 the Act of Union was passed by both the Irish and British parliaments despite much opposition. It was signed by George III in August 1800 to become effective on 1 January 1801. Pitt intended to follow the Act of Union with other, more far reaching reforms, including Catholic Emancipation, but was thwarted by George III, who refused to break his Coronation Oath to uphold the Anglican Church. The 1801 Act of Union said that

- Ireland was to be joined to Great Britain into a single kingdom, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.
- the Dublin parliament was abolished. Ireland was to be represented at Westminster by 100 MPs, 4 Lords Spiritual and 28 Lords Temporal (all were Anglicans).
- the Anglican Church was to be recognised as the official Church of Ireland.
- there was to be free trade between Ireland and Britain.
- Ireland was to keep a separate Exchequer and was to be responsible for two-seventeenths of the general expense of the United Kingdom.
- Ireland kept its own Courts of Justice and civil service.
- no Catholics were to be allowed to hold public office.
- there was to be no Catholic Emancipation.

Ruling Ireland direct from Westminster solved nothing. The union was a political expedient in wartime, solving none of the grievances in Ireland over land, religion or politics. It had no social dimension at all. Ireland's economic problems were also ignored. The Act did increase the sense of grievance in Ireland however.

Pitt did not see the Act of Union as a solution to the Irish problem. He knew that social and economic reforms were essential, as was Catholic Emancipation. George III refused to allow full emancipation so Pitt resigned in protest because he had intended to follow the Act of Union with reforms. The Act became a liability rather than an asset. Peers holding Irish estates opposed concessions to Roman Catholics, as did the King, because of vested interests and religious bigotry. The threat to the status quo and potential violence together with patriotic zeal against Catholics stopped full Catholic Emancipation and ended all Pitt's intended reforms.

THE HISTORY AND MEANING OF THE UNION JACK OR UNION FLAG

The British Flag: a Symbol of Unity

The Union Jack is a transnational flag full of historical significance. It represents the union of different countries and the growth of a family of nations whose influence extends far beyond the British Isles. This far-reaching influence is still seen today in the incorporation of the Union Jack in other national flags such as that of Australia. The British flag is called the "Union Jack", an expression that needs to be explained.

The Union Jack is a fine expression of unity as well as diversity. The British flag incorporates the national symbols of three distinct countries, England, Scotland and Northern Ireland. In fact its name "Union Jack" emphasises the very nature of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland as a union of nations. The flag is also known by another name, this too, emphasising the idea of union: the "Union flag", perhaps a less common term but a little more precise. The countries comprising the British Isles are not inward-looking or isolated states with an insular mentality; together they constitute a powerful union that has spanned centuries. Recent devolution that gave Scotland its own Parliament and Wales its own Assembly has also emphasised the importance of individual national identities within the union without affecting the essential unity of Great Britain. On the contrary, it has strengthened it. Recognition of, and respect for national identities are an essential ingredients for effective union. The Union Jack symbolises all this: respect for individuality within a closely knit community.

The "Union Jack" or "Union Flag" is a composite design made up of three different national symbols:



St. George's Cross,
the flag of England

St. Andrew's Cross,
the flag of Scotland



St. Patrick's Cross,
the flag of Ireland

The cross represented in each flag is named after the patron saint of each country: St. George, patron saint of England, St. Andrew, patron saint of Scotland and St. Patrick, patron saint of Ireland.

The image below renders the idea of the union of the three flags forming one unified, transnational Flag.



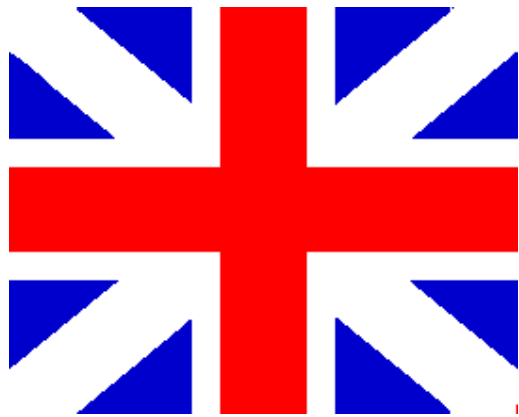
No mention has been made of the Welsh flag. The Welsh dragon was not incorporated into the Union Flag because Wales had already been united to England when the first version of the Union Flag was designed in 1606. It is, however, in common use:



The Welsh Dragon

THE HISTORY OF THE UNION JACK

The first step taken in the creation of the flag of Great Britain was on 12th April 1606. When King James VI of Scotland became king of England (King James I) it was decided that the union of the two realms under one king should be represented symbolically by a new flag. Originally It consisted in the red cross of England superimposed on the white cross of Scotland on the blue background of the Scottish flag as in this illustration:



Thus we have the first flag of the union called, in fact, the "Union Flag".

What was meant to be a symbol of unity actually became a symbol of international controversy. The English resented the fact that the white background of their cross had disappeared and that the new flag had the blue Scottish background. On the other hand the Scottish resented the fact that the English red cross was superimposed on the Scottish white cross!! The old adage says you cannot please everyone but this first version of the Union Flag seemed to please no-one!!

Apparently there was an unofficial "Scottish version" that attempted to rectify the sense of injustice that the Scottish felt at this innovatory flag. A distinct reference was made to this version when the King visited Dumfries in 1618. Here is what it looked like:



The controversy was destined to last!! There is conflict in the best of families!!

However, the flag was usually restricted to use at sea until the two kingdoms of Scotland and England were united in 1707. It was most probably from this use at sea that it got the name "Jack" ("Union Jack"). It was usually flown at the bow end of the ship, from the jack

staff.

An attempt was made to modify the flag under Oliver Cromwell. A harp was placed in the centre, representing Ireland. However, the original design was restored along with the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.

The flag continued to be used in its original form until Jan. 1, 1801. At that time, with the union of Ireland and Great Britain, it became necessary to represent Ireland in the Union Flag and so the cross of St. Patrick was included thus creating the flag as we now have it. When the southern part of Ireland gained its independence in 1921 and became the Irish Free State no alteration was made to the Union Jack.

The name "Union Jack" became official when it was approved in Parliament in 1908. It was stated that "the Union Jack should be regarded as the National flag".

Syllabus

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN

COURSE-I.PRE-HISTORIC TO THE ERA OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

No. of credits: 4

No. of contact hours per week: 6

Aim of the Course: To enable the students to understand the background of early English literature so as to have a better understanding of the developments in literature.

UNIT I - Historical Antecedents

- Great Britain - Geographical Entity.
- Early Settlers
- Roman conquest - impact on society
- Advent of Christianity
- Anglo Saxon period - Alfred the Great - development of learning and Education.
- Danish influence
- Norman conquest

UNIT II – England under Feudalism

- Origin of Feudalism-Manorial system – Feudal practices – Laws – Feudal hierarchy –

condition of serfs - Chivalry and Romance – Dooms Day Book
– Church and Feudalism – Thomas Buckton.

- ☐ Magna Carta – background - significance – Consolidation of Feudal Power.
- ☐ Impact of Crusades on English Society.
- ☐ Anglo-French rivalry – Hundred years War – Impact on society – Joan of Arc – Development of Nationalism - medieval superstitions.
- ☐ Black Death-peasant revolts.
- ☐ Technology - War Technology
- ☐ Development of towns – guilds - role guilds in the society.

UNIT III – English Society in Transition

- ☐ Medieval Universities - curriculum - relation with the church – intellectual life - Medieval English Literature - Chaucer
- ☐ Defiance of established order - Wycliff and Lollards - John Huss
- ☐ Development of trade and commerce – emergence of a new middle class.
- ☐ Wars of the Roses – establishment of Tudor monarchy – Nature of Tudor Monarchy - Monarchy and the New Middle Class - Period of reformation and seed time – English parliament.
- ☐ Decline of feudalism
- ☐ Transition to modern period

UNIT IV - Age of Renaissance and Reformation

- ☐ Tudor monarchy – rise of new aristocracy and new middle class – statutes against feudalism.
- ☐ Influence of Printing Press.
- ☐ Reformation – Reformation Parliament – Confiscation of the property of the church – impact on the society
- ☐ Elizabethan Church Settlement – Anglicanism – development of Puritanism – Reformation in Scotland.
- ☐ Elizabethan Era – Defeat of Spanish Armada – pride as a nation – Voyages of exploration – Development of Overseas Trade – Mercantilism, Formation of Trading Companies – English East India Company.
- ☐ Social Impact of Reformation - Legislations - Poor Laws - Roger Ascham
- ☐ Renaissance in Literature – Humanism – Thomas Moore - Milton – Shakespeare – Spenser – Marlowe – Ben Johnson - Growth of prose literature– Elizabethan theatre – Development of Scientific spirit – Francis Bacon – Isaac Newton.

UNIT V– Impact of Royal Absolutism

- ☐ Stuart Monarchy – Petition of Right – Migration to the New World.
- ☐ Civil War – England without a King – Puritanism – Oliver Cromwell – Protestant ethics.
- ☐ Social life in the 17th century - influence of overseas trade.- growth of middle class

- Restoration – restoration of monarchy and parliament - restoration of theatre – Political pamphleteering and Satire Alexander Pope - Swift – Dryden
- Glorious Revolution – ideology of Locke – Bill of Rights – Limited monarchy- Limitations of Democracy in England – Domination of landed Aristocracy and traders in the parliament – Development of Party system
- Era of Independence – Coffee houses and clubs – Bank of England – Economic development.

UNIT VI– Eighteenth Century England

- Union of England and Scotland – Act of Union Advent of Hanoverians –strengthening of Parliament - Walpole.
- Impact of American War of Independence - Thomas Paine - impacts on England - blow to mercantilism.
- Impact of French Revolution – Burke and Carlyle- Social attitude towards revolution - fear of change.
- Neo Classicism – Johnson – Romantic revival – Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelly and Keats – Social back ground of the novels of Walter Scot and Jane Austin.
- Union with Ireland - The Union Jack.
- Developments in technology.

Readings:

- Travelyan, G.M.: A Social History of England, Vol. I &II
Travelyan, G.M.: Illustrated English Social History
Carter and Mears: A History of England
Adams G.B.: Constitutional History of England
Churchill: History of English Speaking Peoples
Seaman: A New History of England
Fischer H.A.L.: History of Europe
Durant Will: Age of Faith
Elton G.R.: Tudor England
Warner and Martin: A Ground Work of British History
Gottschalk Louis: The Era of French Revolution
Gibbert C.: The English: A Social History
Hobsbaum E.J.: Age of Capital
Hobsbaum E.J.: Age of Empire
Hobsbaum E.J.: Age of Revolution
Stawarinous: History of Modern World since 1500.

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