

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
CENTRAL
ARCHÆOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

ACCESSION NO. 38174

CALL No. 901. Gre

D.G.A. 79.

1206 712

The Chain of History

TO MY DAUGHTERS
SYLVIA AND ROSALIND MEIGGS

The Chain of History

*The Story of the Main Links in the Chain of
Man's Development from the Stone Age to the
End of the Nineteenth Century*

by

Pauline Gregg

Ph.D. B.Sc. (Econ.)

author of

*A Social and Economic History of Britain
1760-1955*

901
Gre

38174

*With 32 plates in half-tone and numerous line drawings
and maps in the text*



George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd
London Toronto Wellington Sydney

CENTRAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No. 38174
Date 17.8.61
Call No. 901/Gre

*First published in Great Britain 1958
by GEORGE G. HARRAP & CO. LTD
182 High Holborn, London, W.C.1*

Reprinted 1960

© *Pauline Gregg 1958*

for St 211

PREFACE

THE object of this book is to describe some of the links in the chain which has brought mankind from the Stone Age to the Age of the Great Powers at the end of the nineteenth century. The story is simply told, and is intended for those of all ages who, while not specialists themselves, wish to know what historians believe is true about the past.

The aim has been twofold : to give sufficient detail in each episode or period to make it real in itself ; but at the same time to span the centuries quickly enough for their pattern to be easily discerned. If the unfolding of the story is sufficiently exciting to persuade the reader to use the bibliography which is appended, the book will, at least in part, have justified itself.

I am grateful to Messrs Bell and Sons, Ltd, for permission to use two extracts from *English Economic History—Select Documents*, edited by Bland, Brown, and Tawney ; to the Clarendon Press, Oxford, for an extract from *The Wool Trade in Medieval History*, by Dr Eileen Power ; to Messrs Dent and Sons, Ltd, for extracts from *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, translated by Professor G. N. Garmonsway, and *The Song of Beowulf*, translated by Professor R. K. Gordon ; to Messrs Ginn and Co., Ltd, for two extracts from *Ancient Times*, by J. H. Breasted, and an illustration, "The Development of the Alphabet," from the same work ; to Penguin Books, Ltd, for an extract from *A Guide to English Literature*, edited by Boris Ford, and the same publishers and the author, for extracts from *The Canterbury Tales*, translated by Professor Nevill Coghill ; to Phoenix House, Ltd, for an extract from *Visions from Piers Plowman*, translated by Professor Nevill Coghill ; and to Messrs Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd, for "Cædmon's Hymn," from *The Cædmon Poems*, translated by Charles W. Kennedy.

PAULINE GREGG

July 1958
Holywell Manor
Oxford

CONTENTS

PART I

The Ancient World

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
I. THE PREHISTORIC WORLD	13
II. EGYPT : THE PYRAMID AGE	19
III. EGYPT : THE EMPIRE	25
IV. CRETANS, MYCENÆANS, AND PHŒNICIANS	31
V. THE HEBREWS	36
VI. THE PEOPLE OF THE TWO RIVERS	41
VII. GREECE : THE BEGINNINGS	46
VIII. GREECE : THE PERSIAN WAR AND THE AGE OF PERICLES	51
IX. GREEK POLITICS AND EDUCATION	57
X. THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER	61
XI. ROME : THE FOUNDATIONS AND THE REPUBLIC	65
XII. ROME : THE CARTHAGINIAN WARS AND THE EASTWARD EXPANSION	69
XIII. ROME : THE GRACCHI, CÆSAR, AND AUGUSTUS	73
XIV. THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND ROMAN CIVILIZATION	78
XV. THE END OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE	84
XVI. CHRISTIANITY	87

PART II

The Middle Ages

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
XVII. THE EMPIRE OF ISLAM	93
XVIII. THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE	98
XIX. BRITAIN AND THE BARBARIANS	100
XX. THE ANGLO-SAXONS	104
XXI. THE VIKINGS	110
XXII. THE NORMANS IN ENGLAND	116
XXIII. FEUDALISM	122
XXIV. MEDIEVAL EUROPE	129
XXV. THE CRUSADES	135
XXVI. TRADE IN THE MIDDLE AGES	138
XXVII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY : THE WOOL-TRADE IN ENGLAND	142
XXVIII. THE TOWNS AND THE GUILDS OF THE MIDDLE AGES	146
XXIX. LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES	151
XXX. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH LAW	156
XXXI. MAGNA CARTA	161
XXXII. THE BEGINNINGS OF PARLIAMENT IN ENGLAND	164
XXXIII. THE BLACK DEATH AND THE PEASANTS' REVOLT	166

PART III

The Modern World

XXXIV. THE RENAISSANCE	170
XXXV. THE GREAT DISCOVERIES	177
XXXVI. THE REFORMATION	184
XXXVII. THE RISE OF THE NATION STATES	191

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
XXXVIII. THE ENGLISH SEA-DOGS AND THE SPANISH ARMADA	196
XXXIX. THE ENGLISH CLOTH INDUSTRY	200
XL. THE ELIZABETHAN POOR LAW	205
XLI. ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND	208
XLII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENT IN ENGLAND	215
XLIII. CIVIL WAR IN ENGLAND	219
XLIV. OVERSEAS EXPANSION : THE DUTCH AND THE ENGLISH	224
XLV. THE RISE OF FRANCE : ENGLISH AND FRENCH AT WAR	230
XLVI. THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY	234
XLVII. THE REVOLT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES	240
XLVIII. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION	245
XLIX. THE REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON	249
L. THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION IN GREAT BRITAIN	254
LI. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN GREAT BRITAIN	258
LII. THE WORKING CLASSES IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION	263
LIII. REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN : BY THE PEOPLE	267
LIV. REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN : THE STATE	271
LV. THE BRITISH EMPIRE	275
LVI. THE MODERN WORLD AND THE CONTINUITY OF HISTORY	280
LVII. HOW DO WE KNOW ?	283
BIBLIOGRAPHY	288
INDEX	291

ILLUSTRATIONS

ILLUSTRATIONS IN HALF-TONE

	<i>Page</i>
STONEHENGE	16
CAVE PAINTINGS FROM ALTAMIRA	16
RELIEF FROM THE TOMB OF THETHÁ	17
THE TEMPLE OF KARNAK	17
THE LION GATE AT MYCENÆ	32
CRETAN STORAGE JAR AND VASE	32
CRETAN ' SNAKE-GODDESS '	33
WALL-PAINTING FROM THE PALACE AT CNOSSUS	33
STATUE OF MOSES BY MICHAELANGELO	48
DAVID, FROM AN ILLUMINATED BIBLE	48
HUNTING SCENES FROM THE PALACE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPEROR ASSURBANIPAL	49
THE GREEK THEATRE AT EPIDAUROS	64
STATUE OF A GREEK YOUTH	64
ATHENIAN VASE	64
PERICLES	65
ALEXANDER	65
AUGUSTUS	65
CONSTANTINE	65
FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE	80
THE PORCH OF THE MAIDENS	80
TWO ROMAN AQUEDUCTS	81
THE ARCH OF TITUS	96
RELIEF FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS	96

	<i>Page</i>
ROMAN STREET AT OSTIA	97
GARDEN COURT OF ROMAN HOUSE AT POMPEII	97
THE ANNUNCIATION	112
THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT	112
ALFRED'S JEWEL	113
PLOUGHING IN THE MIDDLE AGES	113
THE SUTTON HOO SHIP BURIAL	128
THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY	128
CHIVALRY : THE JOUSTS OF ST INGLEBERT	129
PIETY : ST FRANCIS FEEDING THE BIRDS	129
MAY DAY IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY	160
" THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI "	161
STATUE OF DAVID	176
GALILEO	176
ERASMUS	176
PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR	177
FERDINAND MAGELLAN	177
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS	177
TITLE PAGE OF THE GREAT ENGLISH BIBLE (1539)	192
THE TUDORS ON COINS	193
ELIZABETHAN MANOR HOUSE	208
THE LONG GALLERY AT KNOLE	208
KING CHARLES I	209
OLIVER CROMWELL	209
AN INDUSTRIAL TOWN IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND	240
SLUMS IN AN INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT OF ENGLAND	240
THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS	241
TUTANKHAMEN'S TOMB	256
TUTANKHAMEN'S COFFIN AND MASK	256
WRITING ON PAPYRUS	257

ILLUSTRATIONS

11

Page

A LETTER WRITTEN IN CUNEIFORM ON CLAY	257
LATIN WRITING ON WAX	257
THE GREEK USE OF COLUMNS	257
THE ROMAN USE OF THE ARCH	257
NORMAN ARCHITECTURE	272
SAXON BUILDING	272
MOORISH ARCHITECTURE	272
GOthic BUILDING	273
ITALIAN RENAISSANCE BUILDING	273

ILLUSTRATIONS IN LINE

STONE TOOLS AND WEAPONS	14
A SHADUF	19
AN EGYPTIAN GAME	27
PHENICIAN WARSHIP	34
PHENICIAN MERCHANTMAN TOWING TIMBER	34
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALPHABET	35
A GREEK TRIREME	47
THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS	53
AN EARLY SAXON HALL	101
INSIDE AN EARLY SAXON HALL	102
SAXON ORNAMENTS	105
A SCHOLAR WRITING	106
A VIKING LONG BOAT	111
ROCHESTER CASTLE	118
AN OPEN-FIELD VILLAGE IN THE MIDDLE AGES	126
A MONASTERY IN THE MIDDLE AGES	130
A MEDIEVAL TOWN	143
THE PERFORMANCE OF A MIRACLE PLAY	149
A SHOPPING STREET IN THE MIDDLE AGES	152

	<i>Page</i>
A FLYING BUTTRESS	153
A MINSTREL IN THE STOCKS	157
WHIPPING VAGABONDS AT THE CART'S TAIL	158
TWO PRETENDED FORTUNE-TELLERS IN THE PILLORY	159
THE ASTROLABE	179
AN ELIZABETHAN THEATRE	211
"THE MAYFLOWER"	226
AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SLAVE AUCTION POSTER	236
STORMING THE BASTILLE	247

MAPS

THE ANCIENT WORLD BEFORE THE RISE OF ROME	21
THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT	71
EUROPE AND THE NEAR EAST ABOUT A.D. 800	93
VIKING ROUTES OF EXPLORATION, PILLAGE, AND TRADE	110
SOME OF THE TRADE ROUTES OF THE MIDDLE AGES	139
CHIEF VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES	178
THE THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES OF AMERICA (1783) WITH QUEBEC AND CANADA	240
THE BRITISH EMPIRE AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT	278

Part I

THE ANCIENT WORLD

CHAPTER I

The Prehistoric World

THE whole history of the human race is less than a second of time in the history of the world. The history of civilization is even less. The history of the English-speaking peoples is shorter still: great civilizations were flourishing in Mesopotamia and Egypt when savages were painting their bodies where London now stands.

For thousands of years before this—far, far longer than can easily be imagined—*Homo sapiens*, the creature that was a true man, was gradually raising himself above the level of the animals, asserting his supremacy in the hunt, domesticating animals, slowly learning the arts of sowing and reaping. But long even before this, thousands of millions of years ago, there was life on the earth. It was largely reptilian; mammals were small and rare, and the giant brontosaurus, diplodocus, and other monsters roamed the earth. Further back still, through seemingly endless ages, can dimly be discerned a green slimy world when the day was of a few hours' duration and nights were long—an age of strange, swimming, creeping, crawling creatures, of seaweeds, and few land plants.

The earliest men of whom records exist are generally called Stone Age men, because their weapons and tools were chipped and fashioned out of stone or flint. At first these were so roughly made that they are now barely distinguishable from other stones that are found lying under the fields of Europe. Later, men learned to grind and polish, instead of just to chip, their stones, and made some very fine implements.

Life for Stone Age man was difficult and dangerous, with little comfort. Periods of intense cold—the great Ice Ages—crept down over Europe, practically wiping out life; yet always man managed to survive. He was learning all the time. At first he led a wandering life, living on berries and nuts and

fruits—perhaps eating the flesh of animals or birds which he found already dead, but not yet daring to hunt them. It was better to keep away from the sabre-toothed tiger, the wild elephant, and the great hippopotamus and rhinoceros which roamed the forests.

Gradually he developed the courage and the skill to hunt smaller animals with his flint weapons, and the cunning to trap larger ones in deep pits which he dug and then covered with boughs and leaves. People then more often ate animal flesh; and they fashioned skins into clothes with the help of needles made of bone and thread made of animal-sinew or plant-fibre. They also fished in rivers and seas, and sometimes made their homes in caves, although they did not yet live a settled life.



STONE TOOLS AND WEAPONS

At some time they discovered fire. No one knows where or when; but it was one of the greatest discoveries of all time when two twigs rubbed together produced the spark which gave light and warmth. It made cooking possible, and the strange, leaping flames scared away wild animals from the cave-man's home.

As the climate became kinder and the last of the great Ice Ages ended men built huts of clay and wattle; they used boats which simplified travel and made fishing easier. They learned to fashion pottery from clay, to fire it and decorate it. They became very skilful in making fine implements, like needles and harpoons, from horn and antler, from bone and ivory.

Finally, early man learned to cultivate the soil and to domesticate animals. He grew barley, wheat, and millet; he kept dogs and sheep, goats and cattle and pigs. Many wild fruits

such as raspberries and blackberries, apples and pears, grew near his home, and he probably cultivated these too. Life became easier and more friendly. Men began to build their huts in groups, like small villages. This was partly for companionship, and because the work of sowing and reaping is best done by groups of people who share the work and share the harvest. It was also for protection, for there were still enemies to fear—like savage animals or rival tribes.

They sometimes settled on a great plain where the land was fertile and well-watered, and then they would protect their villages by ditches and mounds. Or they settled by a lake or river, where transport by boat was simple and water and fish plentiful, and where, if not secure, they escaped at least some of the perils of the forest. Sometimes they made a defensive place on a hill, protecting it with ditches and earthworks, where the tribe with its belongings could retreat in time of danger.

It is easy to see how in these conditions, where all shared the work and the peril, and all shared the reward, the family grew into the tribe, and how customs handed down from parents to children became laws which the tribe were bound to obey for the general well-being.

These people would have had a strong religious life. Like all primitive peoples, they were afraid of the unknown and saw spirits and gods in all the works of nature. They worshipped perhaps sun and rain, perhaps a river; thunder and lightning would be evil spirits. They revered their dead and buried them with some of the things they had used and loved while alive. Often a grave was marked by giant monuments of stone, or megaliths (from the Greek word meaning 'large stone'). Sometimes just a colossal single stone stood as memory to a dead chieftain, like the one in Northern France, which is sixty-five feet tall and weighs 300 tons. It has now fallen and lies broken in three pieces. A group of stones, called a cairn, might cover one or more graves; or a tomb might consist of large stones carefully placed with several upright ones and another placed across the top, like a roof.

Sometimes the burial place consisted of one or more chambers constructed thus. Access to the chamber was frequently by means of a corridor similarly composed of upright stones with a flat stone roof. Within lay the dead, perhaps as many as twenty together, probably the members of the same family or clan, with some of their earthly treasures about them—a drinking cup, a weapon, a tool. The stone chambers were then covered with earth to form the mound or

long barrow, well known in Europe. Later burials could be made through the stone corridor, whose entrance was kept open.

The men of the Stone Age could not write and left no written records, but megaliths and barrows tell something of their lives. So do fossils in the rocks, which have preserved the forms of animals and plants. So do the bones and other rubbish which they threw away, some of which has been found in great heaps round the coasts of Denmark.

Stone Age man drew pictures on the walls of his caves and often coloured them, like the beautiful picture of bulls found in a cave at Altamira, in Spain, or the fine drawings in the caves of the Dordogne, in France. It must not be forgotten that the caves were dark, and to make these paintings early man must have had some form of light. As a lamp he probably used a piece of skull or a bit of hollowed-out rock, filling it with moss and animal fat which would burn and give out light.

Early man also scratched pictures on bones or rocks, like the fine horse's head scratched on reindeer horn found in the Pyrenees. Sometimes he made little stone figures representing human beings, and several of these have been found in France and Austria. The remains of roads or settlements on marshy ground have also been discovered. One of the largest was revealed in Lake Geneva, in Switzerland, during a drought in 1921 which lowered the level of the lake.

After stone, men learned to work in copper and in bronze, which is a mixture of copper and tin. This was a great step forward in civilization, second only to the discovery of fire. Weapons and tools were sharper and more finely fashioned, and man gained greater control of his surroundings. He still buried the dead in barrows; but they were round, not long like those of Stone Age man, and each covered the body of only one person—probably a great chief. Bronze Age men also used megaliths to mark their burial sites and for religious rites. Stonehenge, in England, is one of the mightiest collections of these giant stones. It consisted of a great circle of enormous stones of sarsen, a very hard sandstone, within which were five even larger sarsen stones placed to form a horseshoe. Within the sarsen circle was a circle of bluestone rock, so called because of its colour, and within the sarsen horseshoe a horseshoe of bluestone rock.

The great sarsen stones supported a continuous roofing or series of stone lintels placed across them. Their average height



STONEHENGE

An artist's reconstruction of an ancient ceremony. From an old print.

Photo Mansell Collection

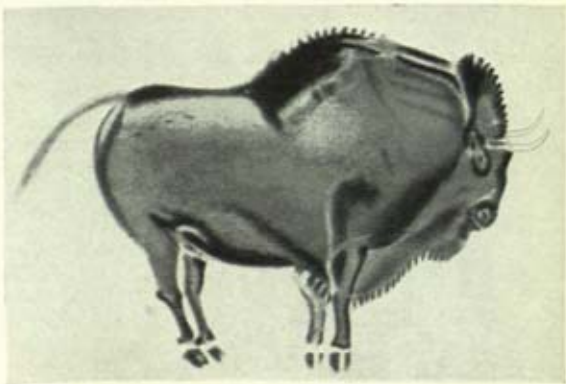


CAVE PAINTINGS FROM ALTAMIRA, SPAIN

Photos Mansell Collection

HORSE

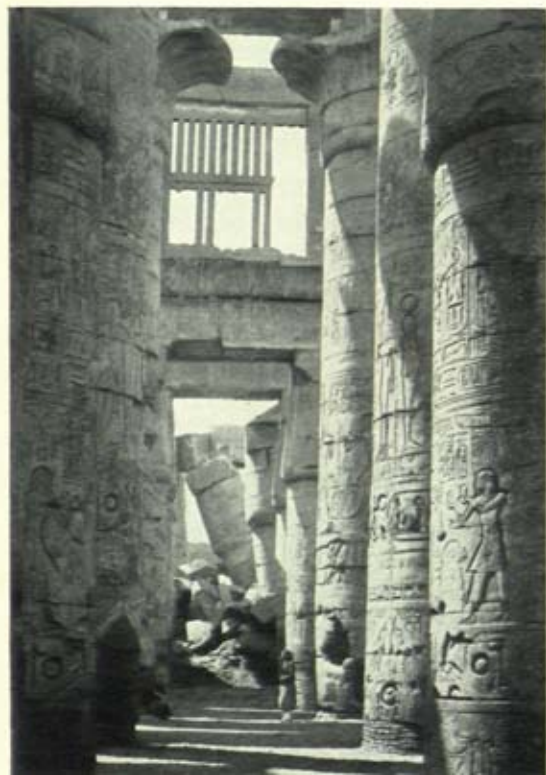
BISON



RELIEF FROM THE TOMB OF THETHÁ

Thethá was an Egyptian royal official of about 2000 B.C. The upper part recounts his career, the lower records a funerary prayer (*right*) and shows Thethá with his attendants and offerings.

Photo British Museum



THE TEMPLE OF KARNAK

This shows the colossal carved columns of the Great Hall, which were painted in bright colours.

Photo "Radio Times" Hulton Picture Library

is eighteen feet, of which about four to five feet is sunk in the earth. The largest sarsen stone is nearly thirty feet high, and the heavier ones weigh about fifty tons each.

The nearest sarsen sandstone to Stonehenge is twenty-four miles away. How did these early men transport about eighty-one of these huge stones of such a weight? They probably did so by means of wooden sledges on rollers attached to ropes made of animal-sinew and pulled by men. It has been estimated that it would take 1500 men five and a half years to do it. Then there was the problem of erecting the stones. They probably dug a deep hole to take the end of the stone, and then by means of strong ropes pulled the pillars into an upright position. Hauling the lintels into position would have been even more difficult.

The bluestone rocks, although smaller, were still of considerable weight; perhaps there were eighty of them weighing four tons each. The only place this bluestone could have come from was even farther away—in Wales, a distance of 135 miles. These were almost certainly brought most of the way by sea and river on boats or rafts, and transferred to sledges for the overland section of the journey. Not only strength and skill but a great deal of organization was needed for this. And what was the purpose of it all? We cannot be certain. Perhaps Stonehenge is connected with religion and burial; more we cannot say. We can only marvel at the skill and ingenuity of these remote people who conceived the idea of the great stone circles and completed the enterprise.

So man started on the long career we call civilization. Development has been uneven. One part of the world was in the Stone Age while in another a powerful civilization using copper and bronze was flourishing. The reason for this unequal development is mainly geographical or climatic. Where forests are thick, where the weather is very hot or very cold, or where there is too much or too little rainfall, life is difficult and men's energy is taken up with simply getting a living. Where life is easier, as in a fertile river valley, men live better and more easily and have time to develop cities, make laws, and think and talk. If life is too easy they become lazy and never develop art or science or good government. That is why the earliest civilizations flourished in parts of the world where the climate was good, but where man needed to plan and organize his life if he was to reap the full benefit of his surroundings. This is what we mean when we say that

geography influences history. Men's activities are always and everywhere influenced by the kind of country in which they live.

As we turn to study some of the greatest civilizations of the world let us take one look back at Stone Age men. What does civilization owe to them? We owe the discovery of fire, of the first tools, of the domestication of animals, the beginnings of tribal organization. But perhaps more than that. It is easier for later ages to make progress because of the long struggle made by our ancestors with forest and swamp, wild animals, and the great unknown world that stretched all about them. They had no books or teachers to tell them the reasons for day and night, for the thunder and the storm, for a shooting star, or an eclipse of the sun. They had to conquer their fear and find out everything for themselves. Yet gradually they developed the settled way of life which is the start of civilization, the beginning of the long thread whose other end is in our hands to-day.

CHAPTER II

Egypt : The Pyramid Age

THE valley of the river Nile in Egypt is one of the most fertile areas in the world. The sun is hot, the rainfall sparse, and on either side of the valley stretch miles of desert. Yet every summer the Nile, swollen by the melting snows on the mountains at its source, overflows its banks and as it recedes leaves behind a rich deposit of fertile soil. To reap an abundant harvest people living in the Nile valley had to do two things. They had to use the earth just after the inundation for sowing their seed ; and they had to devise a method of irrigation by the river even when it was not in flood.

The first was not very difficult. By digging a network of irrigation canals the Egyptians retained some of the Nile water on the land after the flooding. The fertile land between the ditches was then turned up by a team of two oxen and a simple wooden plough, and the seed scattered by hand. Sometimes pigs or other animals were then let loose in the fields to trample in the seed, and it grew abundantly.

It needed more ingenuity and skill to harness the Nile for all-the-year-round irrigation. This was done, however, by the device of the shaduf, which is still used in Egypt to-day.

A bucket was attached to one end of a long, flexible stick,



A SHADUF

whose other end was weighted by a lump of dried mud. The stick was balanced, like a see-saw, on a central upright. The bucket end was pressed down into the river and filled with water; as it was released the weight at the other end raised the full bucket out of the river. It could then be rotated and the water tipped into one of the canals which ran over the fields. The result was a rich and varied harvest, which included grain, flax, lentils, dates, figs, grapes, onions, garlic, and many other fruits and vegetables.

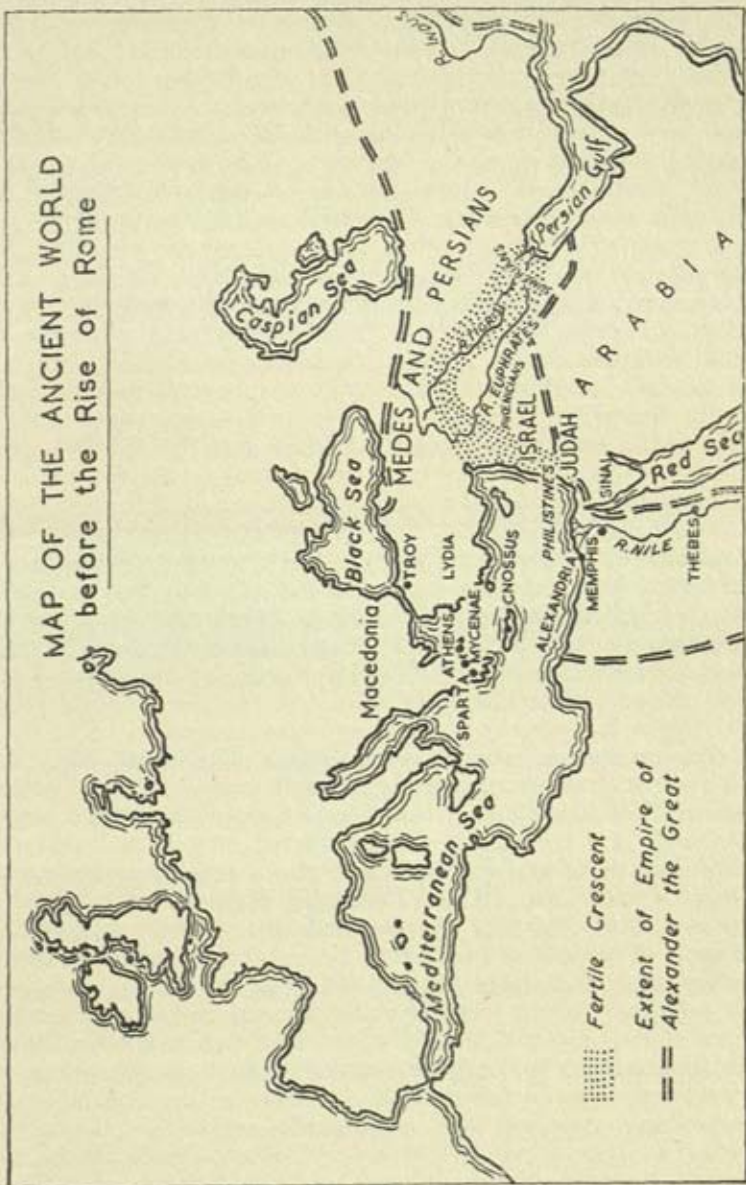
Although their valley was fertile, it needed planning and organization to make full use of the Nile water, and in consequence a strong government under a Pharaoh, or king, administered by nobles and officials, developed early in Egypt.

The fertile area of the Nile spread very widely at the mouths of the river, or delta, and it was here that people first settled. Later they moved up the valley of the Nile, where the river-deposit spreads for about ten miles on either side. Because their valley was rich and fertile, and because they had to plan to make use of it, and perhaps because they were fairly secure from invasion, with desert to the south and west of them, sea and desert to the east, and sea to the north, the Egyptian people developed more rapidly than others, and their civilization was one of the first to pass beyond the Stone Age.

How or when men first discovered the use of metal we do not know. But Sinai, not far east of the Nile Delta, is rich in deposits of copper, and it is likely that its superiority to stone for making tools was discovered very early. Another step forward was taken when it was found that copper tools could cut great square blocks of stone. Until this time Egyptian building had been of brick, made from clay dried in the sun. The first use made of stone was to line some of the elaborate brick tombs which the Egyptians built for their dead. Then, about 3000 B.C., a great architect named Imhotep built a tomb entirely of limestone, and this still stands, the earliest surviving stone building in the world.

Once they realized they could build in stone the Egyptian rulers went on to plan greater and mightier tombs for their dead kings, and a hundred years later the Great Pyramid of Gizeh was being built for King Khufu (Cheops). It was the first of a great series of pyramid tombs covering the graves of dead Pharaohs, which still stretches for miles on the Plain of Gizeh along the west bank of the Nile, south of the modern city of Cairo. Here the ancient Egyptians also had their

MAP OF THE ANCIENT WORLD before the Rise of Rome



capital city, which they called Memphis. Grouped round the Pharaohs' pyramids are the smaller pyramids and the great flat-topped tombs of the Egyptian nobility.

The size of the pyramids was enormous. The Great Pyramid measures 755 feet along each of its four sides, it is 500 feet high, and is made of 2,300,000 blocks of limestone each one weighing about two and a half tons. The stone came from the east, from the other side of the Nile. It is hard to imagine how the Egyptians carried the great blocks across the river and how they erected these colossal buildings without a knowledge of modern engineering. They had not even invented the wheel. It seems that they made ramps, or sloping ascents, of sun-dried brick round the pyramid as it was being built, and dragged the blocks up these into place. It is recorded that it took 100,000 workmen twenty years to build the Great Pyramid. Undoubtedly much slave-labour was used, and many peasants worked as builders when the Nile was in flood and there was no work to do on the land.

The building of the pyramids gives further evidence, besides the utilization of the Nile waters, of the powers of organization of the ancient Egyptian Government. Not only had they to ensure the supply of cut stone blocks from the farther bank of the river and keep the workmen ceaselessly at their work; they had at least, even if the problem of clothing and shelter was easily solved in the warm, dry climate, to feed 100,000 people for twenty years.

Far inside the pyramid lay the body of the dead Pharaoh, in a burial chamber reached by passages formed in the pyramid and entered by a door often high up in one of the sides. Since the Egyptians believed in life after death, all who could afford to do so preserved the bodies of their dead by embalming them as mummies and, like Stone Age men, buried with them many of the things they had used and loved on earth. Egyptian kings and nobles were far richer and had many more beautiful things than Stone Age chiefs, and many wonderful treasures of gold and silver, turquoise and glass, diorite (an exceedingly hard stone), and alabaster (a veined marble), have been found in Egyptian tombs. Sometimes the garment in which a man or woman was buried is still clinging to the mummy. It shows that the Egyptians could work gorgeous embroidered robes, as well as linen so fine that it looks and feels like silk.

The Egyptians believed that a man would need refreshment in his journey to the other world; so food, drink, and clothing

were put out for him in a temple adjoining the pyramid or in a chapel-chamber above his grave. Sometimes a complete meal is found still preserved. Round the walls of these temples and chapels were drawn and painted likenesses of the dead man, scenes of his life on earth, and pictures of the imagined life to come. In a Pharaoh's temple or that of a great man there would certainly be much display of wealth and beauty as well as a great statue of the dead.

Remains of statues that have been found show that the Egyptians were great portrait sculptors, often hewing their statues out of diorite, painting them with life-like colours, and frequently using rock crystal for the eyes, which even to this day gives them a life-like appearance. One of the most striking statues which remains is that of the Great Sphinx, which, with the head of King Khafre (Chephren), who lived about 2900 B.C., and the body of a lion, stands guard before the Pyramid of Khafre on the plain of Gizeh.

The process of embalming was long, taking about seventy days, and the most effective methods were very costly. Only a rich man could afford them, together with the great cost of a tomb and chapel-chamber. The poor were embalmed by a cheaper and much less efficient process, and several were often buried together in the earth. So there are no tombs, and generally not even their bodies, to give evidence of their life. It would be a mistake to imagine that the treasures of the great tombs were common to all Egyptians.

The Egyptians believed in more than one god, and these were associated with the strong natural influences at work in their lives. It is not difficult to understand that the sun and river Nile were their chief gods. Re was the sun-god ; and the pyramid, which features so much in their building, was his sacred symbol. Osiris was the god of the river and of the fertility which it made possible. The Egyptians believed that every year, when the river overflowed to water their land, the river-god came up from his home and gave his life for his people, but that he was miraculously born again in the new life of the earth with each fresh season.

By the time of the pyramids there were many classes of people in Egypt of varying wealth and power. There were the nobles and officials of Pharaoh's court, the law officers, tax-collectors, traders, and merchants. The large caste of priests was important and wealthy, and there were many powerful soldiers. The rich Nile soil belonged to Pharaoh and the

great landowners. Working on it and in the houses of the rich, and at such hard tasks as the making of bricks from the Nile mud, were many servants and slaves, the latter often war-captives.

There were also many craftsmen who made the everyday things of life. Somewhere, no one knows exactly when, men had begun to use the potter's wheel for fashioning their clay into pots. A disc—at first of roughly shaped stone—was balanced at a central point and revolved by the potter as he sat at his work. The moving stone helped him to form the damp clay into the shapes he wanted, and the potter's wheel was in use in parts of the Ancient World 5000 years ago. Men and women at some remote time also learned to spin flax and other fibres into long threads and to weave them into cloth on a simple hand-loom.

So, in Egypt by 2500 B.C. Nile clay was fashioned on the potter's wheel and baked in closed ovens to produce pots and pans for cooking and water-carrying, and beautiful bowls and vases for ornament. Flax from the valley was spun and woven on the hand-loom into linen, some of it wonderfully fine. Copper from Sinai was fashioned into strong, sharp knives, cooking and agricultural implements, and ornaments. From the stem of the Nile bulrush, the papyrus, small boats for the river were made, while the scarcer timber was preserved for the long-oared and masted galleys which ventured beyond the Nile Delta into the open sea.

Apart from the tombs, all building was still of sun-baked brick, which has not survived ; so we have only the evidence of the tomb pictures to tell us what an Egyptian town looked like. The villas of the wealthy were of one or two storeys, with flat roofs and many windows, surrounded by elaborate gardens containing fruit-trees, flowers, pools, and fountains. These would be grouped round Pharaoh's palace, which was more luxurious, but also of brick. The houses of the artisans would probably be along narrow streets, and the centre of town life would certainly be the market, where goods were bartered and news exchanged. The villages of the poorest peasants, however, would still be nothing more than groups of mud huts on the banks of the Nile.

CHAPTER III

Egypt : The Empire

As Egypt grew stronger and wealthier her soldiers as well as her traders went to other lands and returned as conquerors with yet more wealth ; even the horse was introduced from Asia. Egypt became the greatest and richest civilization the world had seen. She was at the height of her power between 1500 and 1100 B.C., when her empire included Egypt, the land to the south which was called Punt, Sinai, many of the Ægean islands, and the lands of the Eastern Mediterranean as far as the river Tigris.

She brought copper from Sinai, ostrich-feathers, ivory, ebony, and fragrant gums from the southern desert and from Punt, and gold from Abyssinia. Her ships reached Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean, bringing back with them olives and luxuries for her large population. Leather she imported from wherever she could, often exacting it as tribute from defeated peoples. She learned, too, one very important art from the inhabitants of Mesopotamia—the making of bronze by mixing tin with copper.

By this time the Pyramid Age was left behind. Egypt in the age of the Empire continued to spend her riches on cities and monuments, on jewels and works of art for her wealthy rulers ; but Thebes, far up the Nile, replaced Memphis as her capital city, and rock tombs took the place of pyramids as the burial places of her kings.

At Thebes the great temple of Karnak contained the greatest pillared hall ever built. Each of the central pillars was so large that a hundred men could stand on the top of it. Over-towering the temple were two great obelisks nearly one hundred feet high, one commemorating Queen Hatshepsut, the first great woman ruler of whom we have record. A great avenue of sphinxes led from the temple to the Nile. All the buildings were decorated with pictures, with sculpture and carved relief, often in bright colour. Round the outside of the great temple itself ran a series of coloured reliefs depicting battle scenes and the triumphs of the Pharaoh.

Across the river from the temple, in the western desert,

were the tombs of the Pharaohs and the great men of the Empire, hewn in the rock which there rises from the river valley. As in the pyramids, a man's earthly possessions were placed in his tomb. Outside the temples on the eastern bank, as well as by their tombs in the western desert, colossal portraits of their rulers were hewn from stone or rock, like that of Amenhotep III, who lived about 1400 B.C., which is seventy feet high.

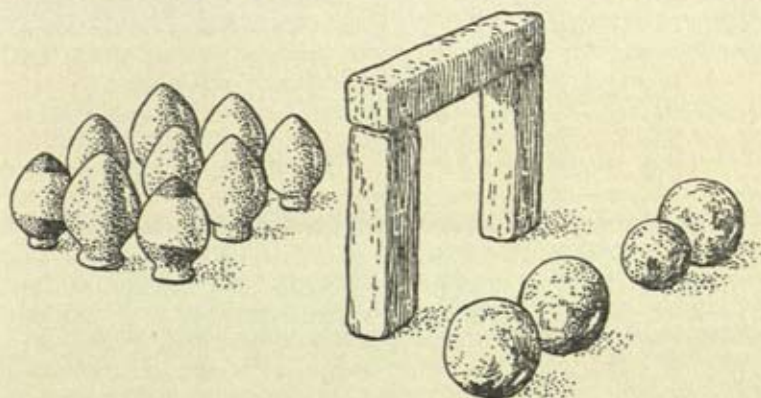
The ancient Egyptians seem to have been a happy people leading a pleasant and varied life. They had abundance of corn for bread, and made a great variety of cakes, pastries, and biscuits. They caught fish in the Nile; they kept cattle, sheep, and pigs, though not in great numbers, as the yearly inundation left little grass for their feed. Nor were they very fond of animal flesh for eating. They preferred duck, geese, and other poultry. They drank the milk of the cow and the goat, and made cheese. Oxen and donkeys were used for cartage, while pigs were commonly used to trample the seed into the earth after sowing.

They drank wine made from grapes and beer made from barley. They used the nourishing lentil in their diet, and ate fruit and vegetables of many kinds. Honey was used for sweetening, and they were great bee-keepers. There were some restrictions on their diet. A priest, for example, would not eat fish or pork, and some people considered mutton unlawful food. On the whole they ate more vegetables than meat, which they reserved for special occasions. They believed that many illnesses were due to indigestion and overeating, and that a careful diet and an occasional fast would promote health and fitness. They were a clean people, washing frequently and bathing by having water poured over them as they knelt in a small tub. Their priests bathed twice a day, and often twice in the night as well.

The Egyptians made music on harp and lute, pipe, cymbal, and drum, and on the sistrum, a kind of metal rattle. They enjoyed slow, stately dances and the skill of acrobats and tumblers. The men hunted the wild ox and the antelope, the wild cat and wild fowl, as well as fiercer animals like the hyena, who killed their animals and ruined their crops. But since their weapons were only the bow and arrow and the throw-stick they would sometimes return with nothing but a hare or a porcupine from the chase.

Men sometimes tried their skill at single-stick or wrestling.

Sometimes they played a game which might be a forerunner of the modern 'darts,' except that the Egyptians threw knives at a block of wood. Their object was either to get as near the centre as possible or perhaps to strike the opponent's knife. Draughts and games with dice were popular while the children, especially the girls, played many ball games. One of these is an entertaining version of our 'broken bottles,' in which the girl who missed her catch had to take another girl on to her back and carry her until she too missed a ball. The children had many attractive toys. Dolls of many kinds were common, some with human form, whose legs and arms could



AN EGYPTIAN GAME

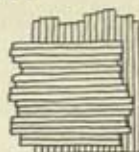
This set of stone ninepins was found in the grave of an Egyptian child who lived nearly four thousand years before Christ.

be moved by pulling a string; others were crude and brightly coloured. One figure could be made to knead dough (or, perhaps, to wash clothes?) by pulling a string, and there was a fine crocodile who would snap his jaws.

There were many religious festivals to the gods, and the people often enjoyed a festival during the inundation when work on the land was suspended. Public spectacles were sometimes provided by bull-fights; but these were fights between animals alone, and no human beings were involved.

At the edge of the Nile grew a bulrush or sedge called papyrus. By splitting the stems of this plant into thin strips the Egyptians found they had a material upon which they could make marks and signs much more easily and clearly than on stone or wood or animal's horn. The papyrus grew

about eight or ten feet high, with a thick stem. The outer stem was removed and the inner cut and spread out to make a long strip with its fibres running vertically. Another length of inner stem was then cut and placed on top of the first, but with the fibres running horizontally, like this :





PAPYRUS ROLL

There was thus a piece of papyrus stem of double thickness. It was found that by placing these together in Nile water they stuck together, making one solid piece of papyrus; it is probable that the water released some kind of sticky substance in the papyrus itself to make this possible. A beautiful piece of writing material was thus produced, the better side for writing being the one along which the fibres ran horizontally. Sheets as long and as wide as required could be made by joining papyrus strips together.

By their invention of papyrus the Egyptians had thus devised a writing material whose name has come down to us little changed in our own writing *paper*. They used a reed as a pen, its point softened to something like the texture of a paint-brush. They experimented until they made a kind of ink by mixing water with gum from plants and colouring it with soot from their fires for ordinary purposes and with various coloured dyes for elaborate work. They made themselves palettes for holding their pens and their various coloured inks. But, even more important, they had all the while been developing a method of writing.

It is easy to imagine how the need for some kind of written or pictured communication would have arisen. Even the cave-man would have left signs to show his friends which way he had gone. Or if his wife had left the cave before he returned from hunting she might have left a sign to say "I have gone for water" (perhaps a picture of a water-pot scratched on a stone) or "Do not let the dinner burn" (perhaps a picture of a pot over a fire with much smoke coming from it).

As civilization developed men would want to write more elaborate messages and to keep some kind of account of their trading transactions. It was natural that picture writing should be the first writing to develop. This picture-writing is

called hieroglyphic writing. A picture might represent an object like  and mean 'an eye.' It might also stand for an idea, an eye with teardrops meaning 'sorrow' or 'sadness.' A bird like this  might mean a 'fat duck' or it might stand for 'provisions.' The stem



of the young papyrus plant could mean simply 'green,' and a necklace with a seal might stand for 'treasurer.' So, a figure of a man could mean simply 'man,' but if his ribs were sticking out it would indicate famine.



Words could be built up from their parts in this way—book-case, cupboard—and writing would be rather like playing a game of charades. Similarly ideas which had no connexion with the original picture could be conveyed. If we were using picture writing we might, for example, draw a tree and the sun to mean 'treason.'



An alphabet language is different from hieroglyphics. In an alphabet each letter has a sign and a name, and words are built up from letters, not syllables. An alphabet language is much simpler to use and far more flexible, but it is natural that it should develop after picture-writing. The Egyptians also progressed to an alphabet, but the scribes who did most of the official writing preferred hieroglyphics. They did, however, learn to write them very quickly, abbreviating and simplifying the pictures so that they all ran together like a page of modern writing, except that they wrote from right to left and sometimes from the top of a page downward.

Papyrus sheets were often very long, and as each sheet was written it would be rolled up. A papyrus book would be a roll; one that has survived is 135 feet long, but most would measure about thirty or forty feet, and be about five to twelve inches wide. When an Egyptian boy opened his school-book he would unroll a papyrus scroll; the adventure stories and romances which he and his parents enjoyed would be unrolled as they read.

Learning to write was one of the greatest steps forward that man had made. It enabled him to send messages (the beginning of letter-writing), to keep an account of things that had happened in his own time (the beginning of history-writing), to write down stories of his daily life that seemed interesting

or amusing, or fanciful ideas that occurred to him (the beginning of story-writing), and many more things which added to enjoyment, efficiency, and the understanding of life. There were, however, forms of writing other than Egyptian hieroglyphics. We did not learn the art of writing direct from the Egyptians, and when it came to us it was not picture-writing but an alphabet which we adopted.

Egyptian civilization advanced in other ways also. As writing was invented to fulfil the need of communicating with others who were not present, or of keeping records, so a calendar was devised to assist in various business transactions—to help a man to deliver his corn on the promised day or to know on which day he was to receive payment. The Egyptians invented a calendar of 365 days consisting of twelve months of thirty days each and finishing with five feast days.

The Egyptians also learned in the course of their trading to make arithmetical calculations. In order to build the pyramids they needed a considerable knowledge of geometry. They studied the heavens and the stars, especially when they were navigating at sea, and became great astronomers. They knew something of medicine and the care of the human body.

For all this civilization owes a debt to the Egyptians. It should not be forgotten, however, that the life we reconstruct from tombs and papyrus rolls is the brightest side of Egyptian life. On the other are the peasants toiling in the fields for little comfort, the slaves straining at the great pyramid blocks or in the brick kilns. Little is recorded of their daily life. Let us hope they had some share in the civilization they helped to build.

CHAPTER IV

Cretans, Mycenæans, and Phœnicians

AMONG the places with which Egypt traded was the island of Crete. It lies across the Mediterranean Sea as though separating Egypt and the Mediterranean from Greece and the Ægean sea. It has a sunny climate with adequate rainfall in the winter, and wheat and barley, olives and grapes, and many other fruits and vegetables grow easily. Many pleasant streams water the island all the year round, and the Cretans had no need to invent artificial means of irrigating their fields. Perhaps for this reason their civilization developed later than the Egyptian.

When the Egyptians first reached their island, about 3000 B.C., the Cretans, besides cultivating their fields, were making crude pottery and sailing in roughly made boats; but they still knew nothing of copper or bronze. The Egyptians brought to the island copper implements and ornaments of many kinds. They not only brought examples of their own beautiful pottery, but taught the Cretans how to use the potter's wheel and the closed oven for firing the clay. They came in ships far bigger than the Cretans had seen before, using sail as well as oars.

Later the Cretans learned to use bronze, and made far more use of it than the Egyptians had done. They assimilated Egyptian teaching and combined it with their native skill and taste to produce beautiful pottery and exquisite works in bronze and ivory and gold that rivalled and frequently excelled those of the Egyptians. Trade grew. Crete exported not only her agricultural produce but her works of art. Even Egypt was glad to trade with her one-time pupil. Cups of pottery so fine that they are like the finest china went to Egypt. Many examples of brightly decorated Cretan pottery are found in Egyptian tombs. Golden cups, exquisitely wrought with wild bulls and foliage, have been found near Sparta, in Greece. Cretan ships sailed to Egypt, to Asia Minor, to the Greek islands, often fighting as well as trading, and bringing tribute back to Crete.

Crete grew rich. Her capital city of Cnossus was one of

the finest the world had seen. Surpassing all was the great palace which the Cretan kings built there overlooking the sea. Inside, it was of brick and timber, outside of stone. There were rooms both above and below ground, long corridors wide enough for great processions to pass, balconies and verandahs looking on to great courtyards or over the sea. It contained not only the throne room, the queen's room, banqueting halls, bedrooms, but store-rooms for oil and corn, an armoury of bronze weapons, each with its own clay label, rooms for court officials and their families, for the artisans and other workmen who served the palace. It was indeed a complete town in itself.

The palace of Cnossus contained much treasure of gold and silver, of beautiful carvings, of exquisite pottery, and wonderfully painted frescoes in bright colours representing handsome youths bearing goblets, athletes testing their skill against fierce bulls, and many pictures of animals.

Snakes and bulls figure prominently in the Cretan story. There were many shrines to the snake-goddess, generally in caves, and little statues of the goddess herself have been found, grasping snakes in her outstretched hands.

Representations of bulls and bulls' horns have been found all over Crete, and the Cretans may have offered sacrifices to a bull god. There was a legend that a king's son was half-bull, half-man. Bull-fighting was a favourite Cretan sport; but, unlike the Egyptians, the Cretans pitted human beings against the animals. The wall-pictures show, too, a form of acrobatic skill in which the acrobat seized the horns of a charging bull, somersaulted on to his back, and landed behind him. No modern athlete has performed this feat; and people with a knowledge of the ways of wild bulls believe it to be impossible, but there is no mistaking the picture. Is it merely fanciful? Or were there Cretan acrobats specially skilled at this sport? Or were the 'acrobats' perhaps war-captives trained to amuse the Cretans in this way, and many of them thereby meeting their death?

Perhaps connected with these pictures and with the size of the palace is the legend that grew up of the Minotaur, a monster kept by Minos, the King of Crete, in a great maze of twisting passages. To this monster Minos fed live victims supplied by states he had conquered. Many heroes had tried to kill the Minotaur, but had never returned. They had either been killed by the monster or been lost in the labyrinth of passages surrounding his lair.



THE LION GATE AT MYCENÆ

Photo "Radio Times" Hulton Picture Library

STONE CRETAN STORAGE JAR (*left*). OCTOPUS DESIGN
ON CRETAN VASE (*right*)

Photos Ashmolean Museum





CRETAN GODDESS OR PRIESTESS WITH
SNAKES COILING UP HER ARMS

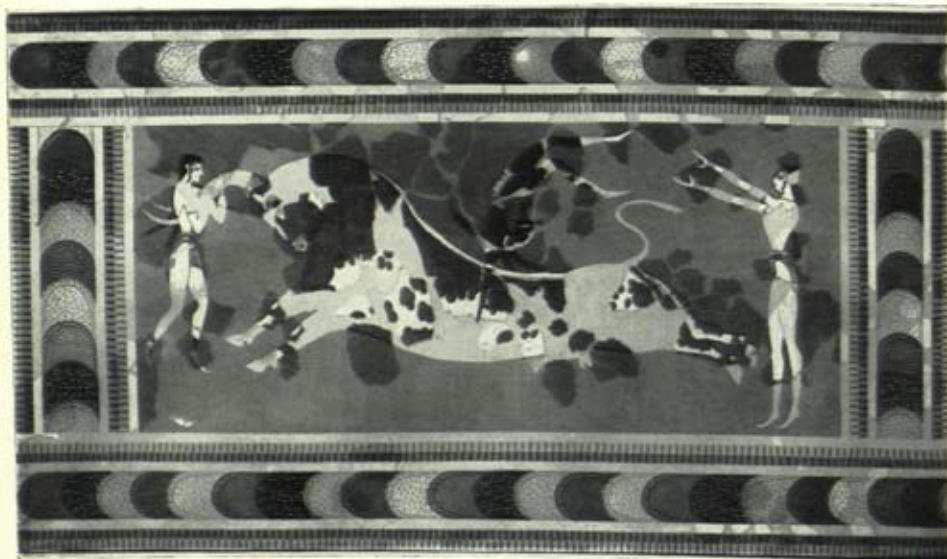
Photo Ashmolean Museum

33

WALL-PAINTING (RESTORED) FROM THE PALACE AT CNOSSUS

The figure in the middle is somersaulting over the bull's back, the one on the left prepares to follow, the girl on the right has just landed.

Photo Ashmolean Museum



At last Theseus came from Athens, a city whose young people had formed part of the Minotaur's prey. Aided by the King's daughter, Ariadne, Theseus tied one end of a ball of thread to the door of the lair and, holding the other, at length found his way to the angry monster in the inmost recesses of the labyrinth. He killed it and, by following the thread, was able to make his way safely out again.

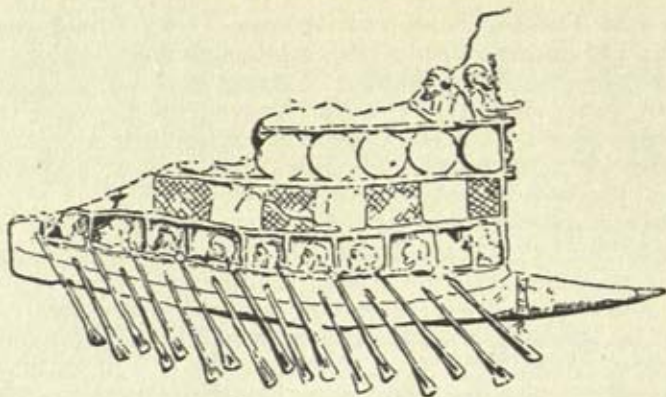
More surprising, perhaps, to the modern mind than the size and beauty of Minos's palace is the remarkable system of drainage devised by the Cretans. Pipes not only took away rain water; but baths, although probably filled by hand, could be emptied by means of a waste-pipe, and there were lavatories flushed by water. When the Queen's rooms in the palace were excavated they were found to have their own private bathroom and lavatory attached.

Minos and his court no doubt led a very comfortable life. Besides bull-fighting, acrobatics, and athletics (including boxing-matches), they enjoyed stately dancing. The women wore clothes which were not only beautiful but surprisingly modern, being rather like some of the more graceful clothes that people wore when Queen Victoria was young. Several little models of Cretan women or goddesses that survive are very lovely indeed.

The Cretans took over hieroglyphic writing from the Egyptians, but simplified the signs to make a more rapid script—linear writing, as it is called. Unfortunately, no efforts have yet succeeded in deciphering it.

Some sudden catastrophe must have ended the great days of Crete. There is evidence of a terrific fire which swept through the palace so that it came crashing down, burying all its treasures until they were excavated by the English archaeologist Sir Arthur Evans in 1899.

Cretan civilization was at its height between 1600 and 1500 B.C. By this time another civilization was flourishing to the north, on the mainland of Greece, by the Gulf of Argos. People of Greek stock lived here, and many rich palaces and tombs of this period have been excavated. The town of Mycenæ has yielded the greatest treasures of gold and silver, bronze and iron, and so has given its name, the Mycenaean period, to this phase of Greek history. The Mycenaean Greeks built strong city-walls, palaces, and tombs in stone; they used bronze for their spears, swords, and shields; they turned their pottery on the wheel, following the spirit and

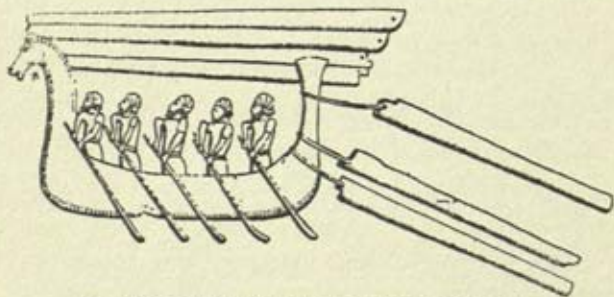


PHŒNICIAN WARSHIP
About 700 B.C.

designs that Crete had invented. They used a form of writing similar to that of the Cretans.

It was these Greeks who followed the lead of Agamemnon, the King of Mycenæ, against Troy. The Trojan war was later made immortal by Homer's *Iliad*, but the Mycenæan civilization did not long survive it. About 1150 B.C. the great palaces at Mycenæ and other centres were destroyed by raiders, and refugees belonging to the Ionian tribe left the Greek mainland to settle along the western coast of Asia Minor in what came to be known as Ionia. This settlement was very important to the history of Greece itself.

By now yet another sea-faring people had become famous. The Phœnicians were dark, bearded men of Semite stock, who came from Syria. The position of their country made it



PHŒNICIAN MERCHANTMAN TOWING TIMBER

natural that they should become traders. Inland were the caravan routes to Babylon, Nineveh, and the cities of Mesopotamia. Seaward lay Egypt, Crete, and the Ægean Islands. The Phœnicians became even greater sailors and traders than the Cretans, but not such good craftsmen. They not only traded with all the countries round the Mediterranean, but they sailed between the Pillars of Hercules—the narrow straits we now call Gibraltar—and may have reached the almost unknown island of Britain, in order to trade tin with the rough islanders.

The Phœnicians did much to spread the culture of Egypt and Mesopotamia through the Mediterranean; they built bigger and swifter boats than their neighbours, they became expert in all the arts of buying and selling, and they developed the art of writing. Their trading enterprises had early taught the Phœnicians the necessity of some permanent form of record, and they had taken over an alphabet from the Sumerians and adapted it to their own needs. Each sign in their alphabet represented not a whole syllable, as in hieroglyphics, but a separate letter. This was to be of very great importance later on.

① PHŒNICIAN	② EARLY GREEK read from right to left	③ LATER GREEK read from left to right	④ LATIN	⑤ ENGLISH
Α	A	A	A	A
Β	Β	Β	B	B
Γ	Γ	Γ	C, G	C, G
Δ	Δ	Δ	D	D
Ε	Ε	Ε	E	E
Υ	Υ	Υ	F, V	F, V
Ζ	Ζ	Ζ	...	Z
Η	Η	Η	H	E, H
Θ	Θ	Θ	...	TH, PH
Ι	Ι	Ι	I	I
Κ	Κ	Κ	...	K, KH
Λ	Λ	Λ	L	L
Μ	Μ	Μ	M	M
Ν	Ν	Ν	N	N
Ξ	Ξ	Ξ	X	X
Ο	Ο	Ο	O	O
Π	Π	Π	P	P
Ρ	Ρ	Ρ	...	S
Σ	Σ	Σ	Q	Q
Τ	Τ	Τ	R	R
Υ	Υ	Υ	S	S
Χ	Χ	Χ	T	T

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
ALPHABET

From *Ancient Times* by J. H. Breasted.
See also p. 47.

CHAPTER V

The Hebrews

IN Egypt a great city civilization had developed ; people like the Phœnicians had become great traders ; others again were still shepherds, living in tents, apart from city life, grazing their flocks and wandering from place to place in search of new pastures. Among these nomads were the Hebrews, people of the Semite race, who grazed their flocks on the lands that lie between the Red Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Persian Gulf. The greater part of this area is desert, and to the north it is enclosed by mountains. But between the mountains and the desert is an area of fertile land for the possession of which many races contended. The fertile land extends, in the shape of an arc or crescent, from Sinai northward along the Mediterranean coast, eastward to near the source of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, and down to the Persian Gulf.

The eastern end of this fertile crescent is thus formed by the land of the two rivers—Mesopotamia—which nurtured its own successive civilizations. On the Mediterranean coastlands which form the western end of the fertile crescent the Phœnicians made their home. The Syrians, or Aramæans, settled to the east of them and became a powerful and cultured trading people, with Damascus one of their chief cities, while to the south of the Phœnicians and the Syrians was the land of Canaan, settled by the Amorites or Canaanites. It was here that the Hebrews, after many years of wandering, finally made their home.

The Hebrews first appear at the eastern end of the fertile crescent, near the Persian Gulf. Abraham, we are told, was born at Ur, in the land of Sumer. Their wanderings took them as far west as the Nile Delta. On one occasion several Hebrew tribes were taken captive by the Egyptians and made to work as slaves in Egypt. Of their final mass escape under the leadership of Moses many stories were told, the most impressive being the tale of how Jehovah, the god of the Hebrews, divided the waters of the Red Sea so that his people could cross on dry land from Egypt to Sinai, but sent the

waves crashing down upon the pursuing Egyptians, who were drowned with all their chariots and their horses and their goods.

This belief in Jehovah, their own special god, and the belief in themselves as a Chosen People whom Jehovah would protect, distinguished the Hebrews from others who wandered and settled in the fertile crescent, giving them a strong feeling of unity. In particular, they believed that Jehovah had promised them a land which was to be the home of their race for ever. The sons of Abraham had reached this land, and when they left Egypt the Hebrews determined to return there.

As they journeyed they became closer to God. At Mount Sinai they made a covenant, or pact, with him to serve no other god and to worship no graven image. They built and carried about with them an ark, or box, of acacia-wood, richly ornamented with gold, in which were two stones from Mount Sinai "written with the finger of God," symbolizing their covenant with Jehovah.

When they reached the Land of Canaan they were confirmed in their belief in themselves as a Chosen People, for the waters of the river Jordan were dry so that they could easily cross, and a landslide caused the walls of the Canaanite city of Jericho to crumble and fall as they drew near.

The southern part of Canaan, which they called Judah, after Judas, the fourth son of Jacob, whose tribe was one of those who settled there, was neither fertile nor rich, and the Hebrews who settled there continued to live largely as shepherds. In the north, however, the Canaanites had built a flourishing city civilization. After a period of friction the Hebrews inter-married with them and shared this more wealthy city life. They called this northern part of Canaan the land of Israel, which means the land of Jacob, or of the descendants of Jacob.

They still had enemies to face, particularly the Philistines, who had settled on the coast to the west of Judah. David, their warrior shepherd King, beat off the Philistines, won great personal glory, and made a capital city at Jerusalem, in Judah. David became one of the greatest heroes of the Hebrew race, winning fame as soldier, ruler, poet, and singer.

He was succeeded by his son, Solomon, who became a mighty merchant and trader, married an Egyptian princess, and was famed for his wisdom and his riches. He "made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars made to be as the sycamore trees." Once in three years "came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and

peacocks." "Solomon in all his glory" became a byword among the Hebrews.

With the help of King Hiram of Tyre and his Phœnician workmen Solomon built the first temple of the Hebrews to house the Ark of the Covenant. Until this time the Hebrews had used a tent as their house of worship. Hiram agreed to help in return for an annual payment of wheat and oil. His workmen brought fir and cedar down from Lebanon to the sea, where it was put on rafts and towed down the coast. Solomon arranged a rota of 10,000 Hebrews to work in Lebanon for a month at a time, returning home for two months while another group took their place. In this way the House of the Lord was finished in seven years.

After the death of Solomon the Hebrews were divided into two kingdoms. The Assyrian power, sweeping down from the Tigris, destroyed Israel; and when Nebuchadrezzar conquered Babylon he reached out to the little kingdom of Judah, and in 597 B.C., hardly more than 600 years after the Hebrews escaped from Egypt, the city of Jerusalem was captured and large numbers of Hebrews taken captive to Babylon. The Babylonian captivity was hard to bear.

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept when we remembered Zion.

We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion.

How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.

If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.

It was probably while they were in Babylon that the Hebrews were first called *Jews*, the name coming from their land of *Judah*.

When the Persians fought their way to supremacy in Mesopotamia and in their turn occupied Babylon the Jews were freed and the Persian ruler, Cyrus, allowed them to return unmolested to their Promised Land, where they rebuilt their cities and restored their temple. This time they did not crown a king, but the High Priest at Jerusalem became head of their state.

While they were settling in the land of Canaan the Hebrews

had been learning from the Phœnicians and the Aramæans the art of writing upon papyrus. Gradually they wrote down the stories of their wanderings and the tales of their great leaders, which for generations had been passed on by word of mouth. Such stories David must have sung to Saul. Then David himself passed into legend as the slayer of Goliath and the saviour of his race, and his story too was passed on to be finally written down in the book of Jewish history. Some of the prophets, like Amos, themselves wrote down their words of denunciation, their teaching, and their prophecies. Songs and psalms and words of advice so wise that they have passed into the universal language of proverbs were also written. In this way the book which we call the Old Testament was made. It marks the Hebrews as a great literary people.

Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding.

For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold.

She is more precious than rubies : and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her.

O Lord my God, thou art very great ;

Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment ;

Who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain ;

Who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters ;

Who maketh the clouds his chariot ;

Who walketh upon the wings of the wind ;

Who maketh his angels spirits,

His ministers a flaming fire.

The Old Testament, besides being a history of the Hebrews and a collection of Hebrew literature, is an account of the great religious experience of the Jews as they made contact with their god, Jehovah, and, unlike other tribes around them, held to him alone during centuries of wandering in the wilderness and weary years of captivity. It shows, too, how their idea of God developed and widened. At first he was a God of Battles, a Jealous God, ready to smite with fire and thunder any who displeased him, visiting the transgressions of the father upon the children. He developed into a God who was merciful and just, who would extend his love to all mankind.

But while in this way the outlook of the Jews was widening, in another it was narrowing to keep them still a people apart.

While in exile in Babylon they had held themselves together by means of the Jewish law, and when they returned it was with this law collected, added to by new experience, and carefully written out. It thus formed a code of rules to cover every circumstance, civil as well as religious, extending even to what a Jew might eat and what he should wear, and so strict that it might even prohibit him from carrying a sick man to be healed on the Jewish Sabbath.

CHAPTER VI

The People of the Two Rivers

SEPARATED from the Nile by the Red Sea and the Arabian Desert are two rivers flowing into the Persian Gulf—the Tigris and the Euphrates. Like the Nile, these rivers overflow their banks in summer when they are swollen by melting snow from the mountains. As in Egypt, the inhabitants of their valleys needed to dig irrigation trenches to carry water over their fields when the rivers had subsided and there was no rain. Again, as in Egypt, civilization developed early here in the land of the two rivers.

While Egypt, however, lay secure from invasion for many thousands of years, this land was occupied by successive conquerors from the desert and mountainous regions around who sought new homes in the fertile river-valleys. As one civilization became settled and accustomed to softer living another race, driven on by the desire for better conditions and sharpened by years of struggle, swept in to take its place.

Across these lands there move many peoples—Sumerians, Assyrians, Kassites, Semites, Chaldeans, Medes, Persians. Powerful civilizations at Babylon and Nineveh rise and fall. Names like Hammurabi and Nebuchadnezzar tantalize us from the past. It is all rather like a kaleidoscope of shifting patterns and colours, except that each pattern took hundreds of years to form, though only a short while to dissolve. We shall have time here to look at only a few of the patterns.

In 3000 B.C., when the Egyptians were beginning to build the pyramids, a people called the Sumerians were already settled in the valley of the Euphrates. They irrigated their land by means of dykes and trenches; they sowed barley and wheat; they pastured cattle, sheep, and goats; they harnessed oxen to a plough and used donkeys to draw their wheeled carts and chariots. In this respect they were more advanced than the Egyptians, who were not yet using the wheel. They traded with their neighbours and, even before the Egyptians,

had developed a form of writing. Like Egyptian, it was hieroglyphic, or picture, writing; but instead of papyrus, which did not grow by their river, they made their drawings on the soft clay of the valley, which was then either dried in the sun or baked in an oven so that it became quite hard.

The reed pen which the Sumerian used was blunt at the end, and as he pressed it into the soft clay it made a mark which was wider at one end than the other. This wedge-shaped writing we call cuneiform writing. The Sumerians, like the Egyptians, also found it convenient to invent a calendar. But, although it was linked to the moon, it was less accurate than the Egyptian. It is interesting to learn that their numbers were based on sixty (as ours to-day are based on ten) and that, because of these ancient Sumerians, we still reckon sixty seconds to a minute and sixty minutes to an hour.

The Sumerians were a religious people, supporting a class of many powerful priests, the chief of whom, the *patesi*, was virtually ruler of the state.

They built high square towers to their gods, up which a winding path led to a shrine at the very top. The Sumerians originally came from mountainous country, and it is probable that they thought their gods would be offended by low temples built in the river valley. So they made their temples soar, and in so doing started the idea that led to all the church towers of the Christian world. For actual worship, however, there was generally a small temple built on the ground at the side of the great tower. An imaginary picture of the biblical Tower of Babel by the artist Pieter Bruegel shows what a Sumerian temple tower was probably like.

There were slaves and freemen in Sumeria as in Egypt, merchants, traders, peasants, and craftsmen of many kinds. The craftsmen who reached the greatest degree of perfection in Sumeria were the men who worked in stone. It was the custom to sign letters and documents with seals, and each person of importance had his own special seal. This was pressed into the clay, much as we press a seal into sealing-wax to-day. Sumerian seals, however, were generally barrel-shaped, like little rollers, so that they could be rolled over the clay; and they were exquisitely carved. One seal not only illustrates the story of Etana, who rose into the skies on the back of an eagle, but shows dogs, a goatherd with his goats, a potter making pots, and a baker baking little rolls of

bread. All this is on a little cylindrical seal only a few inches high.

About 1700 B.C. one of many invasions by the Semites brought with it to the valley of the Euphrates one of the greatest kings of the ancient world—Hammurabi. Hammurabi established his capital at Babylon, and the kingdom of the Sumerians came to be called Babylonia.

Throughout his whole kingdom Hammurabi noted the varying customs which had grown up through the centuries governing both trade and everyday life. Not only did they vary from place to place, but there was often uncertainty as to what they were. Hammurabi determined to enforce laws that should be uniform; and so that there should be no doubt as to what they were he had them written down on a great stone slab, which still survives. These are the first written laws of which we have record. They mark another step forward in civilization.

Hammurabi's Code was often very fierce and, it seems to us, not always quite just. For example, Babylonian houses, like Egyptian, were built of sun-dried brick and liable to crumble or fall down. The Code said that if a house fell and killed the householder's son, then the *builder's* son should be killed as punishment. If a man injured another his punishment should be the same injury to himself. This was the code that the Old Testament also knew as "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," and it could be very harsh indeed. But undoubtedly it was a great advantage that the law should be fixed and known.

In the north of Mesopotamia, meanwhile, on rather higher ground near the river Tigris, the Assyrians were building up another civilization. They not only adopted the writing, the calendar, and many of the ideas of the Sumerians, but through numerous wars over the centuries they developed their army until it was the scourge of the Eastern world. "The Assyrian swept down like a wolf on the fold" was a common experience to many neighbouring peoples. They built up an empire which included all the fertile land from the Tigris to the Mediterranean Sea. They conquered Babylonia, and even drove Egypt from Syria. By about 700 B.C. the Assyrian Empire, with its capital at Nineveh, on the Tigris, had reached the height of its greatness.

Although they were such fierce warriors, some of the

Assyrians were also fond of reading, and the Emperor Assurbanipal possessed a library of 22,000 clay tablets of religious, scientific, and literary works. Each bore his mark and contained this warning :

Whosoever shall carry off this tablet, or shall incribe his name upon it side by side with mine own, may Assur and Belit overthrow him in wrath and anger, and may they destroy his name and posterity in the land.

The people of the two rivers knew how to work in bronze, but an even better material was becoming known. To the north of the two rivers, just south of the Black Sea, deposits of iron were being worked by a race of people called Hittites. The use of iron, which is far harder, more durable, and infinitely more effective than copper or bronze as a weapon or implement, spread through Asia Minor, and the warlike Assyrians, who adapted all to the ends of conquest, were perhaps the first people to fight with iron weapons. To this, as well as to their fierceness and their skilful use of the horse in battle, they owed much of their success.

Nevertheless, the Assyrians in their turn were weakened by the very extent of their empire and finally gave way before the pressure of new invaders. It was the Persians who finally took possession of the countries that had formed the Assyrian Empire, and subjected even Egypt herself. By 500 B.C. the Persians controlled the greatest empire that the world had seen, stretching from India in the east to Egypt and the Mediterranean in the west, excluding only the desert land of Arabia, and up to the Caucasus mountains and the Black Sea in the north. A fleet was built with the help of the Phœnicians, and thus the great land empire was reinforced at sea.

The Persian Empire was fully organized into provinces, each under a governor, excellent roads linking one with another. The Persians wisely enlisted the help of the conquered peoples instead of making them feel like slaves. They used gold coins for trading called *darics* (after their king, Darius). Coins had been struck in the seventh century B.C. in Lydia, and their obvious superiority to weights of gold and silver as a means of exchange caused their use to spread over the Eastern world. They used iron as well as bronze for tools and weapons ; their writing was cuneiform, but they reduced the number of signs, and so made it less difficult to manage. The Persian Empire in government, art, and architecture was

a welding together of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian worlds. In this ability to assimilate conquered peoples and various cultures the Persians anticipated the even greater Roman Empire which followed.

In religion alone were the Persians entirely individual. They followed the teachings of Zoroaster, a prophet who had lived many centuries earlier. He taught that life consists of a struggle between Good and Evil, and he represented Good as a God called Ahura-Mazda, and Evil as a Spirit called Ahriman. Every man must take his stand on the side of Good or Evil and must expect judgment after death. Helping Mazda were spirits rather like Archangels, of whom the greatest was Mithras, the God of the Sun. He became increasingly important until Mithraism, which retained the essentials of the teaching of Zoroaster, became a powerful religion in itself. Persian kings were buried in great stone coffins in tombs built into rock; but, although the Persians believed in life after death, they did not practise embalming.

Although the Persians were skilful and on the whole good rulers, it was difficult to control so vast an empire, and only natural that the subject peoples should from time to time revolt. In 500 B.C. some of the cities of Ionia, where, as we have seen, people of Greek race had settled, rose against Persian rule. They were helped by two cities of the same Ionian stock—Athens and Eretria—which formed part of the peninsula of Greece across the sea from Asia Minor. Greece had never been subject to Persia. Now the attention of the whole empire was focused on these little states who had presumed to challenge the giant.

CHAPTER VII

Greece : The Beginnings

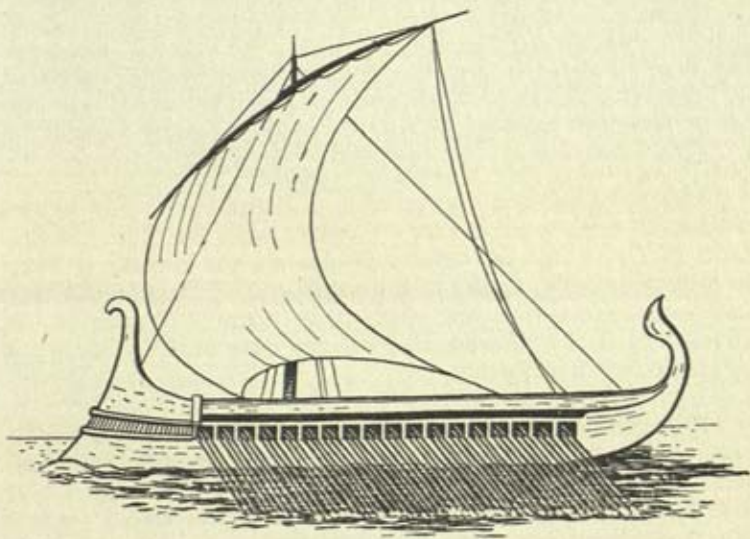
GREECE is a land of small plains cut off from one another by high mountains. Communication between plain and plain is difficult, and, instead of becoming a nation as the Egyptians had done, Greece remained divided into a large number of independent city states, jealous of one another and combining only when faced with invasion by a foreign power.

Few of these states commanded large or fertile valleys, for most of the soil of Greece is thin and stony. It is well suited to the vine, which gave wine for drinking, to the olive, whose valuable oil took the place of butter and cooking-fat and lamp-oil, and to the grazing of goats, which provided milk and meat. On the other hand, less than half the land could be used for the growing of corn, and in most parts of the country the pasture was poor for cattle and sheep. So neither corn, which as bread or in other forms provided the backbone of their diet, nor dairy produce was abundant. To offset this disadvantage, however, the rainfall was adequate, the air in most parts was clear and invigorating, and on all sides the sea beckoned. There are few mountains in Greece from which the sea is not visible, and the Greeks naturally became a race of traders. The contacts with other peoples and other civilizations which resulted worked upon their natural genius to make a race of people whose legacy in art, philosophy, and politics is beyond price.

The Mycenæan civilization was their first contribution to world history. The invaders who destroyed that civilization were of the same Greek stock, but more primitive and warlike. Gradually, however, they settled down. Phœnician traders came to their shores, bringing pottery, woven and dyed linen, beads, and metal, in which the art and designs of both Egypt and Asia were blended. The Greeks were quick to learn anew. They built bigger war-ships, at first modelled on the Phœnician bireme, a boat with two banks of oars, later with three banks of oars—the trireme. They built bigger sailing-vessels for trading expeditions, and sheltered harbours to protect their ships. By 750 B.C. the Greeks were again sailing

east and west to trade with foreign peoples. As population increased and the land became insufficient to feed them the most overcrowded states sent out their surplus population to find new homes overseas—in Sicily, Southern Italy, Spain, the south of France, the north coast of Africa, and the Black Sea.

The development of trade from the eighth century B.C. onward widened the horizon of the Greeks and was accompanied by a wonderful flowering of poetry, architecture, sculpture, and science. Perhaps the most important thing that the Greeks



A GREEK TRIREME
Note the three banks of oars.

relearnt was the art of writing. They adopted from the Phœnicians an alphabet of twenty-two letters, and these letters are the basis of our present alphabet. The names of some of the Phœnician and Greek letters are, indeed, very like our own. Compare, for example, our A, B, with the Phœnician *Aleph*, *Beth*, and the Greek *Alpha*, *Beta*. The Phœnicians also brought to the Greeks papyrus from Egypt, and the Greeks were ready to produce not only trading accounts but the literature for which they had a natural genius. (See p. 35.)

The first of the great poets was Homer, who lived in Ionia, probably about 700 B.C. He wrote down in two long epic poems the story of the war against Troy and the wanderings

of Odysseus when the war was over. Stories of this war had been handed down by minstrels from generation to generation. Homer made from the traditional lays two masterpieces. A fine, human passage is where Hector, one of the Trojan heroes, takes farewell of his wife and child before leaving to fight the Greeks :

So spake glorious Hector, and stretched out his arms to his boy. But the child shrunk crying to the bosom of his fair-girdled nurse, dismayed at his dear father's aspect, and in dread at the bronze and horse-hair crest that he beheld nodding fiercely from the helmet's top. Then his dear father laughed aloud, and his lady mother ; forthwith glorious Hector took the helmet from his head, and laid it, all gleaming, upon the earth ; then he kissed his dear son and dandled him in his arms, and spake in prayer to Zeus and all the gods. . . .

Later came the lyric poets such as Sappho, the first known woman to write great poetry. Contact with the older civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia also led the Greeks of Ionia to inquire into the nature of the world and of the elements that composed it—earth, air, fire, and water. Again, as in Mycenæan times, temples and palaces were built in stone and decorated with sculpture.

From the eighth century onward the states that were to play the leading part in Greek history began to emerge. Corinth, built on the isthmus that separates the Peloponnese from Northern Greece, was in the best position for trade, because she could send her ships east and west and commanded the traffic over the isthmus. She sent out most colonists and for some time was the richest of the Greek states. But her territory was small and infertile, and her population too small to maintain the lead in power. Her great trading rival was the little island of Ægina, which produced enterprising merchants and seamen and had particularly close connexions with Egypt.

Both Ægina and Corinth were later eclipsed by Athens. Athens developed later because she had more corn-land and for long was not forced to trade or send out colonies. Sparta, which later was to be Athens' main rival, was already strong ; but her strength came not from trade and colonies but from the land which she won by conquest. She had the strongest army in Greece, and by 500 B.C. all the states in the Peloponnese either accepted her leadership or were powerless against her. The great Messenian plain provided both her

STATUE OF MOSES BY
MICHAELANGELO

Photo: Mansuett Collection

DAVID WRITING THE
PSALMS (*above*) AND
PLAYING ON HIS HARP
(*below*)

From an illuminated bible of the
twelfth century. The pictures are
painted in the great initial letter B
of *Beatus*, the opening Latin word
of the Psalms.

Photo: Bodleian Library

VIR: QNON ABTEINGNSI



HUNTING SCENES FROM THE PALACE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPEROR
ASSURBANIPAL

Photo British Museum

49



agricultural land and the slaves (Helots they were called) who farmed it.

This left the Spartans themselves free to prepare for war. The Spartan was trained to be a soldier from the age of seven. At birth each child was inspected by the elders of the tribe, and if deemed unhealthy or weak was exposed to die on the wild slopes of Mount Taygetos. When the Spartan grew up he lived in barracks and had no normal family life. He was trained to unhesitating obedience to the warrior state, taught to endure pain and hunger and cold. As a result, though he was unimaginative with little appreciation of beautiful things, he was brave, a great fighter, and placed little value on bodily comforts. A person who leads an austere and simple life we even now call *Spartan*.

Although the Greeks were divided into independent city states, there were certain factors that acted as a bond between them. They spoke the same language, they shared a common feeling of superiority over the foreigner, they honoured the same gods and had religious centres and ceremonies in common. Some of their gods were associated with nature, like Apollo the sun-god, Pan the god of nature, Demeter the goddess of the earth, Dionysus the god of wine. Some were associated with special cities, like Athena, the patroness of Athens, who was also the goddess of wisdom. The gods, according to the Greeks, formed a large family, of whom Zeus, the father, was chief. Their home was on Mount Olympus, but they commonly forsook their heavenly dwelling to mingle with mortals, to help or hinder them, sometimes even to marry with them, so that many Greek heroes, like Achilles and Theseus, were thought to be half-divine.

Some of the gods could foretell the future. This power was particularly associated with Apollo, and at his shrine at Delphi an elaborate temple was built. Men journeyed from far to hear the verdict of the Oracle at Delphi, and all states consulted it when they embarked on new enterprises, sent out colonies, or made war. Many valuable gifts and trophies of war were left at Apollo's temple.

The Greeks held many festivals and public holidays in honour of the gods. At Olympia games were held every fourth year, at which men from all Greek states competed in chariot racing, running, wrestling, throwing the discus, and other athletic feats. The laurel wreath awarded to the victor was one of the highest honours a Greek could obtain.

In Athens a festival in honour of Dionysus was held each

spring. From this Festival, and others like it, developed the modern theatre. The participants marched or danced in procession, wearing masks and goatskins, singing a chorus in praise of the god and recounting his exploits. Sometimes a leader would stand out to sing a separate part and mime the action. Gradually the leader became more important in telling the story, and was joined by others, who were given definite parts, while the chorus continued its commentary. In all Greek drama the chorus played an important part, and all Greek actors continued to wear masks, though not goatskins.

The actual form of the modern theatre also developed from the Greeks. Religious processions generally took place on the side of a hill; spectators would gather round; then seats were provided for them, leaving an open space for the actors at the bottom of the slope. Because of the slope of the hill, the back seats would naturally rise above those in front, and so there developed the semi-circular tiered, open-air theatre of the Greeks and Romans, from which our modern theatre is descended. In Athens the theatre was on the slopes of the Acropolis, from which spectators had a magnificent view over the Piræus to the sea.

CHAPTER VIII

Greece : The Persian War and the Age of Pericles

In the East, as we have seen, the expanding Persian Empire had absorbed Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Lydia, and brought the Greeks of Ionia under its sway. It was the revolt in 500 B.C. of these Ionian Greeks, helped by the Athenians, that led to the first clash between Persians and Greeks. It took the Persians six years of fighting to crush the rebels. After that the Eastern Greeks were once again tribute-paying subjects of Persia, and it was natural that the Persian king should wish to punish Athens for her presumption in sending aid.

At first the Persians regarded this task as a small-scale affair, in which the issue could not be doubted. They sent a force of some 20,000 men across the Ægean and landed at Marathon to march on Athens. The Athenians, instead of waiting to be besieged, took the bold step of marching out of Athens to face the Persians in the field. Knowing that they would be greatly outnumbered, they sent their swiftest runner, Pheidippides, to beg help from Sparta. The Spartans agreed to help, but were delayed by a religious festival. Pheidippides, however, reported to the Athenians that on his journey he had met the god Pan, who had promised aid.

The decisive battle was fought in the plain of Marathon and ended in the crushing defeat of the Persians. The Spartans arrived too late to help, but gazed on the Persian corpses and went away full of praise for the Athenians. The Athenians did not forget Pan, but later built him a shrine under the Acropolis, offering him a sacrifice each year, and running a torch race in his honour. Nor do we forget Pheidippides. A long race that calls for speed and endurance is still called a *Marathon*.

Darius, the Persian king, died before he could take vengeance for the defeat at Marathon, but his successor Xerxes determined not merely to punish Athens but to add Greece to the

Persian Empire. He mobilized a great army of over 150,000 men and a fleet of more than 800 ships to accompany it. In the early summer of 480 B.C. the Persian army crossed the Dardanelles and advanced along the north coast of the Ægean. Faced with this overwhelming threat, most of the Greek states sank their differences and united under the leadership of Sparta. The leadership went to Sparta because she had the most powerful army in Greece, but Athens provided by far the largest fleet and did more than any other state to maintain the struggle after early setbacks.

Since the Greeks were hopelessly outnumbered, they had to oppose the Persians where numbers would not tell. They took their stand at Thermopylæ, in a narrow pass between the mountains and the sea. The Greeks at Thermopylæ were a very small force, not more than 5000 men, led by the Spartan king Leonidas. For three days they resisted heroically, inflicting heavy losses on the Persians; but a path round the mountains was then betrayed, and the Greeks were faced with a hopeless fight on two fronts. The bulk of the army withdrew, Leonidas and his 300 Spartans stayed to cover the retreat and died to a man. On the battlefield a simple epitaph later recorded their bravery:

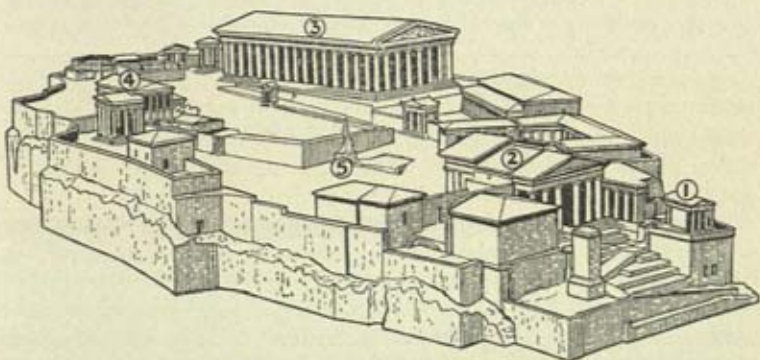
Stranger, bear word to the Spartans that
we lie here keeping their charge.

Northern Greece was now lost. The Persians swept south and sacked Athens. The decisive part in the next phase of the war was taken by the Athenian leader Themistocles. He persuaded the Athenians to evacuate their land and to trust in their fleet. He realized that the main hope of the Greeks was to defeat the Persians at sea, and he persuaded them to stay at Salamis, where they would fight in narrow waters. Xerxes, by now over-confident, determined to crush the Greek fleet. His great vessels sailed proudly into the narrow waters of Salamis; but here their numbers and their size were a handicap, and they were decisively defeated by the smaller and more agile Greeks. This was the turning-point of the war. Xerxes himself withdrew with his fleet, leaving the pick of his army to complete the conquest. But in the next year, 479 B.C., the Greek forces advanced and won a final victory over the Persians at Plataea, under the Spartan leader Pausanias.

Sparta had provided the leaders and the flower of the army, but the Athenian fleet had turned the scales. Since Sparta

was not prepared to commit herself to further struggle, Athens took the lead in freeing most of the Greeks who were still subject to Persia in the eastern Mediterranean.

After the Persian Wars Athens, guided by her leading citizen, Pericles, attained the greatest heights. She was in ferment, boldly progressive in art, philosophy, and politics. When the Persians invaded they had sacked Athens and destroyed the temples on the Acropolis, which was the central citadel of the city. Now, thirty years later, Pericles launched a building programme on a magnificent scale. Architects and



THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS

1. The Temple of Athena Niké (Athena, Bringer of Victory).
2. The Propylaea (Monumental Entrance).
3. The Parthenon (the Temple to Athena Parthenos, the Virgin Goddess).
4. The Erechtheum (Temple dedicated to Athena and Erechtheus, an early king of Athens).
5. The great statue of Athena Promachos (the Guardian Athena).

Based on a photograph from "The Ancient City of Athens," by I. T. Hill (Methuen).

sculptors combined to make the Acropolis the envy of the Greek world and of all subsequent generations.

Most famous of the new buildings was the Parthenon, the great temple of Athena, patron goddess of Athens. Over the columns of the temple ran a continuous frieze showing Athenian riders in procession with a splendid variety and harmony in the design. Within the temple stood the great statue of Athena worked in ivory and gold, costing nearly as much as the temple itself. It was the work of Phidias, the greatest sculptor of the age, who also wrought another great statue of the goddess in bronze. This Athena stood high on the Acropolis, guarding the city with spear and shield,

looking out to sea. She symbolized the divinely protected might of Athens, and sailors could catch the gleam of her helmet as they approached the Piræus, Athens' harbour, four miles from the city.

Architects and sculptors had now full mastery of their materials; they could carve the most intricate designs and produce the most lifelike images. What makes their art great is their restraint and dignity, the apparent simplicity with which they produced the most subtle effects.

Sculptors and architects were rivalled by the poets of the age, and especially by the writers of tragedy and comedy. Their plays were produced at religious festivals in the open-air theatre which all the citizens could attend. The plots used by the tragedians were not original; they were taken from the great wealth of traditional stories from the heroic age, but each tragedian could give his own interpretation to the story and reflect his own philosophy of life. Though theatre styles have changed, Greek tragedies still move us, for, like all great works of art, they are timeless.

Æschylus was the first of the great dramatists. Sophocles and Euripides succeeded him. They all won their position by the votes of the common people. Though their tragedies were profound and their poetry subtle and beautiful, they never lost touch with their audience. Athenian prisoners could later earn their freedom by reciting passages from Euripides; and Aristophanes, the greatest of the writers of Greek comedy, could parody the work of Æschylus and Euripides and be certain that the audience would understand. It was typical also of the spirit of Athenian democracy that the writers of comedy should be outspoken and scurrilous, attacking Pericles and other leaders without fear of punishment, sometimes seriously, sometimes merely to raise a good laugh.

During the Periclean Age the population of Athens, its trade, its commerce, and its industry, were growing. Its coins proudly depicted the head of Athena on one side and her sacred bird, the owl, on the other. Corn to feed the rising population came from Sicily, from Egypt, and the Black Sea. Cheese and pork came from Sicily, fish from the Black Sea. Articles of comfort and luxury were imported—cushions and carpets from Carthage, metal work from Tuscany. The Athenians in exchange sent the products of their own manufacture, particularly the black and red pottery for which they were famous. The English poet John Keats

was many centuries later moved to admiration by the beauty of a Grecian urn, with its lifelike figures of people and animals :

Who are these coming to the sacrifice ?
 To what green altar, O mysterious priest,
 Lead'st thou that heifer lowing at the skies,
 And all her silken flanks with garlands drest ?

Larger numbers of Athenian citizens and slaves were now producing manufactured goods instead of working on the land, and Athens became increasingly dependent upon imported food. The Piræus, the port through which most of her trade flowed, was much enlarged and carefully planned. New wharfs, quays, and warehouses were built. Round the three harbours of the Piræus dry docks were built so that ships could lie high and dry when not at sea. The harbour-town itself was replanned by the architect Hippodamus in a series of parallel streets cut across by others at right-angles. The Piræus was one of the first towns to be planned in this way, which was later adopted by the Romans and by many modern cities, especially in America.

The splendour of temples and statues in Athens was not matched in private building. The houses of even quite rich people were still built of sun-dried brick. Streets were unpaved. There were no pipes for water or sanitation. Rooms were built round an open courtyard, which was the centre of family life. In the rooms themselves there might be a fire, but no chimney. In contrast to this, Greek furniture was often very fine, well shaped, and splendidly carved from wood, and carpets and cushions lent comfort and beauty to bare floors and walls in the houses of richer people. Nowhere, however, were Greek houses as beautiful and comfortable as those of the ancient Egyptians. This is understandable only if we remember how much the Athenian lived outside his house. His home was on the Acropolis or in the open spaces of the city as much as in the building where he slept. The golden Pallas Athena in the Parthenon belonged to him, and he had no need of lesser statues in his home.

The graceful and simple clothes of the Greeks, falling in loose folds from neck to hem or draped across the shoulder, are well known to us. They ate little meat, but fish, fruit, olives, bread and similar foods made from corn, wheat, and barley, while they drank wine from their own grapes. It was

undoubtedly a pleasant and satisfying life, perhaps nowhere described more fittingly than by Pericles himself :

. . . we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil ; we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year ; at home the style of our life is refined ; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us ; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own.

It should not be forgotten, however, that Athenian society depended largely on the labour of slaves. The Greeks, like most other early societies, regarded slavery as a natural institution. It was customary to enslave prisoners taken in war, especially against foreigners, and to buy other slaves who may have been sold in distant homes or exposed to die or kidnapped. Almost all the unpleasant work, particularly the silver and other mining, was done by slaves, and most of the craftsmen and farmers had slaves to work under them. The richer people also had slaves to do the domestic work in their homes. But at Athens slaves, apart from the miners, were treated well. They wore the same clothes as free men, and it was not easy to distinguish them in the streets. It was, however, rare for a slave to attain his freedom.

CHAPTER IX

Greek Politics and Education

IN her political system Athens had meanwhile developed until in many ways she was a truer democracy than we are to-day. Democracy means rule by the people, and in Athens every free man over the age of eighteen whose parents were Athenian born was a citizen, with full rights to share in the government of the city state regardless of wealth or occupation. Not only were Athenian citizens permitted to participate in affairs of government—they were *expected* to do so. As Pericles said, "We regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character."

In Athens the final decision on all important questions of state rested with the Popular Assembly, which all citizens could attend, and where each had the right to vote. It met four times a month, and since such large meetings would fall into complete confusion if the business were not carefully arranged beforehand the Assembly had a standing committee to prepare its business. This standing committee was the Council of 500, the Boule, whose members were selected by lot from candidates over thirty. They served for one year, and no man could serve more than twice. Since the number of eligible citizens was probably no more than 30,000, more than half of them must have served in the Boule. This council not only prepared business for the Assembly, it carried on the everyday work of the state and controlled the magistrates between the meetings of the Assembly. Since it could not be on duty all the time, it was divided into ten groups of fifty, called Prytanies, each on constant duty for a tenth part of the year. One of the group was appointed by lot each day to act as President of the Prytany. So, for one day, this average citizen was President of the state and presided over meetings of Boule and Assembly.

Although the Athenian allowed chance, in the form of the lot, to play a big part in choosing his governors, spells of office were short and a constant change of committee guarded against unfair chance in the lot. And, since every one could

speak as well as vote in the Assembly, no one need fear that his interest would go unheard.

There was, nevertheless, always present in the Athenian's mind the fear of some one somehow becoming too powerful and assuming the rôle of tyrant. To guard against tyranny the institution of ostracism was introduced. This gave the Athenians the chance of exiling a too powerful citizen for ten years. Each year the Assembly had the right of calling an ostracism. If it did so every Athenian citizen could write on a piece of broken pottery the name of the man he wished exiled, and place it publicly in a voting urn in the market-place. The voting was only valid if at least 6000 votes in all were given, and the man was sent into exile whose name appeared most on the broken pottery which recorded the votes. The Greek name for a piece of potsherd is *ostrakon*. Hence, sending a person into exile was to *ostracize* him, and we still use this word in a similar sense.

Some officers of state were chosen not by lot but by majority vote of all the citizens. Among the most important of these were the ten generals who were elected for a year but could be re-elected. Pericles was, in fact, elected general more than twenty times. The generals, besides leading the army and navy, also attended meetings of the Boule and of the Assembly and consequently had a great influence in shaping policy.

The Athenian people, besides voting at elections and taking part in the deliberations of the Assembly and the Boule, also exercised considerable power by serving in the law courts. These law courts were presided over by a magistrate, generally appointed by lot; but he was merely responsible for seeing that the rules were properly followed. The decision rested with the popular juries, which were often very large, sometimes as many as a thousand. Since the cases included political trials and the trial of magistrates, the popular juries played an important part in Athenian democracy. The poor could not spare time to serve unless they were compensated for loss of earnings, so State pay was introduced for juries and was later extended to all public offices.

Participation in the affairs of the state implies a high level of intelligence and information among the Athenian citizens. Most of the children went to school to be taught by a school-master, to whom the parents generally paid a small fee. The Greek boy of richer parents was accompanied to school by his *paidagogos*, a slave or family servant, who carried his books

for him and protected him from harm. The Greek word means 'leader of a child' and from it comes the English word 'pedagogue,' which is sometimes used for teacher.

At school the boy learned to read and write, to appreciate and to recite the famous poetry of his race, and to play music. The Greeks were fond of both the flute and the lyre, and had a written musical notation. Since physical fitness and athletic skill ranked high among Greek virtues, physical exercises and activities of all kinds were encouraged and practised by all Greek boys.

When he left school a boy of well-to-do parents might receive instruction in the art of public speaking and debate, for only if he became proficient in these arts could a man hope to influence the Assembly. The men who taught him to speak fluently and to marshal his arguments tellingly were generally teachers paid for their services and frequently learned men who lectured on many subjects such as astronomy and mathematics.

At eighteen years old the sons of the upper classes embarked on two years' military service. After this they probably spent several happy years in more athletic training and perhaps philosophical or artistic study. To the north of Athens was a field surrounded by shady olive-groves, known as the Academy, and on the east a similar field known as the Lyceum, in both of which Athenians were accustomed to play and talk and practise athletics. Later, lectures were held here also, and so the names of the fields came to have the educational association we now give them in such words as the French *lycée* and the English *academy*, both meaning a school. In these fields, as at the theatre, all classes mingled after working hours and on public holidays.

Although the average Athenian citizen was alert and well informed, he did not always act in a way which we should now consider good or just. The philosopher Protagoras, for example, was compelled to flee from Athens because he was alleged to have said that he could not know whether the gods whom the Greeks worshipped existed or whether they did not. He was drowned off the coast of Greece, but his sceptical spirit lived on. In the streets of Athens a little later Socrates was teaching men to question ceaselessly—to question not only their way of life and their beliefs but to find out what they meant by the words they used, and particularly what they meant by the word 'good.' He taught the young men who gathered round him by questioning them and making

them think out the replies for themselves. This method of question and answer is still called the Socratic method of teaching.

Socrates' following was very large, especially among the younger men. But his critical outlook, his questioning of the traditional beliefs of their race, seemed to some Athenians to threaten the very existence of their state, and he was partly blamed for their defeat in the Peloponnesian War. By a small majority he was condemned to death by the drinking of hemlock. His pupils and followers were grief-stricken. One of them, Plato, wrote an account of his teaching and his death, and through Plato we can see and hear again this ugly Athenian citizen talking and teaching in the Athens of the fifth century B.C. Through Plato and Plato's pupil, Aristotle, the principles of Socrates and his logical method have profoundly influenced the modern world.

CHAPTER X

The Empire of Alexander

HAD Athens been able to unite all Greece under her leadership the history of the world might have been different ; but the Greek city states were too jealous of their independence, and Athens too tactless in spreading her influence, to avoid conflict. Sparta in particular realized that to maintain her position in Greece she had to crush Athens.

Sparta remained a state of warriors, strongly conservative, narrow in outlook, but formidable in battle. Gradually Greece divided into two camps. The struggle broke out in 460 B.C. and with intermittent periods of peace the war dragged on till 405. At first it seemed that no decision could be reached. Athens commanded the seas, Sparta was invincible on land. The Athenians, when Sparta invaded, abandoned their countryside and relied on the defence of their city-walls, which the Spartans could not capture. At sea the Athenians could win victories against Sparta's allies, but they could not strike a decisive blow. Finally in 405 B.C. Sparta, with the help of Persian gold, won the decisive battle of Ægospotami, in the Dardanelles, which enabled her to block the route of Athens' imported corn and starve Athens into surrender.

The long Peloponnesian War had exhausted Athens. Sparta, however, failed to rise to the height of her opportunity. During the fourth century B.C. neither Athens nor Sparta nor any other state in Greece was sufficiently strong to unify the country. There was rivalry, jealousy, friction, and war. Peace could only be imposed by an outside power.

It was Macedon that brought peace to Greece. In the fifth and early fourth century B.C. the Macedonians, who were close to the Greeks in race and language, had been disunited and weak. But in Philip II they found a king of extraordinary vigour, foresight, and cunning. Philip built up a powerful army and fought successfully against his Thracian and Illyrian neighbours. By winning groups of friends in various Greek states he steadily undermined their powers of resistance. More was achieved by diplomacy and bribery than by arms. At Athens Demosthenes, the great orator, was fully alive to the

danger. In many speeches, such as the *Philippics* (the speeches against Philip), he tried desperately to rouse his fellow citizens to take vigorous action before it was too late; but the spirit of Marathon was gone. A heroic stand was eventually made at the battle of Chæronea in 338, but the Athenians were decisively defeated. Philip of Macedon summoned the Greeks to unite in the League of Corinth under his leadership and to renew the crusade against Persia.

Philip died before he could realize his dream of Persian conquest. But his son, Alexander, who succeeded him at the age of twenty, was an even more remarkable man. Many stories were told of him, including the tale of how when a boy he had cleverly managed to break in the horse, Bucephalus, which many more experienced riders had tried in vain to mount. Alexander combined with an intensely romantic nature an amazing power of perception and decision; he had a natural gift for leadership and a deep respect for Greek culture.

After testing his army against Macedonia's neighbours, Alexander took his force of Macedonians and Greeks across the Dardanelles into Asia Minor. The Persian empire had by now lost much of its early vigour, but Alexander's successes were none the less amazing. Having defeated the governors of Asia Minor at the river Granicus, he liberated the Greek cities of the coast and hastened eastward. In two great battles, at Issus and Gaugamela, though he was vastly outnumbered, he defeated the main Persian army, and between the two battles took the strongly fortified city of Tyre and annexed Egypt.

Not content with reaching the heart of the Persian empire, Alexander determined to reach the farther ocean, and, crossing the mountains of the Hindu Kush, he took his army down into India, where he showed his versatility by adapting his battle tactics to defeat a strong corps of elephants. It was here that his faithful horse, Bucephalus, died at the age of thirty. The new city, which he founded on the banks of the river Hydaspes, Alexander called Bucephala.

Alexander would have pushed on, but on the Hydaspes his army mutinied. There seemed no end in sight; they had had enough. Reluctantly Alexander had to turn back. Soon after his return in 323, at the age of thirty-three, Alexander died at Babylon. His brain was still restless with new ideas, but he had already packed more than any other man into his short life. Alexander's greatness derives not only from his

spectacular military successes but from his idea of empire. He realized that if his eastern conquests were to endure the Persians must play their part. He was anxious to break down barriers between races and hoped that Persians and Macedonians could rule jointly in harmony. He was ahead of his time in this, but Rome later caught something of his spirit.

Alexander also realized the importance of cities in spreading civilization. In conquered lands, where city life was undeveloped, he planted new cities to be strong points for the spread of Greek culture. For Alexander was a hellenist—a believer in the Hellenic, or Greek, race. Though he found the Greeks unsatisfactory in politics and fighting, he respected their art and their intellect. The great philosopher Aristotle had been his tutor; he took Greek botanists and chroniclers with him on his conquests; and his most famous statue was carved by a Greek sculptor, Lysippus.

When Alexander died there was no one of his stature to succeed him. His vast empire soon fell into a number of separate, hostile kingdoms, jealous of one another and fighting one another as the little city states of Greece had fought. But these kingdoms played an important part in history. They served as the means for spreading the Greek language and Greek culture more widely over the Mediterranean world. Under the Ptolemies, for instance, Egypt was developed largely by Greek experts. Alexandria, the town which Alexander had founded on the Nile delta, became the greatest centre of Greek learning and literature.

Just as the rivalries of the Greek city states led to their reduction by an outside power, so the rivalries of the kingdoms that were carved from Alexander's empire led eventually to the domination of them all by a new power, which, when Alexander died, was barely known outside Italy. Rome succeeded where they had failed in imposing and maintaining a stable peace and an undisputed supremacy.

The political and military history of the Greeks is a sad story of wars and lost opportunities. The greatness of Greece lies elsewhere, in her legacy to Western civilization. It was the Greeks who first taught men to break away from superstitious taboos and use their minds boldly and freely; the philosophical speculations of Plato and Aristotle on ethical problems are still important. It is significant that the word 'democracy' derives from the Greek word *demokratia*, meaning the rule of the people, and that our word 'politics' derives

from the Greek word *polis*, the city state. It was the Greeks who first fought for equality before the law and the right of free speech. Greek architecture and sculpture have been an inspiration in many lands and in many periods, and we can still enjoy the Parthenon and the sculpture of Phidias for their beauty no less than their age. Homer's epics have never been surpassed, and Greek tragedy has had a profound influence on French and other literature. Our geometry is still based on the work of Eukleides, a Greek ; the foundations of modern medicine were laid by Hippokrates of Kos in the fifth century. Above all, the Greeks at their best knew that great wealth was not essential to great happiness ; that the highest pleasures in life were simple pleasures ; and that an appreciation of beauty was not to be reserved for the expert.



THE GREEK THEATRE AT EPIDAUROS

Photo Mansell Collection



STATUE OF A GREEK YOUTH

Athens, fifth century B.C.

Photo British Museum

ATHENIAN VASE WITH RED FIGURES ON A BLACK BACKGROUND

c. 410 B.C.

Photo British Museum





PERICLES

Photo British Museum



ALEXANDER

Photo Mansell Collection

AUGUSTUS

Photo British Museum



CONSTANTINE

Photo "Radio Times" Hulton Picture Library



CHAPTER XI

Rome : The Foundations and the Republic

WHEN Alexander died Rome was a small state still struggling against her neighbours in Italy. She was eventually far to surpass Alexander's conquests, and rule an empire that stretched from the Atlantic to the Euphrates. Rome handed on to later generations the achievements of Greek civilization and added much of her own.

The reasons for Rome's greatness lie partly in her position and partly in the character of her people. The state which was to rule the Mediterranean world began as a humble community of shepherds perched on the small Palatine hill. The Palatine is one of seven hills that rise up near the river Tiber in a small plain in Central Italy. The legend runs that Æneas, in flight after the fall of Troy, landed in Italy and died fighting against the natives. Two of his descendants, twin baby boys called Romulus and Remus, were in the course of a quarrel put in a little boat on the Tiber and left to float downstream. The boat came to rest near the Palatine hill; a she-wolf found it and reared the baby boys. Romulus and Remus grew strong and brave and founded a city on the Palatine. But they quarrelled with each other, and Romulus killed Remus. Thereafter he gave his own name to the city they had founded, and it was called Rome.

Rome's position was important, because the Palatine hill was large enough to grow sufficient food for a small population and had steep sides which were easily defended. It was near a good river, so that when Rome became larger it could bring supplies from overseas by water. It was in the centre of Italy, so that it was well placed to extend its power south and north.

In early days Rome had to struggle hard to survive. In the hills surrounding the plain were other small communities, and north of the Tiber were the powerful Etruscans who had come from the east and were good fighters and builders. For a short time Rome was actually ruled by Etruscan kings, and it was under them that her first large expansion came, when she united the peoples of the Seven Hills into one state. But

in 509 B.C. the Romans expelled the last of the Etruscan kings and set up a Republic.

The influence of the Etruscans had been important. They were in contact with Greece, they traded with her, importing her pottery, even writing their own Etruscan language with Greek letters: it was from the Etruscans that the Romans too learnt to write Greek letters. The Etruscans themselves became very fine workers in bronze, and exported much excellent bronze-ware, so enlarging their contacts with other peoples. Among other things they handed on to the Romans the principle of the arch, which the Greeks had not used in building.

To take the place of a king after they had expelled the Etruscans, the Romans elected two chief magistrates, called *consuls*. Each one had the power of a king; but, since they were equal, one acted as a check on the other. These consuls had a council to advise them consisting of the most important nobles—the Fathers, as they were called—who formed the *senate*. As the problems of State became more complex other magistrates were elected—*prætors*, who were responsible for administering the laws, *censors*, who kept the list of citizens and arranged for public works, *quæstors*, who looked after state funds, and *ædiles*, who had police duties.

The supreme body was the people, consisting of all free male citizens over the age of eighteen, meeting in an assembly called the *comitia centuriata*. Like the Greeks, the Romans used slave-labour; but, as in Greece, slaves had no voice in the government. The *comitia centuriata* elected all the magistrates as well as the consuls, had the right of declaring war, and made the most important decisions. Although in theory all were equal, in practice the rich citizens—the *patricians*—rapidly became more powerful, while the poorer citizens—the *plebeians*—had little influence in the senate. There developed consequently much bitterness between rich and poor.

In other states such conflict had often ended in violent fighting or in the setting up of a tyrant. It nearly came to that in Rome. The plebeians went on strike, and refused to serve the state unless they were given better treatment. The patricians then very wisely made concessions, the most important of which was to give the plebeians the right of electing officers of their own called plebeian tribunes.

These representatives of the plebeians had important powers. They were protected from personal attack, and they

were able to stop the passage of any new law if they could show it was unfair to the plebeians. The people were also allowed to hold their own meetings in a special assembly called the *Concilium Plebis*, presided over by their own tribunes, where they could propose their own legislation, which was then discussed by the senate. Gradually the *Concilium Plebis* became more and more important, until in 287 B.C. its decisions were binding on the whole people without reference to the senate.

The early days of the Republic were very difficult, because while she was working out a constitution and balancing the rights of plebeians and patricians Rome also had to face long struggles with her neighbours. She came through the difficult period successfully, thanks to the loyalty and bravery of her citizens and the good sense with which her leading men met the grievances of the poorer people. Gradually she won supremacy over her neighbours, even the Etruscans to the north. Unlike other states, Rome was able to hold her conquests by the care with which she consolidated them. Her conquests were cemented together by great roads which she built from Rome through the conquered territories, stronger and straighter than any state had built before, and by colonies of Roman citizens which she established at vital points.

But this was not enough. More important was her generosity in giving political rights to the conquered. Some she made citizens, to others she gave various privileges as a half-way to citizenship. Other states were bound to her by treaties. Former enemies became Romans or loyal friends, and Rome's army became larger and more powerful. The loyalty and the courage which were the secret of Rome's victories are illustrated in stories that became well known to every Roman boy.

There was, for example, the story of Coriolanus—made more famous by Shakespeare's play. Coriolanus was thought to be aiming at tyranny and had to leave Rome. He led an army of Rome's enemies against her, but when appealed to by his mother and wife he led the army back and was put to death.

There was also the story of the attack on Rome by a force of Etruscans, led by Lars Porsena. They captured the Janiculum hill just outside Rome, and the way to the city lay open across the bridge over the Tiber. The Roman Horatius

then sprang forward to hold the Etruscans at bay while the bridge was hewn down :

Then out spake brave Horatius,
The Captain of the Gate :
' To every man upon this earth
Death cometh soon or late.
And how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his Gods ?

Hew down the bridge, Sir Consul,
With all the speed ye may ;
I, with two more to help me,
Will hold the foe in play.
In yon strait path a thousand
May well be stopped by three.
Now who will stand on either hand,
And keep the bridge with me ? ' ¹

The volunteers spring forward, the city is saved, and Horatius and his companions themselves reach safety.

¹ Macaulay : *Lays of Ancient Rome*, " Horatius "

CHAPTER XII

Rome: The Carthaginian Wars and the Eastward Expansion

As a result of Rome's generosity in victory she was in a strong position when she had to face attack from outside Italy. The first such attack was nearly disastrous. Massive numbers of Gauls swept over the Alps into Italy and passed south, ravaging and destroying. They reached Rome in 390 B.C. and occupied most of the city, but the Romans held out on the Capitoline hill; the story goes that at the critical moment they were saved by the cackling of their sacred geese, which gave the alarm when the Gauls were scaling the cliff. The Gauls could not take the hill and eventually withdrew to settle in North Italy, where they were later conquered by Rome.

Much more serious was Rome's struggle against Carthage. Carthage was an African colony founded about 800 B.C. by the Phœnicians. Naturally fertile land, allied with successful trading enterprises, had increased the power and wealth of Carthage until by the third century B.C. she controlled the west of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the richest parts of Spain. The splendour of her city was second only to that of Alexandria.

As Rome's own trade expanded she eyed with mistrust a power which could so easily block her trade-routes in the Mediterranean, and in 264 B.C. she made an excuse for embarking on full-scale war with Carthage.

For twenty-six years the war dragged on, but Rome finally emerged victorious. But this first Carthaginian, or Punic, War was followed by a second, which proved much more critical than the first, since Carthage now had a leader of genius. Hannibal had been brought up with a passion for revenge on Rome. After the first Punic War he went to Spain, where the Carthaginians were still in control, and there built up a powerful army. His aim was to destroy Rome. His plan was the audacious one of crossing the high Alps with his army of 40,000 men, 6000 horses, arms, supplies, and elephants. His reasons for this approach were that any other would entail a

sea-crossing for his army, and that he thought the Gauls in the north of Italy and most of the Italian cities would join him in a war against Rome.

Hannibal's plan nearly succeeded. His march into Italy, crossing the Alps in winter, was a masterpiece of organization and leadership. He lost 6000 men, many animals, and much baggage. But he quickly won two victories in North Italy and the Gauls came over in large numbers. But the cities of Italy did not rush to join Hannibal, and the Romans themselves stood firm. Though he advanced south and won several victories, he did not take Rome. Rome was finally victorious when she carried the war into Africa, and Publius Cornelius Scipio, later called Africanus in honour of his victories, defeated Hannibal at the battle of Zama in 202 B.C.

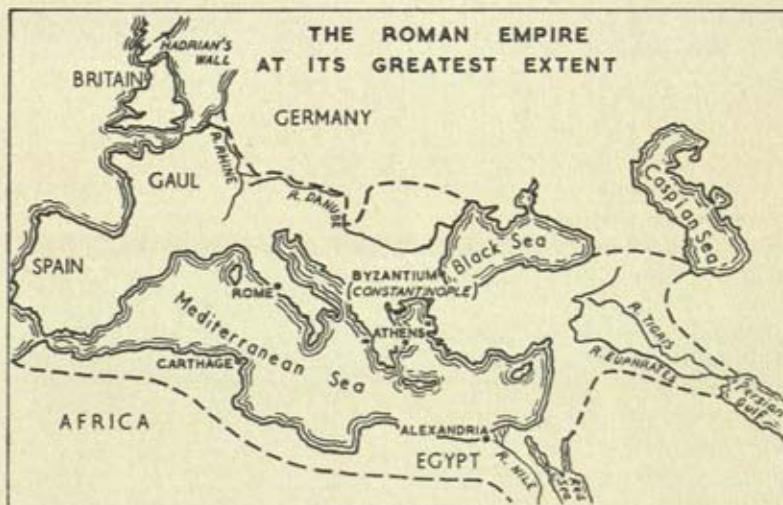
By her decisive conquest of Carthage Rome added Spain to her Empire and was the dominant power in the Western Mediterranean. The war had also brought her into conflict in the east, for the King of Macedon, when he saw Hannibal's early success, had made alliance with him, hoping to share the spoils. When Carthage was broken Rome remembered Macedon, and seized an early pretext to declare war. Macedon was crushed after further fighting and became a province in 146 B.C.

But this was only part of Rome's great eastward expansion in the second century B.C. At first Rome had protected the Greeks against Macedon, but protection soon became control, and Greece, like Macedon, was made a Roman province in 146 B.C. In the next century Roman power was further extended, especially by the victorious campaigns of Pompey, to include Asia Minor and Syria: Pompey was the first Roman general to conquer Judæa and enter the temple at Jerusalem.

This eastward expansion brought Rome into close contact with the Greek world. She had already felt the influence of Greece in her dealings with the Etruscans and the Greek settlements of South Italy, but now she was in continuous contact with the arts of Greece itself. Her nobles learnt to appreciate Greek literature, architecture, and sculpture. They bought Greek statues, read Greek literature, and began to study Greek philosophy. A Greek, brought to Rome as a slave, was freed and laid the foundations of later Roman literature on the Greek pattern. He paraphrased Homer's *Odyssey* into Latin, and wrote Latin comedies and tragedies

modelled on the Greek. Greek became a second language to every educated Roman. Victorious generals brought back Greek works of art with other booty, Roman architects learnt from Greek buildings. As the Roman poet Horace expressed it: "Conquered Greece made captive her conqueror." This was doubly important. For Rome, having herself assimilated Greek culture, transmitted it to the peoples of the Roman Empire, and so to the modern world.

The army which made these conquests possible consisted of legions of Roman citizens, mostly farmers, conscripted for



service, and smaller units of Italian allies, with a few specialist formations from overseas, such as Cretan archers and Balearic slingers. Each province had a small garrison, but when a serious war broke out a new army was recruited, to be disbanded when victory was won.

The legion consisted of about 4200 infantry and 300 cavalry. Later, the army was reformed by the Roman general Marius, and conscription was replaced by voluntary enrolment. The size of the legion was then increased to 6000; it was divided into ten cohorts of 600 men each, and the cohort was divided into six centuries of 100 men each in charge of a centurion.

The commander-in-chief was not a trained soldier, but the man who happened to be consul at the time. He might not be a military genius, but the high spirit of all commanders

and soldiery, coupled with the sternest discipline, did much to give the Roman legions their record of victory. They fought in leather doublets, protected by iron helmet and shield, and used spears, which they hurled at the enemy at the opening of a battle, and short swords, with which they afterwards engaged in hand-to-hand fighting.

CHAPTER XIII

Rome: The Gracchi, Cæsar, and Augustus

WHILE Rome's armies were adding a vast Eastern Empire to her earlier conquests serious trouble was developing in Italy. The long struggle with Hannibal had brought more power to the senate, which comprised the richest members of the state, and it was mainly the rich who benefited from the wars of conquest in the east. It was the commanders and officers who gained most of the booty, and their appetites increased as the refinements and luxuries of the Greek world became known to them. Their homes became more luxurious, they were served by more slaves. To maintain this higher standard of living they needed more money, and the natural way for a Roman noble to get it was by farming more land. The estates of the rich grew at the expense of the poor, who drifted into the towns, especially Rome, to become a discontented proletariat.

If the poorer citizens of Rome had cause for grievance, equally so had the cities of Italy which were bound to Rome by treaty. They too had to contribute soldiers for overseas service, but their share of the spoils was insignificant, and Roman magistrates were becoming increasingly oppressive in their dealings with them. Rome, in control of an empire, was becoming far less generous and tolerant than in the days of her early struggles.

The Italians, then, as we may call those states in Italy which did not possess the Roman citizenship, and the poorer classes of Rome itself, were both seriously discontented. Had the senate been less selfish and more far-seeing reform would have been possible before grievances became acute. But the issue was allowed to grow into one between rich and poor, and popular reformers began to lead the people.

Tiberius Gracchus, who became tribune in 133 B.C., was the first of the new reformers. Though related to a noble family he championed the people's cause in many powerful speeches.

The beasts that prowl about Italy [he told them] have holes and lurking places, where they may take their beds. You who fight and die for Italy enjoy only the blessings of air and light.

These alone are your heritage. Homeless, unsettled, you wander to and fro with your wives and children. . . . You fight and die to give wealth and luxury to others. You are called the masters of the world ; yet there is no clod of earth that you can call your own.

Tiberius Gracchus proposed reforms which would give more land to the people. The senate resisted and fighting broke out. Tiberius was killed and his main followers were severely punished. His brother, Gaius Gracchus, continued his work. He succeeded in carrying measures to check the power of the senate, to relieve poverty by the distribution of cheap corn, and to establish more colonies where land was available to the poor.

The main grievances of the poorer citizens had been satisfied, at least temporarily. There remained, however, the discontented citizens of Italy outside Rome. When Gaius Gracchus championed their cause, proposing to give them Roman citizenship, he lost his popular support and was killed in street fighting. The grievances of the Italians remained unsatisfied for a generation. Then they rose in arms to secure by force what they had failed to win by other means.

This was the most serious military crisis Rome had faced since Hannibal, for she was fighting men equipped with Roman arms who had learnt their fighting in Rome's armies. The losses on both sides were very heavy, but Rome showed again that political statesmanship which she had so nearly forgotten. Instead of relying on arms alone, she broke the back of the revolt by concession. She offered full citizenship to all states who had not joined the revolt or who laid down their arms at once, and was able to defeat the rest. Even these she finally treated liberally, giving them all the coveted Roman citizenship. As a result of the war all Italy up to the river Po became Roman, and Roman law and the Roman language spread throughout the country. Each town had its own limited local authority, but all roads led to Rome.

After the Gracchi the senate never recovered undisputed control. The army reforms of Marius made the army a decisive influence in politics, and a successful commander, no longer necessarily a consul, supported by an army agitating for benefits, was a constant threat to the senate. The greatest of the commanders was Julius Cæsar, who came from a noble family and began his political career some fifty years after the death of Gaius Gracchus.

To his contemporaries he was known as a clear-headed young man who liked good living and who managed by skilful borrowing to live beyond his means. They did not dream of his coming greatness, but they knew that he supported popular reforms. In 62 B.C. he was sent as governor to Spain, where he showed himself a capable general. On his return he stood for the consulship. The nobles, who virtually controlled the senate, opposed him ; but he was supported by the people and was elected consul in 59 B.C. This was Cæsar's first taste of real power. He strengthened his popularity with the people by a large-scale distribution of land, and so managed to secure after his consulship the governorship of North Italy and Gaul for five years.

When Cæsar went to Gaul in 58 the position was critical. German tribes had invaded from across the Rhine, and further invasion came from the Helvetii in Switzerland. Cæsar's task was to defend Italy and the Roman province of Gaul, which then included only a narrow strip along the coast. By brilliant leadership, well-planned organization of supplies, and rapid marches, he defeated both the Helvetii and the Germans and then advanced to the conquest of Gaul. Within eight years (his command had been renewed for a further period of five years) he had subdued the whole of Gaul up to the Rhine, had crossed the Rhine to intimidate the Germans, and had taken an army in two summers to Britain. His campaigns in Britain had been too short to have permanent effect, and his armies were needed elsewhere before he could embark on a thorough conquest of the island ; but he had shown the way. A century later the Roman conquest of Britain was made a reality in the time of the Emperor Claudius.

The senate was afraid of Cæsar's growing power and tried to recall him. They persuaded Pompey, who had formerly worked with Cæsar and had won a great reputation from his victories, to lead them. Cæsar determined to strike first. Crossing the Rubicon river, the boundary of his province, he marched on Rome. In the civil war that followed, the forces were in number not unequal, but Cæsar had a better-trained army, devoted to its leader. By speed, tact, and generosity he won Italy and then, in a series of brilliant victories in other parts of the Empire, he crushed all opposition. He was very moderate in victory, and even stubborn political enemies were forgiven and encouraged to return to Rome.

Cæsar had, however, no intention of restoring senatorial government. He was appointed dictator, and this office,

originally created for six months only, he made permanent in 44 B.C. As dictator he was in supreme control, and in rapid succession he carried through a great number of reforms.

There were still great differences between rich and poor, the poor being led to sell their votes at elections and to join agitators in riots. Cæsar therefore continued his policy of distributing land to those who most needed it. Surplus population which could not make a proper living in Rome he settled in colonies overseas, such as Corinth and Carthage. Work was provided for others in a great building programme which was intended to make Rome more worthy of her position. But Cæsar, while anxious to help the poor, would not allow mob rule. He stiffened the penalties for rioting and cut down the number of those who were entitled to free state corn. Though, owing to his military campaigns, he spent less than eighteen months in Rome between 49 B.C. and his death, he gave thought to almost every sphere of public life. He even planned a new harbour for Rome and found time to introduce a new calendar, based on the Egyptian model.

In spite of his reforms, opposition to Cæsar steadily increased. He was more interested in getting things done than in constitutional forms or the feelings of the senate. Rumours were soon flying round that he was preparing to make himself king. A conspiracy was formed. It was joined by a large number of leading men, including personal friends of Cæsar. On the Ides of March, 44 B.C., Cæsar was stabbed to death in the Senate House. He had paid too little attention to old traditions and had made his rule too personal.

The assassination of Julius Cæsar was followed by ten years of confusion and bloodshed. Eventually it was Cæsar's great-nephew and adopted heir who inherited his position. Octavian was only nineteen years old when Cæsar died, but he was cool-headed and far-sighted. Choosing his opportunities well, he defeated Cæsar's enemies and emerged with supreme power. But he had learned the lesson of Cæsar's murder.

Instead of dictator he became consul, and with the consulship he was given control of the most important provinces. As a sign of supreme respect he was given the name of Augustus by the senate, and was hailed as the restorer of liberty and the bringer of peace. He was Emperor in substance though not in name. His successors became emperor in name also.

Augustus laid the foundation for a new form of government. Rule by the senate was ended. Though it played an important part as a body of counsellors, the general direction of

policy lay with the Emperor. Among other reforms Augustus reorganized the army and then used it to advance the Roman frontiers until they could be fixed at sound geographical barriers along great rivers or mountain ranges—the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, the mountains of Armenia and of North Africa. Along these frontiers the main strength of the Roman army was stationed. It was a very small army for the task—twenty-five legions of citizens and an equal number of non-citizens recruited from the provinces—no more than 300,000 in all. The smallness of the army is the greatest tribute to the fairness and efficiency of Roman government. Provincial government under the Republic had often been ineffective and corrupt; under the Empire the Roman Governors were more closely controlled and the natives themselves took a greater share in government.

Religion had been neglected during the civil wars; Augustus revived old ceremonies, rebuilt temples that were falling into decay, and built new ones. He encouraged the poets of the age to write about the Roman virtues and the greatness of the city. It was on his prompting that Virgil wrote his great epic poem, the *Æneid*, tracing the history of Rome to its legendary founder, Æneas, and singing the glories of Rome's imperial mission.

But, Roman, thou, do thou control
The nations far and wide :
Be this thy genius, to impose
The rule of peace on vanquished foes
Show pity to the humbled soul,
And crush the sons of pride.

CHAPTER XIV

The Roman Empire and Roman Civilization

THE reign of Augustus was the beginning of two centuries of peace. In these two centuries there ruled emperors of varying ability and character, but the Roman Empire was so securely established that the individual character of emperors had less effect than might have been expected. Evil names are remembered such as Nero, who neglected the serious problems of government for extravagant living and his own pleasure. Great names like Hadrian stand out, who personally visited nearly all the provinces of the Empire. Among the memorials of his travels is the great wall in the North of Britain to protect the Britons from the tribes of Scotland.

Under Hadrian and his two successors the Roman Empire reached the height of its prosperity. The frontiers were securely guarded, Emperor and governing classes worked well together. Her people in Italy and the Provinces were secure and contented. This was reflected in the fact that Rome had by this time become the greatest and finest city in the world, superseding even Alexandria.

Her population neared a million. Ships from all over the known world fed and clothed and beautified her. Her corn came from Africa, Egypt, Sicily, and Sardinia; her pepper from as far away as India. Her marble came from Africa, Egypt, and Asia Minor; her tin from Britain and Northern Spain. Silk came from China, cotton from India. Linen, embroidery, papyrus, came from Egypt. Her citizens ate meat, poultry and game, and fish imported often at great cost. They ate bread and cakes, olives and fruit of many varieties, and drank various kinds of wine. All classes wore simple gowns and tunics, those of the rich being of fine linen and wool, sometimes of silk, and richer women began to wear fine jewels.

In appearance Rome became proud and beautiful. In their public buildings the Romans used not only the post and lintel of the Greeks and the arches of the Etruscans, but the dome, which they developed themselves. The Roman emperors built themselves mighty triumphal arches and victory columns,

like that which still stands to Trajan, telling the story of his triumphs north of the Danube in finely cut relief. They built fine temples to the Roman gods, warehouses and offices and shops, often within beautifully constructed arcades. There were government buildings, like the Senate House where affairs of state were considered, and magnificent palaces for their emperors. Nero's 'Golden House' got its name from its fabulous richness; Hadrian's villa at Tivoli covered 165 acres. The Roman forum, or market-place, which was the hub of the city's busy life, was in its scale and the execution of its buildings worthy of the capital of the Empire.

Though the Romans had on the whole little interest in Greek athletics, they were enthusiastic about chariot-racing and built large circuses for the sport. While the charioteers raced round the oval arena spectators watched from tiered seats, as in a theatre.

The theatre itself also developed from the Greek pattern, and the Romans popularized a form of entertainment which had never flourished in Greece—gladiatorial combats between men, and between man and animal. Great amphitheatres modelled on the pattern of a theatre were built for these spectacles. The remains of the Colosseum, built by the two Emperors Vespasian and Titus, still stands in Rome. It was a four-storeyed circular building seating 45,000 people, with additional standing room, and its opening was celebrated by Titus with a hundred days of bloody spectacle of various kinds for the Roman populace. It became increasingly necessary to placate the Roman mob, and this was done by the famous policy of 'bread and circuses'—free corn (sometimes free wine also) and spectacles which pandered to the lowest tastes.

Far more enlightened was the Roman's pleasure in the public bath. This was more than merely bathing or swimming; it constituted a complete social entertainment. The baths were large, and elaborately and beautifully constructed, with mosaic floors often of charming and intricate design, and a liberal display of statues. From the ante-room, where he undressed, the bather went first to the frigidarium for his cold bath, which was more a plunge than a swimming-bath. Then he passed through a series of heated rooms and finally relaxed in the caldarium, the hot bath, after which he was massaged with sweet-smelling oils. But the actual bath was only a small part of the entertainment. In all the large public baths was a large open court where he could wrestle, play ball-games, or exchange the gossip of the day. Food and

drink could be obtained. There was no need to hurry away. Some of the more select baths were expensive, but others cost only a few pence, so that even the poorest citizens could share in this pleasure—as they could in the circus, the amphitheatre, and the theatre, all of which were either free or cost very little.

A remarkable feature of the Roman baths was the method by which they supplied hot air to the rooms. Furnaces underneath the floors heated air which circulated in pipes inside the walls of rooms which needed heating. This system of central heating was also used in many Roman houses, which in this respect were ahead of most British homes to-day.

The house itself had developed from the crude 'atrium' house of sun-dried brick of early Rome. The Roman atrium house had resembled the Greek house of Periclean times, consisting of a single room with a fire in the middle and a hole in the roof from which the smoke was intended to escape. As it rarely did so, the whole room was generally blackened by smoke and so probably got its name, atrium, from the Roman word *ater*, meaning 'black.'

The Romans began to build rooms opening from the sides of the atrium, and to the rear a court, often pillared after the Greek style. This court, known as a peristyle, developed into a place of relaxation, often with a central fountain or pool of water. From it in turn bedrooms and a dining-room and kitchen were built, and the original atrium became a hall where guests were received.

The house with atrium and peristyle remained the standard pattern for the Roman aristocracy, but when the population of Rome increased sharply it was necessary to make more economic use of space. And so for the middle and lower classes Roman architects developed tall blocks of apartments, very like town-houses of to-day. Pipes carried fresh water from the aqueduct to the houses, and a network of drains carried away the refuse. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century did the countries of Western Europe equal Roman standards of public and private sanitation.

By this time the Romans had built up large libraries and founded schools. The education of the Roman youth for long consisted in the discipline and example of family life. Then the educated Greeks who were brought to Italy after the wars of conquest began to teach the children. Some of them set up schools, to which Roman children were sent for small fees,



PART OF THE PARTHENON FRIEZE
Horsemen in procession.
Photo British Museum



THE ERECHTHEUM ON THE
ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS:
THE PORCH OF THE
MAIDENS
Photo Mansell Collection



TWO ROMAN AQUEDUCTS

(Above) Segovia (Spain).

Photo Spanish Tourist Office

(Below) The Pont du Gard, near Nîmes (France).

Photo "Radio Times" Halton Picture Library

81



while others became tutors in private families. School exercises and letters were written with a stilo or pen of metal or bone on wooden tablets coated with wax. The marks could easily be erased and the tablets used many times. The more expensive papyrus was used for longer and more important works, like books.

Outside Italy the spreading of Roman and Greek civilization was the greatest achievement of the Empire. The Romans themselves were city-lovers, and the civilization they spread was a city civilization. Under Augustus and succeeding emperors Rome made it her chief task to raise the standard of civilization in her provinces. The Eastern Provinces needed little attention, since, as a result of Alexander's conquests, they had already absorbed much of the language and customs of Greece; but the west was much more backward, and it was in the Provinces of Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain that Rome could contribute most.

Romanization began with the building of the strong, straight Roman roads, which opened up the country and allowed people to travel quickly and ideas to spread. Road-building was accompanied by the building of great bridges and aqueducts. Splendid examples of these still stand in France and Spain, showing the skill of the Romans, the beauty of the design, and the durability of their work. Among the most beautiful is the Pont du Gard, the aqueduct over the river Gard at Nîmes.

With roads and bridges went the building of towns on the Roman pattern, planned with straight streets at right-angles to each other, surrounded by strong walls of stone or brick. The Roman way of life was expressed in buildings of the Roman type—temples, basilicas (where business was transacted), baths, and theatres—so that every provincial town, even in far away Britain, was in this respect a model of Rome herself. The Roman historian, Tacitus, writing a biography of his father-in-law, Agricola, who governed Britain from A.D. 78 to 85, emphasizes this aspect of a Governor's work:

... he encouraged them privately and assisted them publicly to build temples, city centres, fine houses, by praising those who responded eagerly and criticising those who were slow. So they competed to win honour, without the use of compulsion. He trained the sons of their chieftains in the liberal arts, and expressed a preference for British abilities over the trained abilities of the Gauls. As a result men who but recently rejected the Roman language, were eager to become eloquent in it.

In the countryside were the *villas* known to all Roman Provinces—the groups of farm buildings and houses surrounded by their farmland. Villas varied from modest farm-houses to great country estates, from a small family group to a flourishing community of masters, workmen, and slaves.

Latin was everywhere the official language of government, and this became the basis of the modern languages of France and Spain as well as Italy; Latin literature was read by the upper classes and strongly influenced the later literature of Western Europe. Roman law was enforced over the whole Empire and remains the basis of European law to-day. Provinces were encouraged to develop their agriculture and trade, which had previously been much hampered by continuous inter-tribal war, and so were able to raise their standard of living. At sea, permanent fleets kept the seaways safe from pirates. As a result, goods could be carried from Syria to Gaul or from Africa to the Danube; we even hear of a man who drove a flock of geese from France to the market in Rome.

Very important was the Imperial post, which kept Rome in touch with her soldiers and citizens from one end of the Empire to another. All along the Roman roads were post-houses with refreshment and change of horses constantly in readiness. From the eastern boundaries of the Euphrates to the northern frontier of Northumberland the Roman courier knew that he would be provided for.

As their living conditions improved and as they absorbed the Roman language, law, and custom the Provinces were taken more and more into partnership with Rome. Native towns were given the right of citizenship, which enabled their men to serve the Empire as soldiers and as administrators. Gradually the ruling classes of the Empire changed in character. Under Augustus the senate, from which the most important administrators of the Empire were drawn, was composed almost exclusively of Italians. But gradually provincials whose communities had received Roman citizenship were introduced into the senate, at first from Gaul and Spain, later from Africa and the Eastern Provinces. Finally, in A.D. 212, Roman citizenship was given to all free provincials.

There still, however, remained the large slave population of the Empire. The Romans, like the Greeks, regarded slavery as a natural institution, and in their wars of conquest immense numbers of slaves were brought back by victorious generals; others were bought and sold by traders. Many of these slaves, particularly the tougher men from the north and west, were

used in agriculture—often in working gangs in the corn-fields—and as shepherds. Others worked in the mines or at unpleasant work like looking after the town drains. Many carried out household duties or worked in shops and the small factories where goods were made; they sometimes became very skilled craftsmen and have left their names on bricks and decorated pots. The very rich nobles sometimes had as many as 500 slaves distributed through their various town-houses and country villas, and even a middle-class man often had four or six to help him.

Much cruelty was shown to slaves in the Republic, and there were several serious slave risings. But under the Empire there was a general growth of humanitarian feeling. Many of the philosophers, as well as Christian preachers, emphasized that there was no real difference between a slave and a free man, and laws were introduced to protect them. The Romans were much more generous than the Greeks in giving slaves their freedom. Often a slave who had worked well for his master for less than ten years would be given his freedom; and many such freedmen, as they were called, became extremely influential and wealthy. Though they could not hold state appointments themselves, their sons often had distinguished public careers.

CHAPTER XV

The End of the Roman Empire

As the Empire advanced the powers of the Emperor had become more absolute. Augustus had been able to do what he wanted, but he was careful to carry the senate with him and disguise his power. Later emperors displayed their power more openly. Augustus when he died was declared a god, as were his successors if they ruled well. Later emperors allowed themselves to be called gods in their lifetime. The emperors also gradually concentrated more and more of the wealth of the Empire in their own hands, by gifts, legacies, and by the confiscation of the property of those who opposed them.

The old aristocracy, meanwhile, was decaying. They had lost their freedom, opposition could mean death, and they preferred to accumulate wealth rather than serve the state. Their wealth was invested in land, and more and more of the land in the provinces as well as in Italy came into the hands of the senators. Their estates were scattered far and wide, and managed by bailiffs and slaves or tenant farmers, while a large part of the profits went to the absentee landlords, who spent the money on extravagant living in Rome. The class of free peasants as a result declined still further, and the legions had to be recruited increasingly from the frontier provinces, instead of from Italy and the provinces nearer home. Slaves also were becoming scarcer, since there were no large-scale wars to supply them.

These weaknesses were not critical, provided that there were no serious military dangers, and no serious opposition to the emperor. But the good rule of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and the philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius was followed by the very bad rule of Commodus, whose reign ended in a series of revolts and fighting between rivals for the throne. This rivalry for the succession continued disastrously. Between 235 and 284 there were no less than twenty-seven emperors, and many men were killed in their bid for the throne.

The period of internal confusion was ended by the strong rule of Diocletian who, coming to the throne in 284, tightened up the administration and strengthened the army. But even

good emperors now could only slow down the decline. The most serious problem was the shortage of manpower. Much of the land in the Empire was being abandoned because there were insufficient workmen. Trade was declining. To ensure that enough food was produced and the essential State services maintained, the emperors of the fourth century had to compel men to stay on their farms or in their trades and their sons had to follow them. To see that the regulations were carried out, the number of officials had to be increased, and, to secure the Empire from invasion, new legions had to be recruited. To pay for the larger army and the larger civil service higher taxes were imposed.

Had there been a long period of peace the Empire might have slowly recovered, but the frontiers were no longer secure. In the east Persia was stirring herself like a giant after centuries of sleep, and the threat was sufficiently serious to Rome for successive emperors and generals to spend much of their time in the Eastern Provinces. The Emperor Diocletian resided so much at Nicomedia, in Asia Minor, that he thought it wise to appoint a second emperor with headquarters at Milan, in Italy. The Emperor Constantine went further. Where Greek Byzantium had been he caused to be built an entirely new town after the manner of Alexander; and, like Alexander, he called it after himself—Constantinople. Constantinople became the capital of the Eastern Empire, and it even rivalled Rome as the Imperial capital.

While Rome was necessarily paying much attention to the east, in the north and north-east mixed races of people whom the Romans called barbarians were becoming restless. 'Barbarians' simply meant 'foreigners' or 'people living outside the Roman Empire.' These people lived in Scandinavia, beyond the river Danube, the river Rhine, and the Black Sea. They were fierce and warlike, knowing little of the comforts of civilization or a settled life until they met it on the frontiers of the Roman Empire. They lived in families and tribes ruled by warrior chiefs. They were excellent fighters, fighting sometimes against each other, sometimes against the Romans on the borders of the Empire, sometimes enlisting in the Roman army to fight with the Romans. Their tribes remained distinct, and as Goths and Visigoths, Vandals and Lombards, Angles and Saxons, they fought and plundered their way through history.

It was natural that these barbarians should look with envy at the Roman way of life and try to burst through the frontiers

into the Empire. The Romans kept strong forces of soldiers at these points to hold them back, but the hard life of the frontier post was distasteful to the Roman used to the pleasures of town life, and it was then that some of the barbarians were recruited into the Roman army to help keep others at bay. The Roman Empire was thus weakened at its edges and open to constant pressure from outside. This pressure was increased when in the fourth century, far away to the east, another people became active. These were the Huns, even wilder and fiercer than the other barbarian races. They swept across Europe seeking new homes, plundering and terrorizing the Goths, who now appealed to the Romans to help them. The Romans allowed the Goths to cross the Danube into the Empire. This, however, was not enough. Seeing at closer quarters the civilization of the Romans, seeing, also, that the famous Empire was more vulnerable than it seemed from the outside, the Goths sought to gain possession of ever greater areas. They rose in revolt against their Roman hosts. In vain the Romans tried to stem the peril. Under their chief Alaric, the Goths swept forward to Rome itself and sacked the Imperial city in 410. All over Europe the barbarians were now on the move, those in front yielding to pressure from those behind. The Romans withdrew from province after province of the Empire, and the barbarians swept in. Ostrogoths settled in Italy itself, Visigoths in Spain and Gaul, Jutes and Angles and Saxons in Britain. Though it took many years for all this to happen, it was the end of the Roman Empire in the west. To the east, however, Constantinople remained for many centuries to come the capital of the Eastern Empire.

CHAPTER XVI

Christianity

WHILE the Roman Empire was gradually disintegrating a change was coming over it which was to be of great importance in the history of the world. We have seen how Rome preserved for posterity the legacy of Greece. We must now see how Rome handed on to the world the Christian religion and the Christian Church.

The religion of the Romans in their earliest days was very like that of other primitive peoples. They thought that the world was full of spirits, good and evil, which had to be worshipped by sacrifice and magic so that their corn would grow and troubles be averted. Gradually the Romans came to regard these forces as gods of human shape, and as they came into contact with the Greek world they identified their own gods with the Greek Olympic gods. The Roman Jupiter is very similar to the Greek Zeus; Minerva is the Greek Athena, goddess of wisdom, Venus is the Greek Aphrodite, goddess of love.

But even when they had adopted a form of religion not unlike that of the Greeks the Romans continued to maintain some of their own particular beliefs. They paid special attention to divining the future by studying the flights of birds: a crow on the left was a very bad sign. They also studied the liver of sacrificed animals before they fought their battles and on other solemn occasions. They attached much more importance to their homes than the Greeks, and in most Roman houses there was a little shrine for the Lares and Penates, the gods of the home. Vesta, the goddess of the hearth, was one of the most honoured gods. In addition to a temple in the centre of Rome, Vesta was served by the Vestal Virgins, or nuns, whose most important duty it was to see that the sacred fire of Vesta in the temple was never allowed to go out.

As Rome came into contact with the whole Mediterranean world she attracted religions from all quarters. As the Roman poet Ovid said: "Rome is a worthy home for every god." In the Empire, while the old Græco-Roman gods were still

worshipped, the middle and lower classes were increasingly attracted by the more emotional and exciting religions from the east—especially by the Egyptian Isis, Cybele the Great Mother from Asia Minor, and Mithras from Persia and the east, who taught men to fight against evil. These religions had elaborate processions, much ritual, and gave a promise of life after death. They spread not only in Rome but throughout the Empire. A shrine of Mithras, for instance, was discovered very recently when a bombed site in the city of London was being rebuilt. But eventually it was Christianity which drove other religions from the Roman Empire.

In the time of the Emperor Augustus a child called Jesus was born in Bethlehem, in Judæa. He had the normal upbringing of a Jewish boy of his time and worked with his foster-father in his carpenter's workshop. But before he was twenty he began to attract attention. People first took notice of him when he questioned the teachers in the synagogue. The Jewish religion still attached great importance to the keeping of the Law, but many of the Jews had long since ceased to ask what their scriptures really meant. Jesus angered the teachers by asking them difficult questions, and reminding them that the spirit was more important than the letter, that words constantly repeated lose their meaning.

As he grew older, Jesus proclaimed that he was the Son of God, and that he was come to fulfil the prophecies of the old Jewish prophets who had foretold the coming of a Saviour, a Messiah, or a Christ, who would save his people. When Jesus said that he was the Messiah most people could not understand. They expected a great warrior who would lead them in revolt against their own weak leaders and against the Roman Empire itself. The mission of Jesus was very different. He wanted to change their hearts; right conduct and a right relation to God was more important than the form of government. When his enemies tried to trick him into admitting that he opposed the Romans he said: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's."

To fulfil his mission Jesus gathered around him a small band of disciples, humble men who were fishermen or worked in the fields or engaged in other ordinary occupations. They felt the enormous force of his personality, and were attracted by his sayings, but it was a long time before they could grasp the full importance of his mission.

With this small group Jesus travelled through the country. By means of simple parables he explained the meaning of 'right' and 'wrong.' He respected the Jewish law, but again and again emphasized that even more important than the formal rules of the law was the spirit behind it. The true virtues were the simple virtues. Wealth and property were unimportant. What mattered most was how men lived. Not only did he preach about conduct; he also healed the sick and was not afraid to mix with the lepers. If men believed in him, he said, they would find the real answer to all their troubles. He would serve as a link between them and God, for he was the Son of God.

The crowds that gathered round Jesus as he travelled around became larger and larger, and the Jewish authorities became alarmed. The priests were disturbed because by his simple and popular teaching he undermined their authority. The nationalists opposed him because he was not helping them to throw off the Roman yoke; indeed he was, they thought, making the people more docile instead of rebellious. But Jesus had committed no crime, and it was not easy to get rid of him. If they had him murdered there would be serious trouble from the large numbers who were devoted to him.

At last they framed a charge against him and brought him to trial. They said he had called himself the King of the Jews; they pretended that he was stirring up the people against the Government. They sentenced him to death, but they had first to get the Roman Governor's permission to carry out the sentence. Pontius Pilate heard what Jesus had to say. He "found no guilt in the man," but he did not like to make the Jewish authorities release Jesus for fear of trouble from them. So he weakly allowed them to have their way, and Jesus was crucified on a green hill outside the walls of Jerusalem.

When Jesus died his disciples were dismayed. How could a man who allowed himself to be put to death so shamefully be the son of God? At first they gave up all hope, but Jesus appeared to them and restored their faith. Gradually they understood that he had deliberately chosen this death and that it was their duty to spread his gospel. At first the spread of Christianity was slow and confined to Jews, but Jesus had insisted that he had come to save not only Jews, but men of all races.

It was Paul of Tarsus, a Jewish tentmaker, who first set out deliberately to convert the Gentiles. He had been brought

up under the influence of Greek civilization as well as being a strict Jew, so he was well fitted for this task. In his early life he had persecuted Christians with fanaticism, but as he was travelling from Jerusalem to Damascus "suddenly there shined round him a light from heaven: and he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said, who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."

Paul's conversion was sudden and complete. Soon he was travelling through Asia Minor preaching the gospel in all the cities, urging his audience to leave their gods and follow the leadership of Jesus. He wrote many letters of advice to the friends and converts he left behind as he travelled on, and these were treasured and read out at meetings of Christians and finally included in the New Testament.

It was not only missionaries like Paul who spread Christianity. Traders who were Christians carried their religion wherever they went, and so it came to many of the great towns and to Rome itself. In the heart of the Empire it was a double menace, for it not only disturbed existing religions, but made a great appeal to the poor and to the slaves. By the time of Nero the Christians were prominent enough for Nero to make them take the blame for a great fire which swept Rome in A.D. 64. As a punishment hundreds of Christians were burnt to death in the streets of Rome. They met death bravely, many of them singing and praying; and, in spite of persecution, Christianity spread—especially in periods of bad trade and impoverishment. In Rome itself thousands of Christians met for their simple services in the catacombs, the great underground cemeteries cut in the rock outside Rome.

The turning-point came when Constantine, having been proclaimed emperor by his legionaries, was advancing towards Rome to make good his claim by battle. He had a vision in which he saw the Christian sign of the cross and the words: 'In this conquer.' He advanced to battle with the sign of the cross on his banner, vowing that if it made good its claim and gave him victory he would adopt the religion of the cross. He was, in fact, victorious, and announced his conversion to Christianity. He was baptized some years afterwards, in A.D. 337, and Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire about three hundred years after the death of its founder.

Constantine did much to strengthen the structure of the

Christian Church. There were Christian bishops in most of the larger cities of the Empire, but no central organization. Constantine called the bishops together to advise him on church matters and to agree on common doctrines. In these councils the bishop of Rome developed a recognized leadership, and so the Papacy came into being. Rome itself, associated with the martyrdom of St Peter and St Paul, as well as being the capital of the Roman Empire, assumed a special importance. On the supposed site of the burial of St Peter Constantine caused the first Church of St Peter to be built, and ever since a mighty church has stood there and the Pope has made Rome and the church of St Peter his home and the headquarters of his Church.

With the sack of Rome in 410 much of the Roman Empire lapsed into paganism. But the Pope remained at Rome, and Christianity lived on in Italy, in parts of Gaul, in Ireland and in Wales. At first many Christians sought refuge from the troublous times in monasteries. St Benedict, for example, early in the sixth century founded the order of Benedictine monks, and the monastery at Monte Cassino south of Rome. In time, as Europe settled down after the invasions, a new stream of missionaries came from the Christian centres of Europe to convert the pagan barbarians.

Christianity slowly reasserted itself. Clovis of the Franks married Clotilda, a Christian from Gaul, and was converted in 496—like Constantine, after victory in battle. Pope Gregory sent the monk Augustine to Britain to convert the Anglo-Saxons. When Augustine landed in Kent in 597 he found that Bertha, the Frankish wife of the King of Kent, was Christian. Partly under her influence Augustine and his followers were allowed to live in Canterbury, and shortly afterwards Ethelbert and many of his people were baptized.

Ethelbert's daughter married Edwin of Northumbria, and so the missionary Paulinus had the ground prepared for him when he went to the north. Edwin gathered together his chief advisors to discuss the question of Christianity. Coifi, the heathen high priest, was willing to adopt it if the Christian God would show favours to his followers. Another councillor said :

The present life of man, O king, seems to me, in comparison of that time which is unknown to us, like to the swift flight of a sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter, with your commanders and ministers, and a good fire in the

midst, whilst the storms of rain and snow prevail abroad ; the sparrow, I say, flying in at one door, and immediately out at another, whilst he is within is safe from the wintry storm ; but after a short space of fair weather, he immediately vanishes out of your sight, into the dark winter from which he had emerged. So this life of man appears for a short space, but of what went before, or what is to follow, we are utterly ignorant. If, therefore, this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed.

Northumbria adopted Christianity, and as the conversion of Britain proceeded bishops were appointed and missionaries from Britain converted parts of Germany.

Meanwhile Christianity of a slightly different pattern, known as Celtic Christianity, was spreading from Ireland, Wales, and the monasteries of Iona, off the west coast of Scotland, and of Lindisfarne, off the Northumbrian coast, where Christian teaching had been kept alive even after the fall of Rome. To reconcile Celtic and Roman Christianity a conference, or Synod, was held at the English town of Whitby in 664, which decided in favour of the Roman form. Gradually after this the Celtic Church came into line with the Roman.

So Christianity spread over Western Europe, owing allegiance to the Pope who, in the absence of a strong temporal ruler like the Roman Emperor, became increasingly powerful, although he was the head of no actual territory or state.

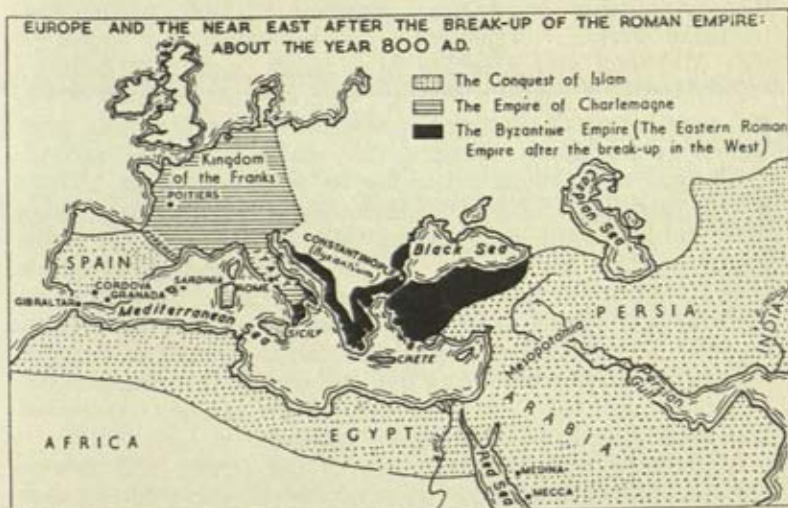
Part II

THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER XVII

The Empire of Islam

SHORTLY after the fall of Rome there arose in Arabia a new religion. It was known as Islam, meaning submission to the will of God, or Mohammedanism after its prophet, Mahomet. Its followers were called Mohammedans, or Moslems, or Muslims, meaning those who submit to the will of God.



Mahomet the prophet was born in Mecca, in Arabia, about A.D. 570 when the barbarians who had overrun the Roman Empire in the west were warring between themselves and letting the civilization they found crumble around them. Mahomet spent much of his youth, like other young men of Arabia, in the great open spaces of the desert, sometimes travelling with caravans of camels on trading missions from one settlement to another, frequently sleeping out all night

under the stars. The influences of his early life were not unlike those of the Hebrews.

The Arabs of Arabia were heathens, and to Mecca came many pilgrims to worship their holy black stone, or Kaba. Mahomet not only talked with these pilgrims, but on his travels he met men of other faiths from the countries bordering on Arabia. Abyssinia, Egypt, and Syria professed Christianity; the Persians still followed the teaching of Zoroaster; in Palestine and in the south and north-west of Arabia were Jews. Mahomet pondered these faiths and compared them with the worship and the customs of his own countrymen. Many of these he disliked. He condemned the worship of many gods, and of stones and images; he deplored the tribal warfare of the Arabs; he denounced the immorality and self-indulgence of many of his people; he condemned the custom of killing unwanted girl babies.

As he considered these things it seemed to Mahomet that an outside power was speaking to him, telling him to make certain revelations. To his friends it appeared that Mahomet was speaking in a trance, and they believed he was inspired. All his sayings were carefully written down, and after his death they were collected to form the holy book known as the Koran, meaning that which is read or recited.

The gist of Mahomet's teaching began to take shape. There is only one god, Allah, and Mahomet is his prophet. Men must submit completely to the will of Allah. They must put away the indulgences of the body and lead simple lives; they must take no intoxicating drink; they must be truthful and honest and not fight among themselves. There must be no infanticide. He taught that there will be a day of judgment, and that Good and Evil will receive their punishment in heaven and hell. A great deal in his religion resembled Christianity and the teaching of Zoroaster.

Mahomet's wife and members of his family and friends were his first converts, but most of the people in Mecca took little notice of the new teaching. From Medina, however, a few miles away, where there had been constant war between rival tribes, there came a call to Mahomet to come and keep the peace. The prophet and his followers slipped away from Mecca in A.D. 622, and thenceforward the religion of Mahomet made great headway. Consequently the flight to Medina assumed great importance to Mohammedans. They name the event the Hegira and base their calendar on the year of the Flight.

The rules of their worship were simple, but strictly enforced. Five times a day the Muslim was called to prayer by the voice of the Muezzin crying from the minaret of the mosque ; he had always to pray facing the holy city of Mecca, Mahomet's birthplace ; he must give alms ; he must practise frequent ritual washings ; he must fast frequently. In the month of Ramadan in particular fasting was enjoined from sunrise until sunset. In the twelfth month he would make annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Here he would visit the sacred black stone which Mahomet had adopted as part of his religion.

Mahomet began by hoping for the peaceful extension of his faith. But after the Hegira he became more militant, he was joined by more tribes and began to spread his religion by the sword. When he re-entered Mecca it was as a conqueror, and he proceeded to conquer the whole of Arabia. After his death his followers carried their religion unashamedly by the sword. They swept on in their amazing career of conquest as though inspired. Their faith had united the Arabs, but it was not the only force which drove them forward. After centuries of fighting between themselves and of comparative poverty they found they could find greater wealth and comfort in the countries around them.

Within a century of the Hegira they had conquered not only the whole of Arabia but Persia, parts of India, Syria, Egypt, and the northern coasts of Africa. They had swept through the Mediterranean Sea into Spain. ('Gibraltar' derives from the name of the Arab leader, Tarik, and was originally *Jebel al Tarik*, the Rock of Tarik.) Jerusalem fell to them in 637. It seemed as though Europe, assailed on the east and on the west, must surely yield to the fanatical Mohammedan. Only northward was she open to any other influence—that of the Norsemen.

In 717 and 718 came the first check to the Mohammedans when they were thrown back from Constantinople. The eastern frontiers of Europe had held, although they were to remain a constant source of anxiety. Fourteen years later the western frontiers were put to the test.

The Mohammedans penetrated the Pyrenees, and it seemed as though Western Europe would become another province of Islam. But the Franks, under their leader Charles Martel, the Hammer, so soundly defeated them at the battle of Poitiers in 732 that they retreated behind their mountain barrier to Spain. If the battle had gone otherwise, the course of European history would have been profoundly different. As

it was, Islam commanded wider territories than the Roman Empire had done, and its influence, blending with the civilizations it found already established, has gone deep into the life, not only of the countries it conquered, but of the whole of Europe.

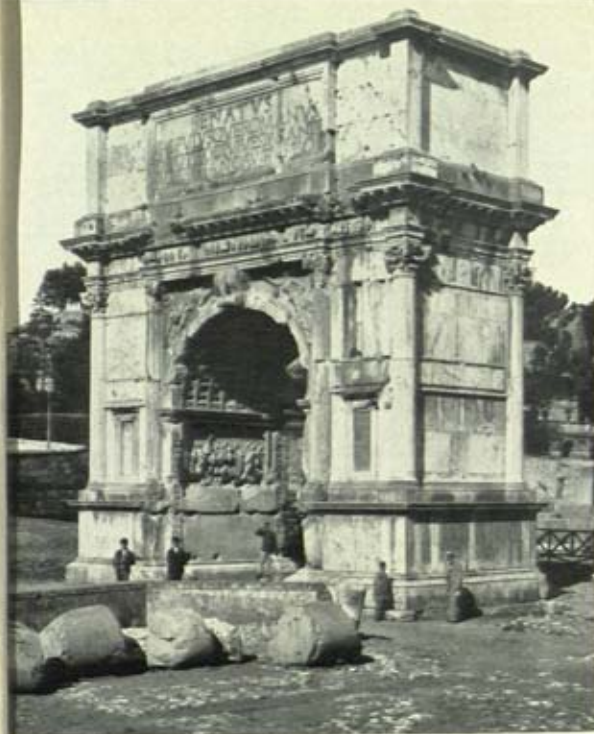
The development of geometry, medicine, astronomy, and geography owes much to the Arabs. The science of algebra, and its very name, comes from them. Arabic numerals are generally used to-day in place of the more cumbersome Roman numbers. Many words in common use in English are Arabic in origin, such as caravan, jar, syrup, traffic, mattress, sofa, bazaar, lute.

The Arabs had a wide and exciting literature, of which the *Arabian Nights* and a fine poem called *The Rhubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* are probably the best known. Arab literature did not then penetrate far into Western Europe, but in the eighteenth century a Frenchman translated *The Arabian Nights* into French, and the tales became so popular that they were rapidly translated into other languages, including English, and ever since have been a standard story-book in English homes.

Arab architecture was distinctive. In Baghdad and Damascus and Mecca they built mosques and palaces characterized by domes and minarets and pointed arches. In Europe the remains of Roman building, and such new building as there was, showed low arches and thick, squat walls, which gave an impression of strength. Arab building gave an effect of height and lightness, especially as the Arabs were fond of working patterns in stone, fretting and piercing it in geometrical designs. Sometimes they used a line of arches to give the effect of a tunnel. Often they used the horseshoe arch. They were very fond, too, of coloured tiles which they used with great effect in many buildings and courtyards.

Although its influence can be seen in France and other European countries, Arab influence left its strongest mark, outside the Arab countries themselves, in Spain. Here the conquerors were generally known as Moors, a word which came from *Mauri*, the Roman name for the people of North-west Africa, whom the Arabs had conquered before they came to Spain. Sometimes all Arabs were called Saracens, the name by which the Arab tribes of Syria had been known. So Mohammedan, Muslim, Moor, or Saracen often meant one and the same thing.

In Spain the Moors founded a civilization which at a time



THE ARCH OF TITUS IN ROME

This was built to commemorate
the capture of Jerusalem.

Photo Mansell Collection

RELIEF FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS

The figures are carrying the seven-
branch candlestick in the triumph-
al procession.

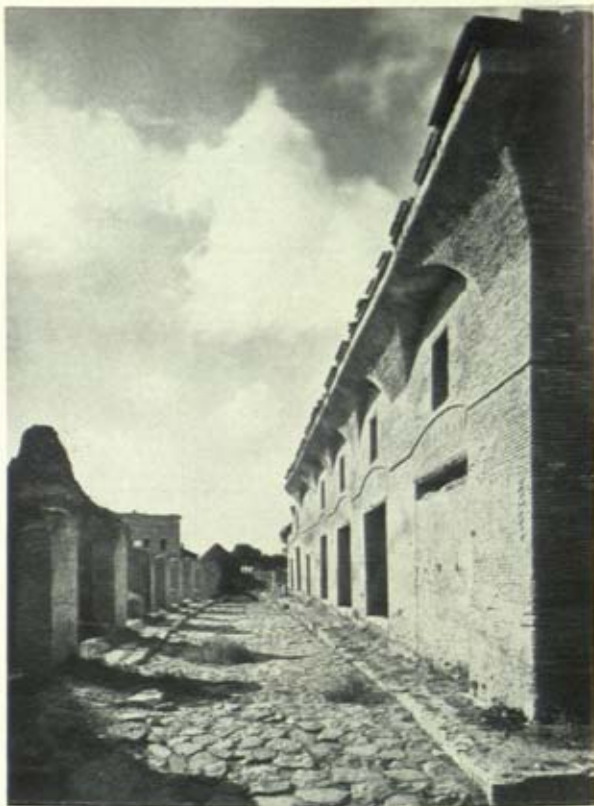
Photo Mansell Collection

96



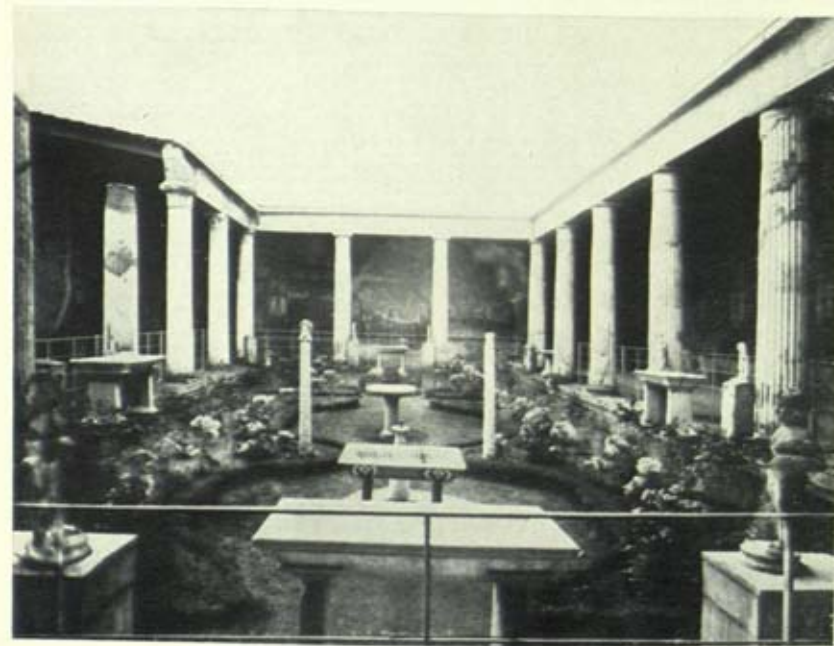
ROMAN STREET AT OSTIA,
NEAR ROME, SHOWING SHOPS
WITH APARTMENTS ABOVE

Photo Mansell Collection



GARDEN COURT (PERISTYLE)
OF ROMAN HOUSE AT
POMPEII, ITALY

Photo "Radio Times" Hulton Picture Library



when most of Europe was sinking into darkness was the only fitting successor to the Roman Empire. At Cordova, their capital, they pursued their science and their art, and even attracted many Christians to learn from them and study with them. Their greatest period in Spain was in the tenth century, but building continued until the fifteenth century. The Alhambra in Granada, for example, which was finished in the fourteenth century, is one of their finest works and well illustrates the characteristics of their building.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Empire of Charlemagne

FOR five hundred years after the fall of Rome Europe lay in what have been termed the Dark Ages. Not only did Roman civilization crumble, but the power and the knowledge to make and to build a new civilization was lacking. The Latin language was forgotten and with it the learning of Rome and all that Rome had passed on of Greek culture. Many of the barbarians could not read or write even their own tongue.

Almost the only place where Roman civilization and the Roman language were not entirely extinguished was Gaul. Here the Visigoths drove out the Gauls, who had long been part of the Roman Empire, but they in turn were defeated by Clovis of the Franks, and the kingdom of France came into being. It stretched from the Pyrenees to the Rhine, from the Mediterranean to the North Sea, and inherited a culture which was still partly Roman.

The victory of the Franks over the Muslims at Poitiers in 732 left the Franks undisputed masters of Europe. A later king, Pippin, helped the Pope against the Lombards in North Italy. His son, Charlemagne, became the most famous of all his line. He seized the crown of Lombardy, he protected the Pope against the attacks of his enemies. As he was by far the greatest monarch in Europe, it seemed only fitting that on Christmas Day, 800, as Charlemagne was rising from mass in St Peter's in Rome, the Pope should crown him successor to the Roman Emperors.

Great tales were told of Charlemagne's strength and prowess.

He was so hardy . . . that he would hunt the wild bull single-handed, so strong that he felled a horse and rider with one blow of his fist. He could straighten four horse-shoes joined together, and lift with his right hand a fully equipped fighting-man to the level of his head. His forehead was majestic, his nose was like an eagle's beak. He had the eyes of a lion: when he was angry they gleamed so that no man could look him in the face.¹

¹ H. W. C. Davis: *Charlemagne* (Putnam, 1900).

Charlemagne nearly doubled the kingdom of the Franks by conquering Lombardy, the Spanish border-lands, the Saxons of North Germany, and the South Germans. He failed only to drive the Moors from Spain. And even here he and his knights achieved lasting fame.

As Charlemagne was returning from an expedition over the Pyrenees there was a skirmish in the Pass of Roncesvalles where "the hills are high, the valleys are full of darkness, the rocks are brown and the narrow places full of fear." Little is known of the actual engagement, but something about it caught the imagination of the time, and minstrels were soon telling the sad story of the death of the flower of knighthood of "sweet France" and, in particular, of their leaders Roland and Oliver.

The *Chanson de Roland* (*The Song of Roland*), like the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, was not written down until much later, probably not until the eleventh century. In that form we now know it. It owes as much to imagination as to fact; but, like all these old stories, it commands the spirit to move us and the language to bring the very scenes before our eyes.

His championship of Christianity and his conquests are not Charlemagne's only claim to greatness. He encouraged learning and the teaching of reading and writing. In the intellectual revival which developed, Latin was again taught and Roman literature came gradually back again into men's knowledge. Charlemagne's chief advisor in this educational work was an English monk named Alcuin, who came from York.

CHAPTER XIX

Britain and the Barbarians

FOR five hundred years the Romans occupied Britain, teaching the natives the Roman way of life. The straight Roman roads ran from end to end of the country. Roman towns grew, like Verulamium (St Albans), Londinium (London), and Isca Dumnoniorum (Exeter). The Imperial post connected Britain with the rest of the Roman world. Roman *villas* farmed the countryside.

When the barbarians were threatening the Empire Rome needed all the men she could muster for its defence, and withdrew her soldiers. This left Britain in her turn open to invasion. From Ireland and Scotland she was attacked by Picts and Scots, who had never been under Roman rule. From across the sea she was a prey to the raids of the Angles and Jutes and Saxons from Germany. In vain British leaders sent for help to Rome. Raids gave way to settlement, and the Britons were driven into Wales and Cornwall and across the sea to the land which still bears their name—Brittany.

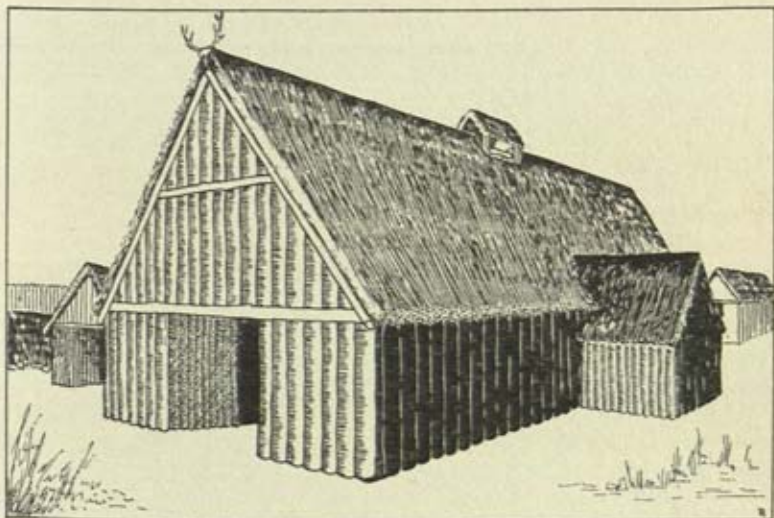
Stories grew up about this period of struggle, and half-legendary figures like King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table became the heroes of many marvellous exploits. The stories were not written down until so long after the events they were supposed to describe that it was then quite impossible to distinguish history from imagination.

It was not until the fifteenth century that Sir Thomas Malory brought together the old tales in Latin, French, and English and made *Le Morte d'Arthur*, *Sir Thomas Malory's Book of King Arthur and of his Noble Knights of the Round Table*. Caxton, the first English printer, printed it in 1485. Four hundred years later Tennyson made from it a new set of poems which he called the *Idylls of the King*. And so this half-legendary king with his followers has influenced literature and become almost a household word hundreds of years after he was supposed to have lived.

For many years after the departure of the Romans the conquering Anglo-Saxons fought among themselves, making

settlements in different parts of the country which came to be called after them. Angles settled in East Anglia, Sussex was the Saxon settlement in the south, Wessex their settlement in the west, while Norfolk and Suffolk were the settlements of their north and south folk. Similarly the villages where the Saxons settled can still be recognized to-day, even though some of them are big towns; *ham* or *ton* were Anglo-Saxon words for home or town, and Repton, Middleton, and Cheltenham were probably the village homes of the Anglo-Saxons.

The way of life the Romans had taught was forgotten, for



AN EARLY SAXON HALL

the barbarians knew little of town-life and nothing of the art and literature of Greece and Rome. Roman villas and towns were destroyed or crumbled away, Roman roads were overgrown with grass. Even the Latin language was forgotten by all but a few scholars, and Christianity was almost quenched in the invaders' own fierce worship of many gods.

Far from getting inspiration from Roman remains, the great ruined buildings they saw filled them with awe, and they told stories of a past race of giants who had inhabited the land. They continued to live, as their kinsmen did in North Germany and Scandinavia, in villages of wooden huts, getting their living from the land. Even the chief's home, in the

centre of the settlement, was little more than a large wooden hall with a few smaller rooms, or bowers, attached for the women. Here, in the hall, the lord and his family, his retainers and his guests, ate their meals and slept on benches. They would feast on boar and venison, for they were great meat-eaters, roasting their animals whole before open fires. Out of great drinking-horns they drank mead made from honey and ale brewed from barley while they listened to the songs of minstrels who played on the harp and told them stories of their gods and their ancestors.



INSIDE AN EARLY SAXON HALL
Tapestries often covered the walls.

The floors of the houses were strewn with rushes. In the hall tapestries woven by the women covered the walls, heat was given by a fire of wood or peat whose smoke curled upward to a hole in the roof. The whole village was surrounded by a ditch and bank surmounted by a palisade or fence. Beyond it stretched the waste and forest land which covered most of the country.

When the Anglo-Saxons first came to Britain each group or clan probably governed itself by a folk-moot, or meeting of all the people, but as chiefs became stronger there developed a form of government by a king and his strongest or wisest men, the Witan.

Anglo-Saxon society then consisted of a king, nobles (or thanes), freemen (or churls), and slaves.

The churl, or freeman who farmed his own land, formed the backbone of the country as the farmer had done in the Roman Empire and the yeomen of England were to do later. Below the churl were people who were free but who owned no land and performed various services for others, including work on the land. Below them again were the slaves, owning no land, possessing no rights. The Anglo-Saxons brought few slaves with them, but such defeated Britons as they captured were used as slaves, and later when they warred between themselves they sometimes enslaved other captives.

CHAPTER XX

The Anglo-Saxons

WHEN they had settled down after the stormy period of conquest most Anglo-Saxons lived simple lives, getting a living from their land, ploughing with a simple wooden plough drawn by a team of about eight oxen, scattering seed by hand. They grew wheat, barley, rye, and beans, peas, and flax; they kept bees, whose honey they used for sweetening and for making mead. Village craftsmen made earthenware pots for cooking and carrying. They became skilled in working wood and metal, and produced not only useful things like pins and keys, but animals carved from wood and fine decorated brooches and clasps often made of gold and inset with jewels. The women spun and wove linen and wool, and made baskets; they salted the animals they killed at the end of the summer to make food for the winter.

Custom governed much of the daily life of the Anglo-Saxons, but the king often found it necessary to make laws to cover certain situations. For example, King Ine of Wessex knew that if a group of people are farming together and one fails to play his part, he can spoil the others' work. So one of King Ine's laws reads:

If ceorls have a common meadow or other shared land to enclose, and some have enclosed their share while others have not, and cattle eat their common crops or grass, let those to whom the gap is due go to the others who have enclosed their share and make amends to them.¹

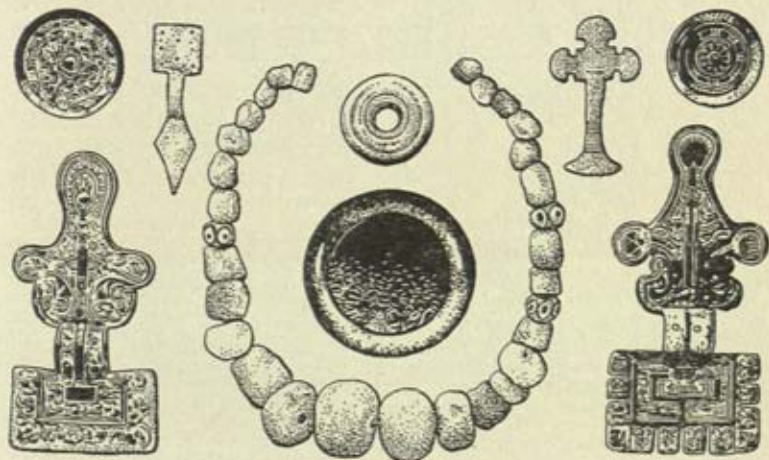
Laws also protected a churl's life. In Kent the slayer of a churl had to pay a hundred golden shillings to the dead man's family and fifty to the king. On the other hand, if a churl stole he could be fined by the king.

In spite of law and custom, life in Anglo-Saxon England was for a long time insecure in many ways. The men were always likely to be called away to fight in one of the frequent wars between rival kingdoms; and burning villages and ruined crops too often marked the end of a period of peaceful

¹ From *Anglo-Saxon England*, by Sir Frank Stenton (Oxford University Press, 1943).

settlement. Even in peaceful times the life of the peasants was precarious. They were completely dependent on the land, and their farming methods were primitive. They could put little by for emergency, and in a bad season the poorer people were destitute.

But as the kingdom of Wessex became more powerful and united the other kingdoms under her rule, war became less frequent. New roads were made or old ones repaired. These were not the fine roads of the Romans, but sufficient to make communications easier, and towns began to grow again—sometimes where the Romans had built, as



SAXON ORNAMENTS

Saxon necklace, brooches, clasps, and other ornaments used between the fifth and seventh centuries A.D. Found near Oxford.

at London, sometimes on new sites at the crossing of a river or a point central to several neighbouring villages.

The Romans would have been amused at these small towns with their crude buildings, generally of wood; but in these centres traders and craftsmen began to gather and the king sometimes held his court. Trade began to grow between different parts of England and between England and Europe. At an early date salt for preserving meat and fish was brought from Worcestershire and Cheshire to other parts of the country; lead from Derbyshire, iron from the Forest of Dean were traded with other districts. Silk, gold, spices, wine, glass, and furs came from abroad and were exchanged for

wool, cloth, and cheese. Coins were minted, among the earliest being those of King Penda of Mercia, in the middle of the seventh century. It is from his name that our word *penny* derives.

Shortly after their arrival in Britain the Anglo-Saxons were converted to Christianity, and Christian monasteries in various parts of the land became schools, monks became teachers and



A SCHOLAR WRITING

Throughout the Middle Ages scholars frequently wrote in this way, their parchment almost upright before them. Note the quill pen (though shorn of its feathers), the weight for holding the parchment in place, the ruled lines, the knife which the scribe holds in his left hand, which helps him to steady his work, and which he uses to sharpen his quill, and perhaps to make an erasure. Note the little pots of ink on their shelf; there is possibly a similar shelf on the other side of the desk. This drawing is taken from a miniature, made about 1456, of Jean Miélot translating the *Miracles de Notre Dame* from Latin into French.

writers of books. They were the only people who troubled to learn the Latin tongue of the Romans, and they treasured it as the language of learning and of the Christian Church. Working quietly in their monasteries, they wrote out the Gospels or the whole bible, prayers, and songs of praise. They not only ornamented their capital letters in blue and red and gold, but learned to illustrate their works with coloured pictures of animals, flowers, devils, and angels. All over Europe these beautiful illuminated manuscripts were being made, and many exist still to-day, bright and scarcely faded a thousand years after they were patiently and lovingly written by a Christian monk.

Sometimes the monks recorded the happenings of their own time. One of the first men to think of writing an actual history of England was a monk, a learned man and a scholar, who was born, lived all his life, and died in the monastery of Jarrow in Northumberland. The book which the Venerable Bede finished in 731 is called *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, but it is more than a Church history. Bede collected his information from old chronicles and stories, he probed the memories of old men. The result is a description

of this England of long ago, even as early as when Julius Cæsar first landed on its coast, and a rich store of tales about Anglo-Saxon people, as well as an account of events. Because Bede believed that Latin was the language of learning, he wrote in Latin; but his *History* was later translated by King Alfred into Anglo-Saxon and has many times been translated into modern English.

One story he tells is about a young monk called Cædmon who was no good at singing and playing on the harp. When, according to custom, the harp was passed round the hall after the evening meal Cædmon would steal away. On one occasion he went to the stables and there fell asleep. He dreamed that some one came and spoke to him, saying, "Cædmon, sing some song to me." He answered, "I cannot sing; for that was the reason why I left the entertainment, and retired to this place because I could not sing." The other who talked to him replied, "However, you shall sing." "What shall I sing?" rejoined he. "Sing the beginning of created beings," said the other. Hereupon he presently began to sing verses to the praise of God, which he had never heard. Awakening from his sleep, he remembered all that he had sung in his dream, and soon added much more to the same effect. ". . . none could ever compare with him," said Bede, "for he did not learn the art of poetry from men, but from God." Cædmon's first hymn went like this:

Praise we the Lord
Of the heavenly kingdom,
God's power and wisdom,
The works of His hand;
As the Father of glory,
Eternal Lord,
Wrought the beginning
Of all His wonders!
Holy Creator!

Warden of men!
First, for a roof,
O'er the children of earth
He 'stablished the heavens,
And founded the world,
And spread the dry land
For the living to dwell in.
Lord Everlasting!
Almighty God!

Bede died in 735. In 871 there came to the throne of Wessex, which was then the most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, a young man named Alfred. He was a Christian, had visited Rome when a child of five and received the Pope's blessing. He was wise and good. He not only trained soldiers and built ships, but made schools for his people and founded convents for men and for women. "A king," he said, "must have men of prayer, men of war, and men of work." All children should be sent to school in order to learn to read English, and those who were to be scholars should be educated further.

One difficulty was to find books, the few there were being in Latin. So Alfred himself set to work to translate some of the finest books he knew into Anglo-Saxon. He often added comments of his own, so from these translations we get a clear picture of this noble king. One chapter of a book, for example, ends: "My will was to live worthily as long as I lived, and after my life to leave them that should come after me my memory in good works."

Here is a poem sometimes called *The Song of Alfred*. May it, perhaps, have been written by Alfred himself?

Thus to us did Alfred sing
A spell of old ;
Song-craft the West-Saxon King
Did thus unfold :

Long and much he long'd to teach
His people then
These mixt-sayings of sweet speech,
The joys of men ;

That no weariness forsooth,
As well it may—
Drive away delight from truth,
But make it stay.

Alfred also caused Bede's *History* to be translated from Latin into Anglo-Saxon, and, because he so believed in the importance of history, he ordered the monks of several monasteries to begin a history, in their own Anglo-Saxon, of the Anglo-Saxon people from the time they came to England. These monks, basing their work as Bede had done on old chronicles and the memories of old men, began their history with Julius Cæsar. They continued it in their own time, year by year, and it went

on long after Alfred's death, ending only in 1154, when another race of people, the Normans, had conquered Britain.

It is interesting to note how the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is concerned, not only with battles and the succession of kings, but with all things that affected people's lives.

664 A.D. This year the sun was eclipsed, on the eleventh of May; and Erkenbert, King of Kent, having died, Egbert his son succeeded to the kingdom. . . . This same year there was a great plague in the island of Britain.

671 A.D. This year happened that great destruction among the fowls.

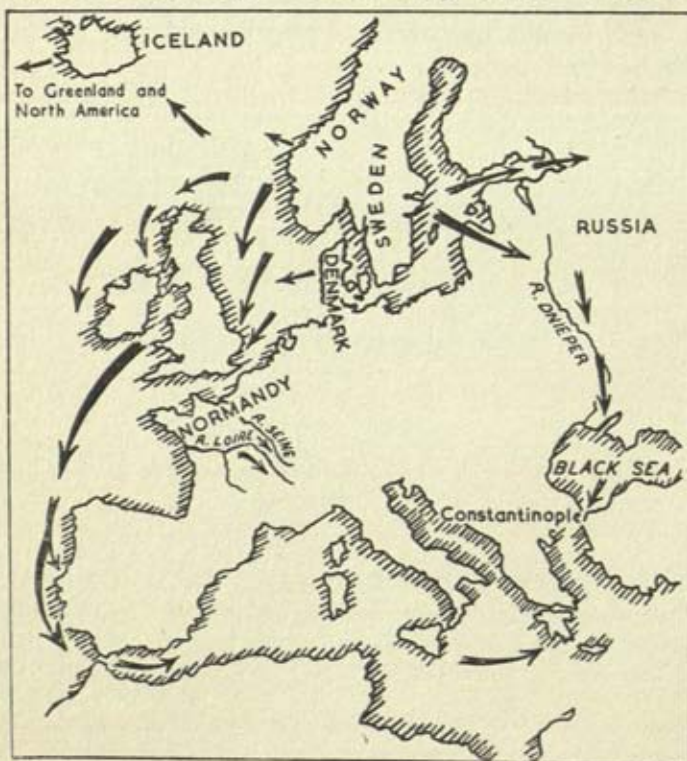
But Alfred had more to do than write books and organize education. He had to think of war. For while he was on the throne of Wessex a fresh wave of invasions was breaking on the English shore. This time it was the Norsemen, or Vikings, who were seeking new lands to plunder and new homes in which to dwell.

CHAPTER XXI

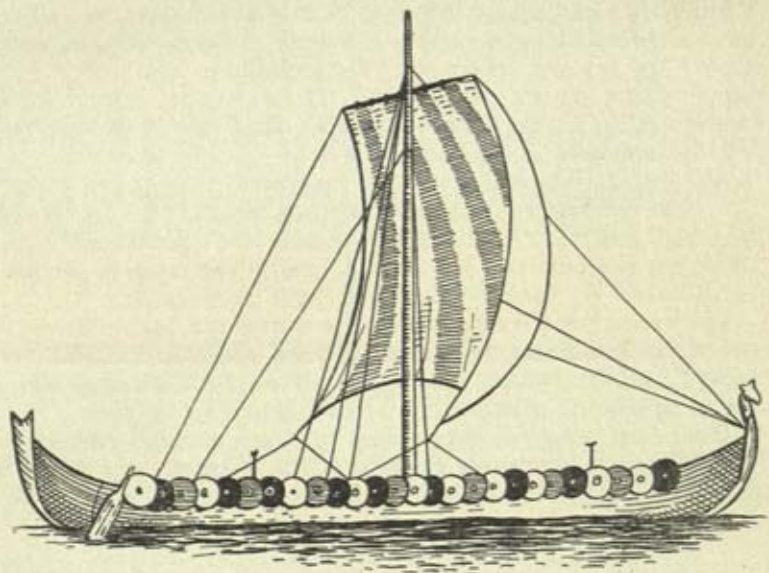
The Vikings

THE Vikings came from Scandinavia—from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Greenland, and Iceland. They were of the same stock as the Anglo-Saxons, tall, fierce, fair-haired warriors, equally at home on sea and land. They journeyed in long

VIKING ROUTES OF EXPLORATION, PILLAGE, AND TRADE



boats, like the one they called the Long Serpent, which was propelled by thirty-four pairs of oars but which could use sail as well. Often a great dragon's head decorated the prow, and while they rowed the Viking warriors would sling their brightly painted shields along the outside of the gunwales, making a bright line of colour round the boat. When their boats reached shore they would leap out, drop their oars, and seize their swords or their double-edged battle-axes. They had no fear



A VIKING LONG BOAT

Note the animal head at the prow, the shields slung round the gunwales, and the rudder.

of death in battle, for they believed the warrior lived after death in the hall of the gods in Valhalla.

To the east of Europe the Vikings had established themselves as great traders. Their settlements spread to the East Baltic, they sailed up the Volga and Dnieper rivers, down to the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea, and even menaced Constantinople. They exchanged their own fur and hides, whale-oil, walrus-tusks, cheese, and dried fish for the silks and spices of the eastern world.

Westward the Vikings journeyed for great distances in their long boats and even discovered America, hundreds of years

before Columbus. They went there many times, often with their women-folk, building houses, trading with the natives for furs and skins, sometimes fighting them, but always returning home after a short stay. They called the country Vinland from the vines and grapes they found growing there.

While trade was one side of their nature, plunder was another. They might trade with a town, but they would sack a monastery. But as they swept over the seas in their long Viking boats and up the rivers of Europe it was plunder rather than trade which occupied their minds. Islands were an easy prey. In 793 the monastery of Lindisfarne was raided and some of the monks massacred. The following year Bede's monastery of Jarrow was plundered. The year after that the Vikings appeared in Ireland and Wales. A few years later the monastery of Iona off the west coast of Scotland was burnt. "... never before," wrote Alcuin the monk, "in the three hundred and fifty years that we and our forefathers have dwelt in this fair land has such a horror appeared in Britain as this that we have just suffered from the heathen."

In France the Vikings sacked the towns and monasteries of the rivers Loire and Seine. At Nantes not only was the city sacked but the bishop was murdered at the Cathedral altar, the congregation massacred, and the church set on fire.

That 'harrying,' as they called it, was a normal procedure with them the stories or sagas that the Vikings sang to each other in their great halls in Scandinavia in the long winter evenings make abundantly clear.

King Eric went a-warring in the west [they told in a typical saga] then he went to the south-isles, and found there many Vikings and Kings of Hosts, and they joined themselves to King Eric and with the whole host he went first to Ireland, and had there such folk as he might get. Thereafter he fared to Wales and harried there; thence he sailed south under England, and harried there as in other places, and all the people fled away wheresoever he came ... and ... he went a long way up into the land, and harried and followed up the fleers.

When they were not 'harrying' or making trading expeditions the Viking way of life was similar to that of the Anglo-Saxons. Ordinary people farmed the land. The chief, or king, lived in a great hall surrounded by his thegns, or warriors, and his servants. This was the place where new exploits were planned and tales of past warriors were recounted in song and



THE ANNUNCIATION

Photo Bodleian Library



THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

From an English manuscript of the late twelfth century.

Photo Bodleian Library



ALFRED'S JEWEL

Photo Ashmolean Museum



PLOUGHING IN THE MIDDLE AGES

From the Luttrell Psalter (early
fourteenth century).

Photo British Museum

113

tue letificauerunt animam meam.
Numquid adheret tibi sedes iniqui-
 tatis: qui fingis laborem in precepto.
Captabunt in animam iusti: et san-
 guinem innocentem condemnabunt.



story as the great horn, filled with ale or mead, was passed round.

The clothes of the Norsemen were of good woven woollen cloth, to which they added handsome gold and silver ornaments. They worked in bronze and stone, iron and wood, making not only fine boats but excellent furniture. When they swept down upon the coasts and up the rivers of Europe they were still not Christian but worshipped many gods.

Of these Odin was the chief. He was married to Friga, or Frigg. Of their sons Thor was the thunder god and the god of strength and valour, Njord the god of the winds, the sea, and of fire. Freyja, the goddess of love, drove in a car driven by two cats. All the gods lived in Asgard, the bridge between the earth and Asgard being the rainbow, which was guarded by Heimdall—a very efficient guard, for he could see for a hundred miles in the dark as well as the light, and was so quick of hearing that he could hear the grass grow in the earth and the wool grow on a sheep's back. Odin's house, or hall, was Valhalla, where he was served by the Valkyrie, warrior maidens who, mounted on horseback, brought back the heroes who had died in battle to feast and fight for ever in Valhalla.

Their dead the Vikings often buried in the long boats they loved so well. Sometimes they burnt them on the shore. Sometimes they sent them flaming out to sea. Sometimes they covered them with earth or sand, so building a great burial mound. A queen was found in this way in a boat which was excavated in 1904 at Oseberg in Norway. In her funeral chamber were many of the queen's treasures, as they might be found in an Egyptian pyramid tomb.

A similar ship burial was excavated in England at Sutton Hoo, in Suffolk, in 1939. But this was a Saxon and not a Viking burial, made before these particular Saxons became Christian; it emphasizes the fact that the Saxons were of the same race and originally held the same beliefs as the Vikings. The strange thing about the Sutton Hoo burial is that not a single trace remains of the man who was commemorated there. His belt, his clasp, his sword, his battle-axe, even the great whetstone on which he sharpened his sword, are all there with abundance of jewels and ornaments beautifully and richly wrought. Even his beautifully decorated purse, with clasp and hinges still intact and in working order and containing his money, are there. Probably this was not an actual burial but a memorial or cenotaph to commemorate a chief who died away from home and whose body was never recovered.

The Vikings had no written literature, although they often scratched out on a gravestone or on small ornaments sentences or verses in crude letters which are known as runes. But as the Greeks and French and English sang of the heroes of their race long before their stories were written down, so the Vikings built up a powerful collection of sagas, as these stories were called.

A poem resembling the sagas but written in Anglo-Saxon was found in England. The story takes place in Denmark and much of the background is Germanic, a fact which emphasizes the common origin of the peoples of Scandinavia, Denmark, Germany, and England.

This saga of *Beowulf* tells of the great warrior Beowulf who killed the monster Grendel, half animal, half man, who terrorized the hall of King Hrothgar. It contains a fine description of the hall of the Danish king and of the hospitable customs of the time :

Wealtheow went forth, Hrothgar's queen, mindful of what was fitting ; gold-adorned, she greeted the warriors in hall ; and the free-born woman first offered the goblet to the guardian of the East-Danes ; bade him be of good cheer at the beer-banquet, be dear to his people. He gladly took part in the banquet and received the hall-goblet, the king mighty in victory. Then the woman of the Helmings went about everywhere among old and young warriors, proffered the precious cup, till the time came that she, the ring-decked queen, excellent in mind, bore the mead-flagon to Beowulf.

When Alfred came to the throne of Wessex Vikings from Denmark were already striking fear into the country. The marauders swept into the coasts, up the rivers, mounted grazing horses, and galloped on to plunder villages and towns. Alfred was strong enough to consolidate the west and south-east of England into one kingdom. He fortified London, he built ships to guard rivers and coast, he mounted his thegns and rode out to meet the enemy. He defeated them several times and at the Treaty of Wedmore it was agreed that the Danes should become Christian and settle in the ' Danelaw,' in the north-east of the country, leaving Alfred with a strongly united Southern England. The Danish settlement has been important in adding a further ingredient to the mixture of blood which runs in English veins.

Alfred's son, daughter, and grandson carried on his work with such success that the Danelaw was won back, and for

the first time there was a king of all England. But a little later the Danes were back again, taking advantage of a weak English king, and managed to put their own king, Canute, on the English throne.

Canute ruled wisely and well over Denmark and England. The story is told of how he rebuked his flattering courtiers by having his chair placed on the sand in the path of the incoming tide to demonstrate that a power mightier than he controlled the sea, and that the waves would not halt at his bidding.

On Canute's death the Danish kingdom was again divided, and the Danish hold on England weakened. After the death of Canute's sons there was no opposition from the Danes when the English chose Edward, a Saxon, as their king. This king, known as Edward the Confessor, was the last of the Saxon kings of England. The Danes did not return to England; their power was waning after the middle of the eleventh century. But England in their place suffered another conqueror, the last of the invaders whose blood and influence has gone to the making of the English nation.

CHAPTER XXII

The Normans in England

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR had no children. He spent his youth in France, where he had known William of Normandy, and William claimed that Edward had named him his successor. When Edward died, however, the English Witan chose Harold, one of their powerful earls, as king. William declared that when Harold had been shipwrecked some years earlier on the coast of Normandy and had been saved by the Normans he had promised to forfeit his claim to the English throne in William's favour. So William claimed the English throne on the word of Edward, the promise of Harold, and also because he could claim a family relationship with Edward. Harold refused to be bound by his promise, which had been forced from him, claimed to be king as the choice of the ancient council of the realm, and also because he too was related to Edward. Though most of the English barons supported Harold, William prepared to make good his claim by conquest, while Harold kept watch on the Channel.

It was not only the Normans who were casting covetous eyes on the country. The Norsemen again attacked. Harold hastened north. His house-carls fought valiantly, threw back the Norsemen in a fierce battle near York, and sped south again as news came that William had landed at Hastings. The battle that was fought near Hastings in 1066 was hard-fought and dearly won. The English took their stand on a small hill and made a stout shield-wall of their long shields. But, mightily as they swung their powerful battle-axes, they fought on foot and their range was small, they were weary after their long march and their battle in the north, their ranks were already thinned with casualties. The Normans had had time to refresh themselves after their sea journey from France, they fought on horseback with long spears and on foot with strong flights of swift arrows. By nightfall it was over, Harold and his bravest men were dead, others were fleeing to their homes, and William was calculating his advance on London.

Some years after the Conquest work was begun on what has since become famous as the Bayeux Tapestry. It is so

called because it was probably ordered by Bishop Odo of Bayeux, William's half-brother, who figures prominently in the tapestry, and because it is kept at Bayeux, a little town near the coast of Normandy where Odo rebuilt his cathedral. It is not actual tapestry, in which the design is woven into the material, but is needlework embroidered upon coarse linen, and was probably made under the Bishop's supervision in England, perhaps by both Norman and Saxon women.

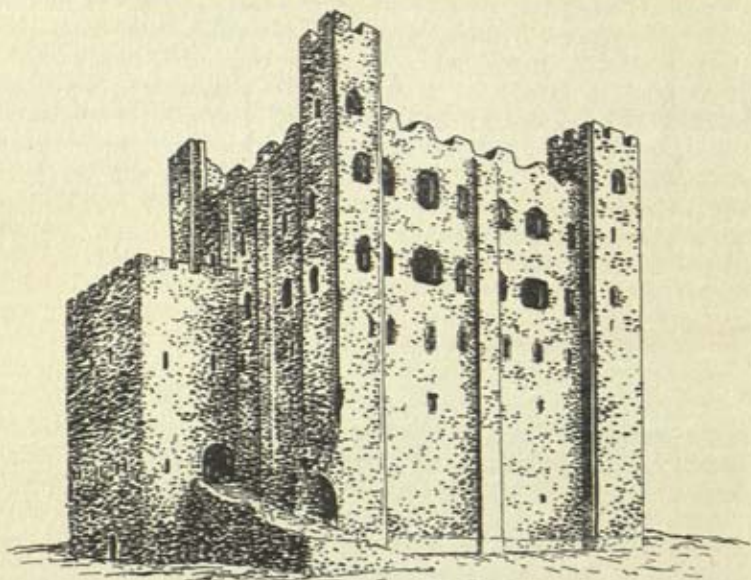
It is a wonderful piece of work, 231 feet long by 20 inches wide, depicting in blues, greens, red, yellow, and grey the story of Harold and William from the time of Harold's shipwreck to the battle of Hastings. It shows the Normans building their fleet, sailing to England, landing their horses, seizing provisions from the English, and having a good dinner at Hastings before the battle. It shows clearly the Norman and English knights in their armour, the Normans fighting on horseback, the English behind their shield-wall. The English defend a small hill, the Norman archers keep up their deadly flights of arrows. Harold is seen with an arrow piercing his eye and falls dead while a Norman horseman hacks him on the thigh and his followers scatter.

William was determined and ruthless, his men were brutal and merciless; England was too divided for organized resistance. Local uprisings were suppressed with severity. Grim castles were soon standing in England as they did in Normandy, the sign of strength in the victor and the futility of revolt. These castles were at first built of wood, a little later of stone. The first stone castle was the Tower of London, which William built to overawe the city. The ruins of many of these Norman castles still remain, monuments of the last conquest of England.

The Normans were a remarkable people. As their name implies, they were of Viking, or Norsemen, stock. Among the places where the Norsemen had harried was the north of France. The *Heimskringla*, one of the Norse sagas, tells of one of the national heroes called Rolf. "Rolf was a great Viking: he was so big that no stead could bear him, and he therefore walked wherever he went, so that he was called Rolf 'the Ganger.'" On one of his expeditions he went to France, "where he harried and possessed himself of a great earldom. He settled many Norsemen there, and it was afterwards called Normandy." The great-great-great-grandson of Rolf the Ganger was William the Conqueror.

The Normans, as the Vikings settled in the north of France were called, intermarried with the French, assimilated much of the Latin way of life, adopted the French and Latin languages and the Christian faith. But they kept their independence, their marauding spirit, and their love of adventure. They had already settled in Sicily and the south of Italy before they came to England.

By the Norman Conquest England was not only reinforced



ROCHESTER CASTLE

A strong Norman castle. Note the straight, thick walls and small windows far from the ground.

with a fresh infusion of the old Viking blood, this time partly French, but for the first time since the Romans came to Britain she was brought under the influence of a power that came from the south and not from the north. For centuries she had been moulded by men of pure Viking blood. Now to that heritage was added a Latin and European contribution. England became part of the main continent of Europe and henceforth looked south and not north.

There was a gradual intermarriage between Norman and Saxon, but for long it seemed as though the ruling class were purely Norman. Norman-French was the language of the

court and the officials, Latin the language of the Church. The Anglo-Saxon tongue lived only on the lips of the peasantry and even there became gradually interspersed with Norman words.

It was also of importance that the Norman dukes brought with them a tradition of government which was not only stern and unyielding, both to foreigners and to their own people, but was more highly centralized than the English had known. William had promised his followers reward and kept his word by giving them the land taken from the English earls. But he took care to emphasize that they were his lands granted on certain terms to his faithful supporters. The effect of this was to strengthen the power of the king, to create a ruling class which was almost entirely Norman, and to reduce many English landowners to the position of vassal to a Norman overlord. At the same time the tendency, already apparent, for the Anglo-Saxon churl to become less free was strengthened as new masters set their new houses in order. Everywhere the relationship between class and class hardened and the pressure of duties became more severe on the lowest ranks of society. Feudalism, which had been developing slowly in England, became firmly riveted on the country.

William not only made himself master of all England, but, as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells, wherever he went he kept great state and wore his royal crown three times a year: at Easter at Winchester, at Whitsuntide at Westminster, at Christmas at Gloucester. He and his Norman successors were passionately fond of the chase, causing fresh areas to be reserved as royal hunting grounds and making more severe the forest laws which already existed. In this way the New Forest was newly brought under forest law in William's time.

In any forest thus reserved for the use of the king the red deer, the fallow deer, the roe, and the wild boar were bred and protected for the king to hunt, and other animals might be killed only by those to whom the king gave 'rights of warren.' Thus many a poor man was prevented from killing his supper in a near-by wood. Foresters, wardens, and verdurers patrolled the forests for the king and added their own tyranny to his. Forest-dwellers who carted wood were forced to pay; they were compelled to drink—and to pay for—ale which the foresters brewed; their dogs were 'lawed' by having three talons cut off their front feet. For hunting a deer a man could lose his life. For resisting a forester, if he were free he lost his freedom; if he were a villein he lost his right hand.

When William had been king for nearly twenty years he

desired to survey his kingdom to see exactly how much he owned in land, tribute, and service, and whether he could take more. So, as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us, at Christmas 1085 when the King held his court at Gloucester he had "important deliberations and exhaustive discussions with his council about this land and how it was peopled, and with what sort of men." As a result, he sent his representatives all over England to collect a detailed account of every village. They were to find out its size, the number of men it contained, and whether they were freemen or otherwise; how many ploughs it owned, how much wood, pasture, and meadow; how many fishponds, how many mills; how much it was worth in King Edward's time, how much in King William's, and whether it could be made to yield more.

So very thoroughly did he have the inquiry carried out [says the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*] that there was not a single 'hide,' not one virgate of land, not even—it is shameful to record it, but it did not seem shameful for him to do—not even one ox, nor one cow, nor one pig which escaped notice in his survey.

Thus was instituted Domesday Book. It is a tribute to the thoroughness of William's conquest that everywhere, up and down the country, in spite of some rioting and false returns, his questions were answered in detail. To later generations it is a priceless record of landholding in England in the early Middle Ages.

Here is an example of a Domesday return from the county of Bedfordshire:

Luton, a demesne manor of the king, is assessed at . . . 30 hides. There is land for 4 score and 2 ploughs. On the demesne are 4 ploughs. The villeins have 4 score all but 2. There are 4 score villeins, 47 bordars, and 6 mills yielding 100 shillings, meadow sufficient for 4 plough teams, woodland to feed 2000 swine, and from dues come 10 shillings and 8 pence. From the toll and the market come 100 shillings. In all it yields nearly 30 pounds of weighed money and half a day's provision for the king's ferme in grain and honey and other customary dues pertaining to the king's ferme . . . to the queen 4 ounces of gold. . . .¹ and another from the county of Oxford:

The king holds Headington. There are 10 hides. In demesne there are now 6 ploughs; and 20 villeins with 24 bordars have

¹ From the Victoria County History: *Bedford*, Vol. I (Oxford University Press).

14 ploughs. There are 2 mills rendering 50 shillings and 5 fisheries rendering 20 shillings. From the meadows and pastures £4. From the corn-rent for a year £8. . . . From the church-scot 10 shillings and 6d. From other customs 100 shillings and 25d. . . . Altogether it renders £60.¹

Shortly after the Domesday Book survey William died.

What can I say? [asked the chronicler.] That bitter death that spares neither high nor low seized him. . . . Though stern beyond measure to those who opposed his will, he was kind to those good men who loved God Among other things we must not forget the good order he kept in the land, so that a man of any substance could travel unmolested throughout the country with his bosom full of gold."

But the writer felt compelled to add: "Assuredly in his time men suffered grievous oppression and manifold injuries."

Alas! that any man should bear himself so proudly
And deem himself exalted above all other men!
May Almighty God show mercy to his soul
And pardon him his sins.

¹ From the Victoria County History: *Oxfordshire* Vol. I (Oxford University Press).

CHAPTER XXIII

Feudalism

DURING the Middle Ages Western Europe was divided into a number of countries, each with its own rulers. Although in many ways different from each other, and having their own native languages, these medieval countries had a great deal in common. They were all Christian and looked to the Pope at Rome for a leadership which was often more than spiritual; their churchmen spoke the same tongue—Latin; they had many of the same ideals and standards of conduct, which were often embodied in the ideal of chivalry; and their lives were shaped, wherever they were, by a roughly similar method of landholding and of social relationships which we term feudalism.

Feudalism was based on the land. Land was of the greatest importance in the Middle Ages, because, although trade was growing, it was still the land which was the main source of wealth and which provided the necessities of life. A person's wealth and importance depended on the amount of land he held and how he held it. The king, as the most powerful person in the country, theoretically owned all the land. Some he farmed himself, but large areas he gave to his barons and to his churchmen in return for services of various kinds. These were called tenants-in-chief.

Tenants-in-chief generally granted part of their land to under-tenants, and these again could sub-let. In England the unit of ownership was the manor. A small landlord would own one manor, a great landowner perhaps one hundred. Living and working on the land were various classes of landholders linked together and to the lord of the manor by a network of rights and duties. There were freeholders, whose acreage might be small but who were free to go where they pleased and dispose of their land as they saw fit. Then there were the villeins, who owned land but were unable to move without their lord's permission. Below them were cottars, who owned no land but the gardens round their cottages. Slaves were rapidly dying out and had ceased to exist by the twelfth century.

As important as its basis in the land were the rights and

duties, clearly defined by custom though not always written down, which bound feudalism together. There was no government to which each person owed service or taxes, but everywhere, until you came to the king at the top, there was some person 'of whom' you held your land and 'to whom' you owed feudal dues; and until you came to the villeins and serfs at the bottom there was some one who in his turn 'held of' you and owed service to you.

The king received from the manors he farmed himself the produce of the land—corn, cattle, eggs, honey. Frequently he journeyed from one estate to another, living on each in turn. Sometimes he received a money payment instead of goods. The Domesday Book extract concerning the king's manor of Luton on page 120 shows clearly that the king expected to receive from it both money and provisions.

From his tenants-in-chief the king required first of all military service and equipment in time of war. He could also demand an 'aid,' which was a grant of money or goods on special occasions such as the knighting of his eldest son, the marriage of his eldest daughter, or the payment of his ransom if he were captured by enemies. The king had also the right of administering the estate of a person under age who had come into possession of property, and of choosing the husband of an heiress. Both could be very profitable. Also due to the king were a fine of inheritance when an heir took possession of estates held of the king, the right to the first year's rent after the death of a tenant, and the possession of all lands left without heirs.

Just like the king, his tenants-in-chief lived on their manors. Just as the chief service which they gave him was military service, so in time of war each lord called on a lesser lord to come with his due quota of men and weapons, and knights rode from all over England to serve under the banner of their feudal lord. But, also like the king, each lord received from his tenants rents in money, produce, and services.

The villeins bore the brunt of these services. Apart from payments in money or kind, each villein was bound to work so many days a week on the lord's land (week work) and to give labour at harvest or other busy times (boon work). The lord was thus able to live very comfortably and to obtain labour for his 'demesne' land, as the land he farmed himself was called.

To the villein, on the other hand, it was irksome to leave his own land when perhaps it needed him most to go to work

for his lord. Other restrictions on his life made him very nearly a slave. He was compelled to grind his corn at the lord's mill and to pay for the privilege, even if he would prefer to go elsewhere or use some other method. Nor could a villein sell his stock or let his daughter marry without the lord's consent; sometimes even for a son's marriage approval was necessary. In addition, when he inherited land from his father the villein had to pay the lord a fine of inheritance before he could take possession. Above all, although he could be ejected from his holding by his lord's orders, the villein was not free to change his lord, to leave his manor or his land, or take up any other kind of work.

At a time when towns were growing a poor villein might wish to seek his fortune in a town; but feudalism would not allow this and he could be chased, caught, punished, and brought back to his manor. His children were born villeins, and must do as the lord willed.

The villein's rights consisted in farming his land according to ancient custom, in feeding pigs and poultry on woodland and waste, in grazing cattle on the common, in cutting hay in the meadow, in gathering fuel from the forest. He achieved some security by the fact that his services were valuable to his master, who would generally defend him against injustice from others. Above all, the villein was protected by the 'custom of the Manor,' which was not always written down, but which was known to every one on the Manor, and which even the lord himself had to obey.

The cottars farmed no land but the 'tofts,' or gardens, round their cottages and had no rights in the open fields or the meadows, but they could graze an animal (if they had one) on the common or keep pigs or chickens on the waste. Many of them worked for the lord as labourers on his land or at various tasks in his household. Sometimes they helped the richer villeins.

Various people who lived on the manor did the essential tasks of any village community. One was the swineherd, who looked after the pigs and returned the correct number to their owners at night; another was the hayward, who fenced the ploughed land where it touched a road so that cattle would not trample it. There was the pindar, who looked after the pound where straying animals were kept until claimed by their owners, and the miller, who ground the corn and was generally accused of keeping some of the flour for himself.

The lord had his own men who looked after his interests.

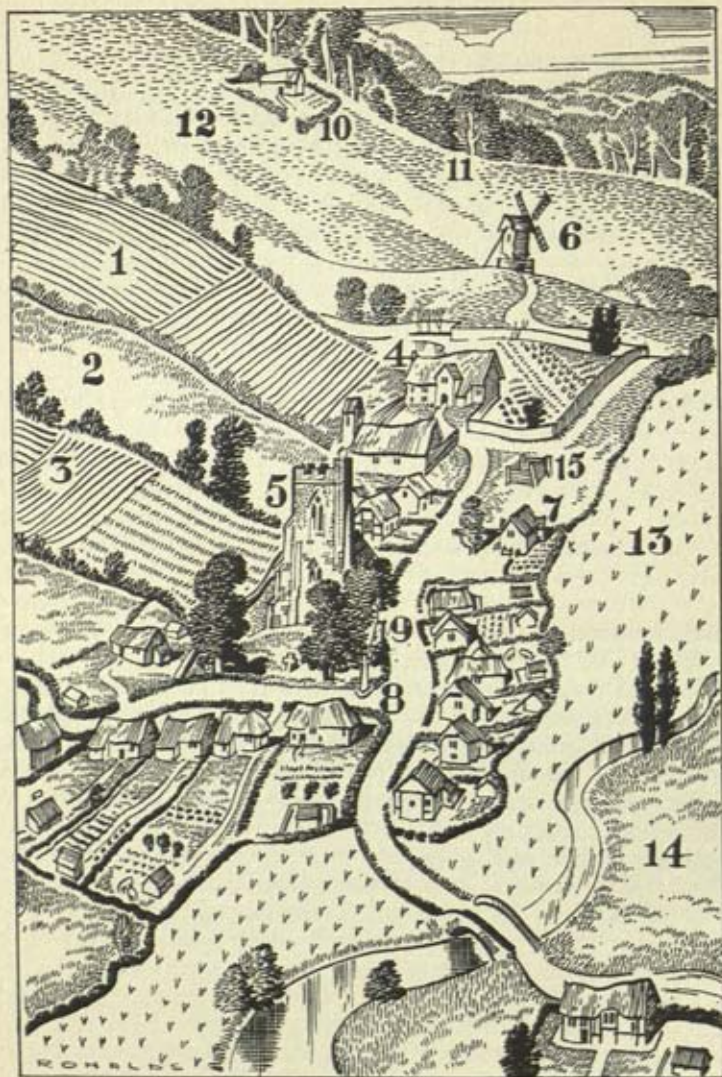
If he owned many manors his steward, or seneschal, would be in charge of them all, and each manor had its own bailiff. There was also a reeve, who represented the villagers in any discussion with the bailiff. His job seems to have been an unenviable one, striving to make the best of both worlds.

Supervising the smooth working of manor life was the manor court, which met twice yearly and which all the inhabitants of the manor were bound to attend. Here all changes of tenancy were noted, causes of dispute resolved, and twelve tenants appointed to see that the customs of the manor were duly observed.

The size of the manor, the method of farming, and the nature of the produce naturally varied from one part of the country to another, depending partly upon whether the land was hilly, marshy, barren, or fertile, and partly upon its history. But if we reconstruct a village in the Midlands of England in medieval times we shall get a good idea of the actual day-to-day life of the feudal system. The manor and the village might be identical, a village might comprise more than one manor, or be only part of a larger manor, but the system would work in the same way.

We will imagine a manor which comprises a whole village but no more, subject to one lord only. As one would expect, a road runs through the village, and near by is a stream whose power turns the mill-wheel for grinding corn. The houses of the peasants scatter along the road with small patches of land, or tofts, round them. Some larger buildings show where the big ploughs and some of the farm implements are kept. The lord's house is conspicuous, surrounded by his own demesne land, or home-farm. There is the common, with a mixture of rather poor cattle and sheep grazing over it, a field by the stream which is growing grass clearly intended for hay, and a pond with fish in it. Chickens are running about and pecking up bits of food wherever they can. In the distance, by the edge of the waste, the goose-girl looks after her flock; and away in the wood and the scrubland we can faintly hear the grunt of the pigs snouting for acorns and beech-mast.

But more striking than any of this is the open cultivated land, stretching for some two or three thousand acres round the village. It is divided into two or more big fields, let us suppose three, of which one is growing an autumn-sown wheat, another will grow a spring-sown crop of perhaps barley or peas, and a third is lying fallow. The fields are still divided



AN OPEN-FIELD VILLAGE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

1, 2, 3. The arable fields, of which one lies fallow. 4. The manor house, with an enclosure about a large garden and fish-pond. 5. The church and churchyard. 6. The windmill. 7. The ale-house, with its bench, beside the village green. 8. A stone cross. 9. A platform for the miracle and morality plays. 10. A small cottage erected on a clearing at the forest edge. 11. The forest, chiefly of oaks, with 'pannage' for swine. 12 and 14. The waste, providing rough pasture and space for hawking. 13. Meadow land, with plots divided by twigs and stakes before haymaking. 15. The pound.

into strips as they were in Saxon times, and this gives them their distinctive appearance, for the strips are arranged in blocks and the ridge and furrow lines of the various blocks run different ways so that the whole effect is like looking at a great patchwork quilt.

If we could live in the village for a while we should discover that each year a different field lies fallow or grows a different crop, this rotation of crops being the villagers' chief means of preserving the fertility of the soil. We should find that the majority of people are villeins and that each family owns a number of strips in various parts of the big fields, perhaps ten or even more in each field.

If we could follow a group of peasants to their ploughing we should understand at once the reason for this strip division. Ploughing was a communal process, for no villein was rich enough to own the big heavy plough and the eight oxen required to draw it. The plough might be common property, or it might be owned by one or more people, while the oxen would be contributed to the team by others. In this way several ploughs might start work at different parts of the big field. At the end of the first day the land turned up went to the first member of each team. As the ploughing proceeded a second and a third piece of land would be prepared for every one, each strip being approximately one day's ploughing. So each member of the team had a chance of early sowing in good weather, while at the same time the good and bad land is evenly distributed and distances from the village more or less equalized.

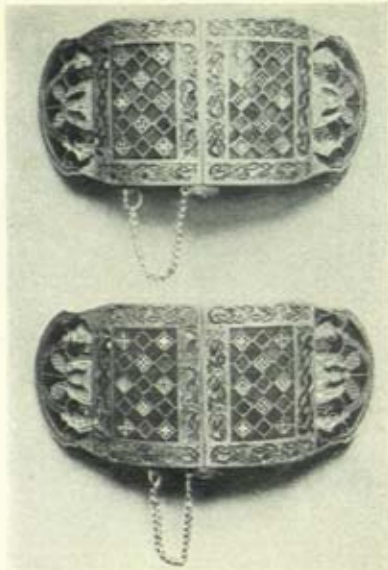
There was no uniformity about the length or width of each strip, although they were generally about half an acre in area. The length depended very much on the distance the oxen could go without a breathing space, and on the nature of the land. A patch of marsh or stone or jutting rock would naturally determine the end of the furrow. Similarly, the width of the strip depended upon the nature of the soil, being wider on light soils than on heavy clay.

As he ploughed, the open-field farmer often made his ridge and furrow look like a long gracefully curving letter S across his field. We can still see this in many English fields to-day. The reason was probably simply connected with the difficulty of guiding the heavy plough, but it certainly added to the charm of the ploughed field.

The reason for the delightful patchwork effect of the open fields was due simply to the care which the ploughman took

to secure the correct drainage of his land. He wanted water to drain down the furrows, not to get caught on the ridges. He therefore adapted the layout of each block of strips so that ridge and furrow ran up and down an incline, and stopped immediately a new slope of the land made a fresh direction desirable.

The open-field farmer knew nothing of machinery. His tools were simple, his plough clumsy, he scattered his seed by hand. He knew nothing of artificial fertilizers. The supply of animal manure and soot with which he fertilized his land was small. He had no root-crops or other means of winter-feeding for his animals, and they were generally killed in the autumn and salted down for winter food. He wasted time in walking between his various strips and carting his tools from the village. The rate of progress was always that of the slowest, because no man could go ahead on his own. At best, the yield of the land and the size and quality of his beasts was low by our standards. Yet the planning of his fields was remarkable. He devised ways of getting from the village to the farthestmost strip of land without the ruin of other people's crops. He utilized every bit of land he had under cultivation. He managed its drainage skilfully. And there was an equal division of land between the open-field farmers and all were equal in deciding matters of cultivation. In good seasons there was enough for each man and his family. In bad, all suffered equally.



THE SUTTON HOO SHIP BURIAL

Pair of curved gold clasps, decorated with garnets and enamel, each $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, found in the burial-place.

Gold belt-buckle, nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, weighing nearly a pound, found in the same place.

Photos British Museum

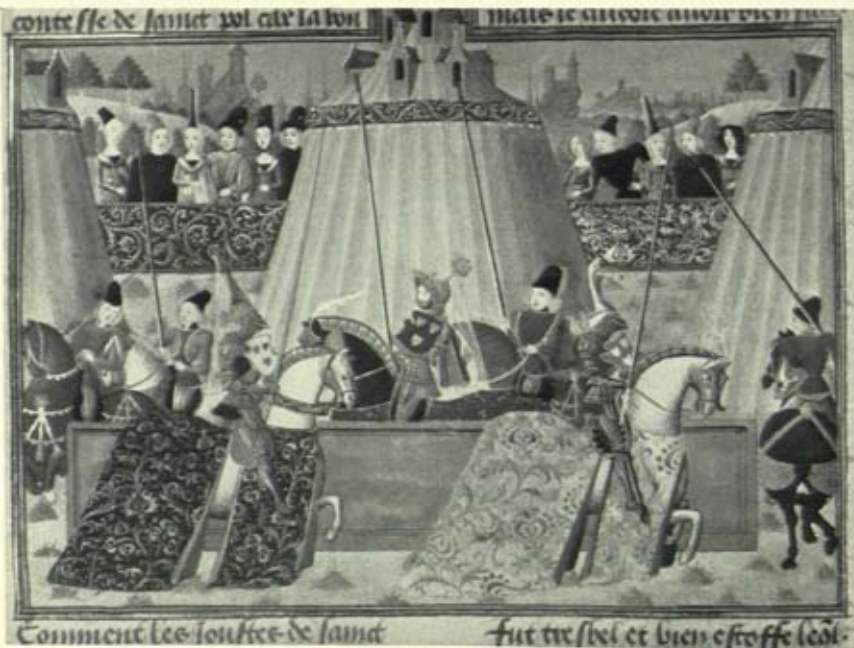
THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

Detail showing the Normans on the way to England with their horses.

Photo Mansell Collection

125





CHIVALRY: THE JOUSTS OF ST INGLEBERT

Froissart MS., end of
fourteenth century.

Photo British Museum



PIETY: ST FRANCIS FEEDING THE BIRDS

From the thirteenth-century
painting by Giotto.

Photo Mansell Collection

CHAPTER XXIV

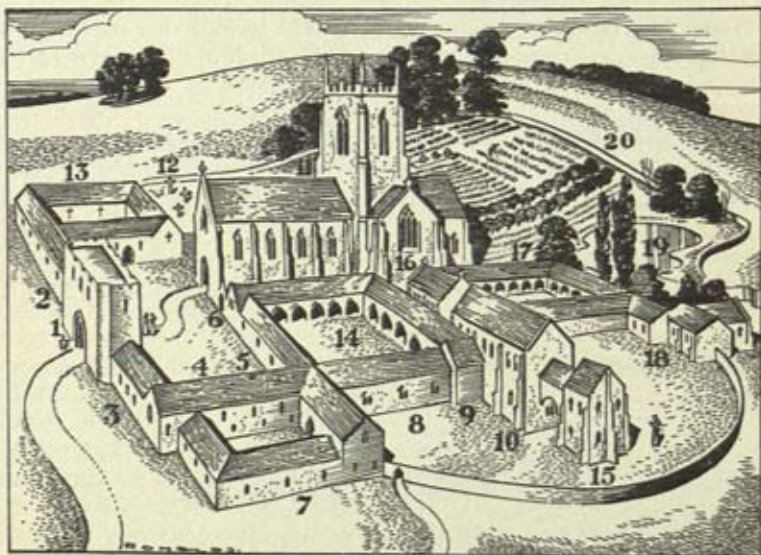
Medieval Europe

WHEN the empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces Europe was again left as nothing but a number of warring states until another strong ruler emerged in the person of Otto I in the tenth century. The Pope was but confirming a fact when in 962 he placed the imperial crown on Otto's brow.

The Pope himself, meanwhile, although the head of no national state, continued to be recognized as leader and father by the warlike feudal lords of Christian Europe, while Christian monks made their monasteries oases of culture in the dark days of feudal anarchy. They were schools, museums where ancient manuscripts were preserved, publishing-houses where books were written out by hand, inns where travellers could refresh themselves. Sometimes, indeed, the monks became great landlords, farming their lands as any other lord of the manor might do. Well known as energetic landlords were the Cistercian monks. This order was founded at Cîteaux, in France, in 1098, and many of its members came to England and settled in the north, where William the Conqueror had reduced the land to a wilderness. There they patiently worked the land, encouraged sheep, and shortly in the vales of Yorkshire there stretched some of the best sheep-grazing land in Europe, and the Cistercian houses were marketing some of the best wool in the world.

As monastic orders grew rich they naturally attracted criticism both from the Church and from laymen. They were felt to be far removed from ordinary people and to have no share in the common suffering. To combat this a young Italian named Francis at the beginning of the thirteenth century vowed himself to a life of poverty. Early in his life he gave away his fine clothes to beggars, and retreated to a little monastery in the wooded hills near Assisi, which he built with his own hands. Here he lived a simple life, eating fruits and berries and plain food, getting to know the wild animals, and especially the birds, who lived in the forest. A great Italian painter, Giotto, later painted the life of St Francis in a series of frescoes round the walls of the church at Assisi.

But Francis did not believe that a life of personal piety was sufficient. He obtained permission from the Pope to found an order of friars, who would be different from monks because they would not live in monasteries but would go out into the world, wherever there was want and suffering, and try to help, while at the same time spreading the simple doctrine of Christianity as Jesus taught it.



A MONASTERY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

1. The gatehouse. 2. The almonry and school. 3. Pilgrim's lodging.
4. Lodging for merchants and knights. 5. The prior's lodgings (for kings and nobles). 6. The cloister door and outer parlour. 7. The kitchens, bakehouse, and brewhouse. 8. The refectory. 9. The warming-room. 10. The dormitory, stores, and cellars. 11. The abbey church. 12. The cemetery.
13. The stables and barns. 14. The great cloister and garth, or close. 15. Lavatories. 16. The chapter house. 17. The little cloister and scriptorium. 18. The infirmary, with a kitchen, chapel, and warming-room.
19. Fishpond. 20. Garden.

A little later a Spaniard, Dominic, conceived a similar idea, and the Pope likewise gave him permission to found an order of wandering friars. The followers of St Francis were called Franciscans and wore grey habits; those of St Dominic were called Dominicans and wore black—hence the grey friars and the black friars who became a familiar feature of the Middle Ages as they wandered from town to town. They were at the height of their popularity in the thirteenth century.

But neither friars nor monasteries, Pope nor empire, could give freedom from the strife which was the life and soul of medieval Europe, as feudal lord quarrelled with feudal lord, neighbour with neighbour, father with son, town with town. Even the pastime of the medieval warrior was fighting. If not engaged in serious war he would organize tournaments to show his skill, and while the reward of the victor was praise the penalty of defeat was generally death.

The monks sadly noted the anarchy around them. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, for example, tells the terrible tale of the lawless feudal wars of Stephen and Matilda, who struggled to gain the throne of England after the strong arm of the first Norman kings was removed :

For every great man built him castles and held them against the king ; and they filled the whole land with these castles. They sorely burdened the unhappy people of the country with forced labour on the castles ; and when the castles were built, they filled them with devils and wicked men. By night and by day they seized those whom they believed to have any wealth, whether they were men or women ; and in order to get their gold and silver, they put them into prison and tortured them with unspeakable tortures, for never were martyrs tortured as they were. . . . Many thousands they starved to death. . . . At regular intervals they levied a tax upon the villages. When the wretched people had no more to give, they plundered and burned all the villages, so that you could easily go a day's journey without ever finding a village inhabited or a field cultivated. Then was corn dear and flesh and cheese and butter, for there was none in the land. The wretched people perished with hunger ; some, who had been great men, were driven to beggary, while others fled from the country.

There was, nevertheless, another side to feudalism best expressed in the ideal of chivalry. Chivalry was closely connected with Christianity, for only a Christian could be a really chivalrous man. It was also derived from feudalism, for it was the knight who was admitted to the Order of Chivalry. A man was knighted only after he had performed deeds of valour and proved himself able to live up to the ideals of chivalry. He was then also presented with gold or gilt spurs in place of silver, so 'gaining his spurs' was the equivalent of being knighted. This was sometimes done in the course of ordinary life, sometimes immediately after feats of great bravery.

A knight had to be brave in battle, helpful to all, especially

to women and children, always courteous, ready to help the weak against the strong, never overbearing, and a devout Christian. He would be knighted only when he reached these standards, and then normally spent a night before the ceremony in ritual bathings, in prayer and fasting, dedicating himself to God and to a life of service to others.

The works of a Flemish chronicler, Jean Froissart, who lived from 1333 to 1410, give a colourful and for the most part authentic picture of medieval chivalry. Froissart journeyed to many parts of Europe and wrote in French an account of the most heroic exploits he saw or heard about. He was a great gossip, he loved a good story, and there was much to record. England and France were at war, on and off, from 1338-1453. Although fighting was by no means continuous, this has been termed the Hundred Years War. Many of its earlier campaigns provided episodes for Froissart's *Chronicles*. He became secretary to Queen Philippa, the French wife of the English king Edward III, he spent much time at the English court, and his accounts of the war are by no means all of French exploits. His *Chronicles* became a classic in France even before his death, and were translated into English in 1523.

Here, in the Tudor English into which it was first translated, is one of the best-known stories of the Hundred Years War. It concerns Edward, the Black Prince, son of King Edward III and Queen Philippa.

At the battle of Crecy in northern France in 1346 the Black Prince, then only fifteen years old, was pressed hard by the French :

... and they with the prince sent a messenger to the kynge who was on a lytell wyndmyll hyll : than the knyght sayd to the kyng, sir therle of Warwyke, and therle of Canfort, sir Reynolde Cobham, and other suche as be about the prince your sonne ar feersly fought with all and are sore handled : wherfore they desyre you that you and your batayle wolles come and ayde them, for if the frenchmen encrease as they dout they woll, your sonne and they shall have moche a do. Than the kynge sayde is my sonne deed or hurt, or on the yerthe felled : no sir quoth the knyght but he is hardely matched, wherfore he hathe nede of your ayde. Well sayde the kynge retourne to hym and to them that sent you hyther, and say to them that they sende no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my sonne is a lyve : and also say to them that they suffre hym this day to wyne his spurres, for if god be pleased I woll this journey be his, and the honoure thereof : and to them that be aboute him.

When, a little later, Malory wrote down the old stories of Arthur he embodied in these tales all the ideals of the Middle Ages, and Arthur's knights of the Round Table became, not the Romano-British chiefs they probably were, but medieval knights of chivalry riding out to succour the needy.

CHAPTER XXV

The Crusades

THROUGH the eyes of Froissart, of Chaucer, and of Malory the reader sees the noblest side of the Middle Ages. The stories they told have been handed down from generation to generation, and the heroes and heroines of their tales shine with a nobility which represents only part of their character, the other part being barbarian, cruel, greedy, and quarrelsome.

Nowhere is this mixture more clearly seen than in the Crusades. It seemed at one time likely that feudal Christianity might unite under the Papacy against a common foe. Mohammedanism, having spent its first great urge, became stabilized, holding Europe like an egg in an eggcup. To the west, the three little northern kingdoms of Spain, which alone had escaped conquest, grew increasingly restless of the Saracens in the rest of the country. The whole of France felt threatened by the Saracens beyond the Pyrenees in Spain, and beyond the Mediterranean in North Africa. The Papacy felt insecure. Much of Europe, including France, England, and the northern city states of Italy—particularly Genoa, Pisa, and Venice—were restricted in their trading enterprises to the east by the Mohammedan, who straddled across their trade routes.

To this was added the deep frustration of having Jerusalem and the Holy Places of the Christian faith in the hands of the infidel, as they had been since the capture of Jerusalem by the Mohammedans in 637. For centuries pilgrimage was permitted, and intercourse between Jerusalem and the west was not seriously interrupted. But in the eleventh century fiercer peoples were astir in the East, as they so often had been before. These Turks, also Mohammedans, were far more fierce and intolerant than the Mohammedan Arabs whom they displaced and drove from Jerusalem in 1071. Under the new rule Christian pilgrims were not only molested but massacred, and access to the Holy Places was practically impossible.

The great indignation which swept over Christendom was first given voice by Pope Gregory VII, but it was not until twenty years later that Pope Urban II, in a speech to his

Council at Clermont, in France, in 1095, roused feeling to action. Priests and laymen carried indignation through France and all Europe. Princes and their subjects, feudal lords and their followers, hastened to enlist themselves under the banner of the holy cross, from which they took their name. Crusader comes from the Latin word *crux* and the French *croix*, meaning a cross, whence *croisade* or 'crusade.'

Fear of the Mohammedans, desire for easier trade with the East, love of adventure, and hope of personal gain united with a burning desire to serve the Christian faith, and were reinforced by the Pope's promise of remission of sins to all who took the Cross. Much in evidence were those adventure-loving descendants of the Vikings—the Normans—who already, before the start of the first Crusade, were helping the Spanish to drive the Moors from Spain, and had actually driven them from Sicily. They, and others like them, had an eye on land to be won and spoils to be gathered in. Ready to help the European armies with ships and supplies were the wealthy towns of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, and across the Adriatic was the Eastern Empire, itself threatened by the Turkish advance, waiting to reinforce the Crusaders with its own armies.

This at least was the theory. Practice was far different. The participants quarrelled with each other and with the Eastern Empire; they were ill-equipped and without plan. The first Crusaders to set out for the Holy Land were a motley group of enthusiasts led by Peter the Hermit, one of the most eloquent of the preachers who had been calling on people to follow the Cross, and Walter the Penniless, whose name needs no explanation. They set out in 1096. Thousands of them perished in the long land march across Europe. The rest were slaughtered by the Turks before any real battle took place. Their bones were found by later Crusaders, a tribute to their zeal but not to their power of organization.

Later in the same year and early in 1097 better-equipped forces were setting off across Europe. France was the leading spirit of this first real Crusade, and several of her feudal lords led the four armies which, pillaging and lawless, converged by different routes on Constantinople, which was reached in 1097.

Of all the Crusades the first was the most successful. Helped by the Greeks of the Eastern Empire with supplies and ships, the Crusaders captured Nicæa, Antioch, and finally, after much bloodshed, Jerusalem itself in 1099. They set up as independent Christian states the kingdom of Jerusalem, the

principality of Antioch, and the counties of Edessa and Tripoli, over each of which they placed rulers from their own ranks. These states existed until under brilliant new leaders the Turks began again to press forward.

In 1144 Edessa fell to the Turks, and a second Crusade was launched under the preaching of St Bernard and headed by Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany. This was a complete failure. Forty-three years later Saladin's armies swept once more into Jerusalem, and the Holy Sepulchre was again in pagan hands.

This time the three leading sovereigns of Europe organized a further Crusade—Philip Augustus of France, Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, and Richard Coeur-de-Lion of England: Frederick was drowned on the way to the Holy Land; the others quarrelled between themselves and, when it came to fighting, gained nothing but the town of Acre and a truce with Saladin which permitted pilgrims to journey unmolested to the Holy Sepulchre.

The indirect results of the Crusades were perhaps of greater importance than the direct. They widened men's knowledge of lands to the east, they encouraged trade. Contacts with Eastern civilization and with Greek scholars living in Asia helped to revive learning. All this, in turn, helped to loosen the bonds of feudal society, while fighting the infidel was a good outlet for the warlike instincts of the medieval knight, who, as a consequence, perhaps fought his fellow Christians the less.

CHAPTER XXVI

Trade in the Middle Ages

THE Crusades helped to quicken trade, for they taught Europeans more of the East and its products, and many a Crusader brought back home a tempting luxury, like a roll of silk or velvet, a piece of fine embroidery, or a bag of spices to improve his food.

Long before this, however, Europe had been slowly piecing together the threads of trade and commerce which had been broken when the Roman Empire fell.

By the end of the twelfth century the great eastern and northern trade-routes were re-established, and Europe was fed with luxuries from India and China as well as more essential goods from Russia and the Baltic.

This trade reacted above all to the advantage of one town—Venice—into whose harbours converged the great eastern and some of the northern trade-routes.

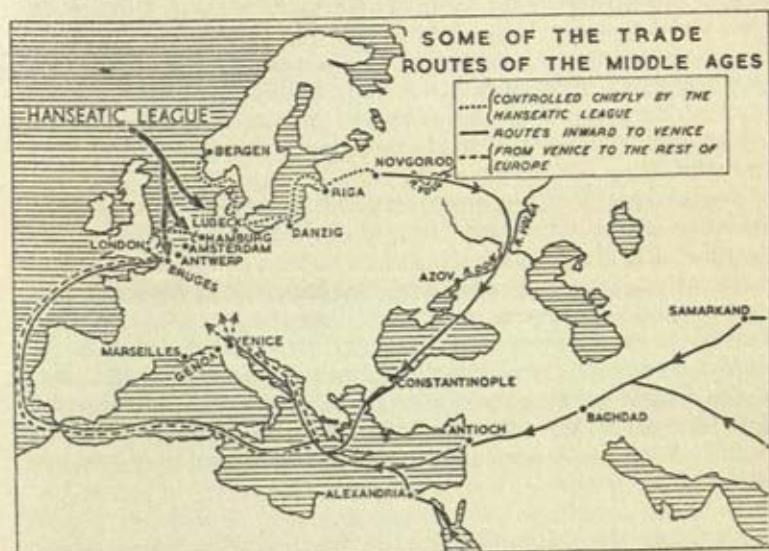
From the East, caravans from Samarkand and Baghdad, sometimes from as far away as China, unloaded at Antioch to be shipped to Venice. To Constantinople came other caravans from the east and from the north to have their precious loads conveyed to Venice. From India several routes might again converge on Venice. From Egypt, through Alexandria and across the sea, came again other cargoes to Venice. Some ships might dock at Marseilles or sail directly westward through the Mediterranean, but it was to Venice that the bulk of trade naturally came.

Most of this trade was luxury trade. Cottons, muslins, silk from India and China, embroideries from India, precious metals, incense, colours for the medieval scribe, jewellery and ornaments of many kinds, and—very important—spices to enliven the taste of food, all this and much more came to Venice to be by her transported over the rest of Europe. For her services in ships, merchants, bankers, and distribution she was paid handsomely, and no city was richer or more prosperous than Venice.

Built on a lagoon of the sea, her very streets canals, she took to the sea as naturally as the Greeks had done. Good

agricultural land stretched behind her, supplying her with corn, olives, and the vine ; the opposite Dalmatian coast was a further source of food and of timber. The sea was an easy means of reshipping the cargoes that came to her ; and, as an alternative, passes over the Alps gave easy access to the rest of Europe.

She emerged victorious from war with her rival, Genoa ; she acquired Crete and Salonica and Cyprus. She controlled Constantinople. Foremost of all medieval towns she always turned her face to the sea, acknowledging her debt to the



source of her wealth. Each year there was a solemn ceremony when her ruler, or Doge, accompanied by her chief citizens, sailed out in the lagoon and dropped a wedding ring into the water, a symbolic wedding ceremony between Venice and the sea.

One of her most famous citizens was Marco Polo. In 1271 he journeyed with his father and uncle over the long caravan routes to the court of the Great Khan in China. He was away for 24 years during which he served the Great Khan, travelling widely in his service and learning many Eastern languages. When he returned to Venice in 1295 it was with a store of knowledge of distant lands surpassing anything then known. The book he wrote has been proved in recent years to be

amazingly accurate in its descriptions of Central Asia. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the triumph of such an exploration 700 years ago.

While Venice controlled the trade of the East and some of the more northerly trade-routes the Baltic trade was in the hands of a group of North German towns, including Hamburg and Bruges, who were at the height of their prosperity in the fourteenth century. They called themselves the merchants of the Hanse, or Hanseatic League. They traded in corn, timber, pitch, tar, wax, furs, iron, and salted herrings. This was not a luxury trade, but—with the exception of furs—trade in essentials, and the Hansa merchants were very important. Their prosperity lasted until, in the later fifteenth century, they gradually lost the carrying trade as the nations of Europe became powerful enough to transport their own cargoes.

England took her part in the expanding commerce of Europe. Venetian ships (the Flanders galleys), having called at the towns of Flanders, regularly put in to Southampton to unload more of their luxury cargoes. Perhaps a Genoese carrack would arrive, also with spices and luxuries. The Hanseatic merchants were given privileges in London and other ports. England too had her own trading companies. The Merchants of the Staple, or Staplers, controlled the export trade in wool. The Merchant Adventurers controlled the export of woollen cloth. Both were very important to the growing trade and industry of England.

Many of the things he wanted for everyday life a citizen could buy in his own town or at the weekly market, but the more exciting goods from farther afield and from overseas he could buy only at the annual fairs which were a feature of medieval life all over Europe. Here not only citizens bought rarer goods and luxuries, but merchants bought on a large scale for distribution over a wide area.

Fairs were frequently held on a saint's day, when people were normally gathered together; often they were held near a shrine or place of pilgrimage, where there was always much buying and selling. Sometimes, before they became too large, they were held in a churchyard. Among the most famous fairs of medieval Europe were the fairs of Champagne and Lyons, in France, of Frankfurt and Leipzig, in Germany. In England were the big fairs of St Giles, in Winchester, of St

Bartholomew, in London, of Stourbridge, near Cambridge. Some fairs specialized in certain products. It was natural, for example, to find herring fairs at Yarmouth on the east coast. St Giles' fair specialized in woollen goods and in the sale of foreign produce imported through Southampton. St Bartholomew's fair in London remained the chief cloth-fair, for to the capital and chief port cloth merchants from all over the country brought their bales of cloth, travelling up with pack-horses from their distant pastures.

The right to hold a market was by permission of the king. It was a source of income, for tolls, customs, stallage, went to the holder of the fair. A church, a monastery, a town, a private person, could be granted the right. Winchester fair, for example, was granted in 1096 by William Rufus to the Bishop of Winchester to assist in building the Cathedral.

It was generally accepted that while it lasted the 'peace of the fair' should hold. No feuds could be pursued at the fair. "I will and ordain that all who come to the fair, remain at it, and return from it, have my firm peace," ran a king's Charter of 1110. Even the runaway serf was safe from capture while the peace of the fair lasted.

For settling disputes arising at the fair, and there were many, there was a special court presided over by the owner of the tolls. It was called the court of pie-powder, a name which was merely the English version of the French words *pied pouldre*, or 'dusty foot,' meaning 'pedlar,' and describing fairly accurately a person's condition after a few hours at the fair.

Besides being a great trading occasion, where much money and many goods changed hands, a fair was a great social occasion for the people. Here friends met together and feasted on roast pig. Dancing, singing, the playing of games, went on till well into the night. Here were performing animals, acrobats, minstrels, and strolling players. There was cock-fighting, perhaps an unhappy bear to bait. Near by were tests of skill and strength at single-stick, wrestling, or with bow and arrow. And always, for the girl at least, there was the 'fairing' to take home—a ribbon, a brooch, or a little gingerbread figure representing perhaps the saint whose day the fair commemorated.

CHAPTER XXVII

The Development of Industry : The Wool-trade in England

QUITE early, districts and towns began to specialize in producing the goods they could make best. Venice, besides the products of the East, exported her own beautiful Venetian glass. Spain excelled in leather-work and steel. A pair of fine Spanish gloves or a fine " Toledo blade " was much prized. Wine from France and Spain, woollen cloth from Flanders and Florence, were known all over Europe—and even far beyond. For had not the Emperor Charlemagne sent to Haroun-al-Raschid in Baghdad a fine present of Flanders cloth ?

England too developed something of this specialization. From an early date salt, which was essential to preserve the flesh of animals and fish for winter food, was sent from Cheshire and Worcestershire to many parts of the country. Iron tools were made in Sussex and the Forest of Dean. There was a brisk coastwise trade in timber and coal. But most famous and important of all her products was the raw wool which was exported and woven into the fine cloth of Flanders and Florence. Until the end of the fourteenth century it was chiefly with this wool that she paid for her imports. Then, woollen cloth began to take the place of raw wool as her richest asset. But in either case it was the sheep that was the source of her wealth, the animal whose ' golden fleece ' made poor men into prosperous burghers, raised merchants into the nobility, financed kings, and played a substantial rôle in the development of English institutions.

The English climate is well suited to sheep-breeding. Moist, neither too hot nor too cold, it provides abundant grazing on chalk downs, moorland, marsh, and valley. In the Middle Ages it produced two types of wool—a fairly coarse wool from the short-haired breeds and a particularly fine wool from the longer-haired variety, such as those of the Cotswolds.

Many monasteries and abbeys were great sheep-breeders, grazing sheep on the extensive monastery lands. The Cistercians were famed for their sheep ; so was many a great



A MEDIEVAL TOWN

1. The castle. 2. The parish church. 3. The market-place, with market cross and stalls. 4. The guildhouse. 5. The Fish Gate. 6. Postern. 7. Another church. 8. The friary. 9. Sheep Street. 10. Bread Street. 11. The Mercery. 12. Butcher Row ("the Shambles"). 13. Leather Lane. 14. The Saddlery. 15. Distaff Lane. 16. Brewer Street. 17. Gold Street. 18. Main Gate. 19. Archery Butts.

lord. The Bishop of Winchester in 1259 kept 29,000 sheep, mainly in Hampshire. In such flocks large sums of money were invested.

But also there were many small owners and peasant farmers who, in addition to tending their arable land, grazed sheep. It was even known for villeins and serfs to own sheep. While individual flocks might be small, totals for a district were often large. For example, the little manor of Swyncombe, near Wallingford, in Oxfordshire, supported ten serfs who each had the right of keeping fifty sheep on the common free of charge. Multiply this and it will be seen that the total sheep population of small sheep farms must have been very large.

Small men looked after the sheep themselves, but the big flocks were under the care of a hired shepherd, who was not a villein but a free man, respected, probably quite well paid, receiving customary rights and privileges such as a fleece at shearing time and the milk of the ewes on Sunday. A thirteenth-century treatise on estate management shows clearly what kind of man was needed :

It profiteth the lord to have discreet shepherds, watchful and kindly, so that the sheep be not tormented by their wrath but crop their pasture in peace and joyfulness ; for it is a token of the shepherd's kindness if the sheep be not scattered abroad but browse around him in company. Let him provide himself with a good barkable dog and lie nightly with his sheep.

Washing and shearing was often boon work done by the villeins of the estate or their wives, but it could be done by hired labour.

The clip of the small men was sold at fairs or markets, delivered under contract to a larger landowner, or collected by agents or middlemen, who might be local townsmen, merchants from a near-by port, or London traders. These middlemen became known as the woolmen, brokers, or broggers.

The wool of the big estates was bought by merchants, often Flemish or Italian, who frequently bought the clip for several years ahead. They would meet at some town central to the wool district—for example, at Northleach, in the Cotswolds—and there strike their bargain with the sheep farmers.

English kings were not slow to realize that there was money in wool. Wool merchants paid a large part of Richard I's ransom when he was captured on his way home from a Crusade. King John, Edward I, and Edward III all seized wool from their subjects as a ready source of wealth. Several

kings exacted loans under a similar threat. In 1275 the 'Great and Ancient Custom' on wool was granted to Edward I—a payment of 7s. 6d. a sack on every sack exported, a figure which was raised in times of stress. It is interesting to note that Edward directed the sheriffs to summon representatives from all boroughs and cities to assemble in a Parliament to give approval to the tax. This meeting was probably little more than a formality; but it is a significant milestone in the development of the English Parliament.

To make easier the collection of the tax, and to ensure a general control of England's great asset, its export was directed to one place—the staple—which simply means a depot or fixed point. The wool staple was at different towns at different times, but generally outside England, and for a long time at Calais. The men who handled the wool after it came up from the country and directed its export were the Staplers, or Merchants of the Staple, and they had their own powerful merchants' guild.

Though occasionally a landlord fell on hard times or got himself into debt to a great merchant to whom he had contracted to sell more wool than he in fact produced, or a merchant lost ships at sea or speculated badly, English wool enriched far more people than it impoverished. The very woolsack upon which the English Lord Chancellor sits in the House of Lords symbolizes the traditional wealth of the country. And in the churches and tombs and brasses of the wool districts of England we can still see the memorials of the men who made wealth out of sheep. In the Cotswolds, particularly, the wool towns still stand surrounded by grazing land and retaining in their main streets and their churches and in their houses something of the essence of that trade in wool which brought England more wealth and greater fame than most of her wars. She might repeat the couplet which one of her wool merchants inscribed over his door:

I thank God and ever shalle
It is the shepe hath payd for alle.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Towns and the Guilds of the Middle Ages

As trade expanded towns grew. They were not all so wealthy and important as Venice and the Hanse towns, but they served a necessary purpose in their district or their country. In England, for example, a town might grow where a Roman town had been, as at London, still the capital, a great port on a river and natural centre of communication. Sometimes a settlement at a river-crossing would develop into a town, as at Ox-ford, the place where the cattle forded the river. Where an industry developed, there a town would grow, like the English wool towns of the Cotswolds. Ports grew naturally at convenient places for import and export, like Southampton and Bristol. Sometimes a town grew round a monastery or castle, partly because of the protection thus afforded, partly to supply the inmates with the everyday needs of life. At Bury St Edmunds, for example, there lived "bakers, ale-brewers, tailors, washerwomen, shoemakers, robe-makers, cooks, porters, and agents," who served the Abbot and the brethren.

Just as any village was subject to its feudal lord, so towns also found that in spite of their growing importance they were compelled to pay tolls, taxes, and other feudal dues. Perhaps their citizens were bound to leave their own craft or trade to work on the land of a feudal lord or to serve in his armies. Often their disputes had to be settled in a manorial court. Towns also suffered from the exactions of the sheriff. He represented the king in the county and was often his chief tax-gatherer—a rôle which brought him little popularity, as he was commonly known to cream off a goodly portion of the tax for himself. The stories of Robin Hood and the Sheriff of Nottingham well illustrate the common hatred of the medieval sheriff.

Gradually towns won their freedom from feudal obligations. The inhabitants of Bury St Edmunds had commuted into a money payment their obligations to reap the monastic demesne. This annual tax annoyed them greatly, and when the cellarer of the Abbey came to collect it all the old women of the town

came out "and brandished their distaffs in his face, cursing him and his men." The abbot agreed to accept a single payment in final settlement.

Relief from feudal dues was not always reached so easily as this, and in their struggle with monasteries and other overlords towns frequently appealed to the king. The king then, in return for a loan or tax or gift, would often grant the town special privileges, including exemption from feudal dues and certain rights of self-government. These included the election of their own officers, including the mayor; the right to tax themselves instead of being subject to the sheriff; and the right to hold their own courts. Another important right concerned the villein from the manor.

Villeins would sometimes contrive to run away from the manor and seek work in a town. Towns were often short of labour and welcomed any stranger who came to their gates willing to work. But a lord, chasing a runaway villein, could demand him wherever he was, and take him back to punishment and continued serfdom. The towns wanted his labour sufficiently badly to seek from the king the understanding that a villein if he could live in a town for a year and a day without being found and taken back should become a free man.

Rights which towns were granted by the king were inscribed in a Charter, and the winning of a Charter became a coveted mark of independence. Here is part of a Charter given by Henry III to the Borough of Gloucester in 1227:

We have granted also to the same that if any bondman of any man stay in the aforesaid borough and maintain himself therein and be in the merchants' gild and hanse and lot and scot with the same our burgesses for a year and a day without claim, thenceforth he shall not be reclaimed by his lord, but shall abide freely in the same borough.

In these towns craftsmen were meantime busy making goods of all kinds both for home consumption and for export. These town artisans were free men who quite early began to organize themselves into groups or guilds according to their craft, working and generally living together. The street-names that survive in most towns show how some of them were and where they worked—Leather Lane, Bread Street, Threadneedle Street, Mercer's Lane, and many more.

The guilds were carefully organized, and took the greatest pride in their work. Their objects were to produce work of a high quality, and to protect the standard of life of their

members. No man was allowed to become a practising member of a trade until he had worked at it as an apprentice for seven years. He then became a journeyman, working with other skilled craftsmen and perhaps supervising apprentices. Finally, after two or three years, if he was fortunate he became a master himself, employing journeymen and apprentices. Generally, before becoming a master, he had to submit a 'masterpiece' to his guild. It was considered a privilege to be taught the secrets of a good trade, and parents often paid a master to take their son as an apprentice. The apprentice received little pay, but lived with his master as one of the family. Tradition had it that a handsome young apprentice would finish by marrying his master's daughter and taking over the craft himself.

The apprentice owed his master rights and duties, and the master similarly had an obligation to teach and to look after his apprentice. An indenture of apprenticeship in 1459 makes this clear. John Gibbs, of Penzance in Cornwall, was taking as apprentice in his trade of fishing John Goffe, and the agreement reads like this :

John Goffe has put himself to . . . John Gibbs to learn the craft of fishing, and to stay with him as apprentice and to serve from the feast of Philip and James next to come . . . until the end of eight years . . . throughout which term the aforesaid John Goffe shall well and faithfully serve the aforesaid John Gibbs and Agnes his wife as his masters and lords, shall keep their secrets, shall everywhere willingly do their lawful and honourable commands, shall do his masters no injury nor see injury done to them by other, prevent the same as far as he can, shall not waste his master's goods nor lend them to any man without his special command. And . . . John Gibbs and Agnes his wife shall teach, train and inform or cause . . . John Goffe, their apprentice, to be informed in the craft of fishing in the best way they know, chastising him duly and finding for the same John, their apprentice, food, clothing linen and woollen, and shoes, sufficiently as befits such an apprentice to be found, during the term aforesaid. And at the end of the term aforesaid the aforesaid John Goffe shall have of the aforesaid John Gibbs and Agnes his wife 20s. sterling without any fraud.

Apprenticeship fulfilled the two main objects of the guild. It helped to ensure a high standard of workmanship by teaching a man while he was young and by keeping the unskilled out of the trade ; and it protected the workman's standard of life by confining the membership of his guild to fully trained men.

Other rules of the guild were directed to the same end. No craftsman, for example, was allowed to work between sunset and sunrise; this not only protected the workman from long hours of work, but kept him from working by artificial light, when he could not produce so good an article. He had to work in full view of the public so that all could see whether or not he was a good workman, and in order that his work could easily be examined by the master of his trade. A bad



THE PERFORMANCE OF A MIRACLE PLAY

workman—one found ‘false of his hands’—was ruthlessly punished by fine, and in bad cases by expulsion from his guild. Faulty goods were destroyed with equal ruthlessness, and even the tools which made them, if they were deemed unreliable.

Fraud was punished with the greatest strictness. Here is the amusing case of the Deceitful Baker, whose neighbours brought dough for him to bake into bread in 1327:

... a baker did skilfully and artfully cause a certain hole to be made upon a table of his pertaining to his bakehouse. And when his neighbours and others who were wont to bake bread at his

oven came with their dough, he used to put the dough upon the table and over the hole to make loaves therefrom. Meanwhile, one of his household lay concealed beneath the hole and carefully opening it, piecemeal and bit by bit, he craftily extracted some of the dough to the great loss of all his neighbours . . . and of others who had come to bake, and to the scandal and disgrace of the whole city.

Guilds also protected their members against sickness and loss of work by providing sick pay and burial benefits to which those in work all contributed.

The guild system covered the whole of Europe and lasted in many places until the nineteenth century. Journeymen would frequently spend a year or two wandering about Europe before they finally settled to work in a town of their choice. All this increased a man's experience and skill, and added to the internationalism of craftsmanship.

The guilds contributed much to the colour and gaiety of city life. They organized the miracle plays which were performed on saint's days when each guild was responsible for a scene which best suited its craft. The carpenters, for example, would act *The Flood* and make a really excellent Noah's Ark. Each guild generally used a large cart or van as a movable theatre. In the front, shielded by a curtain, the players could prepare; the open back was used as a stage. The cart was then moved from place to place and the play performed in various parts of the town. As they became rich the guilds built imposing guild halls, they endowed schools and hospitals. The procession of the guildsmen, in magnificent robes and with their banners flying, was a fine spectacle in many a medieval town.

CHAPTER XXIX

Life in the Middle Ages

As towns grew they developed with huddled, untidy streets, the houses close together, their upper storeys projecting and almost meeting, so that light and air was excluded from the streets and rooms below. Refuse accumulated in the cobbled streets and was thrown from doors and windows. In the middle of the road was the gutter into which rain and dirty water found its way—overflowing in winter, stagnant in summer. Housing was far behind that of Rome. Even the medieval manor-house was lacking in the elegance and comfort that the ancient world had known. On the other hand, many towns and villages had an excellent supply of pure drinking water from springs and rivers, although precautions against pollution had to be made, for it was a common practice to use a river for everything from a rubbish dump to a wash-tub. There were no public baths, no water-closets, no piped water in the houses. Yet in the houses of richer people there were fine tapestries, panelled walls, beautifully fashioned tables and chairs, elegant salt-cellar, goblets and dishes of silver and other costly material. Floors might be of wood, but more often were still of rushes, and the bones and oddments of meals were flung down for the dogs to gnaw.

People ate meat of various kinds, especially pork and fowl ; eggs, cheese, milk, herrings and other fish ; oatmeal, beans and peas, bread, and fruit of many kinds. Potatoes were not yet known in Europe, but vegetables such as cabbage, leeks, and parsley were popular. The people of the Middle Ages made greater use of local herbs and of imported spices than we do, and used far more salt. Honey was still greatly used for sweetening, but as a drink cider and wines were taking their places beside mead and ale and beer. The poor man had far less variety than the rich, and after a bad harvest a peasant's family would be reduced to very hard times. Unlike the rich, he could not make use of imported foods, and was dependent simply upon what his land could yield.

Plague and other diseases were common. The Black Death was only the worst of many epidemics. Scurvy was

contracted through lack of fresh meat and vegetables in the winter, and many other diseases carried off hundreds of thousands of people each year. Though families were large, few children survived.

Other dangers arose from robbery and even murder in the lonely countryside or in the dark streets of towns, lit only by



A SHOPPING STREET IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Note the cobbled streets and how the shops open out from the houses. Over the barber's shop notice the bowls that are hung out as a sign.

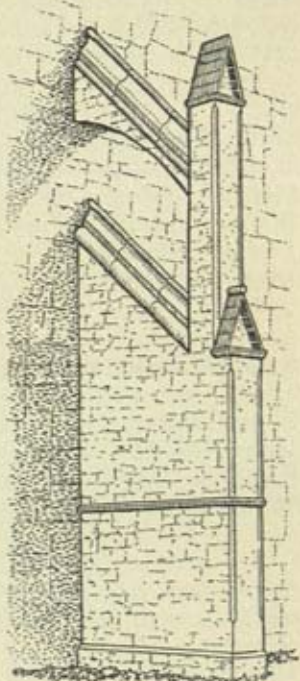
occasional lanterns. Fire also was a constant danger, since timber was still used either for the whole house or for part of it.

Yet, low as their standard of living still was, and full of dangers, the people of the Middle Ages had slowly progressed. Most striking of all their achievements were the great churches and cathedrals which they built as witness to the Christian faith. Over the whole of Europe the medieval cathedrals still

stand, a testimony to the inspiration of the master-builder and the skill of the mason. Using only hand tools, they built their great walls and spires, making their arches soar, spanning the nave with high vaulted roofs, carving intricate, strange, and beautiful designs in stone and wood round doorway and font, arch and pulpit. It remains a marvel that the medieval architect could conceive and carry through such a project. The secret was partly in the fact that he worked in close contact with his men, and that all concerned worked joyfully, for long hours, feeling that the work was worth while and a fitting testimony to their religion.

Medieval building was different from any that had gone before. The Egyptians and the Greeks had used columns, post and lintel, and flat roofs. The Romans had developed the arch and the dome, as well as the earlier forms of building. In Constantinople there was built in the years A.D. 532-537 the great domed church of St Sophia. In this eastern end of the Roman Empire building developed into dome and turret, and was called Byzantine after Byzantium, the earlier name of Constantinople.

In Western Europe the first buildings that began to appear after the fall of Rome were churches or other places of Christian worship. They had round arches and columns and were rather like Roman buildings, and consequently this style was called Romanesque. It looked solid and square and low, with thick walls, small windows, solid pillars, and low strong doors with flat or rounded arches over doors and windows. Open spaces, like the aisle of a church or the main room of a building, were spanned with a low vault or a flat roof. Carving and other decoration was very simple. The whole effect was horizontal, and was eminently suited to the needs of defence. In England this type of architecture is represented by Norman



A FLYING BUTTRESS

architecture and can still be seen in parts of the Tower of London and of several cathedrals such as Durham and Gloucester.

Later, walls and columns became thinner, there were more windows, arches were more pointed, there was far more carving and decoration, and altogether more variety. Cathedral and church spires began to soar. The master-builder no longer relied on the thickness of his walls to support his structure, but achieved this by a series of pressures and supports at different points of the fabric. Flying buttresses, for example, would combat the outward thrust of a vault and hold it in place. The window space was often much larger than the walls themselves, and when beautiful stained glass was used in reds and blues the effect of the soft light inside the building, together with the pointed windows and tall columns, which made the eye travel upward, was one of reverence and peace.

The whole effect of this type of architecture was vertical, as opposed to the horizontal effect achieved by Romanesque building. It is now known as Gothic, but did not receive this name until centuries later when it was bestowed as a term of abuse, meaning barbaric, uncivilized, like the barbarian Goths. For about four centuries Gothic building continued all over Europe, the cathedrals of Chartres and Rouen, in France, of Cologne, in Germany, of Lincoln, Wells, and Exeter, in England, being but a few of the hundreds that can still be seen.¹

The people of the Middle Ages had been slowly picking up the threads of learning. By the twelfth century not only were boys intended for the church being taught at the monasteries, but others were going to schools founded by the guilds and by wealthy citizens. Universities too were coming into existence in many parts of Europe. Salerno, in Italy, was famous for its medical teaching, Bologna, in Italy, as a school of law, the Universities of Paris, of Oxford, and of Cambridge for theology.

The chief aim of the teachers of the time was the gathering together of Christian doctrine into one clear system; they were called schoolmen—men of the schools. The scholasticism they taught was often very rigid both in its strict adherence to Latin and in its concentration upon points of formal logic—like the famous disputation as to how many angels could balance on the point of a needle. But the greatest of

¹ See illustrations facing pp. 257, 272, and 273.

the Schoolmen produced a philosophy which surpassed such trivialities. Greatest of them all was St Thomas Aquinas, born in Italy about 1225, who taught at Paris, Rome, Pisa, and Bologna.

So keen were people on learning that little bands of scholars, old and young, could be seen wandering all over Europe, making their way to the university of their choice. Mingling with the journeymen who were travelling to widen their experience, they made a happy company. For medieval people were merry people. They loved stories and song. They dressed in bright colours—particularly blues and reds and yellows—and consequently looked cheerful.

In the long winter evenings, when travelling was difficult, the more studious might study a manuscript book or try to write as the monks did. The men would probably sharpen their weapons and mend their tools. The women would embroider and do fine needlework. The girls played with dolls, the boys with toy soldiers, and all children with whipping-tops, balls, skipping-ropes, and many other toys. Often every one, grown-ups as well as children, would join in games like Hoodman Blind, which was like our Blindman's Buff, except that a hood was put over the face of the blind man, who was hit with cloths or scarves, sometimes knotted to hurt more, for even games were more boisterous then than now. Chess and draughts were also popular.

Out of doors there was always sword play of some kind and archery to be practised by the men, young and old. Wrestling-matches were popular, together with single-stick. Bear-baiting and cock-fighting would always draw a large crowd, many towns and villages having their special bear-garden or cock-pit for these contests. In the first, a man armed with sword and shield would bait a bear tied to a post, or dogs would be set to the same purpose; in the second the birds were put to fight each other.

Add to all this the life of the guilds and the miracle plays, and it can be seen that it was not on the whole a drab existence in medieval Europe.

CHAPTER XXX

The Development of English Law

THE law which had developed in England was by this time very tangled, obscure, and unfair. Henry II, who came to the English throne in 1154, did much to reform it. He found that there were three kinds of law in use in England, each of which had many varieties.

The manor court still heard and decided all questions of dispute arising on the manor. A man could there be accused by anyone, or the near relation of anyone, who thought he had been injured. The injured party would then offer to prove the charge by combat. Or a man might be accused when the reeve and other leading men of the manor went out to "swear on the relics which are given into their hands, that they will not accuse any innocent man or shield any guilty one."

Outside the manor the law was administered in the shire or county courts, and in the smaller districts known as *hundreds*, perhaps because they contained a hundred hides of land, or because originally a hundred Anglo-Saxon warriors had dwelt there.

The law worked by making every one responsible for every one else. In the case of murder the whole hundred was frequently fined unless the murderer was found. The hundred courts also supervised a system known as frank-pledge. The hundreds were divided into tithings, and the tithings into groups of ten or twelve people. All were responsible for the rest, and if one was suspected of being guilty of any crime, then the rest of the group had to produce him for trial, raising the 'hue and cry' after him if he tried to escape. If they could not produce a man thought to be guilty, the whole tithing must pay a fine, sometimes a very heavy one.

Though there are undoubted advantages in making people responsible for each other, there was little order or system in this kind of justice, and an unpopular man, even though not guilty of any crime, might find life very precarious.

Once a man had been accused his trial proceeded in one of several ways. He might meet his accuser in combat and fight with him all day if necessary until one of the parties cried

'craven!' thus admitting his defeat and his wrong-doing. He might proceed by way of oath. If he could bring sufficient friends and relations to prove upon oath his innocence he would be declared not guilty. But in more serious cases trial by ordeal was the general rule.

The most common trial by ordeal was the cold water trial. Into a pool of water, previously consecrated by a churchman, the accused was gently lowered, trussed hand and foot so that movement was impossible. If he sank the holy water had accepted him and proved his innocence. If he floated, he had been rejected by the pure element because of his guilt.



A MINSTREL IN THE STOCKS

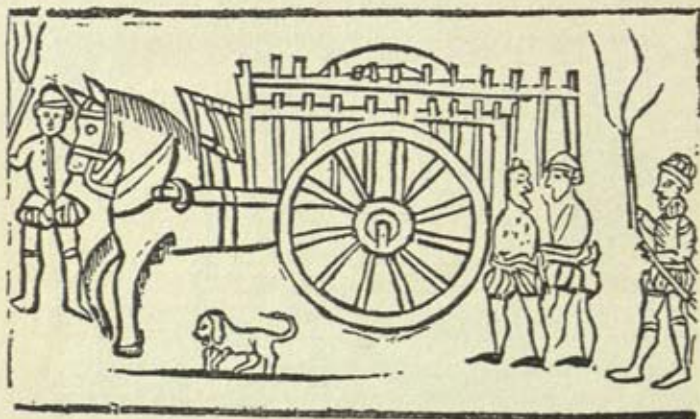
Ordeal by hot irons was another method of trying an accused person. He had to walk over hot irons or carry hot bars, and then have his feet and his hands bound up for three days. If by then the wounds were clean he was not guilty. A festering wound, however, was a sign of sin, and he was declared guilty.

Punishment could be—and, indeed, often was—carried out on the spot in the case of a man caught 'red-handed'—with blood upon his hands—and the summary killing of a murderer or thief was no uncommon thing.

Punishments included hanging for those found guilty of murder, burning for witchcraft or setting fire to another man's house, cutting out the tongue for uttering false slander or making a false accusation; and for slighter offences such as being a scold or a gossip, charging a false price, or giving

wrong measure, a day in the pillory or stocks was often considered sufficient—coupled, in the last two cases, with a fine.

A great deal of this justice was haphazard and precarious. The manor courts, particularly, could be very unfair. A rich and powerful man or a man with many friends could take his neighbour's property or commit other crimes and still escape punishment. A poor man, on the other hand, might not only see the loss of his lands or goods without redress, but even be wrongfully accused of crimes without being able to prove his innocence.



WHIPPING VAGABONDS AT THE CART'S TAIL

The great service of Henry II was to attempt to make a common law, or law that was common to the whole land, and to give people the opportunity of being heard in the king's courts by king's justices. Henry could not make a clean sweep of all existing law: much of the old was embodied in the new. But he did effect considerable reform.

He appointed justices—men chosen by himself for their ability, and including churchmen, lawyers, and nobles—to agree on the principles of the law. Judges were then sent round the country to explain the law and to hear cases in the districts where they stopped, so that all injustice should be brought to light.

When the judges arrived at a town twelve men out of every hundred and four men out of every town were to swear upon oath which of their fellows were accused of crime. Those so accused were then sent to trial by ordeal in the old way;

trial by ordeal was gradually superseded, but its abolition took time.

Twelve neighbours, or twelve men of the district, figure widely in early law. They were not judges of an issue, but witnesses to it—declaring upon oath whether they knew a man to be guilty or not. They were different in this respect



TWO PRETENDED FORTUNE-TELLERS IN THE PILLORY

from modern jurymen—people who are judges of facts brought before them and who reserve their verdict until after the trial. But the twelve honest neighbours and the travelling justices and the attempt to make a common law all mark the beginnings of our present legal system.

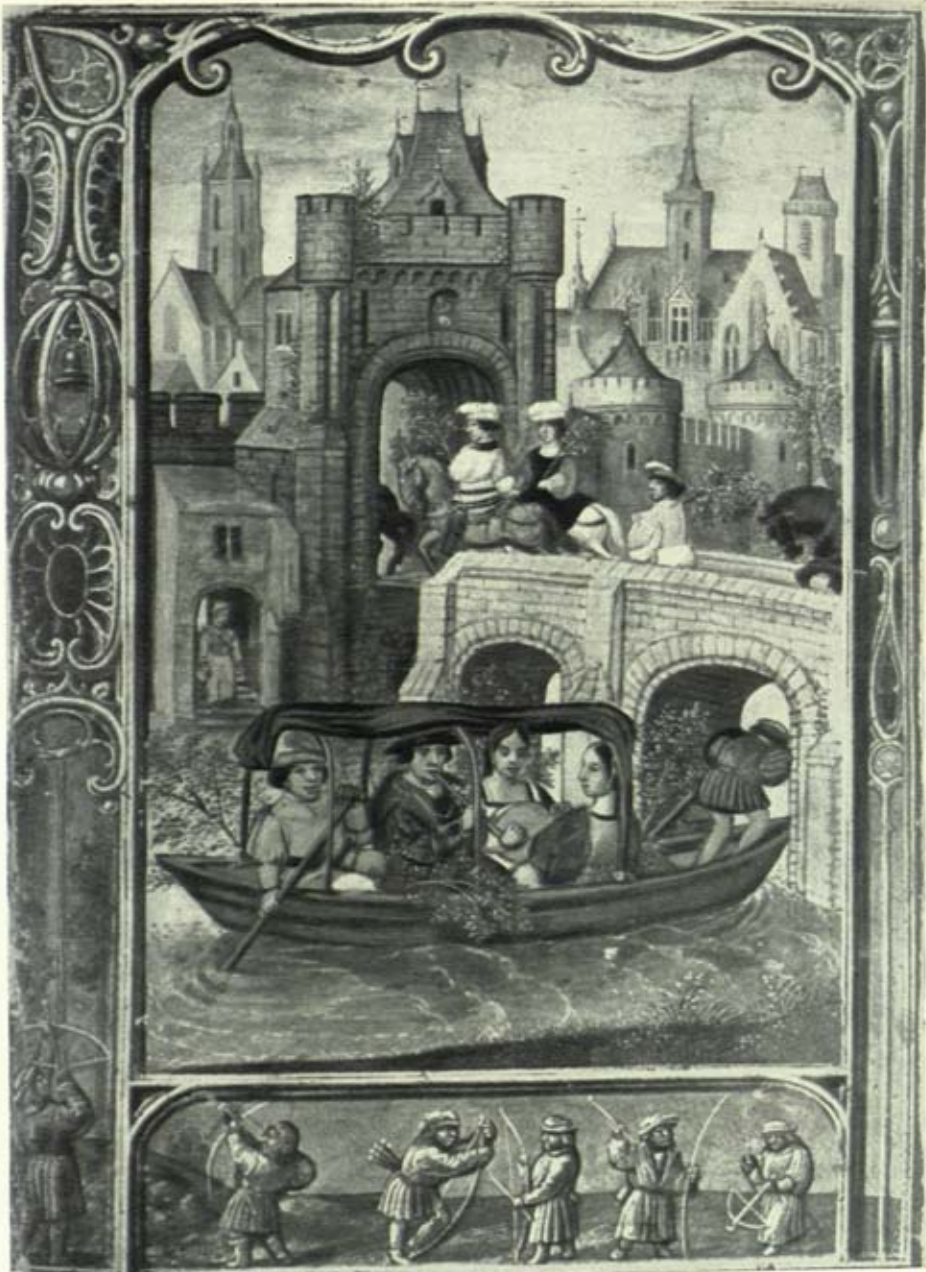
The king's law did not at first run in the feudal courts, though gradually it was accepted. Neither did it run in the ecclesiastical courts. 'Clerks,' as those in holy orders were termed, could claim the right to be heard, judged, and punished by these courts, which consisted entirely of churchmen. This frequently meant that any person who could claim connexion with the Church—and criminals were sometimes able to do so quite unjustly—could go unpunished by the common law.

Henry II proposed that clerical criminals should be tried

before an ecclesiastical court and if found guilty should be degraded, or sent out of the Church, and then be brought to the civil courts for punishment. It was partly on this count that Henry had his great quarrel with his Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas à Becket. Becket was strong-willed and steadfast in maintaining that all churchmen should be tried in ecclesiastical courts. If found guilty they would be degraded and that would be sufficient punishment. If a second time they were accused of a crime, then, being no longer churchmen, they should go immediately before the civil courts.

When Henry, with his fiery temper, allowed strong words against the Archbishop to escape him four of his followers rode off to Canterbury, where they killed Becket in his own cathedral. Far from helping their master, this deliberate murder on holy ground roused such a storm of feeling in the Archbishop's favour that Henry not only did public penance for the deed but had to abandon his effort to make the law of the land include members of the church.

Thomas à Becket became a martyr, and to the shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury pilgrims came from all over the world. It was to Canterbury that Chaucer's pilgrims in the *Canterbury Tales* were riding on pilgrimage when they told their stories to while away the time.



MAY DAY IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

From a Book of Hours.

Victoria and Albert Museum. Crown Copyright.

"THE ADORATION OF
THE MAGI," BY
BOTTICELLI

This was painted about 1475.
The standing figure on the
extreme right is a portrait of
the artist himself.

Photo Mansuetti Collection



CHAPTER XXXI

Magna Carta

ABOUT fifty years after Henry II began his reform of law reform of another kind was instituted, this time not by a king but by the king's leading barons.

Many of the feudal customs which gave power and revenue to the king, as chief feudal lord, became increasingly irksome to his barons, especially when the king was unpopular and used his power badly. King John, the brother of Richard Lion-heart the Crusader, and the youngest son of Henry II, was such a king. His subjects were fined and imprisoned without adequate reason; large profits were made out of the feudal rights of wardship; people were called upon to raise money for the king; merchants were taxed heavily, and their trade and journeys interfered with; towns were threatened with the withdrawal of their liberties if they failed to aid the king with money.

The barons of the north and the east of the country were the most ready to bring pressure to bear on King John to right these grievances. They were joined by many churchmen, who were subject to taxation like every one else, and leading statesmen who saw that England could have no settled government until these grievances were put right. Many towns also supported them, and, most important, a substantial part of London. They found a splendid leader in the churchman-statesman, Stephen Langton.

When the barons, supported by many of the ordinary people, rode up to London on May 17, 1215, some of the citizens secretly admitted them to the city in the early morning so that by daylight they were installed in the capital, which they made their headquarters in the negotiations which followed.

They never had to use force. John knew he was powerless against such a formidable array. The King took up his headquarters at Windsor, the barons moved to Staines. After several weeks of negotiation each party rode out to the little village of Runnymede, on the banks of the Thames. There the barons presented John with a Charter guaranteeing them

the liberties which they and their allies regarded as necessary. John had no alternative but to affix his seal. In doing so, he gave his approval to one of the most famous documents in the world.

Magna Carta, or the Great Charter, of 1215 is still regarded as one of the great landmarks of British freedom. Neither the barons nor King John had anything so important in their minds. The barons merely wished the King to observe existing customs and not press his power any further. King John was merely making the best of a bad job, and probably made the mental reservation that he would dispense with the Charter when he could. This, however, was not to be easy, for twenty-five barons were appointed to see that the Charter was carried into effect, and it was several times reissued and confirmed. In the seventeenth century it came to stand as the Charter of English Liberties, the Birthright of All Free Englishmen, as men then called it.

In actual fact, as we can see, it was the practical assertion of existing rights, and many of its clauses relate to the day-to-day troubles of the time. Four clauses, however, have been repeated and enlarged and stand now as fundamental to the British constitution.

The twelfth clause of Magna Carta states that no tax or aid (excepting the normal feudal aids of ransoming the king's person, knighting his eldest son, and marrying his eldest daughter) shall be raised except by "common counsel of our kingdom." The fourteenth clause declares that this common counsel shall consist of the great barons and churchmen and other tenants-in-chief. It is easy to see how these two clauses together became moulded into the great British principle of no taxation without consent of the people.

Clauses 39 and 40 of Magna Carta embodied the principle, fundamental to freedom, that a man cannot be imprisoned without a fair trial, and that justice cannot be bought or sold. Clause 39 states: No freeman shall be arrested, or detained in prison, or . . . in any way molested . . . unless by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land. Clause 40 asserts: To no one will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice.

Reading through the other clauses of the Great Charter throws much light on the kind of oppression from which people had been suffering. The barons want it definitely agreed, in Clause 2, that on the death of a tenant-in-chief his heir shall not be compelled to pay a fine of inheritance exceeding

£100 in the case of an earl or a baron or 100 shillings in the case of a knight. Several clauses are devoted to safeguarding the rights of heirs and heiresses who are under age (wards) so that the king, or whoever has their custody, shall not waste their property or use it for his own ends.

Other clauses throw light on vexatious practices. No. 23 affirms: No community or individual shall be compelled to make bridges at river banks, except those who from of old were legally bound to do so.

Clause 41 protects merchants: All merchants shall have safe and secure exit from England, and entry to England, with the right to carry there and to move about as well by land as by water, for buying and selling by the ancient and right customs, quit from all evil tolls, except (in time of war) such merchants as are of the land at war with us.

Clause 35 aimed at clearing up many misunderstandings and opportunities for fraud: Let there be one measure of wine throughout our whole realm; and one measure of ale; and one measure of corn . . . and one width of cloth . . . of weights also let it be as of measures.

Magna Carta can be seen in the British Museum in London. The green meadows of Runnymede where it was signed still lie unspoilt along the river Thames, preserved for the nation as a memorial to one of the most significant episodes in our history.

CHAPTER XXXII

The Beginnings of Parliament in England

THE towns which grew all over Europe in the Middle Ages were rich and strong, many of them making their own laws, issuing their own money, and conducting constant feuds and even open warfare with their neighbours.

It was different in England, where the central government, far from being swamped by developing towns, became stronger. The king ruled with the help of his Great Council of powerful barons. Slowly, during the Middle Ages and after, other representatives were added to this council, and there developed the Parliament we know to-day.

A parliament simply means a body of people gathered together for purposes of consultation. The word derives from the French *parler* 'to talk' and *parlement* 'a consultation'; and this was, indeed, the English Parliament's original purpose.

In 1213, in the reign of King John, the sheriffs of each county were ordered to send four discreet men of the shire to speak with the King on public business. They were probably not elected, but we have here the beginnings of a government which goes beyond the great barons.

In the reign of Henry III in 1254 two knights chosen from each county were summoned to a Great Council at Westminster to report on the amount of aid their constituents would give to the government. This council, including elected representatives of the shires, was probably the first meeting that we could call a Parliament in England.

Eleven years later, in the course of feudal war, a great baron named Simon de Montfort for a short while was ruler of England. He then, in 1265, called another Parliament and, in order to strengthen his own party, which was strong in the towns, he included representatives from boroughs or cities as well as from the shires.

In 1275 Edward I called the Parliament which not only approved the levy of the Great and Ancient Custom on wool, but passed the remarkable Statute of Westminster, which laid down that "common right is to be done to all, as well

poor as rich" and that "elections are to be free, and no man is by force, malice, or menace, to disturb them."

In 1295 the same king called another Parliament, to which representatives of the counties and towns were again called, as well as the prelates and the barons. It is remarkable both for the form in which it called the prelates and the barons, and in its intention that this should be a model assembly. The summons to the prelates began with a quotation from the works of the Roman Emperor Justinian: "As the most righteous law . . . exhorts and ordains that that which touches all shall be approved by all, it is very evident that common dangers must be met by measures concerted in common." The barons were called in similar form, and the sheriffs had similar notices commanding them to arrange elections.

The clergy and the barons were to decide what was to be done for the common defence. The 'commons'—the knights of the shire and the representatives of the towns—were to carry out their decisions. Thus each group had its own function and from this 'model Parliament' there developed the custom of meeting in separate Houses—the House of Lords and the House of Commons—although these names were not used until much later.

Parliament continued to meet at irregular intervals throughout the following centuries. It met, however, not by right, but when the king summoned it, and sat only as long as he needed it. His subjects were not anxious to be called to Westminster. Rather they sought to evade the often long and difficult journey, and felt there was more urgent work to be done at home.

Gradually, however, these middle-class people from the shires and from the towns began to realize that through the monarch's financial need they could improve their own position and influence the laws of the country. It was easy to say, for example: we will approve the tax if you will promise not to interfere with our trade. So they began to make the granting of taxes conditional upon the redress of grievances or the enactment of certain laws. Parliament thus came to be not merely a house of consultation, not merely an instrument of taxation, but a law-making machine as well.

It took many centuries to achieve this, and there was often friction between monarch and Parliament. It was not until after the civil wars of the seventeenth century that a modern Parliament really took shape. But its beginnings were there in the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt

OVER a century and a half after the barons' revolt the peasants of England rose up to fling off the remnants of feudalism and to claim their freedom. To understand the reasons for their revolt at this particular time, we must go back a little.

Under feudalism the villein was an unfree man, unable to leave his feudal lord, and owing many services, such as ploughing, reaping, ditching, and threshing at specified times. At the beginning of the fourteenth century it was becoming apparent that, very slowly indeed, a change was taking place. An escaped villein would offer his services to another lord in a different part of the country where, labour being scarce, the lord would be glad to pay him and ask no questions. Occasionally a villein would, by dint of hard work and a sympathetic lord, buy his freedom and thereafter work for wages. Sometimes a landowner would find that free labour—that is, the labour of free men paid for their work—was of a much higher quality than that of 'bound' men compelled to work. It sometimes happened that a villein would not be able to buy his freedom completely, but would free himself of a particularly irksome feudal obligation by paying a sum of money to his lord instead, so that perhaps instead of ditching twice a year he paid a sum of money twice a year. This commutation of services, as it is called, was proceeding slowly, and slowly changing the nature of feudal economy, when the country was struck by a great catastrophe—the Black Death.

The whole of Europe in the Middle Ages was a prey to disease of various kinds. With no sanitation and no knowledge of hygiene, fever and plague, once started, spread over wide areas. The Black Death started in 1348 and by the time it was checked in the winter of 1349 the population had been reduced by about one half or one third. The suffering was unparalleled. Trade and industry languished. The land was neglected. Small wonder that labour was in such demand that landowners were offering double, even treble, wages and not minding whether their workmen were bond or free. Many more villeins bargained for their freedom or escaped

more easily. There was a constant movement from worse-paid jobs to better, and consequently a rising scale of wages. As wages increased the prices of goods of all kinds increased also.

The rulers, alarmed by high wages, high prices, and the scarcity of labour, tried by legislation to control the movement of events. In 1349 they passed the *Ordinance of Labourers*, converted into the *Statute of Labourers* in 1351 and renewed in several subsequent years. By these Acts all labourers were commanded to work for the rates of pay already current and to serve their lord of the manor unless he released them to work elsewhere. At the same time the Acts endeavoured to fix the price of food. The penalties for breaking these laws were to be fine and imprisonment. But their constant repetition indicates how little they were observed.

After centuries of bondage many villeins were now beginning to realize how important they were to their lords. Yet the galling marks of servitude remained. The very fact that some had escaped or otherwise attained their freedom caused those that remained to feel more bitter. They began to think that there was no good reason why some people should live in ease and comfort while others toiled for little reward.

They were influenced by a poor priest named John Ball. Often on a Sunday after mass, as people were leaving church, John Ball would be outside and start talking. So eloquent was he that great crowds gathered round to listen to his teaching. He told them that in the beginning there were neither rich nor poor, neither freemen nor slaves, but that all were equal in the sight of God and all goods were held in common. Your troubles will never end, he said, until you return to this state of equality :

A ye good people, he said, the maters goeth nat well to passe in Englande, nor shall nat do tyll every thyng be comon. And that there be no villayns nor gentylmen, but that we may be all unyted toguyder, and that the lordes be no greater maisters than we be. What have we deserved : or why shulde we be kept thus in servage ? We be all come from one fater and one mother, Adam and Eve. Whereby can they say or shewe, that they be gretter lordes than we be ? . . . They are clothed in Velvet and chamlet furred with grise, and we be vested with pore clothe. They have their wyne, spyces, and good breed : and we have the drawyng out of the chaffe, and drinke water. They dwell in fayre houses, and we have the payne and traveyle, rayne and wynde in the felde. . . .

Many of the poor came to love John Ball. "And so they wolde murmure one with a nothere in the felde and in the wayes, as they went togyder. Affermyng, howe Johan Ball sayd trouthe. . . ."

Soon the popular rhyme :

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman ?

was going from mouth to mouth.

So it happened that the peasants of the southern and eastern counties of England began to organize themselves into bands demanding not only the commutation of services and higher wages, but the end of villeinage and freedom for all men. They called themselves the Great Society, and mysterious messages in a kind of code began to be sent from place to place.

Matters came to a head in 1379 with the poll tax. This was a tax levied on every head, or poll, to meet the king's war expenditure. At first the king's tax-collectors were bribed to overlook a few members of each family. But the returns were so small that the collectors were sent out again to make up better totals. So in 1381 the people rioted, killed some of the king's men, and under their own leaders marched towards London. On the way they burned many manor-houses and particularly the court rolls which held the records of villeinage. They were welcomed to London by many workmen of the City, and proceeded to the Tower, where they murdered the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Treasurer who had imposed the hated poll tax. The house of John of Gaunt, the virtual ruler of the country, was pillaged and burnt.

John of Gaunt was away in the north, so the young King Richard II, only fourteen years old, courageously rode out to meet the rebels.

"A ye good people . . . what lacke ye ?" he asked.

"We wyll that ye make us free for ever," they replied, "our selfe, our heyres, and our landes : and that we be called no more bonde nor so reputed."

The King promised them their freedom, and bade them disperse. He presented a royal banner to each county as a sign of pardon and a free pass back to their homes.

There remained in London John Ball, Wat Tyler, and Jack Straw, with the Kentish men. The following day the King approached them for a final talk at Smithfield. Wat Tyler rode up to greet him. The scene may be well imagined.

Round the King were anxiously grouped his friends and advisers, foremost among them Walworth, the Lord Mayor of London. Opposite were the peasants, many of them honest, sober folk, but among them rowdy agitators giving an ugly appearance to the scene. Wat Tyler himself was probably an honest man, perhaps a little too elated over the victory of the previous day, perhaps wanting greater assurance that the King's promises would be kept.

Eye-witnesses assert that Tyler's horse approached so near to the King's that the two animals were touching, and it might well have seemed that the King was in danger. Sharp words passed between Tyler and some of the King's men, and Walworth struck Tyler from his horse. Seeing their leader on the ground, wounded, perhaps dead, the peasants bent their bows and raised what other weapons they had. Then the King rode forward, shouting: "Syr, what ayleth you, ye shall have no capitayne but me. I am your kynge, be all in rest and peace!"

Trust in the young King, fear of his supporters who now came flocking, armed, from all parts of the city, the grisly spectacle of their leader's head displayed on a spear, and the age-old habit of obedience to their lords then caused the peasants meekly to give up their banners and their written promises from the King and to return to their homes.

Unfortunately, the King had promised more than he could fulfil. John of Gaunt and the other landlords would not so easily consent to give up all the advantages of feudalism. Rioting continued in various parts of the country, an armed force was sent to suppress the peasants, and many of them were killed and imprisoned. John Ball and Jack Straw suffered the same fate as Wat Tyler, and the heads of all three were displayed on London Bridge as a warning to the people.

How much the Peasants' Revolt hastened the ending of serfdom it is difficult to say. But the movement towards freedom which had begun years before slowly continued. By the time of Queen Elizabeth, two hundred years later, there would be not a villein left in England.

Part III

THE MODERN WORLD

CHAPTER XXXIV

The Renaissance

By the end of the fourteenth century it was clear that the feudal order was breaking down. Trade, wars, the crusades, travellers like Marco Polo, had enlarged the boundaries of Europe. Towns, containing independent citizens like merchants and craftsmen, winning their independence in charters, did not easily fit within the feudal framework.

In England the Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt were hastening the end of serfdom. The gradual yielding of manorial justice to the law of the land and the growth of Parliament were strengthening the central as opposed to feudal power.

Men's minds at the same time were breaking free from the stilted teaching of the Middle Ages and becoming more flexible. After centuries of slow development it seemed as though a breath of new life and vitality blew through Europe. It was felt in almost every direction and came to be called the Renaissance, or the New Birth.

Among the first signs of an intellectual awakening in Europe were the writing down of stories and poems, both old and new, and an increasing use of national languages instead of Latin. In Scandinavia the great epics of the sagas were being written in native Norse. In France the old stories of love and chivalry were being written in French. In Italy a great poet named Dante, born in Florence, wrote the *Divine Comedy* in Italian at the beginning of the fourteenth century. When Froissart, a little later, was composing the *Chronicles* he used the French language.

In England the position of the English vernacular was made more difficult by the fact of the Norman Conquest. There had been three languages in existence—Latin, the language of the Church, of learning, and of communication with outside countries; Norman-French, the language of the conquerors

and of those English who for one reason or another followed their ways ; and finally Anglo-Saxon itself in various forms. This language persisted among the English people, and a Norman lord would be compelled either himself to learn Anglo-Saxon or to rely upon a bailiff or reeve who was bilingual. Village songs and rounds like *Sumer is icumen in* and old stories and legends were still told in an Anglo-Saxon language that was becoming more flexible and was approaching the language we now know. Sometimes a word or two of Norman-French or of Latin would be incorporated into it. So, while the Anglo-Saxon still minded his sheep, the Norman ate mutton ; the Anglo-Saxon looked after the cow, and his master ate the flesh and called it beef ; the swineherd minded the pig, and his lord ate pork.

When again the English language emerged as a vehicle of literature and thought it was pliable, pleasant to hear, and is fairly easily understood to-day. One of the most famous stories then written down was that of *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*, a story of Arthur, the Round Table, and the adventures of one of his knights. A charming verse is the *Parlement of the Thre Ages* which, in modernized language, opens like this :

In the month of May when pleasures are many,
And the season of summer when gentle are the weathers,
As I went to the wood my chances to try
Into the thickets to get me a shot
At a hart or a hind, happen as it might :
And as God drove the day from the sky,
As I tarried on a bank by a river-side,
Where the grass was green, grown with flowers—
The primrose, the periwinkle, and the rich wild-thyme—
The dew upon the daisies was fairly dank,
Buds and blossoms and branches most delightful,
And the pleasant mists full mildly began to fall :
The cuckoo, the wood-pigeon, active were they both,
And the thrushes full boldly competed on the banks.

Among others is a typical medieval story told in rhymed verse of a witch, who made a big bladder of leather which walked about by itself and milked all the cows of the district :

There was a wicche, and made a bagge,
A bely of lethyr, a grete swagge

Greater than any of these were the works of two men, living at the same time, yet in very different circumstances. William

Langland, born about 1331, probably near the Malvern hills, was a poor man who took minor holy orders and came to live in London in great poverty. He wrote in the old English alliterative style where there is no rhyme, but a repetition of a certain sound in each line. Geoffrey Chaucer, who was born about 1340, was a man of the court, living a comfortable and colourful life. His poetry was lighter in vein than Langland's, shrewd, humorous, and in the newer rhyming style.

Langland's poem was called *The Vision of Piers the Plowman* and tells how the hard-working ploughman fell asleep beside a stream and dreamed. It starts, in a modern version,¹ like this :

In a summer season, when soft was the sunlight,
I shook on some shreds of shepherd clothing,
And habited like a hermit, but not a holy one,
Went wide in this world, watching for wonders.
But on a May morning, on a Malvern hill-top,
A marvel befell me, as might a fairy-tale.

Then he dreamed :

A fair field full of folk, found I there between them,
Of all manner of men, the meaner and the richer,
Working and wandering, as the world asks of them.

Chaucer's most famous work is *The Canterbury Tales*. Pilgrims are journeying to the tomb of St Thomas at Canterbury "the holy blissful martyr for to seek," and they beguile themselves with stories by the way. Chaucer had a keen eye and an amusing tongue, and he not only recounts the stories that the pilgrims tell, but describes the travellers in great detail. The Knight and the Squire we have already met. We also get to know through *The Canterbury Tales* most of the other people who added to the common life of medieval England. There were the miller, the reeve, the ploughman, the friar, the monk, the priest, a nun, a pardoner, a housewife, and many others. The two longer extracts which follow are in modern English,¹ but the spirit of Chaucer's original verse is not lost.

The miller was true to the reputation he had in the Middle Ages :

He was a master-hand at stealing grain.
He felt it with his thumb and thus he knew
Its quality and took three times his due.

¹ By Nevill Coghill.

The reeve, as one might expect from his difficult task of go-between, "was a splendre colerik man," but,

Ful riche he was astored prively.

To the ploughman Chaucer gave the highest possible character :

He was an honest worker, good and true,
Living in peace and perfect charity,
And, as the gospel bad him, so did he,
Loving God best with all his heart and mind
And then his neighbour as himself, repined
At no misfortune slacked for no content
For steadily about his work he went.

England took her share in bringing literature back to its native tongue, but in the great revival of the other arts that marked the Renaissance she took little part. In painting, sculpture, the work of the goldsmith and silversmith, Italy was pre-eminent. Perhaps it was to be expected that the land where Roman civilization was born and Greek culture flourished should be the first to rise above the mediocrity of the Middle Ages. She was helped by a thriving city-life and patrons rich enough to finance the arts. In no town of Italy was this flowering of genius on a scale so magnificent as in Florence.

Dante was a Florentine. In the fifteenth century there followed Botticelli, Michaelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci—each alone sufficient to have brought glory to his age and state. And there were many more who would have been pre-eminent in any other time or place. Nor was their genius confined to one activity. Michaelangelo was sculptor and poet, and practical enough to plan the fortifications of his native town during a siege. Leonardo was painter, architect, and scientist at the same time. Nor were their works all destined for the seclusion of a rich man's palace or a gallery of fine arts. Most artists worked with the full knowledge and often in the full view of the citizens, who eagerly awaited the erection of a new statue in a city square or the display of a dish or goblet intricately worked by a famous silversmith or goldsmith.

Into Europe, already quickening with this new intellectual activity, came Greek scholars fleeing before the Turks, who once again were on the move from their homes in Eastern

Europe. The Ottoman Turks swept forward, assailed Constantinople, and in 1453 the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, which had endured for a thousand years, fell before their assault, and with it the last of the Roman Cæsars. The learned men who fled at their approach brought with them precious Greek and Latin manuscripts to add to the meagre store in Europe. Once again the world of Greek thought opened out to the west, and a generation of new scholars arose—in Holland, Erasmus, in England, John Colet and Sir Thomas More—basing their learning on a wider foundation than had been known for centuries. Schools and universities multiplied. Those already in existence enlarged and humanized their courses of study.

There was a new interest in nature, in the earth and its products, in man himself; the developing science of anatomy served both the medical student and the painter. Study of the stars and the planets led to a questioning of old beliefs concerning the universe. Copernicus, a Polish astronomer who lived from 1473 to 1543, came to believe from his studies that the earth revolved round the sun, and not the sun round the earth, as had previously been believed. In the book published in the last year of his life, *Concerning the Revolution of the Heavenly Spheres*, he definitely stated that the earth revolves on its own axis every twenty-four hours and circles round the sun once a year.

The German Johann Kepler and the Italian Galileo followed the Pole in supporting and confirming his theory. At this time a Dutch spectacle-maker invented a telescope; and Galileo, using the same principle, made a fine telescope, through which he observed many new stars, saw mountains and hollows on the moon, and discovered that the planet Jupiter was circled by four moons, or satellites.

Unfortunately, the Inquisition¹ concerned itself in the theory that the earth circles the sun, for it contradicted the Old Testament, which taught that the world is the centre of the universe. The Inquisition declared that the teaching of Copernicus was heretical, and when Galileo, nevertheless, published a book supporting the same theory, he was brought before the Inquisition, where, under threat of torture, he withdrew his opinion. He continued working and writing to the end, however, with little further interference from the Church.

The fresh contacts with Greece and Rome had another effect. They renewed men's familiarity with the buildings of

¹ See p. 190.

the classical world. They became dissatisfied with Gothic building, which had become increasingly ornate, and yearned after the simplicity and fine proportions of such buildings as the Parthenon at Athens. So once again the column and the low arch and the flat roof appeared in Western Europe, replacing the pointed arch and the soaring spire of Gothic building. In Florence some of the Renaissance Palaces were on the outside plain in the extreme, consisting of nothing but thick walls pierced by small grilled windows; but the graceful pillars and curved arches of many Italian arcades were equally typical.

Renaissance architecture did not influence England until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when first Inigo Jones and then Christopher Wren were designing buildings like the Queen's House, at Greenwich, and St Paul's Cathedral, in London.¹

The spread of knowledge depended in the first place upon scholars and teachers, and in the second place upon books. While books were written by hand their number was necessarily limited. Holland and Germany, however, had for some time been familiar with the idea of inking raised surfaces on a block so that an impress or print could be taken from it. The raised surfaces could be in the form of letters of wood or metal which could be moved to any position. This led naturally to the concept of printing, and by the middle of the fifteenth century German printers were at work. Others followed, and by the end of the century William Caxton, an Englishman living in Cologne, brought the art of printing to England and began work near Westminster Abbey.

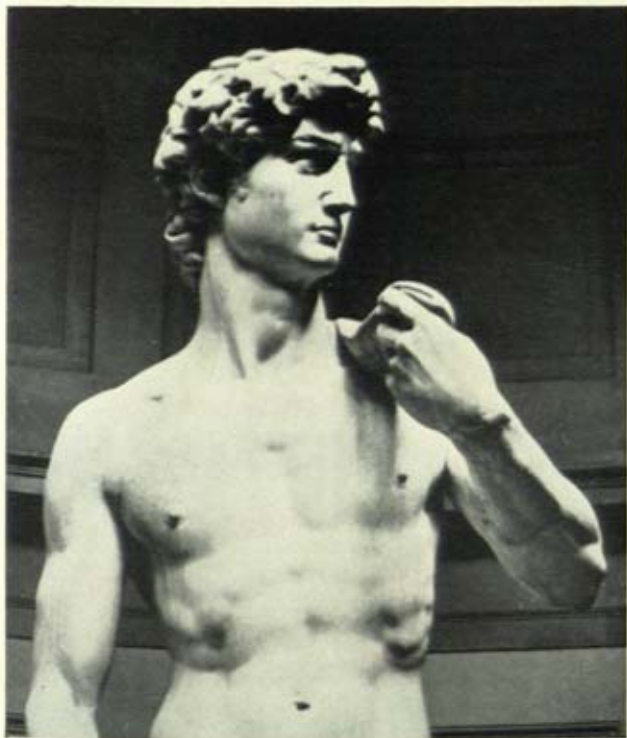
On the Continent the first printed books, besides the bible, were mostly taken from Greek and Latin manuscripts. Caxton's first books, apart from the bible, were the great works of the English vernacular, like *The Canterbury Tales* and the *Morte d'Arthur*. Nothing more surely hastened the intellectual expansion of the following centuries than the invention of printing. An epilogue written by Caxton to a book which he had translated and afterwards printed brings home forcibly the difference between the labour of writing a complete book by hand and the comparative ease of printing it:

Thus ende I this book whyche I haue translated after myn
Auctor as nyghe as god hath gyuen me connyng. . . . And for as

¹ See illustrations facing pp. 257, 272, and 273.

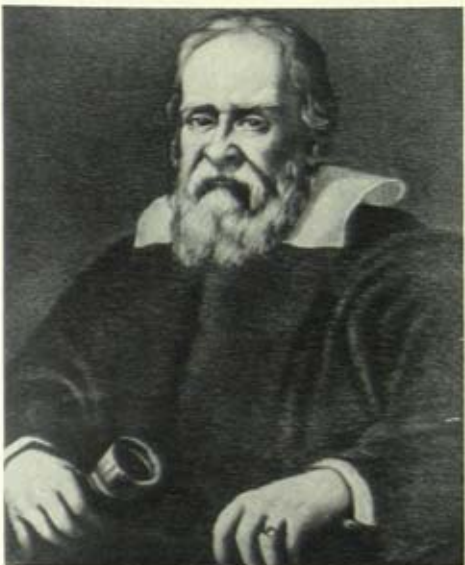
moche as in the wrytyng of the same my penne is worn, myn hande wery and not stedfast myn eyen dimmed with ouermoeche lokyng on the whit paper . . . my corage not so prone and redy to laboure as hit hath ben. . . . Therefore I have practysed and lerned at my grete charge and dispense to ordeyne this said book in prynte . . . and . . . all the bookes of this storye . . . thus empyntid as ye here see were begonne in oon day, and also fynysshid in oon day.

While it seems impossible that these books could really have been begun and finished in one day with the kind of printing presses known to Caxton, there is no doubt that the contrast drawn by Caxton between writing a book by hand and printing it was true enough.



STATUE OF DAVID
Michaelangelo.

Photo Alinari



GALILEO
After Sustermans.

Photo Mansell Collection



ERASMUS
Holbein.

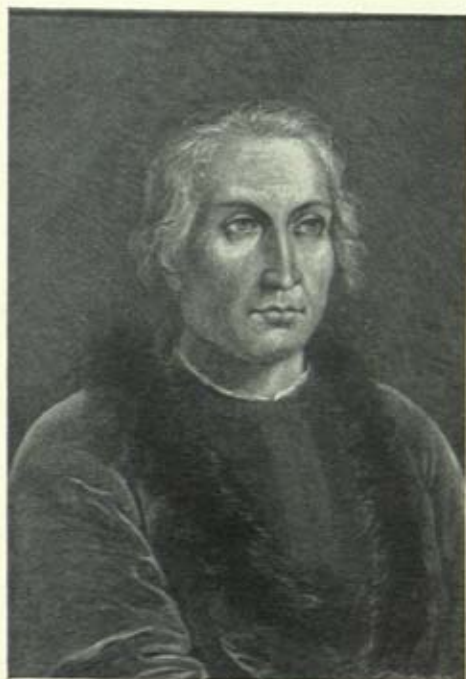
Photo Mansell Collection



PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

Nuño Gonçalves.

Photo Mansell Collection



FERDINAND MAGELLAN

From an old engraving.

Photo Mansell Collection

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

Sebastiano del Piombo.

Photo Mansell Collection

CHAPTER XXXV

The Great Discoveries

THE widening horizons of the mind were widening in a real geographical sense. From the knowledge of the East brought by travellers and merchants and scholars men were slowly piecing together a more accurate picture of the world than had been known before. Mathematics and astronomy as well as geography were helping men to draw new maps and to make new and more accurate instruments for journeying into the unknown and sailing uncharted seas. The compass had been known since the twelfth century. By the fourteenth it had been much improved and was in general use, together with other instruments such as the astrolabe for taking the altitude of heavenly bodies.

The desire to use these was provided by the need to find another way to the East. Venice controlled the route through Constantinople. The route through the Red Sea and so by ocean across to India was as firmly held by the Genoese. The answer both to Venice and Genoa would be either a route to the west or a route right round the tip of Africa. When Constantinople fell to the Turks the urge to find such a route became stronger.

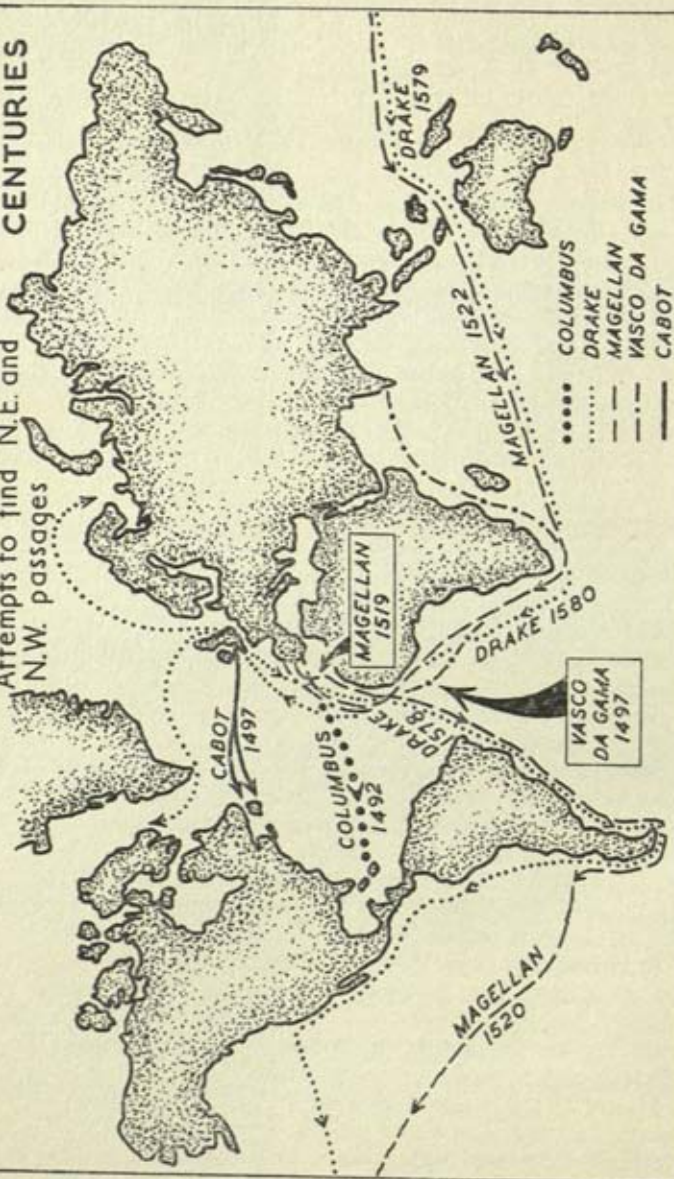
There was little certainty about either. Geographical knowledge was sufficiently scanty to make most people sceptical of reaching the eastern islands by sailing west. Africa beyond Cape Bojador, the most southerly point on the coast of Africa then known, was shrouded in mystery. The Arabs had sailed these seas; but their stories of strange and fearful dangers added little to European knowledge.

A Portuguese prince who lived from 1394 to 1460, and whose name, Henry the Navigator, indicates his interests, had a passion for exploration and formed the resolve to discover what lay to the south, to round the tip of Africa (if such existed) and to make a way southward and eastward to India.

Henry the Navigator started from the beginning. He set people to study maps and charts, astronomy and mathematics. He built ships and lighthouses, he improved the compass and the astrolabe. He employed not only sailors and seamen and

CHIEF VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION IN 15th AND 16th CENTURIES

Attempts to find N.E. and N.W. passages



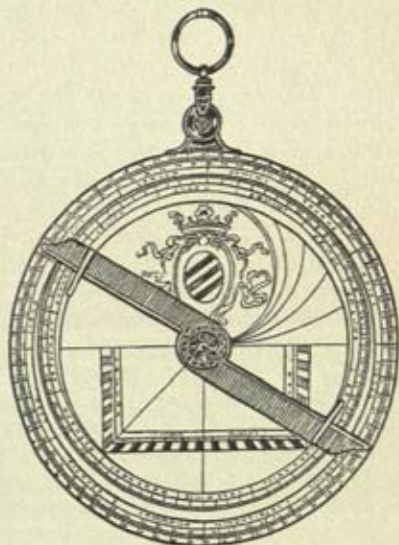
adventurers but map-makers and mathematicians. His ships, he said, must chart a way for merchants who would "never trouble themselves to go to a place where there is not a sure and certain hope of profit."

Under his impetus were rediscovered the Canary Islands (known to the Romans as *Canaria*, the Isles of the Dogs), and the Azores (the Islands of the Hawks). To get beyond Bojador was more hazardous. But gradually the way was won. The known coastline lengthened.

The map of what was known, as opposed to what was conjectured, grew inch by inch, each inch on the map taking perhaps years to fill in. Sierra Leone and the Guinea coast were charted. Portuguese trading-posts were established, and busy settlements grew. In 1441 one of the Prince's men brought back two natives of the African coast. Almost immediately their use was perceived: to labour for white masters, especially in climates too hot for the white man. At the same time the white man thought he saw his duty in making them Christian. So certain was the Pope of this that he announced the remission of sins to all embarking on a journey to bring back African natives. So began the slave trade,

whose evil consequences both to the slaves and the white races were still being worked out four hundred years later.

Beyond the Guinea coast, adventurers began to sail boldly out into the ocean, and at last, in 1487-88, Bartholomew Diaz rounded the tip of Africa, which he called the Cape of Good Hope, and sailed five hundred miles beyond. He did not, however, reach India. That was left to Vasco da Gama, who in 1497 again rounded the Cape and reached India. Portugal had attained her goal. From India she soon reached the East



THE ASTROLABE

In the astrolabe (from the Greek *astron*, a star; *labein*, to take) one pointer was fixed, while the other could be rotated, and so it was possible to measure the angle between two stars, or between a star and the horizon.

Indies, and the monopoly of the rich trade in spices was in her hands.

The stories of Portuguese enterprise had aroused wonder, admiration, and not a little speculation. No one pondered it more deeply than a young Genoese sailor married to a Portuguese wife, the daughter of one of Henry the Navigator's captains. Christopher Columbus at last came forward with his belief that he could reach the East Indian spice islands by sailing west. This had been said before, but Columbus coupled his assertion with a belief that he *must* reach them because the world was round—and not flat, as was still commonly believed. The courts of Genoa, Portugal, France, and England took little notice of his story. Spain was at first unsympathetic, but at last decided to let him try with three small ships. So, with the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, the *Niña*, and 120 men, Columbus sailed from Spain on Friday, August 3, 1492. After stopping at the Canary Islands he set off through uncharted seas on September 6.

For five weeks there was no sight of land. The crews, frightened and mutinous, wanted to turn back. Grass floating on the sea, land birds, the sight of whales, all held out hope of land, but it continued to elude them. When

the men could bear no more and complained of the length of the voyage [Columbus] encouraged them in the best way he could, giving them good hope of the advantages they might gain from it. He added that however much they might complain, having come so far, he had nothing to do but go to the Indies, and he would go on until he found them, with the help of our Lord.

He also kept, besides the genuine log of the voyage, a fictitious log which he showed to the crew, reducing the distance they had travelled from home. Columbus promised additional reward to whoever sighted land first. The *Pinta*, swiftest of the three, forged ahead. At 2 A.M. on Friday, October 12, 1492, one of her crew spied land. Columbus also had seen a distant light flickering. The three ships weighed anchor until dawn and then gazed out at the new country they had reached.

It was a beautiful land of golden sands and bright green foliage in a sea of deep blue. The friendly natives who flocked to meet them were brown people, finely made, wearing no clothes at all.

We understood [wrote Columbus] that they asked us if we had come from heaven. One old man came into the boat, and others cried out, in loud voices, to all the men and women, to 'come and see the men who had come from heaven, and to bring them to eat and drink.'

The explorers were tantalized by the gold rings the natives wore in their noses, and vainly followed vague directions from island to island to try to discover the source of the precious metal. What they did see, however, was natives rolling a leaf "into the form of a musket barrel but very much smaller; and lighting one end and drawing smoke into their mouths." Thus was tobacco-smoking first seen by Europeans.

Columbus and his men thought they had reached the Indies by the western route, and called the islands the West Indies. We know them now as the Bahamas. Four times in all Columbus sailed west. He discovered the northern coast of South America, and Central America. But he knew nothing of the Pacific Ocean beyond; nor had he a true picture of the map of the world. Neither did he find gold. But he had demonstrated that there was land to the west. Other explorers carried on after him. In 1500 Portuguese explorers sailing from the Guinea coast of Africa well out to sea, steered too far west and found themselves on the coast of Brazil, which they promptly claimed for Portugal. Another piece was added to the map of the world which, slowly, like a giant jigsaw puzzle, men were putting together.

The Spanish were, of course, extending their knowledge of the coast which Columbus had discovered, and in 1513 from a Spanish colony at Darien a captain named Balboa climbed a mountain and gazed—the first of all Europeans to do so—on a great calm ocean. The narrow waist of the two Americas could now be drawn on the growing map of the world. In the next few years its wealthy hinterland was overrun with Spanish soldiers under Cortez, who defeated the Aztecs of Mexico and carried off their treasures of gold and silver. This made the new world appear more like the lands they had dreamed of. The Incas of Peru were later conquered by Pizarro, and more gold flowed to Spain.

Meantime Ferdinand Magellan, sailing from Spain, still in search of a western route to the Spice Islands, rounded the tip of South America, sailing through the straits since called after him. After struggling with tempestuous seas and stormy

weather his three remaining boats struck boldly out over an unknown ocean. It was the same sea which Balboa had seen from Darien, and from its great calmness Magellan called it the Pacific Ocean. Six months later he reached the Philippine Islands; but here he himself was killed in a skirmish with natives. His followers held on their way, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and, reduced now to one ship, the *Victoria*, returned to Seville in 1522, three years after they set sail, having completed the first journey round the world. Christopher Columbus was justified. The world was round indeed.

Portugal and Spain now proceeded to make the most of their discoveries. They did so in different ways. The lands the Portuguese had reached were already busy, humming with trade, their harbours full of ships in contact with the great civilizations of India and China, familiar with the trade routes from east to west. The Portuguese set up trading-posts, made settlements, established small Portuguese colonies, and proceeded to make themselves wealthy as carriers of the East to the West, as Venice had done by a different route.

Spain, on the other hand, had discovered no teeming trading cities, but a land which at first had apparently little to offer to the European. Only when the gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru and the treasures of the Aztec and Inca civilizations were discovered did the long-expected treasure fall into her lap. This was far more exciting than the sober trading of the Portuguese, and the Spanish conquerors returned flushed with excitement. But the inflow of the precious metals proved an illusory benefit to Spain, sending up prices, causing her to squander heavily in luxuries, and sapping the spirit which had led her explorers out into unknown seas. One crop which the Spaniards found growing in Peru, which they introduced to Europe without realizing its later importance, was the potato.

The effect of the discoveries on Venice was to hasten the decline which the capture of Constantinople by the Turks had begun. No longer was she the centre of the world, taking with her left hand and distributing with her right and being paid handsomely for it. To England, on the other hand, hitherto off the main trade-routes and sharing to only a very small extent in the early discoveries, the new trade-routes were to offer the chance of wide dominion. At the time of Columbus and Magellan she had few sailors and not many

ships; but under the Tudor sovereigns, particularly Henry VIII and Elizabeth, English sea-power grew.

In 1573, sixty years after Balboa had looked out on the Pacific, a party of Englishmen were being conducted by natives through that same Isthmus of Panama.

. . . we understood [wrote one of them] there was a great tree about the midway, from which we might at once discern the northern sea from whence we came and the south sea whither we were going.

The fourth day following we came to the height of the desired hill. . . Here was that goodly and great high tree, in which they had cut and made divers steps to ascend up near unto the top, where they had made a convenient bower wherein 10 or 12 men might easily sit: and from thence we might see the Atlantic Ocean whence now we came and the South Atlantic so much desired.

After our captain . . . had seen that sea of which he had heard such golden reports, he besought Almighty God at His goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea.

The captain was Francis Drake. The sea was the Pacific Ocean. Drake's prayer was granted when, in December 1577, with five ships and 164 men, he left England and made his way through the Magellan Strait, sailed across the Pacific, and returned home in September 1580, two years and ten months after he sailed away—the first Englishman to sail round the world.

CHAPTER XXXVI

The Reformation

MEDIEVAL Europe was loosely held together, as we have seen, by a common system of feudalism, by a common faith, which acknowledged the Pope as its head, and by a common language—Latin.

Feudalism was breaking down, Latin was yielding to the vernacular, and now even the Pope's supremacy of the Church was to be challenged.

The challenge came loudest and strongest from Germany. Here an Augustinian monk named Martin Luther lit a fire of resistance to papal authority which swept Germany itself into civil war and left no country of Europe untouched.

Luther was of a German peasant family, born in the heart of Germany. He had as good an education as the times allowed, and this was very good indeed, even although his parents were poor. First he went to his village school, then at fourteen to the Latin school at Magdeburg, at sixteen to the High School at Eisenach, and finally at eighteen to the University at Erfurt to study law and philosophy.

His father hoped he would raise the family fortunes by becoming a lawyer; but, although Martin passed his examinations, he felt called to the Church and in 1507 was ordained priest in the monastery at Erfurt. Men were still superstitious enough to have their minds made up for them by natural phenomena, and Luther's decision is said to have come after a violent thunderstorm during which he was hurled to the ground by what was probably a thunderbolt.

As a monk, Luther pondered over the sinfulness of man and the hope of salvation, and came to the conclusion that by faith alone could a man be saved. Good works were of no avail in themselves. Fasting, telling of beads, the worship of images, pilgrimages, counted for nothing without faith. They could, indeed, be but empty shams covering a multitude of sins. A visit to Rome horrified Luther and confirmed him in his growing belief. Monastic houses which offered him hospitality on his journey had more food on a 'fast' day than Luther was accustomed to on a feast day. When he remarked on this at one monastery he was promptly ejected with

indignation. Everywhere on his journey, and in Rome itself, he contrasted the wealth and pomp of churches and churchmen with the squalor around; he was aghast at the gabbling of prayers, shocked when he himself was asked to hurry his devotions.

Back in Germany with his mind full of these things, another papal practice was forced on his attention. This was the sale of indulgences. An indulgence was the remission or reduction of punishment for sin. Papal agents were now touring Europe claiming to grant indulgences on the Pope's behalf in return for money to rebuild St Peter's church in Rome. In Germany a Dominican friar, John Tetzel, who was something of an orator, gathered excited audiences round him as he preached in market-places. Put money in my box, was the gist of his speech, and your own punishment will be lightened, or the soul on whose behalf you give the money will fly straightway to heaven.

Luther's anger boiled over at the idea of *buying* salvation, and he met the friar in fierce argument. Tetzel offered to go through the ordeal of fire and water to prove that he was justified in God's sight. Luther replied, with a touch of the broad German humour which characterized him, "As for fire and water, as usual the only liquid you want is the juice of the grape and fire over which to roast a nice fat goose!"

On October 31, 1517, Luther nailed upon the door of the castle chapel at Wittenberg the ninety-five theses, or points of debate, which he wanted to argue with Tetzel. The gist of his argument was that God alone could pardon sin. The debate did not take place, but copies of Luther's theses in German as well as Latin were widely circulated and caused much excited discussion. From this, Luther went on to question the divine power of the Pope and asserted that the bible alone was the supreme authority for Christians. Finally the Pope excommunicated Martin Luther. Luther responded by burning the Papal bull in December 1520. He was now summoned to Worms in 1521 to face the power both of the Pope and the Emperor. His journey there was a triumphal progress, accompanied by cheering crowds. He refused to abandon an inch of his stand: "Here stand I: I can do no other! God help me, amen." He was pronounced a heretic and outlawed. For his personal safety friends carried him off to the castle of Wartburg, in the Thuringian Forest, where he wrote hymns in German and a translation of the bible.

Luther was not molested, and was allowed to teach in the

University of Wittenberg. Here many scholars flocked to hear him, and many ordinary people listened to his sermons in German in various parts of the country. Of the scholars who heard Luther in Wittenberg many returned to their native towns to spread his doctrine. To Cambridge in England, to Scotland, to Switzerland, to Scandinavia, the Reformation teaching thus spread.

Luther's translation of the bible into German was one of the ways in which he was teaching people to interpret it for themselves. In other countries scholars were doing the same. Already in the fourteenth century John Wycliffe in England had produced a bible in English. The Wycliffe bible was followed by translations by William Tyndale and by Miles Coverdale. Mistakes in the Latin bible too were corrected as scholars came to Europe from the East with the original Greek text of the New Testament and the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Erasmus, the great Dutch scholar, published in 1516 the complete Greek text of the New Testament, together with a new Latin translation. Erasmus added his comments. For example, "Upon this rock I will build my church," referred, he said, not to the Pope only, but to all Christians.

While scholars could see that churchmen were often not truly learned, allowing ignorance and superstition to stand in the way of truth, ordinary people could also see that the Church was wealthy, powerful, her priests often selfish and pleasure-loving. Another group of people, with less worthy motives, also cast disapproving eyes on the Church. These covetous men wanted the riches of the Church and monasteries for themselves.

Others, from patriotic motives, began to dislike the allegiance given to the Pope. To the English, for example, the fact that he was served by monks and friars, priests and bishops, seemed a threat to the country's independence.

Finally, an English monarch had his own personal reasons for breaking with the Pope, though not with the old religion.

Henry VIII, second of the Tudor kings of England, was intelligent, masterful, quick-tempered, and undoubtedly attracted by the wealth of the monasteries, chantries, and shrines of England. But with the Roman Catholic religion he was so much in accord that he wrote a book refuting Luther, for which the Pope bestowed upon him the title of Defender

of the Faith, *Fidei Defensor*, a title which the English monarch still bears and which can be seen round all English coins.

Henry was in difficulty about his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, a Spanish Catholic princess who had been betrothed to his brother. The Pope had given a dispensation enabling Henry to marry Catherine; but, as only one daughter and no son had survived from the marriage, Henry began to ask if the marriage really had the blessing of God. When, in addition, he fell in love with Anne Boleyn he was more convinced than ever that his marriage with Catherine was unblessed and should be declared null and void.

The Pope would not agree, partly because Catherine's family was powerful, her nephew, Charles V, being not only King of Spain, but Holy Roman Emperor. The Pope dared not offend so mighty a member of his Church.

Henry's response was typical of that strong and wilful Tudor. If the existing head of the Church would not dissolve his marriage a new head of the Church would do so, and that head should be himself. Henry, therefore, took the characteristically short cut of repudiating the Pope's authority and making himself supreme head of the Church in England. For refusing to agree to this action the great and gentle scholar, Sir Thomas More, was sent to the scaffold.

As head of the Church in England Henry was not only able to dissolve his marriage with Catherine and marry Anne, but was able to strike at the monasteries. On the grounds that they were inefficient and covetous and no longer fulfilled the pious purposes for which they were founded, and that they would not transfer their allegiance from the Pope to the King of England, monasteries were closed and many destroyed, their treasures seized, their lands confiscated, their inmates left to wander where they would or be killed as they tried to resist Henry's soldiery. Chantries, chapels, and tombs were similarly despoiled, including the famous shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury.

The vast treasures thus accruing to the English king were used partly to swell the royal coffers, partly to enrich the king's favourites. On monastic lands and with monastic wealth many a newly ennobled family struck roots. Sometimes the very monastery became the family home. Often the land changed hands many times or was divided up into smaller parcels. The number of beneficiaries was finally so intertwined with English society that even a Roman Catholic queen could not restore the monasteries to the monks.

Whatever the justification, nothing can excuse the force and brutality with which the suppression of the monasteries was often carried out.

Meantime at Geneva, in Switzerland, another Protestant reformer was working out his own stern doctrine. Calvin believed firmly in predestination—that each man is destined from birth to either salvation or damnation. Like Luther, he denied the supremacy of the Pope, and went further in abolishing bishops from his church, believing that no earthly person can come between a man and God.

Soon Europe contained many groups of people holding views in opposition to Roman Catholicism, but often unlike each other. These sects, as they were called, were all characterized by the same earnestness, sobriety, and dislike of show or display. Most of them refused to recognize bishops, and believed that not only images but even the altar itself was unacceptable to God, as placing a barrier between him and the worshipper. So their churches were plain, devoid of picture or image, and altars became plain tables placed in the middle of the church.

Those to take up the cudgels on behalf of the Roman Catholic church were, however, not lacking. Ignatius Loyola, a lame Spanish soldier, led the movement to restore the old faith in the affections of the people and at the same time bring back some of the simple fervour that had originally characterized it. The Society which he founded with the Pope's blessing was called the Society of Jesus, its members Jesuits. They vowed poverty, chastity, and unquestioning obedience to their Church superiors, believing in strict discipline and in the power of education. Jesuit schools appeared in all parts of Europe, and a child instructed in the Roman Catholic religion by a Jesuit seldom departed from his faith.

England neither returned to the Roman Catholic fold nor adopted the extremer forms of Protestantism, though many Catholics survived and many 'Puritans,' as they came to be called, carried on a simpler form of worship. When Mary Tudor, the daughter of Henry VIII by Catherine of Aragon, came to the throne she was naturally a Roman Catholic, and she married Philip, of Catholic Spain. The fear of religious persecution and the dread of a foreign power dominating England made this a most unpopular marriage. Mary did, in fact, persecute her Protestant subjects and there were burnt

at the stake many of her finest churchmen, including the bishops Ridley and Latimer, who died for their beliefs in Oxford in 1555, just as Sir Thomas More had died because he refused to recognize Mary's father as head of the Church. A few months later, in 1556, there was also burnt at the stake in Oxford Archbishop Cranmer, who had been responsible both for having the Great Bible in English placed in all churches for all to read, and for the beautiful translation of the Prayer Book, which is still used in English churches.

Mary was succeeded by Elizabeth, the Protestant daughter of Anne Boleyn, and Elizabeth was too wise to be fanatical, choosing instead the middle way of compromise.

Elizabeth's Reformation Settlement, as it was called, was given its final form by two Acts of Parliament. The Act of Supremacy of 1559 again abolished the power of the Pope in England, but Elizabeth refrained from taking for herself the title of Head of the Church in England, and the old form of Church government, including the bishops, remained. The Act of Uniformity of the same year made the acceptance of the Prayer Book the mark of conformity to the English reformed religion. But, as this Prayer Book was Cranmer's translation of the old Latin Prayer Book into English, retaining its beauty of expression and nobility of sentiment, and, as it took care to say nothing against either the Pope or the Roman Catholic Church, it was difficult for Roman Catholics to object to it. Moreover, the only people required to swear allegiance to the Reformed religion were office-holders. Those who refused, as most of Mary's bishops did refuse, resigned office and others were appointed in their places. Ordinary people were left alone, save that the Roman Catholic was fined a shilling for not going to church. If he paid his fine he could still employ a private priest and celebrate mass in his home. Puritans, similarly, who would recognize no bishops and no Prayer Book, were not interfered with so long as they did not disturb the religious settlement.

The Reformation divided Europe into two religious groups. Switzerland, Scandinavia, Scotland, part of Germany, England, stood for the Reformed religion. Spain, France, Italy, part of Germany, stood for the old. England escaped religious strife through the wisdom of her rulers. Spain escaped by the very firmness with which she stamped out the first signs of difference. The instrument which she used for this was the Inquisition.

The Inquisition was a court, or tribunal, of the Roman Catholic Church which had been established in the thirteenth century for stamping out heresy. In Spain it became a ruthless and cruel body before which suspected heretics were brought and sentenced often without knowing their accuser or the exact nature of the charge against them. Torture of many kinds was used to make them confess to heresy and incriminate others, or to recant and adopt the Roman Catholic religion. Those who were condemned as heretics were burnt; smaller offences were punished by banishment, imprisonment, the confiscation of property, or slavery at the oars of a Spanish ship.

France and Germany, unlike England and Spain, were torn with wars of religion. A massacre of Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called, on St Bartholomew's Day, 1572, failed to suppress them, and the Edict of Nantes in 1598 allowed them freedom of conscience and privileges in certain towns. By the end of the century France was at peace, strong and united, and had taken her place among the new nation states of Europe.

Germany was given a temporary peace from religious strife by the Peace of Augsburg of 1555, which allowed each German state to settle its own form of religion. At the beginning of the next century the Emperor Ferdinand II, who had been educated in a Jesuit College, tried to win the whole of Germany for the Roman Catholic faith. The result was the Thirty Years War, one of the most cruel and fierce that have ever swept over any country. Peasants were massacred, towns destroyed, villages were wiped out. The war ended in 1648. But Germany was so completely broken that she did not recover until the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XXXVII

The Rise of the Nation States

IN 1485, when the last of the wars of feudalism ended in England, the first of the Tudors came to the English throne as Henry VII. The reigns of the five Tudor monarchs of England together spanned well over a century. In that time England rose to a position of outstanding importance in Europe. Her ships sailed round the world; her trade-routes stretched from North America to the East Indies; her woollen cloth was famed the world over; at sea she met the might of Spain and annihilated it. At home she had become conscious of herself as a nation, and a strong central government consisting of monarch, privy council, and Parliament legislated for the whole country in a series of laws which touched every aspect of life. Besides this, the reign of the last of the Tudors, Elizabeth I, saw a great flowering of English literature far surpassing anything that this country has known before or since.

The highlights of the period all came with its last monarch—the Church Settlement of 1559, the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601, Drake's voyage round the world from 1577 to 1580, the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. The greatest names of English literature are associated with the Elizabethan Age—Shakespeare and Marlowe, Ben Jonson and John Donne. But the spadework was done by Elizabeth's Tudor predecessors, and, in particular, by her grandfather, Henry VII.

Henry Tudor, seizing the crown from a thornbush after the victory of Bosworth Field in 1485, determined that feudal anarchy should no longer disturb his line. He achieved his end in two ways: by curbing the power of the barons and by building up the power of the Crown.

He dealt harshly with the defeated barons, largely by means of fines, which enriched him while punishing them. He broke up the bands of armed retainers who still supported their lords in many parts of the country. He took back into his own possession all land which had been granted by his predecessors during the previous thirty years. He imposed stiff taxes on the whole country.

His chief tax-collector was Archbishop Morton, who is said to have devised a dilemma known as 'Morton's fork.' If a man lived meanly the tax-collector would say he must have saved enough to pay the tax; if he lived extravagantly it was easy to see, said the collector, that he could afford to pay what the King asked!

Henry governed through his Great Council, or Privy Council, as previous kings had done; but he excluded all the great nobles, save a few of his own choice. Instead, he filled the Council with lawyers, clergy, merchants or others who might be ennobled by him but who were representatives of the middle classes and not of the ancient aristocracy. The chief reason for this was to build up the power of a new class who would owe their position to Henry and therefore be loyal to him.

Henry also increased the authority of the Court of Star Chamber (so called because of the starred ceiling of the room where it met). Before this court, composed of members of the Privy Council, even the greatest lords who disobeyed the king's law could be called to account.

His own position Henry VII further strengthened by the creation of a small standing army—the yeomen of the guard—whose picturesque uniform is still maintained by the 'beef-eaters' of the Tower of London.

Finally Henry—and to an increasing extent his children and grandchildren after him—relied for local government on the Justices of the Peace, whose function was to keep the peace and to inquire into any wrong-doing. These Justices were unpaid officers of the Crown—generally not great lords, but ordinary knights of the shire known for their honesty and reliability. They had often been used by previous kings in place of the sheriff, who, as we have seen, was unpopular and inclined to feather his own nest at the expense of both king and people. The Tudor monarchs raised them to positions of importance in local government, just as they raised other members of the middle classes to positions of importance in the national government. They were thus not dependent on the powerful and quarrelsome barons, who so often before had plunged the country into civil war.

The all-round parsimony of Henry VII strengthened the financial position of the Crown; and, finally, by wise marriages he cemented the position of his family. He himself married Elizabeth of York, helping thus to heal the breach between the rival houses. His son he married to the Infanta of Spain, while

CHAPTER XXXV

The Great Discoveries

THE widening horizons of the mind were widening in a real geographical sense. From the knowledge of the East brought by travellers and merchants and scholars men were slowly piecing together a more accurate picture of the world than had been known before. Mathematics and astronomy as well as geography were helping men to draw new maps and to make new and more accurate instruments for journeying into the unknown and sailing uncharted seas. The compass had been known since the twelfth century. By the fourteenth it had been much improved and was in general use, together with other instruments such as the astrolabe for taking the altitude of heavenly bodies.

The desire to use these was provided by the need to find another way to the East. Venice controlled the route through Constantinople. The route through the Red Sea and so by ocean across to India was as firmly held by the Genoese. The answer both to Venice and Genoa would be either a route to the west or a route right round the tip of Africa. When Constantinople fell to the Turks the urge to find such a route became stronger.

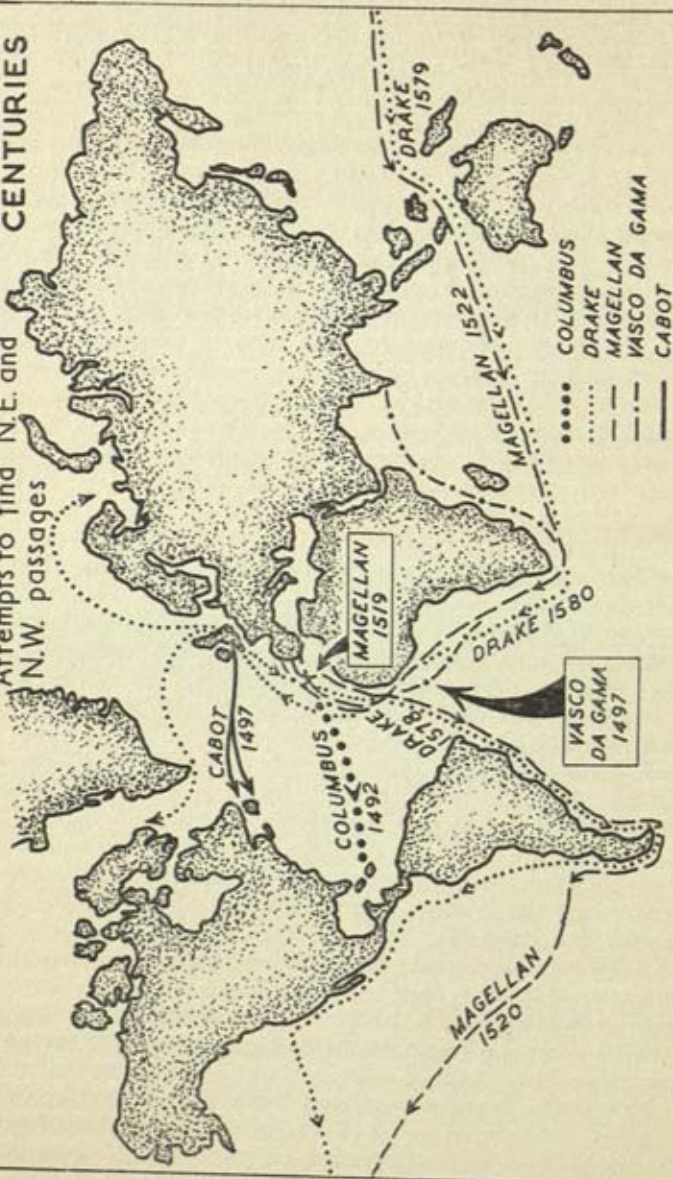
There was little certainty about either. Geographical knowledge was sufficiently scanty to make most people sceptical of reaching the eastern islands by sailing west. Africa beyond Cape Bojador, the most southerly point on the coast of Africa then known, was shrouded in mystery. The Arabs had sailed these seas; but their stories of strange and fearful dangers added little to European knowledge.

A Portuguese prince who lived from 1394 to 1460, and whose name, Henry the Navigator, indicates his interests, had a passion for exploration and formed the resolve to discover what lay to the south, to round the tip of Africa (if such existed) and to make a way southward and eastward to India.

Henry the Navigator started from the beginning. He set people to study maps and charts, astronomy and mathematics. He built ships and lighthouses, he improved the compass and the astrolabe. He employed not only sailors and seamen and

CHIEF VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION IN 15th AND 16th CENTURIES

Attempts to find N.E. and N.W. passages

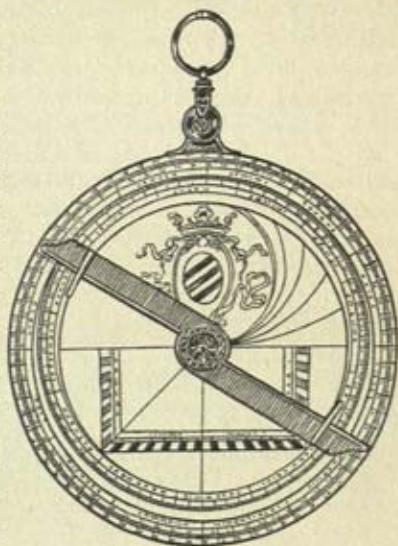


adventurers but map-makers and mathematicians. His ships, he said, must chart a way for merchants who would "never trouble themselves to go to a place where there is not a sure and certain hope of profit."

Under his impetus were rediscovered the Canary Islands (known to the Romans as *Canaria*, the Isles of the Dogs), and the Azores (the Islands of the Hawks). To get beyond Bojador was more hazardous. But gradually the way was won. The known coastline lengthened.

The map of what was known, as opposed to what was conjectured, grew inch by inch, each inch on the map taking perhaps years to fill in. Sierra Leone and the Guinea coast were charted. Portuguese trading-posts were established, and busy settlements grew. In 1441 one of the Prince's men brought back two natives of the African coast. Almost immediately their use was perceived: to labour for white masters, especially in climates too hot for the white man. At the same time the white man thought he saw his duty in making them Christian. So certain was the Pope of this that he announced the remission of sins to all embarking on a journey to bring back African natives. So began the slave trade, whose evil consequences both to the slaves and the white races were still being worked out four hundred years later.

Beyond the Guinea coast, adventurers began to sail boldly out into the ocean, and at last, in 1487-88, Bartholomew Diaz rounded the tip of Africa, which he called the Cape of Good Hope, and sailed five hundred miles beyond. He did not, however, reach India. That was left to Vasco da Gama, who in 1497 again rounded the Cape and reached India. Portugal had attained her goal. From India she soon reached the East



THE ASTROLABE

In the astrolabe (from the Greek *astron*, a star; *labein*, to take) one pointer was fixed, while the other could be rotated, and so it was possible to measure the angle between two stars, or between a star and the horizon.

Indies, and the monopoly of the rich trade in spices was in her hands.

The stories of Portuguese enterprise had aroused wonder, admiration, and not a little speculation. No one pondered it more deeply than a young Genoese sailor married to a Portuguese wife, the daughter of one of Henry the Navigator's captains. Christopher Columbus at last came forward with his belief that he could reach the East Indian spice islands by sailing west. This had been said before, but Columbus coupled his assertion with a belief that he *must* reach them because the world was round—and not flat, as was still commonly believed. The courts of Genoa, Portugal, France, and England took little notice of his story. Spain was at first unsympathetic, but at last decided to let him try with three small ships. So, with the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, the *Niña*, and 120 men, Columbus sailed from Spain on Friday, August 3, 1492. After stopping at the Canary Islands he set off through uncharted seas on September 6.

For five weeks there was no sight of land. The crews, frightened and mutinous, wanted to turn back. Grass floating on the sea, land birds, the sight of whales, all held out hope of land, but it continued to elude them. When

the men could bear no more and complained of the length of the voyage [Columbus] encouraged them in the best way he could, giving them good hope of the advantages they might gain from it. He added that however much they might complain, having come so far, he had nothing to do but go to the Indies, and he would go on until he found them, with the help of our Lord.

He also kept, besides the genuine log of the voyage, a fictitious log which he showed to the crew, reducing the distance they had travelled from home. Columbus promised additional reward to whoever sighted land first. The *Pinta*, swiftest of the three, forged ahead. At 2 A.M. on Friday, October 12, 1492, one of her crew spied land. Columbus also had seen a distant light flickering. The three ships weighed anchor until dawn and then gazed out at the new country they had reached.

It was a beautiful land of golden sands and bright green foliage in a sea of deep blue. The friendly natives who flocked to meet them were brown people, finely made, wearing no clothes at all.

We understood [wrote Columbus] that they asked us if we had come from heaven. One old man came into the boat, and others cried out, in loud voices, to all the men and women, to 'come and see the men who had come from heaven, and to bring them to eat and drink.'

The explorers were tantalized by the gold rings the natives wore in their noses, and vainly followed vague directions from island to island to try to discover the source of the precious metal. What they did see, however, was natives rolling a leaf "into the form of a musket barrel but very much smaller; and lighting one end and drawing smoke into their mouths." Thus was tobacco-smoking first seen by Europeans.

Columbus and his men thought they had reached the Indies by the western route, and called the islands the West Indies. We know them now as the Bahamas. Four times in all Columbus sailed west. He discovered the northern coast of South America, and Central America. But he knew nothing of the Pacific Ocean beyond; nor had he a true picture of the map of the world. Neither did he find gold. But he had demonstrated that there was land to the west. Other explorers carried on after him. In 1500 Portuguese explorers sailing from the Guinea coast of Africa well out to sea, steered too far west and found themselves on the coast of Brazil, which they promptly claimed for Portugal. Another piece was added to the map of the world which, slowly, like a giant jigsaw puzzle, men were putting together.

The Spanish were, of course, extending their knowledge of the coast which Columbus had discovered, and in 1513 from a Spanish colony at Darien a captain named Balboa climbed a mountain and gazed—the first of all Europeans to do so—on a great calm ocean. The narrow waist of the two Americas could now be drawn on the growing map of the world. In the next few years its wealthy hinterland was overrun with Spanish soldiers under Cortez, who defeated the Aztecs of Mexico and carried off their treasures of gold and silver. This made the new world appear more like the lands they had dreamed of. The Incas of Peru were later conquered by Pizarro, and more gold flowed to Spain.

Meantime Ferdinand Magellan, sailing from Spain, still in search of a western route to the Spice Islands, rounded the tip of South America, sailing through the straits since called after him. After struggling with tempestuous seas and stormy

weather his three remaining boats struck boldly out over an unknown ocean. It was the same sea which Balboa had seen from Darien, and from its great calmness Magellan called it the Pacific Ocean. Six months later he reached the Philippine Islands; but here he himself was killed in a skirmish with natives. His followers held on their way, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and, reduced now to one ship, the *Victoria*, returned to Seville in 1522, three years after they set sail, having completed the first journey round the world. Christopher Columbus was justified. The world was round indeed.

Portugal and Spain now proceeded to make the most of their discoveries. They did so in different ways. The lands the Portuguese had reached were already busy, humming with trade, their harbours full of ships in contact with the great civilizations of India and China, familiar with the trade routes from east to west. The Portuguese set up trading-posts, made settlements, established small Portuguese colonies, and proceeded to make themselves wealthy as carriers of the East to the West, as Venice had done by a different route.

Spain, on the other hand, had discovered no teeming trading cities, but a land which at first had apparently little to offer to the European. Only when the gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru and the treasures of the Aztec and Inca civilizations were discovered did the long-expected treasure fall into her lap. This was far more exciting than the sober trading of the Portuguese, and the Spanish conquerors returned flushed with excitement. But the inflow of the precious metals proved an illusory benefit to Spain, sending up prices, causing her to squander heavily in luxuries, and sapping the spirit which had led her explorers out into unknown seas. One crop which the Spaniards found growing in Peru, which they introduced to Europe without realizing its later importance, was the potato.

The effect of the discoveries on Venice was to hasten the decline which the capture of Constantinople by the Turks had begun. No longer was she the centre of the world, taking with her left hand and distributing with her right and being paid handsomely for it. To England, on the other hand, hitherto off the main trade-routes and sharing to only a very small extent in the early discoveries, the new trade-routes were to offer the chance of wide dominion. At the time of Columbus and Magellan she had few sailors and not many

ships; but under the Tudor sovereigns, particularly Henry VIII and Elizabeth, English sea-power grew.

In 1573, sixty years after Balboa had looked out on the Pacific, a party of Englishmen were being conducted by natives through that same Isthmus of Panama.

. . . we understood [wrote one of them] there was a great tree about the midway, from which we might at once discern the northern sea from whence we came and the south sea whither we were going.

The fourth day following we came to the height of the desired hill. . . Here was that goodly and great high tree, in which they had cut and made divers steps to ascend up near unto the top, where they had made a convenient bower wherein 10 or 12 men might easily sit: and from thence we might see the Atlantic Ocean whence now we came and the South Atlantic so much desired.

After our captain . . . had seen that sea of which he had heard such golden reports, he besought Almighty God at His goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea.

The captain was Francis Drake. The sea was the Pacific Ocean. Drake's prayer was granted when, in December 1577, with five ships and 164 men, he left England and made his way through the Magellan Strait, sailed across the Pacific, and returned home in September 1580, two years and ten months after he sailed away—the first Englishman to sail round the world.

CHAPTER XXXVI

The Reformation

MEDIEVAL Europe was loosely held together, as we have seen, by a common system of feudalism, by a common faith, which acknowledged the Pope as its head, and by a common language—Latin.

Feudalism was breaking down, Latin was yielding to the vernacular, and now even the Pope's supremacy of the Church was to be challenged.

The challenge came loudest and strongest from Germany. Here an Augustinian monk named Martin Luther lit a fire of resistance to papal authority which swept Germany itself into civil war and left no country of Europe untouched.

Luther was of a German peasant family, born in the heart of Germany. He had as good an education as the times allowed, and this was very good indeed, even although his parents were poor. First he went to his village school, then at fourteen to the Latin school at Magdeburg, at sixteen to the High School at Eisenach, and finally at eighteen to the University at Erfurt to study law and philosophy.

His father hoped he would raise the family fortunes by becoming a lawyer; but, although Martin passed his examinations, he felt called to the Church and in 1507 was ordained priest in the monastery at Erfurt. Men were still superstitious enough to have their minds made up for them by natural phenomena, and Luther's decision is said to have come after a violent thunderstorm during which he was hurled to the ground by what was probably a thunderbolt.

As a monk, Luther pondered over the sinfulness of man and the hope of salvation, and came to the conclusion that by faith alone could a man be saved. Good works were of no avail in themselves. Fasting, telling of beads, the worship of images, pilgrimages, counted for nothing without faith. They could, indeed, be but empty shams covering a multitude of sins. A visit to Rome horrified Luther and confirmed him in his growing belief. Monastic houses which offered him hospitality on his journey had more food on a 'fast' day than Luther was accustomed to on a feast day. When he remarked on this at one monastery he was promptly ejected with

indignation. Everywhere on his journey, and in Rome itself, he contrasted the wealth and pomp of churches and churchmen with the squalor around; he was aghast at the gabbling of prayers, shocked when he himself was asked to hurry his devotions.

Back in Germany with his mind full of these things, another papal practice was forced on his attention. This was the sale of indulgences. An indulgence was the remission or reduction of punishment for sin. Papal agents were now touring Europe claiming to grant indulgences on the Pope's behalf in return for money to rebuild St Peter's church in Rome. In Germany a Dominican friar, John Tetzel, who was something of an orator, gathered excited audiences round him as he preached in market-places. Put money in my box, was the gist of his speech, and your own punishment will be lightened, or the soul on whose behalf you give the money will fly straightway to heaven.

Luther's anger boiled over at the idea of *buying* salvation, and he met the friar in fierce argument. Tetzel offered to go through the ordeal of fire and water to prove that he was justified in God's sight. Luther replied, with a touch of the broad German humour which characterized him, "As for fire and water, as usual the only liquid you want is the juice of the grape and fire over which to roast a nice fat goose!"

On October 31, 1517, Luther nailed upon the door of the castle chapel at Wittenberg the ninety-five theses, or points of debate, which he wanted to argue with Tetzel. The gist of his argument was that God alone could pardon sin. The debate did not take place, but copies of Luther's theses in German as well as Latin were widely circulated and caused much excited discussion. From this, Luther went on to question the divine power of the Pope and asserted that the bible alone was the supreme authority for Christians. Finally the Pope excommunicated Martin Luther. Luther responded by burning the Papal bull in December 1520. He was now summoned to Worms in 1521 to face the power both of the Pope and the Emperor. His journey there was a triumphal progress, accompanied by cheering crowds. He refused to abandon an inch of his stand: "Here stand I: I can do no other! God help me, amen." He was pronounced a heretic and outlawed. For his personal safety friends carried him off to the castle of Wartburg, in the Thuringian Forest, where he wrote hymns in German and a translation of the bible.

Luther was not molested, and was allowed to teach in the

University of Wittenberg. Here many scholars flocked to hear him, and many ordinary people listened to his sermons in German in various parts of the country. Of the scholars who heard Luther in Wittenberg many returned to their native towns to spread his doctrine. To Cambridge in England, to Scotland, to Switzerland, to Scandinavia, the Reformation teaching thus spread.

Luther's translation of the bible into German was one of the ways in which he was teaching people to interpret it for themselves. In other countries scholars were doing the same. Already in the fourteenth century John Wycliffe in England had produced a bible in English. The Wycliffe bible was followed by translations by William Tyndale and by Miles Coverdale. Mistakes in the Latin bible too were corrected as scholars came to Europe from the East with the original Greek text of the New Testament and the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Erasmus, the great Dutch scholar, published in 1516 the complete Greek text of the New Testament, together with a new Latin translation. Erasmus added his comments. For example, "Upon this rock I will build my church," referred, he said, not to the Pope only, but to all Christians.

While scholars could see that churchmen were often not truly learned, allowing ignorance and superstition to stand in the way of truth, ordinary people could also see that the Church was wealthy, powerful, her priests often selfish and pleasure-loving. Another group of people, with less worthy motives, also cast disapproving eyes on the Church. These covetous men wanted the riches of the Church and monasteries for themselves.

Others, from patriotic motives, began to dislike the allegiance given to the Pope. To the English, for example, the fact that he was served by monks and friars, priests and bishops, seemed a threat to the country's independence.

Finally, an English monarch had his own personal reasons for breaking with the Pope, though not with the old religion.

Henry VIII, second of the Tudor kings of England, was intelligent, masterful, quick-tempered, and undoubtedly attracted by the wealth of the monasteries, chantries, and shrines of England. But with the Roman Catholic religion he was so much in accord that he wrote a book refuting Luther, for which the Pope bestowed upon him the title of Defender

of the Faith, *Fidei Defensor*, a title which the English monarch still bears and which can be seen round all English coins.

Henry was in difficulty about his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, a Spanish Catholic princess who had been betrothed to his brother. The Pope had given a dispensation enabling Henry to marry Catherine; but, as only one daughter and no son had survived from the marriage, Henry began to ask if the marriage really had the blessing of God. When, in addition, he fell in love with Anne Boleyn he was more convinced than ever that his marriage with Catherine was unblessed and should be declared null and void.

The Pope would not agree, partly because Catherine's family was powerful, her nephew, Charles V, being not only King of Spain, but Holy Roman Emperor. The Pope dared not offend so mighty a member of his Church.

Henry's response was typical of that strong and wilful Tudor. If the existing head of the Church would not dissolve his marriage a new head of the Church would do so, and that head should be himself. Henry, therefore, took the characteristically short cut of repudiating the Pope's authority and making himself supreme head of the Church in England. For refusing to agree to this action the great and gentle scholar, Sir Thomas More, was sent to the scaffold.

As head of the Church in England Henry was not only able to dissolve his marriage with Catherine and marry Anne, but was able to strike at the monasteries. On the grounds that they were inefficient and covetous and no longer fulfilled the pious purposes for which they were founded, and that they would not transfer their allegiance from the Pope to the King of England, monasteries were closed and many destroyed, their treasures seized, their lands confiscated, their inmates left to wander where they would or be killed as they tried to resist Henry's soldiery. Chantries, chapels, and tombs were similarly despoiled, including the famous shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury.

The vast treasures thus accruing to the English king were used partly to swell the royal coffers, partly to enrich the king's favourites. On monastic lands and with monastic wealth many a newly ennobled family struck roots. Sometimes the very monastery became the family home. Often the land changed hands many times or was divided up into smaller parcels. The number of beneficiaries was finally so intertwined with English society that even a Roman Catholic queen could not restore the monasteries to the monks.

Whatever the justification, nothing can excuse the force and brutality with which the suppression of the monasteries was often carried out.

Meantime at Geneva, in Switzerland, another Protestant reformer was working out his own stern doctrine. Calvin believed firmly in predestination—that each man is destined from birth to either salvation or damnation. Like Luther, he denied the supremacy of the Pope, and went further in abolishing bishops from his church, believing that no earthly person can come between a man and God.

Soon Europe contained many groups of people holding views in opposition to Roman Catholicism, but often unlike each other. These sects, as they were called, were all characterized by the same earnestness, sobriety, and dislike of show or display. Most of them refused to recognize bishops, and believed that not only images but even the altar itself was unacceptable to God, as placing a barrier between him and the worshipper. So their churches were plain, devoid of picture or image, and altars became plain tables placed in the middle of the church.

Those to take up the cudgels on behalf of the Roman Catholic church were, however, not lacking. Ignatius Loyola, a lame Spanish soldier, led the movement to restore the old faith in the affections of the people and at the same time bring back some of the simple fervour that had originally characterized it. The Society which he founded with the Pope's blessing was called the Society of Jesus, its members Jesuits. They vowed poverty, chastity, and unquestioning obedience to their Church superiors, believing in strict discipline and in the power of education. Jesuit schools appeared in all parts of Europe, and a child instructed in the Roman Catholic religion by a Jesuit seldom departed from his faith.

England neither returned to the Roman Catholic fold nor adopted the extremer forms of Protestantism, though many Catholics survived and many 'Puritans,' as they came to be called, carried on a simpler form of worship. When Mary Tudor, the daughter of Henry VIII by Catherine of Aragon, came to the throne she was naturally a Roman Catholic, and she married Philip, of Catholic Spain. The fear of religious persecution and the dread of a foreign power dominating England made this a most unpopular marriage. Mary did, in fact, persecute her Protestant subjects and there were burnt

at the stake many of her finest churchmen, including the bishops Ridley and Latimer, who died for their beliefs in Oxford in 1555, just as Sir Thomas More had died because he refused to recognize Mary's father as head of the Church. A few months later, in 1556, there was also burnt at the stake in Oxford Archbishop Cranmer, who had been responsible both for having the Great Bible in English placed in all churches for all to read, and for the beautiful translation of the Prayer Book, which is still used in English churches.

Mary was succeeded by Elizabeth, the Protestant daughter of Anne Boleyn, and Elizabeth was too wise to be fanatical, choosing instead the middle way of compromise.

Elizabeth's Reformation Settlement, as it was called, was given its final form by two Acts of Parliament. The Act of Supremacy of 1559 again abolished the power of the Pope in England, but Elizabeth refrained from taking for herself the title of Head of the Church in England, and the old form of Church government, including the bishops, remained. The Act of Uniformity of the same year made the acceptance of the Prayer Book the mark of conformity to the English reformed religion. But, as this Prayer Book was Cranmer's translation of the old Latin Prayer Book into English, retaining its beauty of expression and nobility of sentiment, and, as it took care to say nothing against either the Pope or the Roman Catholic Church, it was difficult for Roman Catholics to object to it. Moreover, the only people required to swear allegiance to the Reformed religion were office-holders. Those who refused, as most of Mary's bishops did refuse, resigned office and others were appointed in their places. Ordinary people were left alone, save that the Roman Catholic was fined a shilling for not going to church. If he paid his fine he could still employ a private priest and celebrate mass in his home. Puritans, similarly, who would recognize no bishops and no Prayer Book, were not interfered with so long as they did not disturb the religious settlement.

The Reformation divided Europe into two religious groups. Switzerland, Scandinavia, Scotland, part of Germany, England, stood for the Reformed religion. Spain, France, Italy, part of Germany, stood for the old. England escaped religious strife through the wisdom of her rulers. Spain escaped by the very firmness with which she stamped out the first signs of difference. The instrument which she used for this was the Inquisition.

The Inquisition was a court, or tribunal, of the Roman Catholic Church which had been established in the thirteenth century for stamping out heresy. In Spain it became a ruthless and cruel body before which suspected heretics were brought and sentenced often without knowing their accuser or the exact nature of the charge against them. Torture of many kinds was used to make them confess to heresy and incriminate others, or to recant and adopt the Roman Catholic religion. Those who were condemned as heretics were burnt; smaller offences were punished by banishment, imprisonment, the confiscation of property, or slavery at the oars of a Spanish ship.

France and Germany, unlike England and Spain, were torn with wars of religion. A massacre of Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called, on St Bartholomew's Day, 1572, failed to suppress them, and the Edict of Nantes in 1598 allowed them freedom of conscience and privileges in certain towns. By the end of the century France was at peace, strong and united, and had taken her place among the new nation states of Europe.

Germany was given a temporary peace from religious strife by the Peace of Augsburg of 1555, which allowed each German state to settle its own form of religion. At the beginning of the next century the Emperor Ferdinand II, who had been educated in a Jesuit College, tried to win the whole of Germany for the Roman Catholic faith. The result was the Thirty Years War, one of the most cruel and fierce that have ever swept over any country. Peasants were massacred, towns destroyed, villages were wiped out. The war ended in 1648. But Germany was so completely broken that she did not recover until the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XXXVII

The Rise of the Nation States

IN 1485, when the last of the wars of feudalism ended in England, the first of the Tudors came to the English throne as Henry VII. The reigns of the five Tudor monarchs of England together spanned well over a century. In that time England rose to a position of outstanding importance in Europe. Her ships sailed round the world; her trade-routes stretched from North America to the East Indies; her woollen cloth was famed the world over; at sea she met the might of Spain and annihilated it. At home she had become conscious of herself as a nation, and a strong central government consisting of monarch, privy council, and Parliament legislated for the whole country in a series of laws which touched every aspect of life. Besides this, the reign of the last of the Tudors, Elizabeth I, saw a great flowering of English literature far surpassing anything that this country has known before or since.

The highlights of the period all came with its last monarch—the Church Settlement of 1559, the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601, Drake's voyage round the world from 1577 to 1580, the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. The greatest names of English literature are associated with the Elizabethan Age—Shakespeare and Marlowe, Ben Jonson and John Donne. But the spadework was done by Elizabeth's Tudor predecessors, and, in particular, by her grandfather, Henry VII.

Henry Tudor, seizing the crown from a thornbush after the victory of Bosworth Field in 1485, determined that feudal anarchy should no longer disturb his line. He achieved his end in two ways: by curbing the power of the barons and by building up the power of the Crown.

He dealt harshly with the defeated barons, largely by means of fines, which enriched him while punishing them. He broke up the bands of armed retainers who still supported their lords in many parts of the country. He took back into his own possession all land which had been granted by his predecessors during the previous thirty years. He imposed stiff taxes on the whole country.

His chief tax-collector was Archbishop Morton, who is said to have devised a dilemma known as 'Morton's fork.' If a man lived meanly the tax-collector would say he must have saved enough to pay the tax; if he lived extravagantly it was easy to see, said the collector, that he could afford to pay what the King asked!

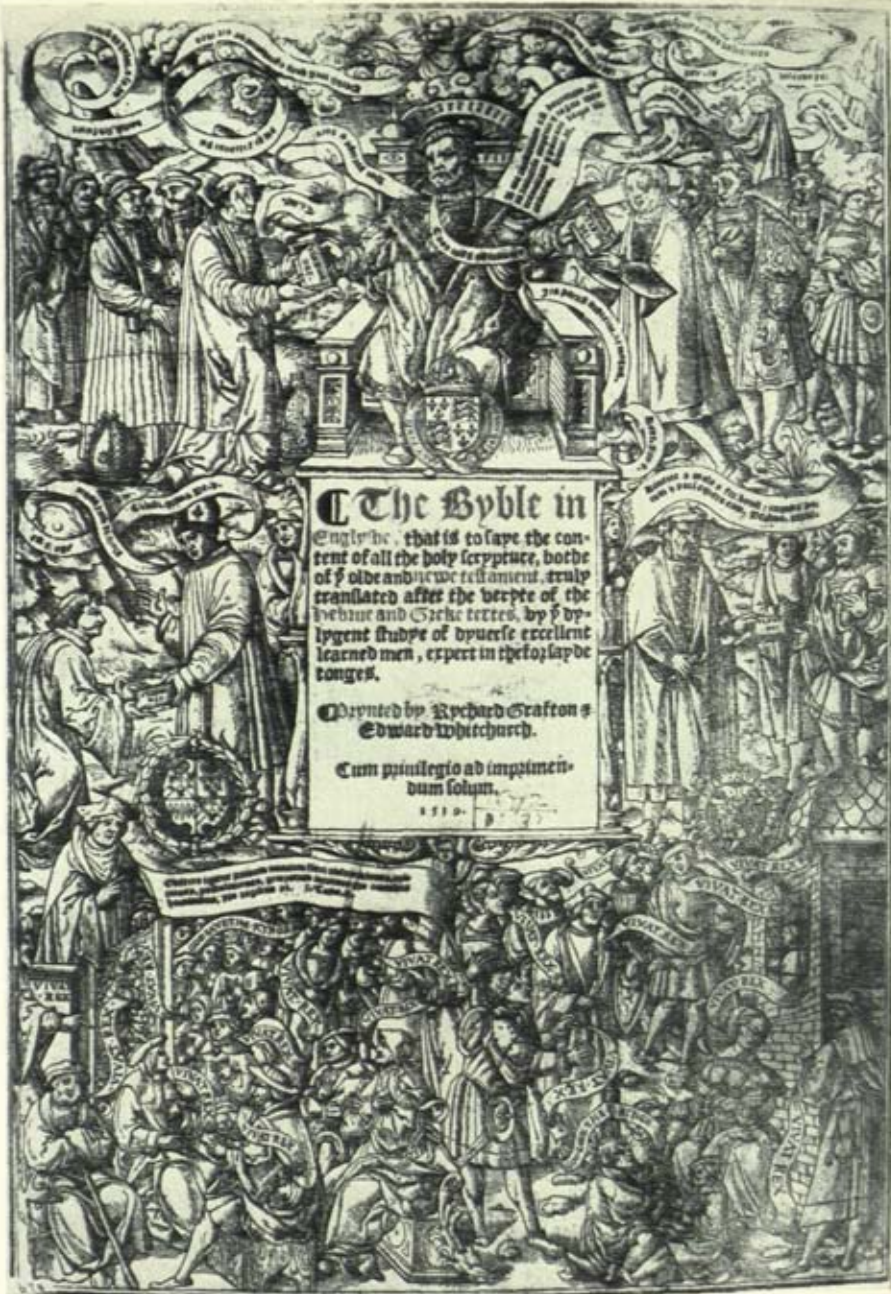
Henry governed through his Great Council, or Privy Council, as previous kings had done; but he excluded all the great nobles, save a few of his own choice. Instead, he filled the Council with lawyers, clergy, merchants or others who might be ennobled by him but who were representatives of the middle classes and not of the ancient aristocracy. The chief reason for this was to build up the power of a new class who would owe their position to Henry and therefore be loyal to him.

Henry also increased the authority of the Court of Star Chamber (so called because of the starred ceiling of the room where it met). Before this court, composed of members of the Privy Council, even the greatest lords who disobeyed the king's law could be called to account.

His own position Henry VII further strengthened by the creation of a small standing army—the yeomen of the guard—whose picturesque uniform is still maintained by the 'beefeaters' of the Tower of London.

Finally Henry—and to an increasing extent his children and grandchildren after him—relied for local government on the Justices of the Peace, whose function was to keep the peace and to inquire into any wrong-doing. These Justices were unpaid officers of the Crown—generally not great lords, but ordinary knights of the shire known for their honesty and reliability. They had often been used by previous kings in place of the sheriff, who, as we have seen, was unpopular and inclined to feather his own nest at the expense of both king and people. The Tudor monarchs raised them to positions of importance in local government, just as they raised other members of the middle classes to positions of importance in the national government. They were thus not dependent on the powerful and quarrelsome barons, who so often before had plunged the country into civil war.

The all-round parsimony of Henry VII strengthened the financial position of the Crown; and, finally, by wise marriages he cemented the position of his family. He himself married Elizabeth of York, helping thus to heal the breach between the rival houses. His son he married to the Infanta of Spain, while



TITLE-PAGE OF THE GREAT ENGLISH BIBLE OF 1539
 Henry VIII distributes bibles, and the people cry "God save the King" and "Vivat Rex."

Photo Mansell Collection



Henry VII



Henry VIII



Edward VI



Mary



Mary, Queen of Scots



Elizabeth

THE TUDOR SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND AND THE QUEEN OF
SCOTS REPRESENTED ON COINS

Photos British Museum

one of his daughters married the king of Scotland. Both alliances were destined to be of great importance. The first led indirectly to Henry VIII's breach with the Roman Catholic Church; the great-grandson of the second match was the monarch who, 118 years later, became the first king to rule over Scotland and England, as James VI of Scotland and James I of England.

On the Continent of Europe the most powerful of the new nations was Spain. She drove out the Moors from her country, and two of her strongest states, Aragon and Castille, were united by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castille. It was Ferdinand and Isabella who sent Columbus out on his journey to the New World. Portugal, with greater real wealth than Spain in the trade of the East Indies, found her own small resources at home insufficient to take full advantage of it. When her direct male line ended Spain claimed her throne and practically annexed her and her overseas territories.

France by the end of the sixteenth century was also a great nation, but she did not reach her greatest heights until a century later, when Louis XIV and his minister Colbert for a time raised her above all other nations. Besides Spain and France, the great influences on the Continent of Europe were a family, the Hapsburgs, and a power, the Holy Roman Empire. We have seen how it was customary to crown a powerful western ruler as Emperor, so carrying on the tradition of ancient Rome. Whereas originally the Pope had chosen the Emperor, it had by this time become the practice for him to be elected by a group of German Princes and for some time the election had fallen on a member of the House of Hapsburg. This powerful family had by judicious marriages and other means added to their vast family possessions until they controlled a large part of Europe. When Philip, son of the Emperor, married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, they spanned Europe from one end to the other.

The son of Philip and Joanna was Charles. He became king of Spain as Charles V through his mother. From his father he acquired Burgundy and the Netherlands. From his paternal grandfather he acquired the states of Germany and Central Europe. In 1520 he was elected Holy Roman Emperor. He extended his influence by marrying a Portuguese princess, and by war brought Lombardy into his Empire. Spanish explorers and soldiers were meanwhile extending the Spanish

Empire which Columbus had begun overseas, and Philip was master of a large number of West Indian islands and a considerable portion of the continent of South America.

Treasure streamed into the coffers of Spain. Yet not in sufficient quantities. Much was lost through inefficiency, greed, and fraud, and never reached the treasury at Madrid; more was lost at sea through poor seamanship and shipwreck; some was lost by enemy raids upon the Spanish treasure-ships—particularly by the English. The expenses of so great an empire were vast, and nowhere was government efficient. There was extravagance and waste on every hand. Moreover, gold and silver are not real wealth. A large amount of either will simply send up prices unless there is a corresponding increase in goods. And the Spanish relied upon treasure without at the same time producing the ordinary things of life which the treasure could buy. By these means Spain and the Empire rapidly dissipated the advantages which the New World might have brought.

In Europe, meantime, the sharpest thorn in the side of the Emperor was that part of his Empire known as the Netherlands. The proud, independent burghers of the ancient seafaring towns on the North Sea resented the rule of the Spaniard into whose empire they had been drawn by marriage. In temperament, outlook, and way of life, they were far removed from the Spanish, being above all a commercial and trading people, and the Northerners being staunchly Protestant. Instead of recognizing their way of life and their religion, the Spanish hampered their business enterprises by high taxation and sought to change their Protestant faith by persecution.

The North took the lead in the revolt against Spain. Spain answered with the Inquisition and with the Duke of Alva, one of the most ruthless of her generals. Hundreds of people were burnt for their religion. Two of the Dutch leaders, Egmont and Hoorn, were murdered. A third, William of Orange, escaped to lead the continued resistance to Spain. The Sea Beggars, as they were called, took to the sea, harassing Spanish shipping as it came up the Channel to land reinforcements in Flanders. For a time they used English ports for refitting. William of Orange was assassinated, but his family continued the struggle. The persistence of the Dutch was such that in 1609 Spain signed a twelve years' truce with her. Though religion was not mentioned, Holland was granted her independence and Spain recognized her right to trade in Spanish waters. The Southern Netherlands remained under

Spanish control, to become ultimately the Roman Catholic country of Belgium.

The Dutch won their war against Spain partly through their control of the sea—harrying, intercepting, attacking Spanish ships and Spanish bases, partly because as a commercial and trading people they had control of more real wealth than the Spaniard. While Spain was squandering her resources the Dutch, even while the war was being fought, were exploring eastward, reaching the East Indies and penetrating as far as China and Siam. They even made time in 1601 to found a trading company, the Dutch East India Company, an event fraught with great importance for both Holland and England.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The English Sea-dogs and the Spanish Armada

THE discovery of land to the west, of the route round Cape Horn, and of the Cape route to the East Indies, put England on the trade-routes and was accompanied by a great increase in her trade and commerce. She sent out also her own explorers. John and Sebastian Cabot made the voyages in English ships which discovered Labrador and Cape Breton. Other English explorers tried to find the much-talked-of North-east Passage or North-west Passage to match the southern routes to the east. They were beaten by the climate, mutiny, and false hopes of gold. But eastward they reached the court of the Czar of Russia, while westward they touched Hudson Bay and laid the foundations of the Company named after it and its famous fur-trade. Later, westward-sailing Elizabethans touched the shores of a land which was named Virginia after Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen.

Meanwhile nothing could stop English ships from sailing to South America and the West Indies to see what trade or booty could be collected from the Spanish Main. There were too many reasons for England's opposition to Spain for any Englishman to fail to approve expeditions that discomfited the Spaniard and brought adventure and treasure to England.

The English people as a whole were incensed against the religious intolerance of Spain, particularly when the Inquisition was established in Spanish ports and captured Englishmen were tortured and killed if they would not renounce their religion. They feared nothing so much as the subjection of England by the powerful Spanish Empire. In addition, they were annoyed by Spain's refusal to allow other countries to trade with her American possessions, and tried to evade the ban. Trading and raiding became indistinguishable. Spain fought to keep out the intruders, the English fought against the Inquisition and the ban on trade, and considered plunder of all kinds fair game. Although no declaration of war was made, a mutual enmity was accepted.

One of the Spanish monopolies broken into by the English was the slave-trade. We have seen how in 1441 a Portuguese

captain brought the first natives of Africa to work in the West Indies. Spain took over this trade from Portugal and made a monopoly of it. John Hawkins, an English seaman, saw the profit to be made and did not scruple either to break in on the Spaniard's monopoly or to deal in such pitiful human cargo as African natives.

In 1562-63 he made his first voyage. English goods went to the west coast of Africa in exchange for black natives. The Negroes were shipped in terrible conditions of overcrowding and dirt to the East Indies. The survivors were sold as slave-labour in the Indies and South America in exchange for pearls and sugar and hides which a triumphant Hawkins brought back to England with acclamation. By an irony that was surely unconscious many of these Negro victims of the profit motive were introduced to the horrors of the 'Middle Passage' in the good ship *Jesus*.

After one of these slave-trade journeys Hawkins was attacked by Spaniards and badly damaged. No one was more indignant at this than Francis Drake, a young relative of Hawkins who had been with him on the expedition. In revenge, Drake planned a series of attacks on the Spanish treasure fleet coming from Peru. After two failures Drake was successful and brought back to Plymouth a cargo of precious metals of great value. It was on this expedition that Drake first saw the Pacific and begged God's leave to sail it. Over four years later, on December 13, 1577, he started from Plymouth on that journey round the world that took him through the Magellan Strait and up the west coast of South America, plundering as he went. When he reached home, nearly three years later, it was not only with the glory of having circumnavigated the world, but "very richly fraught with gold, silver, silk, pearls, and precious stones" as well as cloves and spices of many kinds. Fittingly had the *Pelican*, the ship on which he started his voyage, been renamed the *Golden Hind*, though its cargo was not the reason for the change of name. Equally fittingly did Elizabeth travel to Deptford to knight her seaman on the deck of that same ship.

Soon there were signs that the Spaniard would retaliate, and news was received of the building in Spanish ports of a great Spanish fleet, or Armada. The English decided to strike first. In 1587 Drake sailed into Cadiz harbour with twenty-three ships, sunk twenty-four of the Spanish galleons he found lying there, and carried off considerable treasure. Besides 'singeing the king of Spain's beard,' as Englishmen exultantly

termed this audacious foray into the enemy's home territory, Drake captured off the Azores a Portuguese carrack sailing for Spain loaded with treasure, and carried back to England the double booty.

It took some time for the Spanish invasion fleet to make good these losses. When at last the Spanish Armada sailed in the June of 1588 it consisted of 130 vessels, of whom 85 might be termed men-of-war, though they were mostly converted merchantmen. The Armada carried 8000 seamen and 20,000 soldiers. The plan was to sail from Spain up the English Channel to Flanders, where a further 17,000 or 18,000 soldiers would be waiting. With these on board the Armada was to attack English shipping and make a landing on the English coast.

There were many points of weakness in this plan. In the first place the Spanish ships themselves were less easy to manœuvre than the English, and their guns, though of greater calibre, were of shorter range. Their sailors were considered merely as navigators and not as soldiers. Actual fighting would fall to the 38,000 troops who would be on board.

The English navy, after stout beginnings made by Henry VIII, had been neglected under his two successors, and it was left to Elizabeth to build it up again. Under the guidance of John Hawkins older ships had been refitted, dockyards repaired, and new and better types of ship built, including warships. Besides being easier to manœuvre than the Spanish ships, the greater range of their guns gave them an advantage. Moreover, when it came to fighting, the English did not rely on a different set of men from the sailors. Sailors had to be soldiers too.

The English fleet that made ready to meet the Spaniards consisted of fifty men-of-war and many other small boats of all kinds, including those owned by private people who had been privateering in the Spanish Main. Spanish strategy entailed running the gauntlet of the Channel, with the English peppering at them. But they maintained their formation and anchored off Calais. But that night eight English fireships slipped into the enemy's anchorage. The Spanish ships were forced to stand out from the shore in order to save themselves from burning. Then the nimble English ships fired all their broadsides into them, slipping away and refusing close encounter where the weight of the Spanish guns and the numbers of their soldiers would have told.

Strong gales drove the Spaniard back on the sandbanks

of the Flanders coast. The English prevented escape. To return down Channel whence they had come, through the gauntlet of enemy ships, was out of the question. The galleons therefore continued up Channel to the north-east, turning north up the east coast of England intending to round the north of Scotland, keep to the west of Ireland, and so reach home. The English Admiral Howard pursued them up the Scottish coast. Great storms swept them on to rocky shores. The wild inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland massacred them without mercy. More than half the ships, two-thirds of the men, perished, and many more died from wounds and illness after they reached home. English seamen and the weather had beaten Spain's bid to subdue England.

Eight years later Francis Drake, raiding and harrying the Spaniard till the last, died, fittingly, off the shores of the Isthmus where he had first gazed out at the Pacific twenty-three years earlier. He was buried in the waters where he had been such a scourge to Spain. Pirate and robber he may have been, but such activities were less outrageous then than now. Drake's exploits caught the popular imagination and he became, like others before him, the hero and half-fabulous superman of story and song.

CHAPTER XXXIX

The English Cloth Industry

By the time Henry VII became king of England in 1485, wool had ceased to be England's chief export. Instead, woollen cloth took first place in the goods sent abroad, and English cloth rivalled that of Flanders in the markets of the world. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the industry continued to grow.

The natural skill of the English was improved by three waves of refugees who came to the country to escape persecution at home. The first were the skilled weavers who came from the Low Countries in the reign of Edward III in the fourteenth century to evade various troubles and feuds in their own towns. Second were the refugees who came, again from the Netherlands, to escape Spanish rule during the sixteenth century. Finally, in 1572 came French Protestants fleeing from France after the massacre of St Bartholomew's Day.

The only people who objected to the expansion of the English cloth-trade—apart from the Flemings whose markets were being taken—were the Merchants of the Staple, whose profit had come from the export of raw wool. The State, however, decided that the manufacture of cloth was more profitable than the export of wool and, in order to keep all the good English wool at home, its export was repeatedly forbidden.

In spite of this, there was insufficient wool to meet the demand of the cloth-makers. Consequently, it was necessary to rear more sheep. When the old runs were full to capacity more pasture had to be found. Waste was taken over, common land converted to grazing. Lords of the Manor and large farmers, finding more money in wool than in corn, turned their arable land into pasture.

When this was demesne land, or land held in one piece, this caused little trouble to other farmers. When, however, a landowner tried to practise sheep-farming on the open arable fields it was clearly a different matter. It was impossible to graze sheep in one or two scattered strips and leave the rest. Besides, sheep needed a large area of pasture for their feed.

So, by one pretext or another, small farmers were ejected and big landowners gathered many of the open fields, as well as waste and common land, into large sheep runs. Since it is necessary to fence or enclose sheep by ditch or hedge or wall to keep them from straying, this movement to sheep-pasture from arable was known as the 'Enclosure Movement.'

The old sheep-farming areas of the north and the south-west had, of course, long been enclosed. The new movement affected the Midland plain of England. The area enclosed was not large, but it caused much hardship. Not only were small farmers driven from their land, but, as only a few people are needed for minding sheep, many who had made a living on the arable fields were compelled to seek work elsewhere. They added to the numbers of unemployed caused by the Dissolution of the Monasteries and by soldiers returning from the wars to swell the army of 'vagrants' and 'sturdy beggars' so feared by Tudor statesmen.

Sir Thomas More pointed out the inevitable result. When their little money is spent, he said,

... what is left for them to do, but either to steal and so to be hanged (God knows how justly), or to go about and beg? And if they do this, they are put in prison as idle vagabonds; while they would willingly work, but can find none that will hire them.

Villages decayed because uninhabited, churches fell into ruin because their congregations had gone, and were even, as some asserted, used to house the sheep:

Gret men makithe now a dayes
A shepecott in the church.

Contemporary opinion was loud in its condemnation of the enclosing landlord, and even the innocent object of the enclosure came in for his share of invective as "the villayne sheep."

... your sheep, that were wont to be so myke and tame, and so small eaters, be become so greate devowerers, and so wylde that they eate up and swallow down the very men themselves,

wrote Sir Thomas More.

Petitions to Parliament told of evicted tenants wandering homeless, their household goods sold, the little money the sale yielded all spent. Pamphlets and doggerel verse expressed the common hatred of the 'enclosers,' the 'greedy gulls,' the 'insatiable cormorants.' Preachers from the pulpit, even

Government Commissions, pronounced against them. Over a dozen laws tried to halt the process of enclosure, forbidding the destruction of farm-buildings, ordering their rebuilding, forbidding enclosure, ordering the pulling down of hedges and filling in of ditches. They made little difference: the law could be evaded in many ways.

So the breeding of sheep continued, and ever more English cloth was exported until it was said that we clothed "half of Europe by our English cloth" making "all Europe almost England's servant" since it wore "our livery."

The export of raw wool was in the hands of the Merchants of the Staple. The export of woollen cloth, as well as a great deal of general European trade, was in the hands of the Merchant Adventurers, an old-established company whose charter was renewed by Queen Elizabeth in 1564. In the districts which they controlled only members of the Company were allowed to trade and all 'interlopers' were rigidly excluded. Membership of the Company was generally achieved both by recommendation and by payment.

As the trade in cloth grew its production became highly organized into what is generally called the Domestic System, because it was carried on in people's homes and yet was unlike the medieval craft or guild system.

A man, generally known as a clothier, would buy the wool of a district and give it out to women and children to sort, card, and spin in their own homes. The spun wool would be delivered to the clothier in return for payment, depending on the quantity of work done. The clothier would then pass the yarn on to others for weaving and to others again for all the various processes of cloth-making. At each stage he would pay a wage for work done. The finished cloth the clothier conveyed to Blackwell Hall, in London, where the Merchant Adventurers collected it for export or the drapers took it for the home market.

The clothier had to have sufficient money, or capital, to pay for the raw wool, to pay wages and transport, and to wait for his own payment until he received it from the Merchant Adventurers or the Drapers. As he sometimes contracted to buy the wool-clip a long time in advance, he might, therefore, have to wait for his money for many months. Although sometimes starting from small beginnings, the clothiers were usually very wealthy men. One of the most famous was Jack of Newbury. When King James once met his loaded wagons of

cloth going up to London he asked to whom they belonged and exclaimed: "Why! this Jack o' Newbury must be a wealthier man than I!"

As trade developed the clothier usually employed middlemen to help him. These were people who came between the clothier and the raw wool on the one hand, and the clothier and the market on the other—they were, in fact, in the middle. They were much hated—like caterpillars, one writer said, who "creep between the bark and the tree."

The man who collected the raw wool for the clothier was known as the wool stapler, or wool broker or brogger; the man who marketed the finished cloth was known as the factor. Many people thus came to be concerned in the woollen-cloth industry; but it was the clothier, above all, who controlled it and became rich by it. A diagram showing his relationship to the others would reveal him as rather like a spider in his web, the crux and control of the whole enterprise.

The workpeople worked in their homes at the various processes of cloth-making for very long hours indeed, often from 4 in the morning to 9 or 10 at night. All work was, of course, still done by hand, and at first spinning-wheels and looms belonged to the worker or his family. It gradually came about, however, that they were owned by the clothier, who let them out at a rent to the workers. So the worker owned nothing that he used, neither the raw material (the wool), the tools (spinning-wheel or loom), or the finished product (the cloth). Sometimes, indeed, he even went to work in the house of the clothier or in a shed near by, where a number of looms or spinning-wheels were gathered together. Though quite unlike a modern factory, there was here the beginning of the factory system.

All this was very different from medieval days, when the craftsman would work in his workshop with his own materials and his own tools and be the owner of the finished piece of work. There were, indeed, in the domestic system the beginnings of the modern organization of industry, with the clothier as the capitalist employer and the cottage-workers as the wage-labourers. There were great differences of wealth, too. While the clothier became extremely wealthy, the workers were badly paid and suffered even more when in bad times the clothier did not need their services and they worked short-time or were "put off work." Nor did they any longer have a piece of land to fall back on. Most of these people had

nothing but a small piece of garden, which was insufficient to tide them over periods of unemployment.

As clothiers often employed 500, or even as many as 1000 workers, distress could be very widely spread, and the Tudor State became much concerned about the condition of its cloth-workers. It took a very stern attitude towards employers who employed many people in good times and dismissed them when trade was bad. If you make profit in good times, they said, you must be prepared to take your share of the bad.

Clothiers, therefore, were often commanded by the State to keep their workpeople "on work," and merchants were told when trade was bad that they should continue to buy cloth as formerly. Cardinal Wolsey, for example, told merchants that "the king straitly commandeth you to buy . . . cloths as beforetime you have been accustomed to do, upon pain of his high displeasure." The State also empowered Justices of the Peace to fix higher wages for workers in the woollen industry, for they were impoverished "for lack of sufficient wage."

This concern for the worker by no means meant that the Government was unconcerned for the industry itself. It frequently prohibited, as we have seen, the export of raw wool in the interests of the clothiers, and it took great pains to encourage a home demand for woollen cloth. In the time of Elizabeth, for example, every one over six years old "except ladies and gentlemen" had to wear a cap of wool on Sundays and holidays, this "being very decent and comely for all estates and degrees." It was even commanded in the time of Charles II that the dead should be buried in woollen shrouds—"forcing the dead to consume what the living were inadequate to purchase," as one writer put it.

So the English woollen industry grew, protected by the State, enriching the clothiers, altering the appearance of parts of England, changing the lives of many people from independent farmers or craftsmen to wage-labourers.

CHAPTER XL

The Elizabethan Poor Law

THE interest that it took in the woollen-cloth industry the State also extended to industry generally and to agriculture. The Statute of Artificers of 1563 commanded Justices of the Peace to fix wages in many industries and made other regulations to prevent unemployment.

Unemployment and vagrancy were, indeed, two major problems in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. The number of beggars and people idle for one reason or another was growing, partly because there were always soldiers returning from war, partly through enclosure, partly through the growth of industry, where there is always more likely to be unemployment than in agriculture, partly because the monasteries were no longer there to succour the poor and so reduce the number of wandering beggars.

The Tudors feared the 'sturdy beggars' who roamed the countryside. We must remember that there was no police system like our own, towns were lit by only occasional lamps, and streets were dark and narrow. Crime of all kinds was common—cheating, stealing, fighting, even murder. In isolated country districts it was easy for a band of vagrants to strike terror into a house or village. Moreover, the Tudors always feared rebellion, and a gathering of sturdy beggars, airing their grievances, seemed a good way of starting insurrection. It is not surprising, therefore, that at first the Tudors made little attempt to distinguish between good and bad beggars and vagrants, or to find out the reasons for their destitution.

For a time a vagabond was allowed to beg if he had a badge. But as the number of beggars increased a period of increasing severity set in. Begging was punished by the stocks, imprisonment, and whipping. Then the sturdy beggar was branded on his breast with a letter V for vagabond, and compelled to work "by beating, chaining or otherwise in such work and labour how vile soever it be as (his master) shall put him unto." If he ran away he was branded on the cheek with the letter S for slave, and became his master's slave for ever. If he ran away a second time he was put to death as a felon.

It was hardly possible to do this on a large scale ; besides, there were not enough masters willing to take such men to work. So instead the House of Correction was introduced. Here stocks of flax, wool, wire, leather, and other materials were provided and the vagabonds, both men and women, " set on work." Hours of work were long, sometimes from five in the morning until eight at night, or even later. There was little food and less pay—sometimes no pay at all, except the food and lodging. Overseers were often brutal, and the House of Correction became so dreaded that many vagrants preferred prison. In London the House of Correction was in the old palace of Bridewell, by which name it was commonly known, and so gave its name to all Houses of Correction, which were known as Bridewells. The very name Bridewell, said one writer, is " odious in the ears of the people."

The State came to understand, however, that all destitute people were not rogues and vagabonds, and they were classed into four groups : the children and orphans ; the sick, aged, and infirm ; the unemployed who were willing to work ; and the sturdy beggars.

Children were looked after partly in orphanages, of which the most famous was Christ's Hospital, in London. Often they were boarded out to foster-parents or parish nurses, where too often they were harshly treated or neglected. When they were old enough they were sometimes apprenticed to a trade, and then they might have the opportunity of enjoying a home-life and learning a respectable craft.

People who were out of work because of an infirmity or who were known to be good, honest people were given stocks of raw materials to work up in their own homes. The more seriously ill and the aged were looked after in hospitals. Many medieval foundations were restored, and many new ones, like St Bartholomew's hospital in London, owe their origin to this attempt to deal with the sick poor in the Tudor period.

At times the Government would put vagrants to work on public works, like highways, or it encouraged the starting of a new industry in a place where there was much unemployment, often by means of loans. It even tried to prevent destitution by giving free fuel and free medical help to the poor in winter, by giving pensions to soldiers and sailors and the aged poor, and by commanding dealers in corn to sell to the poor at less than the market rate.

All this is not only enlightened and humane but remarkably modern—far more so, indeed, than the legislation of any other

state of the age. If at times the Tudor Poor Law seems harsh credit must at least be given for the attempt to see the problem as a whole and to distinguish between the different reasons which made a person into a beggar or vagabond—whether it was sickness or old age, unemployment, or just sheer laziness.

The law was embodied in several Acts, but was consolidated in the Poor Law Act of 1601. The Privy Council controlled its working from the centre, and in the parishes it was under the guidance of the Justices of the Peace. Working under the J.P.'s were the overseers and, under them, the constable of the parish, who was responsible for arresting vagabonds, unruly persons or anyone who did not obey the law. None of these were paid for their work. The J.P. was appointed by the monarch, while the overseer and constable were elected by their church council and served for a year at a time. This made the continuous and firm operation of the law difficult. It is always easier to pass a law than to put it into operation, and this was particularly true of such a complicated and widespread subject as the Poor Law. Many needy poor and many dangerous beggars must have been overlooked or placed in the wrong category. Nevertheless, by 1640 conditions had much improved, and there were fewer rogues and sturdy beggars disturbing the English countryside.

In the Elizabethan Poor Law and the regulation of the cloth industry we see how the modern State was trying to control things which in medieval times had been left to private individuals or to institutions like the monasteries and the guilds. Individuals had regarded it as a Christian duty to give alms to the poor. The monasteries had looked after the sick and the needy without the compulsion of any law. The guilds had made their own rules concerning hours and conditions of work and rates of pay, and their own arrangements for preventing unemployment and looking after the sick.

One of the reasons for the State stepping in to do these things was the breakdown of the feudal arrangements, particularly through the dissolution of the monasteries and the decline of the guilds. Another reason was that with the growth of population and industry the problem grew bigger and more difficult to solve without central organization. And also there is no doubt that the State wanted all power in its own hands and stretched out to control as much as possible of public life.

CHAPTER XLI

Elizabethan England

TUDOR England was in many ways like medieval England. Towns and villages were set in great expanses of field and forest and scrubland, roads were bad, journeys by coach or on horseback long and hazardous. London was beginning to exercise the pull that was to draw too many of the population and too much of the country's resources into its orbit. But it still looked and sounded and smelled like a medieval town, with its narrow, cobbled streets, its gabled buildings, its dirt, its noise, and its cheerfulness.

There had been some improvements. More stone and brick was used in building. Many houses were built partly of rubble or stone and merely timber-framed. Some of the big towns now had public stand-pipes for water in addition to wells, and some houses even had piped water. Scavengers and dust-carts had in some districts been appointed; inn-keepers and the wealthier inhabitants of towns were compelled to hang lanterns before their doors to give a little light to the streets after dark. But, in spite of all improvements, there remained still in any town the same dangers arising from insanitary conditions, fire, robbery, fraud, and murder.

Of the new buildings which were going up the most interesting were the theatres. Plays were very popular, and the miracle plays had developed into something more ambitious. The new plays were often performed in the inn-yards of the City, which made excellent open-air theatres, with the galleries round for spectators. Then, in 1576, the first regular theatre was built. It was called, simply, *The Theatre*. Others quickly followed—the *Fortune*, the *Curtain*, the *Rose*, the *Swan*, and *Shakespeare's Globe*.

Most of these theatres were circular in shape, and the *Fortune* was exceptional in being square. Their general plan followed the idea of the inn-yard. Spectators sat in the open-air 'pit' or in covered galleries, often two or three storeys high, which ran all round the building, except at one end where the stage was set. The stage projected into the pit and was open on three sides, so that spectators could see from any



ELIZABETHAN MANOR HOUSE
Chavenage House, Tetbury, Gloucestershire.

Photo Mansell Collection



THE LONG GALLERY AT
KNOLE, SEVENOAKS
(KENT)

Photo Mansell Collection



OLIVER CROMWELL

By an unknown artist.

Photo: National Portrait Gallery



KING CHARLES I

After Van Dyck.

Photo: National Portrait Gallery

point and, in addition, certain privileged ones were allowed to take chairs and sit on the stage. At the back of the stage was generally the 'tyreinge-howse,' and there might be a gallery over this too which could be used for spectators or as part of the scenery. It would, for example, be used as a balcony for Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet*. Later theatres were covered, the Globe being one of the first to be provided with a roof.

For these Elizabethan audiences and these earliest English theatres the greatest dramatists wrote. It was two hundred years since *The Canterbury Tales* had shown that for Englishmen the English language produced better literature than Latin. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign Edmund Spenser in *The Faerie Queen* and other poems once again revealed the beauty and the pliability of English. Spenser touched the spark that caused a host of new works in English to come tumbling from the printing-presses. There had been nothing like it in England before. Nor for quality has there been anything like it since. So many poets and playwrights of genius were writing that they almost overshadow each other, jostling one another off the stage. This Elizabethan Age did not end with the death of Elizabeth—some of the greatest writers were living and writing still when she died—but continued well into the reign of James I.

Overtopping all the rest was William Shakespeare. Clustering below were Christopher Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Thomas Dekker, and many more. The English language was revealed as flexible, easy to handle, and beautiful to listen to. Many of the poems were lyrics, their themes love and devotion and personal feelings. The stories of the plays were taken from many sources—history, old tales, and legends being used as well as more original plots. Comedy, tragedy, and satire all made their mark. Ben Jonson wickedly satirized the faults of human kind in such plays as *Bartholomew Fair*, *The Alchemist*, *Volpone*. Thomas Dekker took as the theme of one of his most popular plays the Shoemakers' Guild, and called his play *The Shoemakers' Holiday*. It gives an excellent picture of guild life, and the gentle master shoemaker finished by becoming Lord Mayor of London. Marlowe often took tragedy as his theme. *The History of Dr Faustus* tells how the aged doctor through sorcery conjures up the face of Helen of Troy and exclaims,

Was this the face that launched a thousand ships,
And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?

But for the mingling of comedy and tragedy, and a deep understanding of human nature, as well as for a complete mastery of the English language, none can compare with William Shakespeare. Shakespeare was born in Stratford-on-Avon in 1564, and came to London when he was about twenty-two years old. He wrote poems and plays, and sometimes acted in smaller parts. Any one of his plays can be opened at almost any place and lines of beauty will stand out, or well-known phrases that have passed into the English language will catch the eye, or longer passages will be revealed that show how well he understood his fellow human beings.

Many plays were performed by companies of boy-actors, often attached to a church or cathedral chapel, like the Children of St Paul's or the Children of the Chapel Royal. Other companies of actors were licensed by men of note, like the Duke of Leicester's Company; and strolling players were common, like the players who arrived at court in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Even in the adult companies women did not act, boys or young men taking the female parts.

Perhaps the general interest in the theatre and in acting is reflected in the advice which Shakespeare put into the mouth of Hamlet, when he is speaking to a band of strolling players, and which Shakespeare's audience is certain to have appreciated :

Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you, trippingly on the tongue; but if you mouth it, as many of your players do, I had as lief the town-crier spoke my lines. Nor do not saw the air too much with your hand, thus; but use all gently . . . Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor: suit the action to the word, the word to the action; with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature: for anything so overdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end, both at the first and now, was and is, to hold, as 'twere the mirror up to nature.

Besides the theatre, the people of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries enjoyed robust sport of all kinds. Football they would play up and down the streets, hockey wherever they could find space enough, archery at the butts which every town provided; wrestling, tennis, bowls, dancing, were all performed with zest; bear-baiting and cock-fighting continued to be the less admirable forms of amusement. The name 'pit' in the theatre came from the bear-pit or cock-pit in which the unfortunate animals performed. This verse in

and the flute, plucked instruments like the harp and the lute, were also very popular. It was common for families to have their own chest of viols, varying from treble to bass, which different members of the family would play, and which would be handed down, with the best bed, from generation to generation.

It was taken for granted that every one read music at sight and would gladly join in the singing and playing in any company. So musical were people generally that a cittern, an instrument like the lute, was usually to be found hanging in every barber's shop for the use of customers waiting to be shaved.

Outside the towns the Big House, which might be the home of the local squire or the country seat of some great lord, still played an important part in life. Generally the owner kept up considerable state, employing many servants, entertaining lavishly, especially if the monarch came that way. Queen Elizabeth and James I, particularly, expected great display at the houses where they decided to stop.

Most of these houses were now stone-built or brick-built, although some were half-timbered. Many were still under the influence of the Gothic style, as can be seen in their high, pointed windows and their lavish use of ornament and decoration. At the same time Renaissance influence was making itself felt, and this was frequently shown not only in square windows and restraint in decoration, but in the symmetrical design of the house itself. In plan it was often like a letter E, with the entrance hall and door at the middle arm, with projecting wings at each end.

Outside, tall, decorative chimney-stacks were a striking feature of Elizabethan houses, evidence of the increasing number of fires within, burning logs and the 'sea-coal' which was brought in increasing quantities by sea from the north of England.

Inside, the greatest change from the medieval house was the disappearance, or at least the reduction in importance, of the hall. In the Middle Ages the house consisted almost entirely of the hall, bedrooms and private rooms for the family being an afterthought. By Elizabeth's time the hall, except in the very largest houses, where entertaining was on a large scale, had become more of the vestibule we know to-day. From it rose the great and beautiful staircase which had become an important feature of the house. It led to the upper floors

which contained not only bedrooms but often the long gallery, which increased in importance as the hall declined. This long gallery generally justified its name, often running the whole length of the house and being large enough for indoor games and for the taking of considerable exercise by those disinclined to go out of doors.

In the gallery family-portraits were hung and most of the important pieces of furniture were displayed. Elsewhere rooms were sparsely furnished, though tables and chairs and cupboards or sideboards were beautifully and strongly made and often intricately carved.

In the bedrooms the chief feature was the bed. In the main bedroom this would be a great four-poster, a kind of oblong box raised from the ground with a tall post at each corner supporting a canopy of wood or stuff, and hung round with rich curtains which could be drawn to enclose the bed completely. Since bedrooms were still quite frequently passage-rooms, it was useful to be able to make a small room of the great bed itself. The woodwork of the bed was generally finely carved, the mattresses of down or feathers, the coverings blankets and rugs of fur. The linen was finely woven and beautifully worked. At the head of the bed the tester was of embroidery or tapestry or finely carved wood; the hangings round the bed were of rich silks or velvet or damask. Though the richness of the bed varied with the wealth of the owner, it is no wonder that the family bed was a prized possession, to be handed down to posterity and specially mentioned in a person's will. Even the 'second-best bed' was something to be prized.

There was sufficient food on the whole to keep people merry. The rich, indeed, probably ate too much, as is indicated by some advice given to them by a doctor.

Two meales a daye is suffycient [he said] for a resting man ; and a labourer may eate three tymes a daye ; and he that doth eate ofter, lyveth a beastly lyfe. . . . Also sondry meates eaten at one meale is not laudable ; nor it is not good to syt long at dyner and supper. An houre is suffycient to syt at dynner ; and not so longe at supper.

Observers mention a vast variety and quantity of meat consumed by the English nobility, not only mutton and lamb, beef, veal and pork, but game, poultry, venison, much of it made into the pies and pasties which in the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries were great favourites. Nearly everything was highly spiced, and the sugar which had recently become so popular went into all manner of sweetmeats. Ale and mead were giving way in popularity to beer, a drink brewed from malt in the same way as ale, but using hops instead of barley.

Farmers and craftsmen ate more plainly, probably using more eggs, cheese, and milk. The poor ate not only plainly, but often sparsely as well. But there were good times for all, and perhaps a general standard of good cheer is expressed in this Christmas rhyme :

Good bread and good drinke, a good fier in the hall,
brawne, pudding and sowse and good mustard with all.
Beef, mutton and porke, shred pies of the best,
pig, veale, goose and capon, and turkey well drest ;
Cheese, apples and nuts, joly carols to heare,
as then in the countrie is counted good cheare.¹

¹ See L. F. Salzman : *England in Tudor Times*.

CHAPTER XLII

The Development of Parliament in England

As nation states became powerful they developed strong central governments. The monarch was always important—in England as in France and Spain; but England possessed also in her Parliament an institution peculiar to herself.

The English Parliament had developed slowly since its beginnings in the thirteenth century, and by the Tudor period was an accepted institution. It still met only when the monarch called it, and under the strong rule of the Tudors was generally obedient to the Crown. This was partly because the Tudors 'managed' elections so that some of their own Privy Council and others favourable to the monarch were returned as Members of Parliament, and partly because the Tudors—particularly Queen Elizabeth—were held in great esteem by people and Parliament, who were disinclined to frustrate their wishes.

Its very willingness to serve the monarch, however, often made Parliament stronger. A Parliament which could break with the Pope and declare an English monarch head of the Church in England increased its own power by those very acts. Elizabeth, at least, was respectful enough of the power of her Parliaments to take no chances. In the forty-four years of her reign there were only thirteen sessions of Parliament, sitting in all for 140 weeks. Even these infrequent meetings she managed with skill. When, in spite of all she could do, she still felt the wishes of Parliament against her she gracefully gave way. Thus the strength and dignity of both Crown and Parliament were preserved.

It was very different when in 1603 Elizabeth died and a Stuart, James VI of Scotland, became king of England as James I. He had little idea of the strength of the parliamentary tradition in England. He not only believed firmly in a 'Divine Right of Kings,' but proceeded to emphasize the doctrine as soon as he set foot in England. He believed that a king was responsible to God alone for his actions. Members of Parliament, he told the House of Commons, could not

even discuss the limits of his power. "Kings are justly called Gods," he told them, "for they exercise a manner of resemblance of Divine power upon earth." He objected to many of the debates in the House of Commons, and on one occasion informed Members that they should not "presume to meddle with anything concerning our government or deep matters of State."

This naturally offended a body whose power had been growing for 400 years, and it told the King that it was "an ancient and undoubted right of Parliament to debate freely all matters which properly concern the subject." So, on the very approach to the question, King and Parliament held opposite views.

In the twenty-two years of his reign James called four Parliaments; three of them lasted for a year or less, the fourth for seven years, although it sat for a few months only each year. Each of these Parliaments tried to come to terms with the King and to grant him supplies of money in return for reform. Each time King and Parliament failed to agree, and Parliament was dismissed. James tried many ways of raising money without Parliament, including forced loans and benevolences from unwilling subjects. He even created a new rank, that of 'baronet,' selling the title for £200 a time!

When Charles I succeeded his father in 1625 the same differences existed between King and Parliament, and they became more acute. Charles was even more short of money than his father had been. He was not so extravagant and his court became more sober, but he still maintained in the Duke of Buckingham a spendthrift and incompetent favourite. Moreover, prices were still everywhere rising, the cost of government increased as the population grew and administration became more complex. State finances were muddled, Charles embarked on foreign wars, which, although small, were costly, and he, like his father, had a family who in dowries and maintenance cost a considerable sum of money. At the same time he made many enemies by trying to carry on the Tudor system of regulating wages and employment through the Privy Council. Business-men resented this interference and joined the forces that were lining up against him.

Three Parliaments failed to grant Charles the money he wished, and in the interludes between them he tried by forced loans to raise money. Among the many who resisted were Sir John Eliot and John Hampden, and they and others were thrust into prison.

Men were asking: Could the king force loans from his subjects without the consent of Parliament? Could he imprison them for refusal? When Charles' third Parliament met in 1628 it drew up the *Petition of Right*, which contained a list of Parliament's grievances together with proposals for their reform. It repeated the assertion of Magna Carta that no free man should be imprisoned or detained without cause shown, and emphasized the right "that no man should be compelled to make any gift, loan, benevolence, tax or such like charge without common consent by Act of Parliament."

Parliament had become so high-handed that in 1629 King Charles dismissed it and tried to rule without a Parliament, still raising money by fines, taxation, and forced loans. Those who refused to pay were imprisoned without fair trial.

Besides taxation, questions of religion were splitting England into two camps. The 'middle way' of Elizabeth was becoming more closely associated with High Church practices, the power of the bishops was becoming stronger, and ritual in church services often seemed little different from the practice in Roman Catholic churches. On the other hand were the people classed as 'Puritans.' Since the Reformation members of the 'reformed' churches had split up into many groups or sects, differing in many ways but united in their hatred of bishops and church ritual. In England Presbyterians and Independents formed the largest of these groups, but there were many more.

Charles I himself, like his father before him, was a strong supporter of the bishops' rule in the Church, partly because, as James I put it, if people abolished bishops they were likely to abolish kings also: no bishop, no king. Charles appointed as his Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633 William Laud, who was regarded with particular hatred by the Puritans. He was a man of integrity and, although narrow in his views, was not more intolerant than most men of his generation. It seemed to him that the Puritan attitude to the Church would completely undermine its authority, and the severe punishment of dissenters was his conception of duty. It became a punishable offence to print or publish any book or pamphlet against the Church. In 1637 the Puritans William Prynne and John Bastwick were pilloried for writing and speaking against the English Church, Prynne having his ears cropped for a second time: they were but two of many.

So there were three causes for a growing rift in the nation,

which can be called constitutional, economic, and religious. There was fear that Parliament, which had been the people's protection against despotism, was being swept aside by dictatorial kings. There was fear of heavy taxation, forced loans and fines, and a mistrust of the intervention of the Privy Council in industrial matters. There was fear of religious persecution. Bound up with all these was the determination to secure freedom of speech and of the Press both inside and outside Parliament. The poet John Milton, who afterwards became Cromwell's Secretary of State, wrote one of the best pleas for the liberty of printing.

when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty attained.

. . . as good almost kill a man as kill a good book ; who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image ; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself. . . . Many a man lives a burden to the earth ; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life.

CHAPTER XLIII

Civil War in England

JAMES I, much against the will of the Scots, had restored bishops in the Scottish Church. Matters came to a head when Charles I in 1637 tried to make them accept the English Prayer Book also. The Scots prepared for war, and the King was forced to call Parliament to grant him money to fight. So ended Charles' attempt to rule without Parliament.

When the Members rode up to Westminster from all over the country for the first Parliament in eleven years they were in sombre mood. They would not, they told the King, grant him money until he redressed their grievances. There was deadlock. The 'Short' Parliament ended within three weeks.

But in the summer of 1640 a second 'Bishops' War' with the Scots helped the Parliamentary cause. The Scots crossed the border in August 1640 and, camping on English soil, asserted their intention of staying there until they were paid for every day they spent in England.

The King was compelled to call another Parliament. This time it would be known as the Long Parliament and outlive the King who summoned it. John Pym, John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell, were among the people's representatives who met in St Stephen's Hall in November 1640. Again they refused supplies until grievances were redressed. They passed the Triennial Act, which said that Parliament must meet at least once every three years: no longer could there be eleven years' rule without Parliament. They passed an Act saying that Parliament could not be dissolved without its own consent: thus they were certain of sitting long enough to gain their own ends. They removed the Earl of Strafford, the King's adviser, by beheading him in May 1641. Later they beheaded Archbishop Laud also. Then they abolished the Court of Star Chamber and again declared taxation without consent of Parliament to be illegal.

At the end of 1641 the King determined to take action once more and to arrest five leading Members of the House of Commons who were most antagonistic to him. Accompanied by soldiers, he came to the House in person. But the Commons

had been warned, and the five Members had slipped away by river to the City. Here they were acclaimed as the champions of freedom. Charles, baffled, could do no more than exclaim, "The birds are flown!" Once more he had put himself in the wrong.

While pamphlets full of weighty arguments were issued on both sides events moved steadily towards open war. His staunch supporters gathered round the King, and collected money and arms. Their long hair, gay clothes, and fine horses caused them to be known as Cavaliers.

Parliament at the same time was collecting men, money, and arms. Some, but by no means all, of their recruits were Puritans, soberly dressed and with their hair cut short; and so the Puritan troops earned the name of Roundheads.

The conflict finally developed into open civil war on August 22, 1642, when the King set up his standard at Nottingham. He was joined by many landowners, by families who were traditional supporters of the King, by the majority of the House of Lords, and even some of the Commons, by Roman Catholics and High Churchmen, and by many ordinary people.

Parliament retained, besides its own staunch Members, the support of many of the wealthy merchants of the City and industrialists from the 'clothing' towns and other centres of industry, all those people of 'independent' views in religion who were afraid of persecution if the bishops' rule continued, and, as with the King, many ordinary people.

No one on either side wished at this stage to harm the King. Many of both sides were profoundly unhappy at the choice which faced them. It was believed that Lord Falkland, who had been a vigorous supporter of Parliament but who finally took sides with the King, was so unhappy over the conflict that he deliberately sought the death which came to him at the first battle of Newbury in 1643. Many people took no part in the war at all, except when a battle swept into their town or over their farm.

The first stage of the civil war lasted until the spring of 1646. By that time Parliament's New Model Army led by Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell had proved more than a match for the Cavaliers. The most famous Parliamentary troops were Cromwell's Ironsides, men of deep religious conviction who had enlisted to defend their Puritan faith and welded themselves into an invincible company, influencing the whole of the New Model Army both spiritually and militarily. It

was said of them that they went into battle with the bible in one hand and the sword in the other. Cromwell himself, besides being a stout Puritan and staunch Parliamentary, was one of the best generals the country has produced.

While negotiations were in progress after the first civil war Royalist risings broke out in the summer of 1648 in South Wales, Kent, and other places. The Puritan leaders were aghast at what seemed to them treachery. After the manner of the time great prayer meetings were held in which they attributed the fresh outbreak of war to Charles Stuart, "the man of blood." It seemed to these ardent Puritans that the renewal of war was a punishment from the Lord for spending so much time in treating with such a man. They vowed he should not have another chance of bringing bloodshed upon the country. So, the Cavaliers again being defeated in a second civil war, King Charles I was brought to trial in January 1649 and beheaded. The monarchy and House of Lords were abolished as "useless and dangerous," and England became a Commonwealth under a Council of State.

But the country was too much torn by conflicting passions for government to be easy. The greatest man of the time, and the only one who could bring order and good government to the land, was Oliver Cromwell. In 1653 he became Protector of the Commonwealth, holding his authority by a written constitution and ruling with an elected Parliament. Cromwell's difficulties were wellnigh insurmountable. He himself, besides being a great general, was a great statesman, believing in a limited democracy, parliamentary government, and, above all, perhaps, a large measure of religious toleration. But the extreme and often conflicting views in politics, social reform, and religion which the civil wars had unleashed made the task of democratic government almost impossible. There was great social distress caused by bad harvests, unemployment, and war-damage. Only Cromwell's great personal popularity held the country together. When he died in 1658 there was no one to take his place. People began to think of a king again—provided he would be a constitutional king and rule according to the wishes of the people and Parliament.

The son of Charles I had been waiting in exile in France and Holland for just such a moment. He readily agreed to grant religious toleration, Parliamentary government, and an immediate free election. Parliament was to meet at least once in every three years, and there was to be no taxation without Parliament's consent. Thus occurred the Restoration.

Charles II reigned from 1660 to his death in 1685. He was succeeded by his brother James II, who was an open Roman Catholic, proceeded to fill important posts with Roman Catholics, persecuted and attacked the possessions of Anglican clergy, and maintained a standing army for the purpose—it seemed—of forcing England to return to the Roman Catholic faith. Parliament, who could have protected the nation against these dangers, he illegally filled with his own supporters.

Driven to action, seven leading English statesmen then sent a letter to William of Orange in Holland. William had married Mary, the Protestant daughter of James II, who had, therefore, a good claim to the throne. In his own person William was a desirable ruler, for he was a staunch Protestant and the implacable foe of France, who then, under Louis XIV, was persecuting her own Protestant citizens and planning war for her own glory.

Acting on the letter from England, William crossed the Channel with a small army; James II abdicated without a shot being fired, and this "Glorious Revolution," or bloodless revolution, of 1688 established William and Mary on the English throne as joint rulers. They agreed to fresh elections, a free Parliament, and religious toleration. Some years later, in 1701, the Act of Supremacy settled the succession upon Anne the Protestant sister of Mary, and after her in the Protestant House of Hanover.

After the Revolution of 1688 British Parliamentary government was secure, and the details of the Cabinet system and the duties of the Prime Minister were worked out. All this took time. But never, since 1688, has a British king attempted to govern without Parliament.

The recognition of Parliament did not, however, imply full democracy. In the counties the only people who had the vote were those who owned land to the value of 40s. a year—the "forty-shilling freeholders"—and over. In the towns the franchise varied greatly, being sometimes democratic but more often in the hands of wealthy citizens. The ordinary man of town or country had for the most part no vote and no share in government. For this, he had to wait for over 200 years.

The Toleration Act of 1689 meanwhile gave freedom of religious worship to Protestant non-conformists—the Puritans and Independents, who were not members of the Church of England. Roman Catholics, although given no rights in the Act, were in practice allowed a wide toleration, which

permitted not only private worship but attendance at public chapels and the use of their priests. No one, however, who was not of the Church of England was allowed to enter one of the universities, to take office under the Crown or local government, or to become a Member of Parliament. These rights were not recognized until the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XLIV

Overseas Expansion : The Dutch and the English

ALTHOUGH the nation states of Europe had their troubles and difficulties at home, they had time for expansion both in overseas trade and in colonization.

Sir Walter Raleigh had settled England's first colony in Virginia in 1584. This was not successful, but in the reign of James I a second colony slowly established itself. The cultivation of tobacco was encouraged, and soon the greatest import into England from Virginia was tobacco—this plant which Columbus had first seen natives rolling and smoking more than a century earlier. Perhaps it was Sir Walter Raleigh himself who introduced the custom into England. At all events he was a great smoker and made presents to his friends of pipes with silver bowls.

Yet smoking met with much disapproval. One of the chief opponents of the habit was the king, James I himself, who wrote a substantial thesis against "this precious stink," as he termed it,

for the vanities committed in this filthy custom [he wrote] is it not both great vanity and uncleanness, that at the table, a place of respect, of cleanliness, of modesty, men should not be ashamed to sit tossing of tobacco pipes, and puffing the smoke of tobacco one to another, making the filthy smoke and stink thereof to exhale athwart the dishes, and infect the air, when very often men that abhor it are at their repast? Surely smoke becomes a kitchen far better than a dining chamber, and yet it makes a kitchen also oftentimes in the inward parts of men, soiling and infecting them, with an unctuous and oily kind of soot, as hath been found in some great tobacco takers, that after their death were opened.

It was, he concluded,

a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black stinking fume thereof nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless.

The English were also settling in the Bermudas and in other West Indian islands. Here sugar was cultivated, and, as by

this time it had an enormous popularity all over Europe, there was a ready market for it.

Those early years of exploration and settlement were full of travellers' tales, in which truth and fiction blended. John Smith, for example, became the hero of many exploits against the native Indians of Virginia. It was told how, when captured by Indians, he was saved from death only by Pocahontas, the daughter of the Indian chief, who flung her arms around him and begged her father to save him. Pocahontas later married an Englishman named Thomas Rolfe, and came to England with him. But in that grey and dismal climate she drooped and died, and was buried at Gravesend.

With less truth in them are the stories which Sir Walter Raleigh brought home from Guiana of

a nation of people whose heads appear not above their shoulders ;
they are called Ewaipanoma. They are reported to have their
eyes in their shoulders and their mouths in the middle of their
breasts, and that a long train of hair groweth backward between
their shoulders.

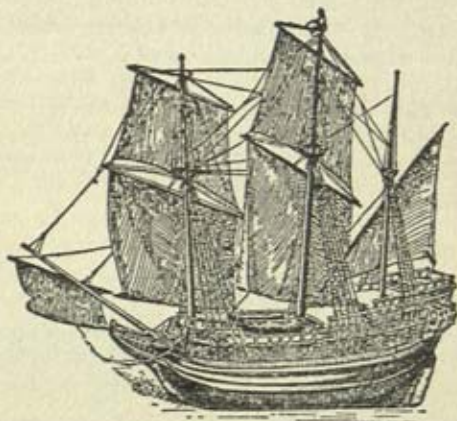
Shakespeare, perhaps, was thinking of this when he made Othello speak

of the Cannibals that each other eat,
The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders.

Andrew Marvell wrote the *Song of the Emigrants in Bermuda*, not as a traveller's tale but as a reconstruction of the praise that, having fled from the persecution of the bishops and been saved the fury of the storm, they offer to their God :

He lands us on a grassy stage,
Safe from the storm's and prelate's rage ;
He gave us this eternal spring
Which here enamels everything,
And sends the fowls to us in care
On daily visits through the air ;
He hangs in shades the orange bright
Like golden lamps in a green night,
And does in the pomegranates close
Jewels more rich than Ormus shows :
He makes the figs our mouths to meet,
And throws the melons at our feet ;
But apples plants at such a price,
No tree could ever bear them twice.

On the coast of America, to the north of Virginia, meanwhile, had settled a band of English Puritans who had left England to escape religious persecution. In 1620 they left Plymouth in the *Mayflower*, intending to make for Virginia. Contrary winds drove them from their course, and after many weeks of hardship they landed to the north on a coast which they called New England. Already some of these Pilgrim Fathers had died on the voyage, but the rest set to work to clear the forest and to build log-cabins for houses and chapels. By sheer hard work and endurance they succeeded in establishing a colony. They were joined by other religious refugees and



"THE MAYFLOWER"
From a model in Washington, U.S.A.

spread over the surrounding country from the original settlement of Massachusetts to Rhode Island, Newhaven, and Maine. The whole group of colonies continued to be called New England.

These northern colonies of New England, which were well wooded, lent themselves to ship-building as well as fishing, and their inhabitants became fishermen, mariners, and expert shipbuilders.

Other immigrants came to the New World for various reasons—Roman Catholics as well as Puritans, Royalists as well as Parliamentarians. Royalists went during and after the Civil Wars, regicides after the Restoration. Elizabeth's 'sturdy beggars' and their descendants left the Old World to try their luck in the New. Poor boys and girls, even convicts, were

sent to the Plantations, the name by which the colonies were commonly known, to be indentured as servants for seven or ten years. Negro slaves too reached the southern colonies, probably brought by the Dutch, who thus planted the system of slavery which later rocked the American states in war with each other and established the present Negro population of the United States.

Maryland, called after the English Queen Henrietta Maria, was founded in 1634; Carolina, called after Charles II, in 1663. In 1681 William Penn, an English Quaker, founded Pennsylvania, which he named after himself and the forests of his colony. The Quakers who settled here put into practice more truly than any other colonists the spirit of complete toleration, and Penn also tried to treat the natives fairly and to live peacefully with them without bloodshed.

The English were not the only people to settle in the English colonies. Labour was short, land was plentiful, and there was much work to be done. All were therefore welcome, and Irish, Germans, Swedes, French, and others mixed with the original settlers.

Other nations were also colonizing the New World. The Dutch settled in the New Netherlands and New Amsterdam, a group of colonies inconveniently placed for England, for they separated her northern colonies from the southern ones. In her wars with Holland, however, England annexed the Dutch middle colonies, and in 1667 New Amsterdam became New York, and the line of British colonies was complete. The Dutch settlers were not interfered with, and they mingled with the English and other colonists.

Meanwhile, to the east, the importance of trade had been indicated by the fact that the English had founded an East India Company in 1600, just as the Dutch did in the following year. Thus was foreshadowed a rivalry between two nations with a common religion, a similar outlook on life, an equal love of the sea, and a somewhat similar geographical position. If the similarities seem to outweigh the differences this is to underestimate entirely the part which trade was to play in the lives of the nations throughout the coming centuries.

The purpose of the English East India Company was to trade with those lands which became a Portuguese monopoly after the discoveries of Henry the Navigator's seamen. They wished to import to England the pepper, nutmegs, mace, cloves, and other spices so much prized in the West, indigo

for dyeing, saltpetre for cannon. They could give in exchange good English cloth—although in the heat of the eastern countries the market was likely to be limited—and other manufactured goods.

The English East India Company found little to fear from the Portuguese. After the absorption of Portugal by Spain and the subsequent decline of Spain, Portuguese in the East Indies had little resistance to offer to other traders. Instead, the English Company found that the Dutch became their keenest rivals.

The two countries clashed in North America. They were rivals on the Guinea coast for the slave-trade and other commerce. They were both sea-faring and fishing nations, and competed for the 'carrying' trade of other countries and for the fishing of the North Sea and the Newfoundland Banks. It was inevitable that fighting should occur. English and Dutch boats clashed and fought in various parts of the world. There was fighting in the East Indies, and some Englishmen were killed at the so-called massacre of Amboyna.

England demanded compensation. She also required Dutch ships to salute her ships in the Channel, and the Dutch to seek her permission before fishing in the North Sea. Further, she passed a series of Navigation Acts whose object was to keep trade with the English colonies to English or colonial ships and her trade with European countries to English ships or those of the country that produced the goods. The Dutch would thus be excluded. As they made much profit from the 'carrying' trade, they took no notice of the Navigation Acts. English ships then demanded the right to search Dutch ships.

It is not surprising that this friction led to war. In the three naval wars which extended with breaks from 1652 to 1674 the Dutch had excellent admirals in de Ruyter and Van Tromp; the English were well matched with their Admiral Blake. The great naval battles which took place between these giants and the greatest fleets of the age showed the strength of each side. That the English won, though not decisively, was due not only to superior naval power, but to the fact that they had command of greater resources. England was a greater manufacturing country than Holland, depending less entirely on her ships to bring her imports. The Dutch were badly hampered once the English blockaded the Channel and prevented their ships getting through to the homeland.

England's reward was the cession of New Amsterdam to become New York, compensation for the Amboyna 'massacre,'

the saluting of the English flag by the Dutch in the Channel, and payment by the Dutch if they wished to fish in English waters. The terms of the treaty, however, were not nearly so important as the great increase in trade with the East, of which the Dutch partook as freely as the English. The Dutch, in fact, were supreme in the East Indies by the eighteenth century. But the English had by that time established themselves in India. Here they found themselves in conflict not only with the native Indians but with another European rival—France.

CHAPTER XLV

The Rise of France : English and French at War

ON the death of Louis XIII of France in 1643 France had recovered from her wars of religion, could definitely be counted as a Great Power, but was suffering from the repeated revolts of powerful French nobles. Louis XIV was then a child of five, but as he grew older he drew power more firmly into his own hands, determined that revolt should no longer trouble the French monarchy. In his long reign of seventy-two years he achieved his object. He established a glittering court at Versailles, centred upon himself. He built there a magnificent palace filled with treasures which was the envy of every other sovereign of Europe. Although able ministers served him, he kept real power in his own hands and there was truth in his assertion : "*L'état, c'est moi.*"

Le roi soleil, the Sun King, as he was called, dazzled the eyes of most of his contemporaries. Germany, in decline after her disastrous wars of religion, could hold no candle to his beams. Spain, also in decline, had married one of her princesses to the French king. Holland was small, for the first years of his reign occupied in fighting the English. England's King Charles II was in the pocket of Louis, indebted to him and to the French for hospitality while the King was in exile, in receipt of French money for secretly adhering to the Roman Catholic faith.

When France invaded the Low Countries (the Spanish Netherlands) in 1667 there was little to stop her. But the French bid for supreme power in Europe which continued from this time until 1713 did not go unchallenged. When William, the Dutchman who had married the daughter of James II, succeeded with his wife to the English throne in 1688 there was an implacable enemy of France put in a position where he could do some damage. An English general of genius, John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, and the determination of the English Protestant Parliament to resist the expansion of France, the sea-power of the English which was everywhere superior to the French, and the enmity of

a large part of Europe, brought down the power of Louis XIV. France was defeated at the battle of Blenheim in 1704 by a coalition of European nations led by England and commanded by Marlborough, and in 1713 the Peace of Utrecht ended the ambitions of the Sun King.

The next phases of Anglo-French conflict were fought in North America and in India.

A Frenchman, Jacques Cartier, had reached the St Lawrence river in 1535, and the following year sailed upstream as far as the modern town of Toronto. Other explorers and traders followed. A settlement was made to the south of the St Lawrence, which the French called Acadia. They discovered the Great Lakes and sailed down the Mississippi river to its mouth. The French came not as immigrants to found new homes, as the English had done, but as missionaries and fur-traders. They established strong trading-posts, traded on generally friendly terms with the Indians, and tried to convert them to Christianity.

The direction of the French advance in North America was, as the map shows, very dangerous to the English colonists. It had the effect of confining them to a fairly narrow strip of land on the coast with French settlements to the north and the west. The position was improved when the Peace of Utrecht confirmed Hudson Bay territory and Newfoundland as British, and ceded part of French Acadia to Britain as Nova Scotia. By the same treaty too Gibraltar was ceded to the British.

This was only the beginning of the conflict, however. The French had the advantage in Canada of being firmly established on the great river highways, of a well-disciplined though small army, and of the help of some of the Indians. The English had few troops on the spot to aid the colonists, though the Iroquois Indians were friendly, and had to convoy an army over the Atlantic under the protection of the fleet. It was a journey that took seven or eight weeks at best, ships were often ramshackle, little was known of preserving food for so many people for such a long time. Casualties were heavy before any actual fighting occurred. Nevertheless, a British army in 1758 captured Louisburg commanding the Gulf of St Lawrence and the following year, under the English General Wolfe, they scaled the Heights of Abraham and after a great battle captured the town of Quebec on the St Lawrence river. Shortly before this other British forces on the Ohio river had

driven the French from Fort Dusquesne and renamed it Pittsburg after the English Prime Minister. In 1763 Canada was formally ceded to Britain though a large French population remained, and still remains, together with many people of mixed French and English blood.

In their growing trade with India the English did not have, even after the defeat of the Dutch, the monopoly. For the French had come into the field, a French East India Company being founded in 1664. To add to Anglo-French rivalry in North America and in Europe there was also bitter rivalry in India.

The English had trading-posts in several places, including Calcutta (Fort William), Madras, and Bombay. The French established themselves at various towns including Pondichery, Chandernagore, Surat, and Calicut.

The English at that time wanted to trade, not to rule India. But the Frenchman Duplex, who in 1742 became Governor General of all French trading-stations in India, had ambitious schemes for claiming large parts of India for France. The position was further complicated by the fact that India, which had enjoyed strong central rule for many centuries, was now torn by the rivalry and wars of various princes—much as feudal Europe had been.

This had two consequences. To protect its trading-posts and to maintain sufficient order to carry on its business, the East India Company fortified some of its trading-stations and began to exercise a kind of rule over its immediate neighbourhood. Secondly, both English and French sought the help of rival native princes in their struggle against each other. One of these princes captured Calcutta in 1756 and imprisoned captured English in what became known as the Black Hole of Calcutta. The English general Robert Clive recaptured Calcutta the following year, defeated the Indians at the battle of Plassey, and proceeded to defeat the French also. By 1761 the English were supreme, and at the Treaty of Paris in 1763 the French, although they retained trading-stations, were allowed no garrisons.

The defeat of the French was the least of the English tasks. They had now to learn how to live with the Indians. The British Government had no conception of the magnitude of the task that was opening up before it, and left the management of the Indian trade, and India itself, to the East India Company. For this the Company was totally unfitted. Its objects were to

make profit by trading, and, as the salaries and wages it paid to the employees were very low, *their* object was to achieve a higher standard of living by supplementing their pay, which often led to bribery, corruption, and general mismanagement.

When Clive left India after Plassey in 1760, the Company was left as the controlling power in Bengal, with an army to support it. The Indian ruler was the Nawab of Bengal, and over him was the Great Mogul of all India, with his capital city at Delhi.

The Company claimed from the Indians large sums of money for the upkeep of its army; it refused to pay the taxes on trade which all Indian traders paid. In the great famine of 1770, when at least one-third of the population died, there were ugly rumours that Englishmen were making money by hoarding corn. There was confusion, bitterness, and renewed war.

In an almost impossible situation Warren Hastings, who became Governor of India in 1772, did much to bring peace and order. He lowered the trade taxes payable by Indians, and commanded the English to pay them too. He appointed Indians to draw up their own Codes of Law so that all should understand them and the law should be administered equally to all.

To some people in England, however, who were beginning to think about the welfare of the Indians, the methods of Warren Hastings appeared too dictatorial, and he was recalled to stand his trial on charges of mismanagement, causing needless war, and taking Indian money. Warren Hastings was found not guilty, but the trial showed that people were considering the Indians themselves as well as English trade.

The position was complicated by the fact that the French were constantly trying to get back to India, or at least to cause trouble to the English. During the revolt of the American colonists against England in 1773 and during the Napoleonic wars in 1797 and 1798, France tried to strike at Britain through India. This outside pressure, as well as developments inside, caused British control to extend over nearly the whole continent. It became clear that actual rule was involved, as well as trade, and gradually communications, education, health services, as well as taxation, came under British direction. In 1858 the East India Company was abolished and India was administered directly by the Crown under a Governor General. Finally, in a great 'Durbar' in 1877, the British Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India.

CHAPTER XLVI

The Abolition of Slavery

SLAVERY had existed in Egypt, in Mesopotamia, in Greece, and in the Roman Empire. The buying and selling of slaves was known in all the ancient civilizations. The Mohammedan religion forbade the enslavement of Muslims, but permitted the slavery of people of other religions. Arabs and Turks not only themselves enslaved Negroes and Christians, but developed a vigorous trade in Negro slaves from Central Africa. None of these great civilizations registered any protest against slavery or the slave-trade.

The Christian Church, on the other hand, made efforts to abolish slavery. Though it was not successful and many Christians countenanced slavery, there was a general improvement in the condition of domestic slaves in Europe in the Middle Ages. The galley-slave remained at his oar, and the villein was a near-slave, but gang-slavery of the kind that built the pyramids was unknown in medieval Europe, and villeinage gradually died out. Then, shortly after the last villein ceased to exist in England, the English started enslaving Africans.

The use of Negro slaves from Africa was habitual to the Arabs and Turks. Portugal was the first of the European nations to follow this example. The use of Africans in Portugal itself was not successful, but in 1510 the first load of slaves was shipped from Guinea to Haiti. This was precisely what the Europeans wanted. On the indigo and sugar plantations of the newly colonized lands of the west the work was too hard and the climate too hot for Europeans; the natives had little stamina; the African Negro, if the claims of humanity were set aside, was the answer.

In the first half of the sixteenth century Portugal was supplying herself and Spain with slaves. England joined the trade when in 1562 Hawkins took his first cargo of slaves from the Gold Coast. In 1663 England granted the monopoly of the English trade to the Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading with Africa. By 1770 Britain did about half the total trade, with cargo space for nearly 50,000 slaves.

The trade was very profitable. Planters paid well for a

strong, sound Negro. £60,000 might be made on a single voyage. In England, Liverpool was the the greatest of the 'slave trade' ports and grew rich on the proceeds. Bristol, London, and other ports took their share.

Figures, however, do little to describe the effect of the trade on the Negro. Let us see the story in a little more detail. The ship loads at one point of a triangle—let us suppose Liverpool—with cheap trinkets and beads, ironware, muskets and powder, spirits—a cargo worth not very much to Europeans but prized by Africans. The boat draws in to the Gold Coast, the inhabitants flock to greet it and eagerly handle the wares the white man has brought. But the strongest and best of them are seized and carried off captive to the waiting boat.

In future no natives are to be seen when the slave-ship draws near. Sometimes the captain and his men make an expedition to capture them. But the Africans know their country, and the dangers to the white men are many. Instead, therefore, the slavers find some Africans who are ready to trade their fellows for the cheap baubles the Europeans bring—and especially the muskets and the spirits. Sometimes a chief will sell members of his tribe who have committed offences; sometimes he will make war on neighbouring tribes and sell his captives. Frequently professional slave-dealers appear, often half-castes, who make it their business to penetrate inland, fall on unsuspecting villagers, and carry off the best natives as prisoners to the slave-ships.

Frequently captures were made many miles inland, and prisoners had to endure the long journey to the coast, shackled so that they could not escape. Many died on these journeys before ever they became the white man's slaves. Perhaps they were fortunate, for the next stage of the journey was worse.

This, called 'the middle passage,' was the second arm of the triangle. For the African it was a period of terror and horror. He was generally quite ignorant of the purpose of his captors, and the physical conditions of the journey were horrible in the extreme. The object of the traders was to take as many slaves as possible; they therefore crammed them into the hold so that they could scarcely move. The hold of a slaver was generally divided horizontally into shelves, with a passage down the middle. On to the shelves the slaves were pushed, unable even to raise themselves into a sitting position. In bad weather they were like this for days, with the hold doors shut so that they had no fresh air, and very little air at all. Sometimes they actually died of suffocation.

Seasickness in such conditions was liable to bring death. The general dirt and filth can be imagined.

Sometimes the slaves were starved when food ran out on a difficult and long run; but they were frequently equally frightened of being fed well, for in their ignorance of their fate they often thought they were being fattened for white man's food. They were shackled to prevent their escape, whipped if they did not obey orders instantly. Disease was frequent, and one master, alarmed at the loss of profit if most of his slaves died, threw the sick overboard so that he might claim insurance money for 'jettisoned goods.'

SLAVES AT SALE
WITHOUT RESERVE.
BY BEARD, CALHOUN & CO.
2 A. BEARD, Auctioneer.

WILL BE SOLD AT AUCTION ON
TUESDAY, JAN. 16th.
AT 12 O'CLOCK, AT BUREAU OFFICE.

1. **JOHN**, 12 years of age, a girl, good.
2. **JUDITH**, 10 years of age, a likely one.
3. **JANE**, aged 10 years, a very superior one.
4. **MARY**, aged 10 years and 10 days, a very superior one.
5. **EDWIN**, aged 10 years, a good one.
6. **EDITH**, aged 10 years, a good one.
7. **ALICE**, aged 10 years, an excellent one.

THE FOLLOWING NEGROES FIGURES:
1. **JOHN**, aged 20 years, a field hand; like.
2. **JAMES**, aged 20 years, a good one.
3. **EDWIN**, aged 20 years, a field hand.
4. **JUDITH**, aged 10 years, a smart, willing one.
5. **JANE**, aged 10 years, a fine looking girl.
6. **MARY**, aged 10 years, a beautiful one.
7. **ALICE**, aged 10 years, a likely one.

TERMS CASH. Acts of sale taken J. B. BEARD, Henry Phillips, at the instance of
ALSO,
The following described slaves sold for account of Mr. Henry Thomas, who failed to comply
with the provisions of the Act of 1800, and was ordered to sell them.
The negroes **MATTHEW**, aged about 20 years and her son **PAUL**, 7 years—a good trader.
TERMS CASH. Act of sale taken J. B. BEARD, Henry Phillips, at the instance of

**AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SLAVE
AUCTION POSTER**

better. Families who had kept together so far were often separated for ever. Work was long and heavy. Adaptation to the new work and the new life in the low condition in which the slaves then were took an even greater toll of life than the Middle Passage. Masters varied, but the use of the whip in field and plantation was usual. Domestic slaves who worked in the house were generally better off than those who worked with the gang in the field; but even kind treatment could not compensate for the loss of freedom, the long distance from home, the separation from kin, the desperate loneliness.

One thing in the minds of Christians did, however, weigh in the scale against the slave's agony—the conversion of many of them to Christianity. But the ownership of one human being by another is degrading to both; and many Christians

Sometimes one reads of better conditions, of slaves on the Middle Passage who were able to wash and to take air and exercise. But also one reads of slaves who were asked to help in the work of the ship and who secreted weapons and murdered all the ship's crew, save one or two, who were compelled to guide them back to land. Such danger naturally made other captains more rigorous in the control of their cargoes.

When sold, the slave's life was often little or no

began to regard both slavery itself and the slave-trade as inconsistent with their religion.

Reform began in Britain. It became customary for West Indian planters to bring a personal slave back with them when they retired or came home on leave. In this way the people of Britain actually saw slavery with their own eyes, practised in their own country.

Young Granville Sharp was in 1765 visiting his brother, who was a kindly doctor, when he saw a Negro, badly mauled and bleeding, waiting outside for free treatment. The two brothers took the man to Bartholomew's hospital. They found out that his name was Jonathan Strong, that he 'belonged' to a lawyer from Barbados who had flogged him so that he could hardly stand, beaten him over the head with a pistol until he was nearly blind, and then, since he was of no more use, had turned him out into the street.

Jonathan Strong was made sound and well again, and the brothers found him work at a chemist's shop. Two years later he was recognized in the street by his former master, who, seeing him once more strong and useful, had him kidnapped and thrust into prison for safe-keeping until he could be taken back to the West Indies.

Strong managed to get word to Granville Sharp, who worked with such determination that he secured the release of the Negro, on the grounds that in England a man cannot be imprisoned without cause. Jonathan Strong was not molested again. This, the recognition of the fact that even a Negro slave could not be imprisoned in England without cause shown, was the first step towards the abolition of slavery.

But Granville Sharp was determined that the English law should give freedom to any slave who set foot on English soil. During the next few years several more slaves were set free, but Sharp could not get the pronouncement he wanted until June 22, 1772. Then Judge Mansfield declared, in a famous judgment, that the law of England did not allow or approve of slavery. Henceforth anyone setting foot on English soil automatically became free. The second step towards emancipation was taken.

The fact that slaves had won their freedom in England stopped neither the trade from the Gold Coast to the West Indies nor slavery in the colonies. To increasing numbers of people both were morally wrong. John Wesley condemned

slavery. The Quakers both in England and America took their stand against it. The English man of letters Samuel Johnson denounced it, the Scottish economist Adam Smith told people that slave-labour was not really cheap labour: "It appears from the experience of all ages and nations that the work done by freemen comes cheaper in the end than that performed by slaves." Above all, a group of Christians known as Evangelicals, and often called the Clapham Sect from the district just outside London in which they lived, made it their mission to abolish both the slave-trade and slavery itself. Many Members of Parliament and people of influence and wealth belonged to their group, and they spent much money on their campaign.

It seems strange, perhaps, that a campaign was necessary. But the planters themselves wanted slavery to continue: it had existed for so long and seemed to them necessary to the very existence of the colonies. Similarly all connected with the slave-trade saw their living disappear with the end of slavery. These people had much support in the House of Commons from those closely connected with the colonies and the trade, and consequently a motion brought forward in the House of Commons in 1776 for ending the slave trade was lost, and a petition presented by the Quakers a few years later was rejected. After this the 'abolitionists' determined to acquaint people more widely with the case of the slaves, and a Committee of Quakers and others was formed which carried on a wide propaganda.

The next requirement was to get strong support from individual Members of the House of Commons. The abolitionists found the leader they wanted in William Wilberforce, an Evangelical Christian, a member of the Clapham Sect, a friend of William Pitt the Prime Minister, a man of compelling personality, and a great orator.

For twenty years Wilberforce made the ending of the slave-trade his chief aim in life, speaking in the House of Commons, bringing forward petitions, writing pamphlets, attending committee meetings, addressing public meetings.

At last, in 1807, the first victory came, and the trade in slaves was abolished after thirty years of unrelenting work, thirty-five years after Judge Mansfield's judgment, forty-two years after Granville Sharpe first saw Jonathan Strong. It was a victory not only for right and justice, but for the energy, the determination, the selflessness of the people who had worked for it. So the third step in the long struggle was passed.

The next step was to persuade other countries to do likewise, and between 1815 and 1822 Britain obtained promises from France, Spain, and Portugal to end the slave-trade. Not only did she frequently incur their hostility, she even paid them money in compensation. The traffic was not, however, stopped. A great deal of smuggling went on, and this made the condition of the slave-ships even worse, as more slaves were crowded on board. British ships kept patrol seizing any 'slavers' they could. The Government had already purchased in 1787, as a Crown Colony, land in Sierra Leone where freed slaves could be settled. The capital of Sierra Leone, Freetown, retains to-day the proud name it was then given.

Although the trade in slaves was thus virtually ended, slavery itself remained. In 1823 the Anti-Slavery Society was formed with the intention of abolishing slavery in the British Empire and thus freeing 750,000 slaves.

In 1823 a resolution was moved in the House of Commons proposing that after a certain date all children born of slaves within the British Empire should be regarded as free on the grounds that slavery was "repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and the Christian religion." The motion was lost. It was, however, agreed that slaves should be protected from brutal masters by certain regulations, and that they should be educated in preparation for emancipation.

After ten more years of unremitting work that emancipation at last came. The Act of 1833 abolished slavery throughout the British Empire. It was the fifth and last step of a campaign that had lasted nearly 70 years. It ended an injustice that was nearly 300 years old.

On the slave islands the church bells were rung, churches and chapels were crowded with slaves, thousands waited on the hillsides all night for the dawn of the day that brought them freedom. The owners were compensated by the payment of £20,000,000 provided by the British people to enable them to readjust their business to the requirements of free labour.

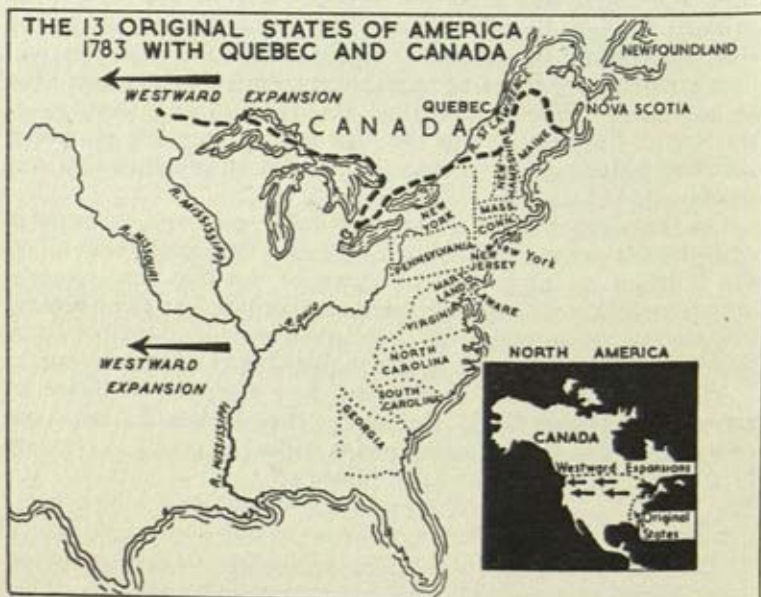
William Wilberforce died a few days after the abolition of slavery. "Thank God," he said, "that I should have lived to witness a day in which England is willing to give £20,000,000 of sterling for the abolition of slavery."

CHAPTER XLVII

The Revolt of the American Colonies

THE life led by the early English colonists in America made for hardy independence. They had to fight inclement weather and bad seasons; they had to endure hunger and cold and sickness; they had to combat the enmity of the native Indians, and vast unknown regions stretching westward from their coastal settlements. They had to face the rivalry of the Dutch and the French. Finally they were hampered in their development by the mother country herself, who regarded the colonies as existing for her own benefit.

This point of view the leading statesmen of Britain expressed quite openly in speech and writing. The colonies, they said, should be "duly subservient and useful" to the mother country. Accordingly, they supplied her with raw materials such as sugar and tobacco and potatoes, timber, pitch, tar, and





AN INDUSTRIAL TOWN IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND

Fox Photos

[Chapter LI]

SLUMS IN AN INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT OF ENGLAND

Fox Photos

240





THE VALLEY OF THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS IN EGYPT
The entrance to the tomb of Tutankhamen is concealed behind the low wall in the foreground.

[p. 284]

Photo Ashmolean Museum

other ship-building materials. They were an excellent market for British goods, in particular for English woollens and ironware. Their coasts were a good training ground for seamen to serve the mother country. Even the trade they did with other countries and with each other was strictly controlled. Finally, their manufacturers were not allowed to compete with British products. Each colony, for example, might manufacture woollen goods for its own needs, but could not provide its neighbour with woollen cloth; a colony which was unable to provide for itself must import its woollens from far-away Britain.

The case of hats was similar. In the colonies the skins of beavers were easily obtained, and with a low cost of living hats could be produced well and cheaply. Yet English manufacturers objected, with the result that colonial production was cut down and colonial hatmakers forbidden to export any of their products.

Much of this was very unfair. As the colonies told the mother country: "It is trade and manufactures make a country rich and populous." *The Groans of the Plantations*, a pamphlet written in 1689, well expresses the colonists' feeling.

Yet, taken all round, this Old Colonial Policy, as it is called, did not always work out so badly for the colonies. For one thing, the law was very difficult to enforce, especially that relating to their trade with other colonies and other countries, and a flourishing smuggling trade grew up, whose centre was Newfoundland. The Navigation Acts, too, which excluded foreign ships, were a help to the northern colonies, which developed a flourishing ship-building industry under their protection.

Nevertheless, the Old Colonial Policy remained one cause of friction between the American colonies and Britain, to which were added several others.

The colonies began to object to being ruled from Britain, which was a seven or eight weeks' journey away, entailing a lapse of perhaps three months before an answer to an inquiry could reach them: rule from such a distance was hardly practicable. There was also undoubtedly the feeling that, once the French had been defeated, there was less need for the mother country. Britain herself, far from realizing this, made her control of the colonies more irksome in two ways.

After the removal of the French danger the colonists wished to expand westward beyond the Appalachian mountains.

Britain, fearful of becoming involved in war with the Indians, declared that no British subject could acquire land or settle west of a line corresponding, roughly, to the Alleghany mountains. To enterprising colonists with a growing population, wanting to acquire and settle more land, this was exasperating and humiliating.

Then the British Government tried to regain some of the cost of the French war and to provide for the upkeep of a permanent garrison in America by taxing the American colonies. The first attempt was by means of a stamp duty on all newspapers, pamphlets, and legal documents circulating in the colonies. The American colonists were furious at what they regarded as an attack on their liberty. In New York people wore black *crêpe* and tolled muffled bells in token of mourning. They took more vigorous action in besieging the British garrison and wrecking the house of the British governor.

All over the colonies the "Sons of Liberty" began to organize. A Congress of seven of the thirteen colonies summoned at New York declared there should be no taxation without representation—a sentiment echoing the principles of Magna Carta and of the English Civil Wars. They resolved to purchase no English goods—not even tea which was imported through England—until the Stamp Act was removed. Britain yielded, and the hated Act was repealed in 1766. But she added a note maintaining the *right* to tax the colonies.

Then, still requiring money, Britain taxed paper and tea and various other goods imported by the colonies. Again she had to yield before the colonists' assertion that the right to tax lay in their own Assemblies and not in the English Parliament. All the duties except that on tea were as a result withdrawn. As Britain arranged for the tea to be taken direct from India to America, it was no dearer, even with the tax, than it had been before. Nevertheless, the principle was now the important thing, and when tea vessels arrived in Boston harbour American colonists, thinly disguised as Red Indians, boarded the ships and dumped the tea into the harbour on December 16, 1773. "The Boston Tea Party" was followed by an angry Britain cancelling the charter of the colony, closing the port of Boston, and ordering those responsible to be brought to trial in England.

In such a state of tension as then developed the inevitable skirmish occurred. At Lexington in 1775 the first shots were fired, and England and the American colonies were at war. French and Spanish settlers joined the colonists. Help came

from France itself. Even in England there was considerable support for them.

The American states again met in Congress and on July 4, 1776, they published to the world their considered statement of principles, in the same way as their English ancestors had published their fundamental beliefs during the English Civil wars. The American Declaration of Independence showed the influence of these English pamphleteers of the seventeenth century, of the English philosopher John Locke, and of the Frenchman, Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose *Social Contract* had appeared in 1762. These ideas now found expression in the words of Thomas Jefferson, which, slightly amended by Benjamin Franklin, echoed the sentiments of the whole of the American colonies.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident," said the Declaration of Independence,

that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

As a result of these beliefs Congress resolved "That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States."

War between England and the American colonies lasted until 1781. In George Washington the colonists found a leader able to weld into a fighting force a nation which never before had fought a war with all her resources. In 1783 Britain yielded and the Treaty of Versailles recognized the independence of the United States of America. Another nation had come into being.

The United States of America consisted at first of thirteen states to which others were added as the Americans expanded westward to the Pacific Ocean. There are now forty-eight. In 1787 a constitution, or form of government, was drawn up. Each state had certain rights of government, but the Federal Government, or government of all the states, was the highest

authority. Rule was to be by Congress and Senate elected by all over the age of twenty-four. Overriding even the President and the government was a fixed written constitution containing rules which no law could interfere with. The most important of these were freedom of conscience and freedom of speech.

Not long after it became a nation the United States had to face a great crisis. In the hot southern states great estates grew cotton and sugar on plantations worked by slave-labour. The North, with its temperate climate and less good agricultural land, concentrated more on industry and small-scale farming and made little or no use of slaves.

Conflict came to a head between North and South over several matters, but largely over the question of slave-labour. The United States were not untouched by the humanitarian movement against slavery which was so strong in England, and many states abolished the slave-trade; by 1805 seven states had done so. There still remained, however, four million slaves in the South, and the feeling against slavery became especially strong when, in 1833, England abolished slavery throughout the British Empire.

In 1860 the six great Southern slave-owning states decided to leave the Union of United States. But the Northern states knew that this would weaken their country and tried to keep them within the Union. As a result, in 1861 the American Civil War broke out, lasting for four years. In the course of the war many slaves from the South fled to the North, and Northern armies found themselves occupying slave-states. To deal with this situation, President Lincoln proclaimed the emancipation of all American Negro slaves within the Northern lines in September 1862.

President Lincoln did much to bring about the victory of the North and to keep the Southern States part of the United States of America. But in the very year of victory, as he was attending the theatre, a half-mad actor from the Southern state of Virginia found his way to the President's box and shot him dead before the crowded house.

CHAPTER XLVIII

The French Revolution

AMONG the Frenchmen who helped the British colonies in their fight against Britain was the Marquis de Lafayette, who raised his own small fighting force and the ship to carry it across the Atlantic. He and others brought home with them the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and its message that all men are created equal, that government depends upon the consent of the governed, and that it can be changed if the people so wish.

This was a message not lost upon France. The wars of Louis XIV had left the country bankrupt; the king governed as he wished, appointing and dismissing ministers at his pleasure; the feudal aristocracy had ceased to live upon their lands, but spent their time at court in idleness; the middle classes, who did most of the real work of the country, were poorly paid and not considered the equals of the aristocracy; the peasants were still mostly under feudal obligations to their lords, and miserably poor. There was little industry in France, such industrial workers as there were being poorly paid, with a very low standard of life. All classes, except the aristocracy, who were generally exempt, were subject to heavy taxation.

As a result France was divided into two groups—the king and the aristocracy on the one hand, privileged and powerful and ruling as they wished; and on the other the middle-classes, the peasants, and artisans—poor, burdened with taxation, shut off from the government of the country. The French Revolution was the work of the second group. Let us look at it a little more closely.

The middle-classes consisted of soldiers, lawyers, doctors, merchants, bankers, clergy, who filled the greater part of these important professions yet never rose to the top, for the highest places of honour and profit were reserved for the aristocracy. If they worked diligently and saved money much of it was taken in taxation; if they invested their savings they were likely to be ruined in one of the financial crises which constantly shook the country.

It was the middle-classes who read the American Declaration of Independence and who had imbibed the spirit of Jean Jacques Rousseau. Rousseau's *Social Contract*, published in 1762, told them that "Man is born free but is everywhere to be found in chains." He did not actually preach revolution, but his message undoubtedly meant that God made people free and that if a government enslaved them they should change that government.

The peasant on his land, meanwhile, was leading a life of grinding poverty. This was in spite of the fact that sometimes he owned the land he worked, having scraped and stinted and denied himself food and clothes in order to do so. But ownership often meant that he felt even more crushingly the weight of taxation and of feudal dues. Taxes had to be paid; the *corvée* took him from his own land to work for his feudal lord; he had to pay a due to his lord when he sold the produce of his land; he had to pay for grinding his corn at the lord's mill, for baking his bread in the lord's oven; there were other monopolies, tolls, and dues of great extent and variety.

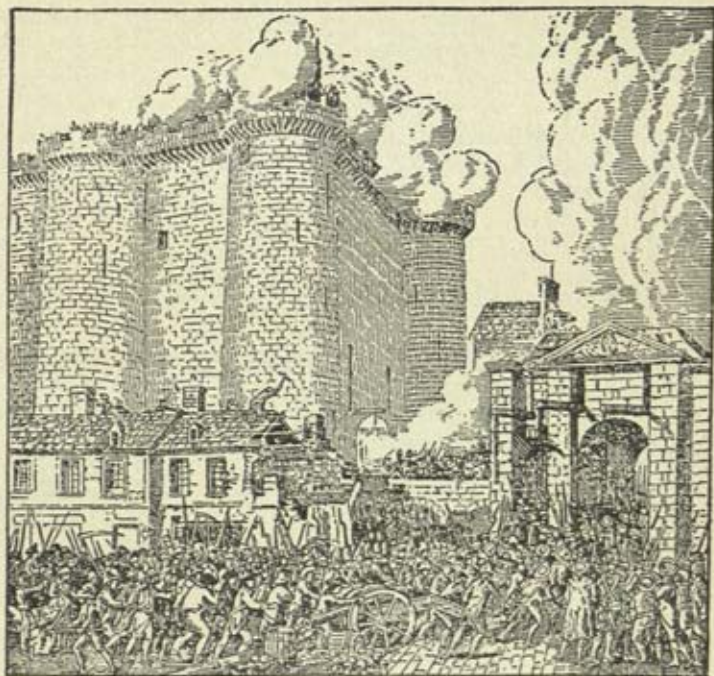
King Louis XVI, although in some ways kindhearted, was too weak to control the situation. A decree of 1774 had, it is true, abolished serfdom on the Royal estates, and a few feudal owners had followed suit. But this merely served to inflame the rest, while even the emancipated it left dissatisfied with continued taxation. The Austrian-born queen, Marie Antoinette, was gay and beautiful, with little thought for the hungry people who worked like slaves to keep her and her aristocratic court in luxury. The term 'Austrian' or 'Austrian woman,' became one of bitter hatred.

As in England in the seventeenth century, financial difficulties precipitated the crisis. While England was becoming wealthy through expanding trade and commerce eighteenth-century France had little industrial or commercial wealth. Wars had exhausted her and left heavy debts. The expenses of government mounted as population grew, and the extravagance of the court drained off large sums of money. Inefficiency failed to make the best use of what little money remained, and, since the rich were excused from most taxation, the people who could have paid made little contribution to the national finances.

With debts mounting, trade languishing, unemployment growing, and sheer starvation rampant in the city of Paris itself, the King in 1781 called a meeting of the States General,

an ancient form of French Parliament in which were represented the clergy, the nobility, and the commons. The commons were not the working-class, but representatives of the professional and middle-classes.

The calling of the States General seemed a real attempt at reform, and excitement rose, especially in Paris. While troops guarded its meetings from the mob newspapers sprang



STORMING THE BASTILLE

up (as they had done in revolutionary England 150 years earlier) to report news and urge a particular point of view. Political clubs of all shades of opinion came into existence to discuss each new development in the situation. In the country rioting and attacks on the houses of the aristocracy were common, while taxes remained unpaid.

In the States General itself a struggle for power was going on between the aristocracy, the clergy, and the commons. The clergy split, and many of them went over to the commons. The commons scored a victory by insisting that all three groups

meet together and be called the National Assembly. In this Assembly the commons and their supporters were a majority. Outside, they were supported by the excited mob of Paris. The King, fearing the result of such an alliance, determined to strike first, and troops were ordered to march on Paris. Paris responded by organizing its own government and its own troops—the Civil Guard, later known as the National Guard—who were part policemen, part soldiers. They were joined by regular soldiers stationed in Paris and broke open a Government store to secure weapons. They took as their emblem the three-colour flag of blue, red, and white, known as the tricolour.

Looking round for an objective, these forces, reinforced by the Paris mob, decided on the Bastille. This ancient fortress had been the prison of debtors and political offenders, many of whom had languished to death within its walls. It was the symbol of oppression and tyranny so foul that to call a place a *Bastille* was to give it the blackest possible name. It was, therefore, against more than a mere building, or even a prison, that the people threw itself on July 14, 1789. The ancient fortress surrendered in the afternoon, the Governor was murdered, prisoners were released, and the mob demolished the hated building as far as it was able. The lesson was plain for all to see. If the Bastille could fall all tyranny could be ended: the goal of the Revolution now became clearer.

CHAPTER XLIX

The Revolution and Napoleon

THE eyes of Europe were now fixed on France. The fall of the Bastille inspired fear in the hearts of governments and kings, elation in the breasts of reformers. "How much the greatest event the world has seen and how far the best!" exclaimed Charles James Fox, the eminent English statesman.

Paris then insisted that both the King and Queen, who were with the court at Versailles, should come to Paris, and that the National Assembly should also move to the capital. The King's brother and other aristocrats were sufficiently alarmed to leave the country secretly to fetch help.

The Assembly, meanwhile, was proceeding with the work of making a new constitution. On August 1, 1789, it adopted as the basis of the new constitution the Declaration of the Rights of Man, a document as famous as the American Declaration of Independence. It announced its belief "that ignorance, forgetfulness, or contempt of the rights of man are the only causes of public misfortunes and of the corruptions of governments" and declared as its first principle "in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being" that "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights."

How all the oppressed, how all reformers, looked to this document as to the bible! The American Declaration of Independence was narrower and more political; the English manifestos of the Civil Wars related to England and called upon Magna Carta. Here was a document universal in its application, a charter for all humanity. To all of liberal and humanitarian leanings a new era of kindly government seemed about to open, when all oppression would end and poverty and injustice be abolished. "Liberty, equality, fraternity," the slogan of the French Revolution, became the rallying cry of the oppressed all over Europe.

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven!

wrote the English poet Wordsworth. Coleridge, Southey, and other writers were equally enthusiastic. The "Rights of

Man " was reprinted in other languages ; the French tricolour was adopted by working-class groups in other countries.

The next step of the Assembly—the formal abolition of feudalism—seemed inevitable, since peasants all over France were taking the law into their own hands and burning their lords' châteaux and the charters that marked their bondage.

Then the Assembly turned to remodelling the Government. They followed the English pattern in maintaining a king who would be not a tyrant but a constitutional monarch. Also like the English, when it came to extending the franchise the French interpreted the Rights of Man as the rights of property-owners, and to them only accorded the vote.

It was given time to do little more. In 1791 the King, knowing he was virtually a prisoner in Paris, attempted to leave the country with his family. He found he was a prisoner indeed, and the royal party was turned back at the frontier at Varennes and brought back to the capital as prisoners.

French *émigrés* were meanwhile raising armies outside France to go to the assistance of the King; Marie Antoinette's Austrian relations were preparing to come to her aid, and in April 1792 France declared war on Austria.

This was the signal for the Revolution to begin its next phase and produce a new leader, Danton. The Revolution, Danton declared, was between two fires—the enemy at the frontier and the enemy at home. The destruction of the enemy at home was carried through with the brutality and indiscriminating destruction which history knows as the Reign of Terror. Member after member of the ruling class went to the guillotine in the September Massacres. On September 21, 1792, the Revolutionaries declared the monarchy abolished and a Republic established. The King, like a king of England one hundred and fifty years previously, was sent to trial on a charge of plotting against the nation, of paying foreign troops, and conspiring to overthrow the constitution. A unanimous vote declared Louis guilty; a majority of one condemned him to death. On January 21, 1793, he was guillotined. In October Queen Marie Antoinette followed her husband to the guillotine.

By this time many of the leading revolutionaries had themselves been guillotined by each other as different sections of the Revolution came to power. Europe watched, horrified, the rulers all fearing the effects on their own discontented populations, the working-class welcoming the power of the

people and trying to explain away the excesses of the revolutionaries, the intellectuals wavering, and many of them, like Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey, abandoning the cause which in its early days they had hailed with such enthusiasm.

When in 1793 the French offered help to all other peoples wishing to recover their liberty the British Government interpreted this as a threat of armed force. They put into operation repressive measures against their own people and joined Austria and Prussia, Holland, and Spain, in war against France.

France not only held her own against this coalition, but, as revolutionary group after revolutionary group came to power and failed to make a lasting government, the Terror gradually receded. Then, as often happens after a period of confusion, a strong man emerged to take charge of the country. Julius Cæsar had come to Rome after such a period, and the Roman Empire was established. Henry Tudor after the Wars of the Roses brought order and a new dynasty to England. Oliver Cromwell had emerged as the ruler of England from the turmoil of the Civil Wars. Now, Napoleon Bonaparte appeared as the saviour of France. He gave France a strong and settled government, he took over her wars, he faced the armies of nearly the whole of Europe as, no longer dreading revolution but fearful of the growing power of France, the Great Powers lined up against him.

For nearly twenty years this Corsican soldier of genius, who was also a great statesman, remodelled the map of Europe, creating kingdoms here and principalities there, giving thrones to his family and friends, high office to those who were loyal to him, promotion to every one who deserved it: every soldier of his army, he once said, carried a Field Marshal's baton in his knapsack.

Spain, Naples, Lombardy, Genoa, Westphalia, Holland, were won by Napoleon and received rulers from his family and friends—brother Joseph in Spain, sister Caroline and her husband in Naples, other brothers in Westphalia and Holland. Only at sea was he unable to surpass the British fleet under Nelson, and Trafalgar at sea stands as high in the list of British naval victories as Jena and Austerlitz in the land victories of Napoleon.

At last Napoleon met his match on land. It was no army or General who defeated him, however, but the long overland march which he undertook in order to subdue Russia. But

Russia remained invincible behind her great land frontiers and the bitter cold of her winter. Retreating from Moscow, Napoleon lost half a million men in the terrible cold of that long journey. While his armies were still weak Britain and the chief nations of Europe united to defeat him and compel his abdication. Napoleon was exiled to the island of Elba, off the Italian coast, but while the victors were considering their plans he escaped, put himself at the head of his faithful army, and met the British, with allied reinforcements, at Waterloo. Here Wellington finally defeated him in 1815. Napoleon was sent to St Helena, where he died six years later, and a Bourbon king, Louis XVIII, was recalled to the throne of France.

What had the French Revolution accomplished? It had achieved constitutional government, for the French monarchy, like the English, was shorn of its dictatorial powers. It had ended feudalism. It had brought more land to the French peasants, for the lands of the *émigrés* had been divided up. It had resulted in a more carefully organized government, including a code of laws (the *Code Napoléon*); a more efficient system of finance, a national bank, and a national university. Taxes had been much reduced; and social barriers had been broken down so that men of ability could rise in any profession.

In Europe the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity had aroused the desire both for personal freedom and for national freedom. Personal freedom was attained when in Germany, Austria, and, later, in Russia the remains of feudalism were swept away; but many peoples still remained subject to foreign rulers, particularly in the territories of the Hapsburgs and the Holy Roman Empire. The rulers were not able to suppress all the revolts which occurred in their territories and many new nations came into being.

Italy, for example, had been subject to invasion by Spanish, French, and Austrians. In the words of the Austrian statesman, Metternich, she was nothing more than a "geographical expression." After 1815 a nationalist and liberal movement came into being, which unified the country, drove out foreign rulers, and resulted in a united Italy which by 1870 took her place as one of the nations of Europe.

Germany since the Thirty Years War had been similarly weak and divided, but under the impulse of nationalism and the strong leadership of one of her states—Prussia—she too became a united nation and took her place in modern Europe.

In the south of Europe and in the Balkans there were similar

movements for national unity against the rule of the Hapsburgs or of the Turks. Greece, for example, who had been subject to the Ottoman Turks, achieved her independence in 1829, helped by many idealists and enthusiasts of other countries who were fired with the wish to liberate the ancient home of Greek civilization.

And so, from the French Revolution there arose not only modern France but a map of Europe looking more like the map we know to-day.

CHAPTER L

The Agrarian Revolution in Great Britain

WHEN Britain emerged victorious from the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 she had outstripped the rest of the world in economic and commercial development, and her agriculture, her industry, and her commerce were still expanding rapidly. So rapid were the developments which took place between the middle of the eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth century that we still speak of an Agrarian Revolution and an Industrial Revolution.

In 1750 Britain was a mainly agricultural country with the manufacture of woollen cloth her chief industry. By 1850 she was a largely industrial country, cotton had ousted wool as her chief manufacture, iron and steel and coal made the machines and supplied the power that drove new machinery in new factories, while canals, roads, and railways carried raw materials and their products from one place to another. At the same time population was growing rapidly and towns were expanding, while agriculture, itself changing with a speed which was revolutionary, was only in part supplying the food that fed the growing population. The rest was imported in exchange for manufactured goods.

In a series of developments so closely connected as these it is impossible to say which began first, for all depended on each other, and change—although it is not always rapid—is continuous: nothing ever stands still.

In Central and Southern England the open-field village, surrounded by its open fields, still existed in the middle of the eighteenth century as it had for hundreds of years. Farmers still used the old methods of cultivation with the inconvenience of scattered strips, of waiting for their neighbours, of leaving part of their land lying fallow, of herding all their cattle together.

The same classes were still there, though their names were different. The lord of the manor had become the squire. The freeman, or yeoman farmer, was generally the freeholder. Villeins had disappeared and feudal services were replaced

by rents; but their descendants were still recognizable in the tenant farmers of the English village. Some were prosperous enough, paying a fixed rent and secure on their holdings; others were less secure and likely to be turned off their land at short notice. Finally there were the squatters and cottagers. These for the most part had no land in the open fields and resembled the landless cottars of the medieval manor.

In the west and south-west and part of the Midlands enclosure for sheep-farming had taken place. From about 1760 there was more enclosure in the centre and south—this time not for sheep-grazing but for more efficient farming.

With a rapidly growing population, and a greater proportion of them engaged in industry and commerce, there was a constantly increasing demand for food of all kinds, for vegetables, for meat and dairy produce, and in particular for corn for bread. This could be supplied by bringing more land under cultivation—by ploughing up the waste or draining the fens; in this way about two million acres were enclosed and added to the cultivated land in the eighteenth century. Production could also be increased by getting a larger crop from each acre, and for this more efficient methods of farming were necessary.

Few improvements could be carried out while the open fields were farmed on the strip system, for no enterprising farmer could go ahead of his neighbours. Nor could the small farmer himself supply the money necessary for drainage or new implements or for experimenting with new crops. Therefore, before improvement could become general the open-field system had to go. Already the new land brought under cultivation was being farmed in large pieces; the squire and other big landowners were by 'strip-swapping,' and sometimes less scrupulous methods, contriving to get all their land in one piece and enclosing it. Sometimes the landowner received sanction of Parliament for his action in what was known as an Enclosure Act.

Enclosure of this kind had been going on slowly for many years. About 1750, however, the whole process quickened. Some indication of the speed of increase is given by the fact that between 1700 and 1760 there were just over 200 Enclosure Acts, while between 1760 and 1840 there were over 3500 Acts.

Methods of improving the yield of the land were gradually becoming known. For example, an appreciation of the value

of clover and of root-crops, such as turnips, was spreading. These crops were invaluable in 'cleaning' the soil instead of letting it lie fallow, and they made excellent cattle-food, which would keep animals alive during the winter so that fresh meat would be available all the year round. Small farmers were very slow to adopt what they termed 'gentleman's crops' that would not pay. But it must be remembered that they had no capital to spare for experiments: only a man with plenty of money dared take such risks. Foremost among those who did so was Lord Townshend, and as "Turnip Townshend" he has achieved the fame of popularizing in England not only the turnip but clover and even the potato.

Jethro Tull taught how to distinguish good seeds from bad, how to sow in straight lines at an even depth. When he had difficulty in finding labour to carry out his instructions he invented the first drill for the planting of seeds. Tull also taught the need to keep the earth between the rows well raked so that air and moisture could penetrate to the roots. He experimented with manures. He improved methods of drainage.

Meanwhile Robert Bakewell was experimenting with scientific stock-breeding, nearly trebling the weight of sheep and lambs, and doubling that of bees.

Finally, the new methods had to be made known and to become popular. In an age when communications were so bad that one part of the country literally did not know what another part was doing this took a long time. One of the great educators was Arthur Young, who in 1767 set out on a series of horseback journeys through the country.

The open-field system had to go to make way for better farming to feed more people. But the way in which it went brought suffering to thousands of people, and cannot be justified. The small farmer, the cottager, the squatter, were frequently driven off the soil, their cottages often pulled down. The land they had worked was enclosed and became part of a large estate. The English peasant village was destroyed and became as Oliver Goldsmith described it in *The Deserted Village* :

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay :
Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade ;
A breath can make them, as a breath has made ;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.



The disorder left by raiders in the antechamber of Tutankhamen's tomb. They penetrated no farther.

TUTANKHAMEN'S TOMB

[p. 284]

Photos Ashmolean Museum

Life-size statues of the King guarding the outermost shrine, which opened from the antechamber.

256





THE INNERMOST OF THE THREE COFFINS OF TUTANKHAMEN

This was of gold; the outer two were of wood.

[p. 284]



THE GOLD PORTRAIT MASK FOUND ON THE MUMMY

Photos Ashmolean Museum

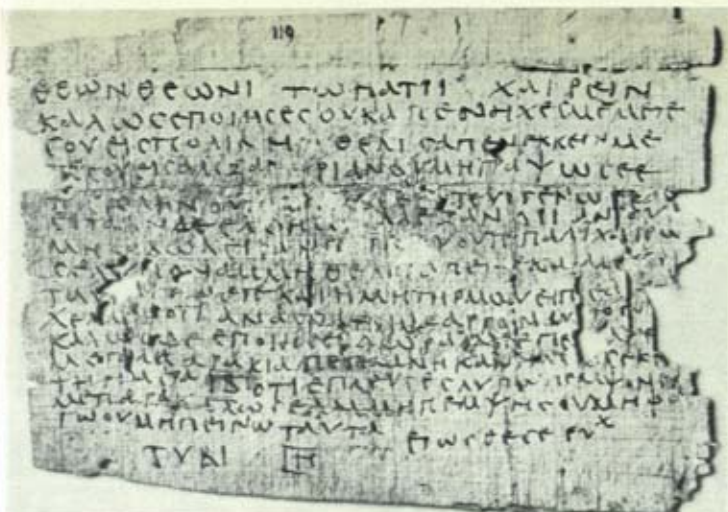


Photo Bodleian Library

WRITING ON PAPYRUS

An Egyptian boy's letter to his father, written in Greek in the second or third century A.D.

A LETTER WRITTEN IN CUNEIFORM ON CLAY

This was enclosed in a clay envelope (left); there is also a bone stylus for writing cuneiform. The letter was written about 1800 B.C.



Photo Ashmolean Museum

LATIN WRITING ON WAX

About A.D. 200.

Photo Bodleian Library





THE GREEK USE OF COLUMNS

The west end of the Parthenon.

Photo Mansell Collection



THE ROMAN USE OF THE ARCH

The Roman Colosseum.

Photo Mansell Collection

There was resistance, bitter and often violent, but all to no purpose. Great estates took the place of peasant farms. Methods of farming were improved, output was increased, profits rose. But the peasants were destroyed. In no other country of Europe are the working-classes so completely landless as in Britain.

CHAPTER LI

The Industrial Revolution in Great Britain

WE have seen how the woollen industry was England's chief source of wealth in the Middle Ages and in the Tudor period, and how a simple kind of factory system, organized by wealthy clothiers, developed in the south-west of the country.

In the middle of the eighteenth century there developed a series of changes which we call the Industrial Revolution. As in agriculture, the causes of the change were many. There was an increasing demand for manufactured goods from the growing population and from overseas markets. To meet this demand manufacturers were producing more goods and seeking easier and better ways of making them. At the same time the individual worker was always trying to do his work with the least effort and often devised labour-saving tools to this end.

The cotton industry was the first to use improved methods of production. This was partly because it was a new industry, trying to make headway and ready to experiment. The woollen industry was prosperous and accustomed to its old methods, in which much money was invested, and it consequently resisted change.

The long line of inventions in the textile industry began with John Kay's method of weaving with a flying shuttle. Before this a weaver, when weaving wide cloth, had to employ an assistant to stand at the opposite end of the loom to return the shuttle. Kay's device enabled the weaver to jerk his shuttle back with one hand. It doubled the amount of work a man could do, made possible wider cloth, and dispensed with an assistant. The flying shuttle was generally adopted about 1760.

About seven years later the spinning-jenny came into general use. The jenny was a device for spinning many threads at once—at first eight, later eighty. It was invented by James Hargreaves and named after his wife. Other improvements of many kinds followed, spreading out to bleaching, dyeing, printing, and finishing the cloth.

Side by side with the new methods of spinning and weaving

there developed new power to drive the machines and new materials with which to make them. Wooden machinery, turned by hand or by animals or by water, was replaced by iron machinery driven by steam. Coal became doubly important: in making steam and in smelting iron. When machines were driven by water, factories were found in the Pennines and Derbyshire hills and other districts whose swift-rushing streams would drive their wheels. When machines were driven by steam, factories were found on the coal fields. The man who first used steam power to drive machinery was James Watt.

All these heavy goods—coal and iron and machinery—and the textiles themselves and their raw materials could not be carried on the roads of Britain. These had scarcely changed since the Middle Ages, and were far less good than they had been in Roman Britain. The best parts were those kept up by the Turnpike Trusts, private companies who managed a stretch of road, put gates at either end, and charged the traveller for the privilege of passing through. Though turnpike roads were better than most, they caused a great deal of inconvenience and expense. Within a radius of one mile from London alone there were a hundred Turnpike gates, and there were no through roads. In winter many stretches of road were deep in mud, the overturning and bogging down of coaches was common, and many people never travelled more than walking distance from their homes.

The horse was the only means of transport, either carrying people and baggage on his back, or drawing carts, coaches, and carriages. River and sea transport were used to some extent, but served part of the country only.

Before the Industrial Revolution could make any real progress it was necessary either to improve the roads of Britain or to find an alternative. Both ways were tried. Roads were built with hard surfaces, and provided with drainage. A good alternative was found in canals, artificial water highways which could be cut wherever needed and which had no current. In this way they were superior to rivers as a means of transporting bulky goods. The first of them, the Bridgewater Canal, opened in 1761, was designed to bring the Duke of Bridgewater's coal from Worsley to the cotton town of Manchester.

By 1831 a network of canals covered the Midlands and north of England and linked them to the capital. Along these new highways moved bulky barges with their cargoes, not only of coal and iron and pottery and clay, but of corn and flour and

potatoes, the transport charges being a quarter, or less, than they would have been by road. Like the Turnpike roads, they had their disadvantages, for they were controlled by many different canal companies and varied in level, depth, and gauge. Barges had to be taken through many locks, and frequent transshipment was often necessary in the course of a single journey. Nevertheless, canals carried the goods of the early Industrial Revolution until they were superseded by railways.

Railways were made possible by James Watt's steam engine. In 1825 the Stockton-Darlington line was opened. Five years later followed the Liverpool-Manchester, for which George Stephenson designed his famous *Rocket*. Railways met with considerable opposition at first. People were frightened of the 'locomotive monster' belching fire and smoke. Cattle, they predicted, would be terrified. The railway train, it was said, "would be the greatest nuisance, the most complete disturbance of quiet and comfort in all parts of the kingdom, that the ingenuity of man could invent." Nevertheless, the opening of a new railway was made a great social occasion, which people attended in their best dresses; and railways spread rapidly over the whole country, proving better than roads or canals for carrying both goods and passengers. Third-class passengers at first had a difficult time, travelling on certain trains only and then frequently in open carriages on hard wooden seats. As railway travel became more popular not only did third-class conditions improve, but sleeping-cars and dining-cars were added.

The prosperity of Britain in the nineteenth century depended on railways as much as on coal and cotton. Canals gradually declined, and roads, until the coming of the motor-car at the end of the century, were very much slower. Several people designed steam carriages that would do the same on a road without rails as a train on a railroad, but the engines were always too big and clumsy for light road vehicles.

The bicycle, however, began its successful career. The first bicycle was a machine known as a hobby-horse. It had two wheels and a saddle, but no pedals. The rider sat astride, propelling himself by pushing his feet against the ground until he had sufficient speed or reached a downward incline, so that he could raise his legs in front or behind him and be carried along. Later came the so-called penny-farthing, a machine with a front wheel of great size and a small back wheel. Not

until some one designed a machine with geared wheels of equal size connected by a chain was the modern bicycle born.

In the streets of towns horse-carriages for private use were widely used by the middle of the nineteenth century. More important was the ancestor of the modern omnibus, which was introduced into England from France in 1829, and was drawn by three horses.

Even bigger distances were made to seem smaller in the nineteenth century. The wooden sailing-ships of Drake and Nelson were replaced by iron ships driven by steam. America, Australia, New Zealand, were all brought nearer to Britain. The first electric telegraph was operated in Britain in 1839, and communication by telegraph was made between Britain and the United States in 1866. In 1876 the first telephone message was sent by Graham Bell, a Scotsman living in America. Wireless communication did not come, however, until the beginning of the twentieth century.

So Britain became the workshop of the world. For half a century she reigned supreme, richer and more prosperous than any other nation. She exported cotton goods, machinery, iron and steel, woollen goods, and very much more. She imported, among other things, raw cotton, raw wool, timber and food. This meant that she was more than ever dependent upon her ships, for unless they brought her food her people would starve. But she had the ships and the sailors, and no major war disturbed her traffic lines.

It was impossible that Britain, or any country, could maintain such a lead for long. Britain had her Industrial Revolution before the rest of the world for several reasons. She had plentiful supplies of coal and iron; they were found close together, so that the iron could easily be smelted with the coal; they were near ports for easy shipment. She had a population who for long had been free to move from place to place and so could supply the labour needed in the new factories; she had colonies to supply raw cotton, and markets for the finished goods were waiting both at home and abroad; seamen, practised in navigation, could speedily carry the finished goods and the raw materials; capital supplied by the wealthy merchants whom for centuries her trading enterprises had enriched was available for new ventures; few restrictions hampered her industry and her trade; she enjoyed comparative peace at home, and the Napoleonic Wars, though they took much of her resources, were not fought on her own

soil. Other countries had some of these advantages ; no one else had them all.

But in the modern world no country moves alone, and other countries followed where Britain led. These had the advantage of starting where Britain left off, and they were able to use many new and efficient processes. Germany, in particular, produced many excellent scientists and inventors ; the United States of America had the advantage of vast reserves of manpower and raw materials. By 1880 Britain was facing fierce competition from other countries, which intensified as the century drew to its close.

CHAPTER LII

The Working Classes in the Industrial Revolution

THE Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions changed the appearance of England. By the middle of the nineteenth century her waste-land and her forest land had mostly disappeared, as she put it all under the plough. Towns had grown sprawling out across the countryside and belching the black smoke of their factories into what was once pure country air. Industrialism also changed the lives of her people. In coal-mines, in factories, in workshops, the first workers of the Industrial Revolution led lives of hardship, poverty, and misery.

In the cotton mills children and adults of both sexes were employed, six being the admitted age of starting work, although children were often sent to the mills at three or four years old. They worked for as many as nineteen hours a day in busy periods, twelve hours being a normal day's work. Overseers whipped them to keep them awake, but they sometimes, through sheer fatigue, fell into the moving machinery and were killed or maimed. Children were made to clean the machines while they ate their food, with the result that they became ill through swallowing dirt and dust or mutilated themselves on the moving machines.

Not only did the machinery itself injure the workpeople, but the nature of the work itself frequently resulted in deformity. A girl named Elizabeth Bentley was a little doffer, her work being to remove the full bobbins from the spinning-machine and supply empty ones. She started work at six years old and "was as straight a little girl as ever went up and down town" until at the age of thirteen her work at the mill began to tell on her and she became quite deformed.

Then there were the little daughters of Samuel Coulson, who in the busy season started work at three o'clock in the morning and ended at ten or half past ten at night. In all those nineteen hours they had only a quarter of an hour for their breakfast, half an hour for dinner, and a quarter of an hour for an extra drink. Frequently the whole of those breaks for food was taken up in cleaning the machinery, and their

food was brought home uneaten. The eldest daughter caught her finger in the machinery, and it was screwed off below the knuckle. The children were frequently strapped to keep them awake and brought home 3s. 7½d. each for the whole week's work.

A rigid discipline was enforced on adults and children alike. The factories became very hot, but for opening a window the penalty could be a fine of 1s. ; for washing himself the worker might be fined 2s. ; if he could raise his spirits sufficiently to whistle while at work he could be fined another 1s.

In coal mines there was a similar story of the employment of children for long hours, of brutal overseers, and frequent punishment. Children began work below ground as early as four years old, eight or nine being the common age. They worked below ground for twelve, thirteen, fourteen hours, or even longer. The youngest—mere babies of four or so—were employed as 'trappers.' They sat with a string in their hands to open the 'traps' when a coal-cart passed, closing it afterwards. In most cases the trappers were in total darkness all the time and quite alone.

Many of the children working in the mines never saw the daylight for months at a stretch ; it was dark when they descended the pit, dark below, and dark when they ascended. Hear Sarah Gooder, eight years old, speak :

I'm a trapper in the Gauber Pit. I have to trap without a light, and I'm scared. I go at four and sometimes half-past three in the morning, and come out at five and half-past. I never go to sleep. Sometimes I sing when I've light, but not in the dark ; I dare not sing then. I don't like being in the pit. I am very sleepy when I go sometimes in the morning.

From the age of six some of the children began to work with the women at the task of bringing the coal from the coal-face, where it was hewn, to the main-roads of the pit at the bottom of the shaft. There were several methods of carting, or 'putting' as it was called. Sometimes a chain was fastened to a leather girdle round the putter's waist. The chain passed between the legs and was then fastened to a cart. Where the passages were very low the putter had to crawl on all fours, dragging the cart behind her, like an animal. Sometimes the women and girls actually carried the coal on their backs.

There was another group of child-workers, not confined to the factory or mine, but leading equally hard and dangerous

lives. These were the chimney-sweeps, little boys, sometimes little girls, who climbed up into the flues of chimneys to sweep them :

When my mother died I was very young,
And my father sold me while yet my tongue
Could scarcely cry "'weep ! 'weep ! 'weep ! 'weep !"
So your chimneys I sweep, and in soot I sleep.

Sometimes boys were apprenticed to a sweep by parents who thought it a worth-while trade—better perhaps than mining or factory work. Often poor parents sold their children for as much as £5 each. The smaller the boy the bigger the price. Often a suitable boy would be kidnapped. They began work at six years old—"a nice trainable age," as one master said.

Their knees and elbows were rubbed with strong brine close by a hot fire to harden them. Even so, they came back from their first attempts at climbing with their elbows and knees streaming with blood. Then the hardening process began over again. Only sheer terror of their masters, who sometimes stuck pins in their feet to make them go up or lit paper behind them, drove them up the chimney ; terror of the dark sooty flue, often hot from newly extinguished fires, drove them down again. It was not uncommon for a little boy to be suffocated in a chimney, even burnt to death by the hot flues. Then there would be an inquiry. But for the most part people took as little notice of the climbing boys as they did of the miners or the factory workers.

This kind of life in mine and factory was being forced on people who until recently had lived in villages in the country. True, life there had often been hard and wages small ; children worked from an early age in the fields, or helped with the hand-spinning and weaving. But this was by no means the same as the dark discipline of the factory and the mine with a machine calling the tune and an overseer enforcing it. At home there was the cottage-garden, a breath of fresh air, and a turn or two around the little plot of land. And a man could take a drink of water or whistle at his work without being fined for doing so.

Now, home meant a crowded tenement in a crowded town. Factory workers pressed in on old medieval towns. New towns came into existence. Builders ran up ramshackle back-to-back houses for profit ; older houses were let out floor by floor, room by room, to whole families. There was no pretence at

comfort, little idea of cleanliness. The streets of all save the main thoroughfares were unpaved, full of holes, of rubbish, and of dirt. Often no water was available within ten minutes' walk ; sometimes water was so scarce that it was sold. " Many of the poor beg water," it was said, " some of them steal it." With water scarce for drinking, it is not surprising that washing and cleaning took second place. Whole families slept and cooked and ate in one room. They were too poor to buy furniture. Their beds were frequently old mattresses and sacks on the floor. Cholera and typhus fever were frequent : these were the plagues of nineteenth century England as surely as the Black Death had been of the Middle Ages.

These—the destruction of the open-field village, the dispossession of the peasant, slavery in factory and mine, dirty and pestilential town-life, the loss of fields and open spaces as playgrounds—were some of the evils brought about by the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions in Britain.

CHAPTER LIII

Reform in Great Britain : By the People

How were these evils dealt with ?

The workers themselves in various ways tried to improve the conditions of their lives. They smashed machines, they sent petitions to Parliament, they rioted, there were strikes in different parts of the country. They organized political societies, they formed trade unions, they won the right to vote.

The state, meantime, by means of legislation gradually improved working conditions, regulated wages, cleaned up the towns.

The stories of these achievements carry us right through the nineteenth century and up to the present day. The working people did not win improvements without effort, nor did the State easily undertake regulation. The stories consequently are often of struggle and of repression, but also of humanity, of steadfastness, and of sheer hard work.

In industry workers at first tried to fight the machine itself. Bands of workers, called Luddites, claiming that they were acting on the orders of King Lud, or Ned Lud, went round burning factories and smashing the machines they hated. This could not stop industrialization. At best it provided only a temporary halt, and the Government was ruthless in its punishment, imprisoning, transporting, and executing those who were caught.

Another time unemployed people marched from the north of England to London to deliver a petition to the Prince Regent, asking for reform. They carried blankets for camping out at night and were called the Blanketeers.

Many plots were made when the Revolution was proceeding in France, when some Englishmen were hoping to follow the example of the French, overthrow the ruling class, and establish a Republic. The Government was alarmed, dealt harshly with the conspirators, and suppressed all working-men's clubs, societies, meetings, and newspapers.

Among the societies it suppressed were the trade unions. Trade unions were quite modern. The medieval worker had his place in his guild, whether as apprentice, journeyman, or

master, and the guild was, in fact, his trade organization, or union. When the line between master and man became more rigid, when the employer tried to keep wages down and hours of work up, when the workman no longer owned the tools of his trade, then men began to organize against masters and formed themselves into trade unions, which were, in fact, workmen's unions.

The Government, alarmed by events in France, made trade unions illegal by the Combination Act of 1799. Not until twenty-five years later, largely through the work of Francis Place, a tailor by trade, was the Government persuaded to lift the ban so that trade unions again became legal. Since then they have had a strong career of fight and a record of success in improving working-class conditions.

Other practical ways in which the workmen of Britain helped themselves were by the Friendly Society and through the principle of co-operation.

The Guilds had had sick funds which helped a man and his family when he was ill and unable to work, and after the guilds decayed this tradition was continued in Friendly Societies. Workmen made contributions while they were in work, and when they fell on hard times received help from the Society.

The principle of co-operation had two forms. In one it was a striving towards an ideal society in which every one co-operated in the work and every one shared in the profit. This co-operative commonwealth was the aim of many working-class movements in the nineteenth century. More practical was the form of co-operation which a group of flannel weavers in Rochdale put into operation in 1844.

Their immediate object was to sell good-quality goods at prices lower than people had to pay elsewhere. But if they sold them at lower prices than the shops they would become involved in difficulties with shopkeepers. Instead, they decided on the principle of the dividend. Customers would buy articles at the regular market price; but at certain intervals the Rochdale Pioneers would add up their profits and divide them between their customers, in accordance with the amount of money they had spent, and the store itself. The idea was amazingly successful, and ten years later co-operative societies in all parts of the country were modelled upon the first little shop in Toad Lane, Rochdale. Throughout the century and up to the present day the Co-operative Movement has spread.

Meantime, as capitalism developed and the country grew more ugly with its great dirty towns and its shrieking factories,

as people's lives became more drab and miserable, and some grew very rich while others became poorer, some people began to ask if this must always be so.

Foremost among those who answered no, and who suggested an alternative, was Robert Owen. Owen was born in 1771. He was apprenticed to a draper and at the age of twenty was the manager of one of Manchester's largest factories. Finally he became a partner in the great Scottish cotton mills of New Lanark. He introduced many reforms into the New Lanark mills, shortening hours of work, building good houses for his workpeople, organizing schools for both children and their parents, arranging dancing and singing classes for his workpeople. Above all, Owen was the great prophet of the Co-operative Commonwealth. He believed that the workers themselves should own the factories in which they worked and should share the profit. He and others like him were called socialists.

Many people from different walks of life believed in this socialist doctrine. Often details of their beliefs varied, but the broad principle was the same. Some, like Charles Kingsley the novelist, called themselves Christian Socialists. Some believed, like Robert Owen, that it was possible to make all people socialists by means of education. People would gradually, they thought, be persuaded to see that inequality was wrong and they would then willingly help the change to come about peacefully. Others said, No; the capitalist and the rich man would not willingly give up their wealth. There would have in the end to be a revolution, for which the workers should prepare. Karl Marx, a German who lived in London at the end of the nineteenth century, believed and taught this.

One of the greatest socialists of the end of the nineteenth century was a man who was not concerned with industry but was by temperament and profession an artist and a poet. He was rich enough to have most of the beautiful and comfortable things he desired, and yet he passionately concerned himself in the fight for socialism. William Morris, who lived from 1834 to 1896, became a socialist for many reasons—partly because he hated the ugliness of Victorian art and design and did in fact decorate his own house and furnish it entirely himself, going on to design and manufacture wallpapers and fabrics at his own mills. But this was not enough. Looking round him, he saw that others were too poor to enjoy or even to know anything of the beautiful things of the world. "I

ask . . . myself," he once wrote to a friend, "how could you bear it yourself? . . . What would you feel if you were poor against the system under which you live? . . . Nothing can argue me out of this feeling, which I say plainly is a matter of religion to me: the contrasts of rich and poor are unendurable and ought not to be endured by either rich or poor."

In a book *News from Nowhere* Morris painted a picture of the ideal socialist society, where the work was shared by all, where unpleasant work was done in turns, where no work was considered degrading, and where all shared the comfort and happiness of a simple life.

CHAPTER LIV

Reform in Great Britain: The State

THE chief way in which the workers were finally protected from the worst abuses of industrialism was by legislation. We have seen how in the Tudor period the State regulated hours of work and wages and sometimes prevented unemployment. In the nineteenth century there was at first a feeling that the State should stand aside and let the employer and his workpeople come to an arrangement themselves. This was called *laissez-faire*, or the policy of leaving alone. It was partly because the State had left them alone that the industrialists had built their enterprises, made their enormous profits, and brought great wealth to the country; and so there seemed at first a case for applying *laissez-faire* to all branches of industry.

It did not work, however, when applied to the relations between workmen and their employers, because when it came to bargaining workmen were in a much weaker position than their masters: they needed the assistance of the State to enable them to come to reasonable terms.

The State was reluctant to act for various reasons; partly because the Government consisted of many men who were themselves factory-owners or their friends, and partly because some of them believed firmly in *laissez-faire* and thought they would do more harm than good by interfering.

Factory-owners like Robert Owen introduced reforms into their own factories, and were anxious for the law to make them compulsory; for it was clear that only if *compelled* to do so would all factory-owners shorten hours of work and improve working conditions. So the object of the factory reform movement was to persuade the Government to pass Factory Acts that would apply to all mills.

The reformers worked hard in organizing committees before which they brought factory workers to tell the sad stories of their lives. It is hard to understand how difficult it was to achieve reform. How could anyone hear the story of the little doffer and of Samuel Coulson's children and then oppose factory reform? Yet men who were kind husbands

and fathers and devout Christians and supporters of the movement for freeing Negro slaves often did so on the grounds that reform would increase their costs of production and would be an interference with private property. "What a pity," exclaimed John Fielden, "that these thirty-five thousand factory children happen to be white instead of black!" Richard Oastler wrote in 1830 the *Letters on Yorkshire Slavery*, in which he pointed to "the little white slaves of the factories." Time and again the reformers' efforts were defeated. The employers kept pressing for more evidence. As if, exclaimed John Fielden, himself a factory-owner but in favour of reform, as if you needed *evidence* to demonstrate that it was bad for a child of ten to work twelve or fourteen hours a day in a factory!

But in spite of opposition reform was gradually won, not only in the cotton mills but in other factories, in the mines, and where the little chimney-sweeps were at work. A Ten Hours Act in 1847 limited the hours of women and children, although not of men, in the cotton mills; the Mines Act of 1842 prohibited the work underground of women and girls and of boys under ten years of age; the Act of 1875 compelled chimney-sweeps to get a licence from the police, who would see that they did not employ boys under twenty-one to climb chimneys. There was still more to be done, but these Acts started the long line of factory and labour legislation which now controls so much of factory life.

There was a further problem to be considered in health and housing. The population of England, which in the reign of Elizabeth I was perhaps five millions, was still under seven millions in 1760. Then it leaped upward. In 1801 it was nearly nine millions. Then it doubled itself in fifty years, being nearly eighteen millions in 1851. We have seen how this population pressed in on the towns, causing slum conditions, dirt, squalor, and disease. Yet even here the Government was no quicker to act than it had been with factories. Public health was no one's concern or special responsibility. Should the towns act? Or the parish? Or the Government? Not until 1848 did the Government decide to take action, and a Public Health Act was passed. But it was half-hearted and ineffective, and no one was made really responsible. The slums of Britain's great cities remained a blot on the country right through the century.



NORMAN ARCHITECTURE
St John's Chapel, Tower of London.

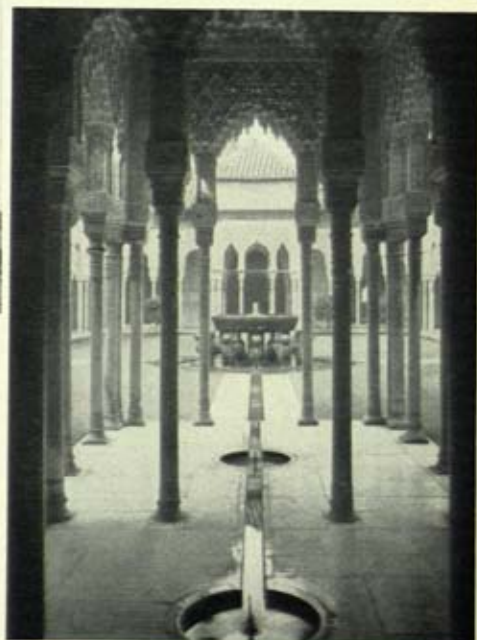
Photo National Buildings Record



SAXON BUILDING

St Peter on the Wall, Bradwell, Essex, built
in the seventh century A.D.

Photo H.M.S.O.



MOORISH ARCHITECTURE

The Court of the Lions, Granada, Spain.

Photo Spanish Tourist Office



GOTHIC BUILDING
Lincoln Cathedral, England.

Photo Mansell Collection

**ITALIAN RENAISSANCE
BUILDING**

Palazzo Pietro Massimi, Rome, 1535.
Columns and pilasters on the ground storey are combined with the firm line of the stone façade above and regular, well-proportioned windows. The building is curved to follow the line of the street.

Photo Mansell Collection

273



To Britain's credit, however, is the fact that the nineteenth century saw the virtual completion of the democratic government whose beginnings we saw in earlier chapters. At the opening of the century the only people who could vote were the landowners and certain privileged people in the towns who, for one reason or another, had won the right in the Middle Ages.

This was very unsatisfactory to wealthy factory owners and merchants who, because they owned no land, could not even vote for a Member of Parliament. Still less could they become Members of Parliament themselves, for only landowners were eligible for election.

The factory-owners, merchants, and others comprising the middle classes of England decided to change the position. They did so by buying land and getting elected to Parliament. They also threw their energy and their wealth into a campaign to extend the vote. They were supported by the working classes, who, although they disliked the factory-owners, wanted the vote for themselves.

After a hard and bitter struggle the middle classes won the vote for themselves by the Reform Act of 1832, but the workers were excluded. They never forgot 'the Great Betrayal.' Their answer was Chartism.

It seemed to them that until they were able to vote for their own Members of Parliament the laws of the country would always be against them. So they drew up a Charter which demanded the vote for all men over twenty-one years of age, with a fresh election each year. It required that any man could be elected to Parliament, and that M.P.'s should be paid, so that even the poorest man could give up his work and go to the House of Commons.

Many excited meetings were held by Chartists all over the country. In the north of England great torchlight processions were held on the moors attended by hundreds of thousands of people. "Fight to the knife for child and wife," was one of their slogans. "Universal suffrage or universal revenge," read another.

Three times the Chartists organized a giant petition to present to the House of Commons demanding the vote for the people. The third petition boasted five and a half million signatures, but checking revealed many frivolous names like "the Duke of Wellington," "Queen Victoria," and "Pug-nose."

The Chartist movement alarmed the Government and caused it to station troops in London under the Duke of Wellington ;

but the Chartists were too divided among themselves to achieve success. After 1848 the movement declined, having kept the Government in a state of repeated alarm for ten years.

But most of the demands of the Chartists were won later on. Committees kept alive the idea of universal suffrage, and in 1867 the right to vote was extended to the workmen in the towns. In 1884 the agricultural labourers and miners were given the vote, and so all men over the age of twenty-one, whatever their occupation or income, were enfranchised. Meanwhile an Act of 1858 allowed any person who was not a criminal to stand for election to Parliament, and the Ballot Act of 1872 made the secret ballot compulsory, so that every one could vote without fear of intimidation.

So by 1870 political democracy in all its essentials had been achieved in Britain. The extension of the vote to women and the payment of Members of Parliament followed later.

To political democracy must be added freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, and freedom of the Press. The toleration partially achieved after the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century was extended until the universities, the Government services, the professions, and the House of Commons were all open to men of all religious belief, and all forms of worship were tolerated so long as they did not involve blasphemy or disturbance of the peace.

The freedom to speak and to write without censorship, which similarly had been growing since Milton's great plea for liberty, had also by the end of the nineteenth century given freedom to speak and to print anything that was not blasphemous (offending the law of God), seditious (interfering with the security of the State), or obscene (outraging morality). Thus political liberty, with freedom of conscience, of speech, and of the Press, combined to give to the people of Britain a high degree of personal freedom, which they have vigorously defended against all threats of outside dictatorship.

CHAPTER LV

The British Empire

THE American Colonies had separated from Britain in 1776 ; the Spanish colonies of South America broke away from Spain during the Napoleonic Wars. But colonization continued. America was pushing westward over her continent until she had settled the whole area from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean ; Canada was doing the same ; Britain herself was adding more territory to her empire ; and the other nations of Europe were seeking to follow her example.

The most important new countries to be developed by Britain were New Zealand and Australia. New Zealand had been discovered by Tasman, a Dutchman, in 1642—Australia even before that ; but neither country had been settled by white men. Captain Cook, on a voyage of discovery from England to the South Seas, reached the east coast of New Zealand in 1769 and mapped the whole of its coastline. He then proceeded to the eastern coast of Australia, which he named New South Wales, and mapped that also.

Australia was first used as a British convict settlement, a sentence of deportation to Botany Bay being one of the worst that a criminal could receive. But with the exploration and opening up of the interior, the introduction of the merino sheep, and the realization of the excellent grazing qualities of the land, convict settlement gave way to 'free' settlement. The growth of Australian population, however, depended more on the discovery of gold in the middle of the nineteenth century than on sheep ; though sheep in the end contributed more to her prosperity. In 1855 Australia was given her own responsible government.

New Zealand was never used as a convict settlement, although convicts sometimes escaped from Australia and landed there. Until 1840 it was largely whalers and other traders who settled. After the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 with the Maori chiefs British settlers came in greater numbers to practise agriculture. From 1856 New Zealand began to govern herself.

At the same time, to her West Indian islands acquired in the seventeenth century Britain was adding others in the Pacific,

including Tonga and Fiji. From India she reached out to Burma and Assam. Arakan and the Island of Singapore, the Malay Peninsula and the Straits Settlements, Gibraltar and Malta and Hongkong became British.

There was another large continent whose coastline had been known to Europeans for many centuries but whose interior had never been explored. Africa had been known to Henry the Navigator. The Cape of Good Hope had been rounded, settlements made on the coast, the Gold Coast had supplied slaves. The area round the Cape of Good Hope had been settled by the Dutch and called Cape Colony. When during the Napoleonic Wars the Dutch for a time became the allies of the French the English took advantage of the fact to land a small army on the Cape. There was little resistance, and Britain afterwards paid the Dutch a sum of money in order to remain there together with the Dutch settlers.

In West Africa, meanwhile, exploration inland from Sierra Leone and Lagos was revealing valuable products like palm-oil and rubber. Exploration became more intensive after the middle of the century, explorers not only pushing inland from the west but northwards from the Cape. Natives were often found in a miserable condition, fighting among themselves, crippled with disease. Doctors and missionaries combined with explorers and imperialists of many nations to 'open up' the interior of Africa.

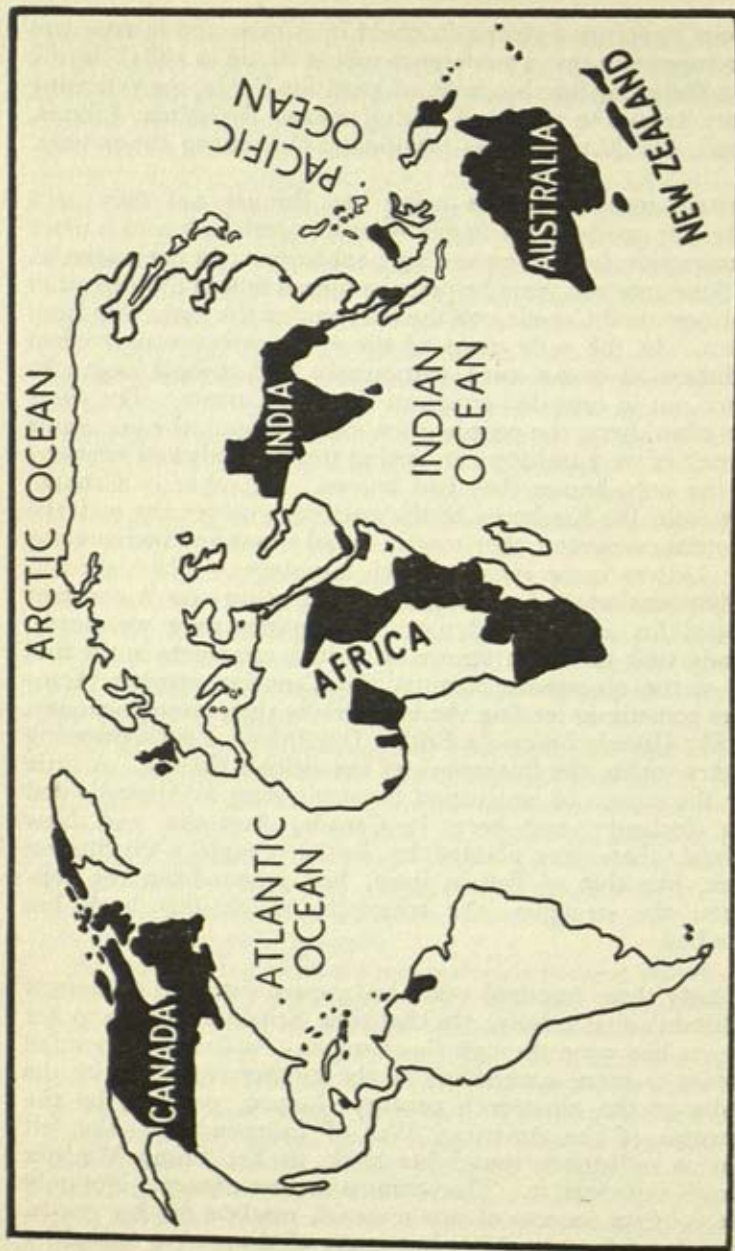
King Leopold of the Belgians proposed that this 'opening up' should be done under the white man's direction and by international agreement. The International African Association was formed with Leopold as President, and one of the greatest explorers of the time—Henry Stanley—was employed by Leopold to help him organize the administration of the great Congo river, which became the Congo Free State under the rule of Leopold himself.

As the wealth of Africa's raw materials became known, there developed a wild scramble among the European nations to possess themselves of portions of African territory. Most of them had by this time become highly industrialized nations, and they regarded Africa as an excellent market for their goods, as well as a source of raw materials. The fact that the United States had now spread from coast to coast of her continent, that Russia sprawled across the east of Europe from the Pacific to the North Sea, that Britain straddled the world, not in a complete block, but in a series of continents, sub-continents, and islands, made other countries more than ever

anxious to secure a strong foothold in Africa. So intense was the competition that a conference met at Berlin in 1884 "laying down the rules for the game of partition." In the following twenty years the whole of Africa, except Abyssinia, Liberia, Tripoli, and Morocco was partitioned out among the powers.

Britain meanwhile was using her Empire not only as a market for goods and a source of raw materials, but as a place of emigration for her expanding population. As her ancestors had done over 200 years before, she turned first to the American Continent, and Canada was the first goal of the emigrants from Britain. In the early years of the nineteenth century, when conditions at home were particularly bad, people began to stream out in crowded emigrant ships to Canada. The ships were often dirty, the people often short of food, the emigrants themselves were unhappy at parting from friends and relations and the only homes they had known. Yet once in Canada, away from the harshness of the enclosure movement and the industrial revolution, they mostly found a new and invigorating life. Letters home spoke of their happiness. The Canadian frontier was pushed westward so that there was a constant demand for labour, and more immigrants were welcomed. Canada took the main stream of British emigrants in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Canadian farmers themselves sometimes lending the immigrants their passage-money. In 1867 Canada became a British Dominion—a self-governing country within the framework of the British Empire. A little later the stream of emigration became strong to Australia and New Zealand; and here, in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, there was planted by British people a civilization which, like that of Britain itself, had grown from the conquests, the struggles, the triumphs, which this book has described.

Nearly three hundred years had passed since the settlement of Britain's first colony. In that time Britain's attitude to her colonies had gone through three stages. At first she regarded colonies as mere appendages to the mother country; by the middle of the nineteenth century—helped, perhaps, by the bitterness of the American War of Independence—she felt them as millstones round her neck, as her Prime Minister Disraeli expressed it. Then came a further change. Not only were colonies sources of raw material, markets for her goods, ports of call for her ships, but many of them were settled by



THE BRITISH EMPIRE AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT

Compare this sprawling empire, straddling the world, and fronting four oceans, with the compact Roman Empire, centred on the Mediterranean (p. 71).

her own people with institutions like her own. Not only in the Dominions, but in Kenya, the Gold Coast, Hong kong—from one end of the world to the other—British people and British customs could be found. Britain began to take an intense pride in the Empire. A desire to maintain its political unity replaced the reluctance to assume political control that had been so apparent in India. The intense patriotism of Joseph Chamberlain and Rudyard Kipling was given colour by great pageants of Empire like that which marked Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887, and substance by the series of colonial conferences which began in the same year.

The British Empire was the greatest in extent that the world had seen. Like the Romans, the British carried their language and their law, their arts and manufactures, their methods of government, their medicine and their religion, all over their Empire. As in Roman times, war and conquest caused much suffering to many native peoples before this was done. Perhaps we may ask if any empire is ever worth this? Perhaps we may answer that empires will always rise, and empires will always fall, as they have done from Egypt and Assyria to Rome and Britain, but that as civilization has progressed man has learnt that empires are best held together by humanity and self-government, just as he has learnt that civilizations are more likely to survive when they are based on the work of free people and not on that of slaves.

CHAPTER LVI

The Modern World and the Continuity of History

TUDOR England was in many ways like medieval England. But nineteenth-century England was vastly different from both. The mere question of size was overwhelming, the population of 1851 being nearly six times that of Elizabethan England. Most of the increased population was in the towns, and the result was apparent in the overcrowding, slums, and dirt of the great cities.

Disgust with the condition of towns in nineteenth-century England must not make us forget that Tudor towns were dirty too. But, since they were smaller, there were fewer people crowded together and the countryside was nearer. Nor did their inmates spend most of their waking hours in hot, dirty factories. Nor had the smoke of the factory chimney yet added to the dirt of the town.

There was noise also in Tudor England—horses' hooves on the cobbles, street-hawkers, quarrels and fights. But none had yet added the factory-whistle, the belch of smoke, the clang of the machines, nor the wooden clogs of the factory-workers as they hurried to work before dawn.

Very few people—apart from William Morris and Robert Owen—had thought of making factories beautiful or of building workers' houses that were pleasant to see and to live in. In the same way many of the ordinary things of life, like cooking utensils and furniture, wallpapers and clothes, became drab and dark and ugly, as though industrialism were compelling everything to adopt its own dark hue. Gone were the reds and blues and yellows of the Middle Ages: people dressed in grey and brown and black.

There arose in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as in other periods of the world's history, prophets and teachers to declare that the times were out of joint. Sometimes they were moved to pity, and like William Blake sang of the little chimney-sweep or like George Crabbe told of the misery of

the workhouse. Elizabeth Barrett Browning saw the little factory workers :

They look up with their pale and sunken faces,
And their looks are sad to see,
For the man's hoary anguish draws and presses
Down the cheeks of infancy.

Shelley urged that people should shake off their bonds and become free again :

Men of England, heirs of Glory
Heroes of unwritten story,
Nurslings of one mighty Mother,
Hopes of her, and one another ;

Rise like Lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number,
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you—
Ye are many—they are few.

By the middle of the century such giants as Dickens and Thackeray were writing. Dickens made known to all who read English not only the odd working world of the lower-middle classes, but the evil and vice of a great city like London, and the misery of such institutions as the workhouse in the nineteenth century. *David Copperfield*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Oliver Twist*, and the others are not only stories but vivid pictures of nineteenth-century England. But the writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century were by no means always confined to what they saw around them. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, Shelley, Browning, Tennyson, are among the greatest poets of England, carrying on the tradition of English literature from Langland and Chaucer through Shakespeare and the great Elizabethans to the present day. So in this way, through our literature, we can mark the continuity of history. But even more in the natural things around us can we mark it. A river flows for age after age, while kings and empires and great civilizations rise, prosper, and decay on its banks. Britons, Romans, Saxons, and Normans have fought and settled round the Thames, which still flows down from Cotswold hills to the North Sea. The ancient peoples we spoke of in the earlier chapters of this book have lost their empires, but Tigris and Euphrates and Nile remain essentially the same. The same mountain ranges have to be surmounted, the same seas crossed.

True, we do this more quickly, more easily; swamp and desert are made habitable; man lives at the equator and at the poles. Yet, whichever race becomes supreme or whichever empire triumphs, the river and the mountains and the sea present the same challenge, offer the same opportunities.

A history like this produces on the one hand this feeling of the continuity and strength of natural forces under the superficial changes of man. At the same time it awes us by the immensity of time and leaves us humbled at our own small place in the history of the world. Successive peoples and empires have made their contribution to civilization: sometimes there appears to be progress, at other times practically none. Sometimes we can point to a discovery like fire and say: this was a great step forward. At other times it is the things of the mind that seem to matter most. About some very important things we know very little. Who made the first wheel? Who first mixed copper with tin to make bronze? We get less vague when written records begin, and are overwhelmed by the volume of historical material when we come to the modern period. In this book we told the story of the development of Parliament in England, of the English Civil Wars, of the trade rivalries of English, Dutch, and French in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We might instead have told of the foundation of the Royal Society and the work of Sir Isaac Newton—perhaps the greatest scientist of all time—who lived from 1642 to 1727, who enlarged our knowledge of the universe, and helped us to express scientific laws. Yet important questions would still remain that perhaps only each individual can answer for himself. What have been the really significant events of history? What is progress? Do the rows of easily replaceable cups and saucers in our kitchens mean more than a single Minoan jar or a rare Greek vase? How important are the increasing speed and nuclear power of our own time? How high in the benefits to civilization do we rank the modern use of iron and steel, the railway, the telephone, wireless and television? Do the use of anæsthetics and the great advances in medicine and surgery outweigh our failure to achieve peace in the world? The benefits of our own civilization are many and readily listed. But in what way will our greater knowledge contribute towards the well-being of the peoples who come after us? What will they say they owe to us? Let it be something more than speed and power and the energy to wage war!

CHAPTER LVII

How do We Know ?

How do we know anything about the past ? How can we build up the story of man from his beginnings until the present day ?

The earliest records are those found in the form of fossils in the rocks. All life does not become fossilized, but sometimes a plant or animal has been preserved in the sand of a desert, the ice of a cold region, or the mud at the bottom of a lake, or on the sea-bed. In course of time the sand, ice, or mud may harden into rock, and so the remains, or their impress, are preserved in what has been called the Record of the Rocks. Besides enabling us to reconstruct the great monsters of prehistoric times, palæontology, as the study of these records is called, has shown us several types of early man himself in the form of fossilized skeletons of human beings still much resembling apes.

As the story continues it is illustrated by cave drawings and by pictures scratched on rocks and reindeer horn, by stone tools and implements and other articles of great endurance scattered over the fields of Europe. Many of these discoveries were accidental. In the south-west of France, for example, boys were playing with their dog on the Lascaux hill when he fell into a deep hole. Going in to rescue him, the boys found themselves in a great Ice Age cave decorated with prehistoric paintings of animals.

Then there are the great heaps of rubbish thrown away by early man, like those round the shores of Denmark. Covered now with earth and grass, they contain the shells of fish, the bones of animals, bits of pottery, and remains of tools to indicate what the men who lived here ate and how they lived.

Important too are the remains of settlements and trackways on marshy land. Here the ancient inhabitants drove piles deep into the soft earth to support their houses or roads, and these piles, as well as many objects of everyday life, have been found preserved in the wet peat of lake bottoms and lake sides.

Accident first preserved and then revealed the Stone Age village of Skara Brae in the Orkneys, off the north coast of

Scotland. The village was probably abandoned at the onset of some tremendous storm which left the village covered—and so preserved—in the sand. Thousands of years later—in 1851 and 1926—further great storms blew away some of the sand and enough of the village was visible to indicate that systematic digging was worth while. An almost complete village of small stone houses was the reward of the excavators.

Megaliths and stone circles like the one at Stonehenge have something to say about the religion of early peoples, although *what* is not yet quite certain. Among ancient carvings on the stones at Stonehenge, for example, attention has recently been drawn to what might be a Mycenæan dagger. But, if it is, what is its significance? Was there a connexion, as yet unknown, between the ancient Britons and the Mycenæan Greeks?

The burial customs of early man have provided us with much information about him. The presence in English barrows, for example, of a type of vessel (known as a beaker) also found in European barrows gave archaeologists a clue to the movements of this race of people and led to the belief that the so-called 'beaker-folk' of Europe invaded the south of England somewhere about 1900 B.C.

In Egypt the paintings in the chapel-tombs provide an invaluable picture of Egyptian life. Unfortunately, the pyramids themselves were pillaged by raiders at an early date and left bare and empty. This was partly the reason why later Pharaohs shifted their burial places up the Nile to the great rock tombs which they hoped would be more secure. Even here many burial chambers were plundered. But in 1922 an Englishman, Howard Carter, made the sensational discovery of the still unplundered rock tomb of the Pharaoh Tutankhamen. Here again accident played a large part both in the preservation of the tomb and its discovery. When a later tomb was being dug above that of Tutankhamen the workmen threw down their surplus stone over the mouth of the lower tomb so that it was completely concealed and preserved. Carter discovered it when he was on the point of leaving for home after six seasons of fruitless digging. The last dig revealed the top of a flight of steps. The excavators continued their work in growing excitement as they realized that they were unearthing a practically untouched tomb. They were rewarded by finding a Pharaoh in all his burial splendour.

Even more sensational were the finds of a German banker named Heinrich Schliemann in the second half of the nineteenth

century. He was not an archæologist, but started life as a grocer's assistant in Germany. He was early fascinated by Homer's *Iliad*, taught himself Greek and many other languages, through his great ability became a successful business-man and a millionaire, and then devoted his time and his money to the absorbing mission of his life—the excavation of ancient Troy itself, and of Mycenæ, whence had come Agamemnon, Menelaus, and other chiefs to fight the Trojans.

The site of Troy was still uncertain. By close adherence to the words of Homer Schliemann with his hired Turkish workmen dug where he thought the town should have been. He uncovered great walls, but none seemed to him to indicate Troy. At last, when on the point of giving up, he discovered a hoard of gold and silver treasure which he thought included the golden headdress of Helen herself. We know now that this was not so—that Schliemann had excavated an even older civilization and that he had passed the walls of Troy in digging down to the level he had reached.

A little later Schliemann went to Mycenæ, where the ruins of the great Lion Gate still stood. Again by following Homer, he dug in the right place and discovered a circle of graves full of wonderful treasures in gold, silver, bronze, and iron. Hired workmen could not be trusted to extricate the fragile and priceless relics from the earth. Schliemann, his wife, and a Greek archæologist knelt in the trenches they had dug and day after day, working often with penknives or their bare hands, lovingly brought to light treasure after treasure. It was clear that some of the objects in these graves had come from Egypt and other distant lands: whoever the chieftains were who were buried there they must have been rich and powerful. Schliemann thought they were the Homeric princes. "I have gazed on the face of Agamemnon," he telegraphed to the King of Greece, when one of the graves revealed the body of a king with his face still preserved underneath a heavy gold mask.

The presence of dateable Egyptian objects in the graves and a very wide and detailed knowledge of the types of pottery dug up in various parts of the world, as well as their position in the earth—whether in an upper or lower stratum—helped archæologists to show that this was not so, that Schliemann had uncovered an even earlier civilization, and that his princes were Mycenæan Greeks, flourishing several hundred years before Homer's heroes.

Shortly after Schliemann's discoveries an Englishman,

Arthur Evans, again astounded the world by uncovering an entirely new civilization that was neither Greek nor Egyptian yet lying near to both. Again he was looking for something far smaller than a civilization when he uncovered the evidence of the great Minoan culture.

Evans was drawn to Crete by what appeared to be hieroglyphic writing on tiny seals and signet rings which he found in a second-hand shop in Athens. He was told they came from Crete, and, wanting to find out more about this script, which was unlike any other he knew, he started digging on the island. Soon he knew that he was uncovering a civilization even older than the Mycenaean: he called it the Minoan civilization after King Minos of Crete. Many tablets were discovered, some with hieroglyphic writing, as on the seals, but others with two forms of a more flowing writing. The key to this 'linear' script eluded scholars until 1937, when a nineteen-year-old boy heard Evans speak, and was fascinated by the problem. When he grew up that boy, Michael Ventris, succeeded in deciphering the second style of writing on the Minoan tablets: we know now that this is a very early form of Greek, and that Greeks coming to Crete adapted the Cretan way of writing for their own language. But the first style of Minoan writing, which represents the language of the Minoans themselves, is still a mystery.

In the same way Egyptian hieroglyphics for long defied the efforts of philologists and archaeologists to read them. A Frenchman, Champollion, found a clue when he discovered a stone monument covered with Egyptian hieroglyphics, but inscribed on its base in Greek with the names Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Did the monument contain the same names? He decided that it might in two ovals where the Egyptians usually wrote the names of their rulers, and matched the hieroglyphics there written with the Greek letters. With this knowledge he turned to the Rosetta Stone, which contained inscriptions in both Greek and Egyptian but which had continuously baffled scholars. Champollion was now able not only to read the Rosetta Stone but to provide the key to the reading of all Egyptian hieroglyphics.

All over Europe Roman remains are constantly being unearthed. Recently, when a bombed site in the City of London was being restored, a Roman temple to Mithras was discovered. In Italy the city of Pompeii, buried under the ashes of the volcano Vesuvius in A.D. 79, has been almost completely excavated, to reveal a complete Roman town,

with houses, furniture, kitchen utensils, toys, ornaments, as they were at the time of the sudden catastrophe. Ostia, Rome's harbour town, which was deserted in the ninth century, is being systematically uncovered to reveal a strikingly modern port and city of Roman times.

We remarked at the beginning of this book that geography influences history. It does so in another way, too, for desert sands have proved one of the best methods of preserving historical relics, and not only fossils survive in sand but many priceless Greek manuscripts have been found in the desert of Egypt.

Now, all old written and printed sources are carefully preserved in such places as the Public Record Office and the British Museum in London and the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Even peoples' private collections of family papers are indexed by experts and made known to the public so that historians may consult them. We are conscious of ourselves as part of history. Acts of Parliament, debates in the House of Commons, and other official records are preserved as material for the future historian. A copy of every book printed in England goes to the British Museum and to the Bodleian Library, and more come from foreign countries. Even this book, which you have now finished, will be put away as an example of the way in which history was written in the middle of the twentieth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THIS is a small selection of books for further reading. Many will themselves contain bibliographies, and the reader will find it simple to find many more books to suit his own particular interest.

SIMPLE BOOKS

"Rathbone Books"

(largely pictorial, but with a great deal of useful information.)

BOYD ORR, LORD : *Feasts and Famine*.

FISHER, JAMES : *Adventure of the World*.

HOGBEN, LANCELOT : *Man must Measure*.

JESSUP, RONALD : *Puzzle of the Past*.

QUENNELL, MARJORIE and C. H. B. : "The Everyday Life Series"
(4 vols.) (Batsford).

— : *A History of Everyday Things in England* (4 vols., 1066-1914)
(Batsford).

BAUMANN, HANS : *The Caves of the Great Hunters* (Hutchinson).

GUERBER, H. A. : *The Myths of Greece and Rome* (Harrap).

— : *The Myths of the Norsemen* (Harrap).

MOSS, PETER : *Our Own Homes through the Ages* (Harrap).

POWER, RYODA AND EILEEN : *Boys and Girls of History* (C.U.P.).

— : *More Boys and Girls of History* (C.U.P.).

STUART, D. M. : *The Boy through the Ages* (Harrap).

— : *A Child's Day through the Ages* (Harrap).

PICTURE BOOKS

(These include well-authenticated text)

DAVIES, N. M. : *Egyptian Paintings* (King Penguin).

FOX, PENELOPE : *Tutankhamun's Treasure* (O.U.P.).

MACLAGAN, E. : *The Bayeux Tapestry* (King Penguin).

PEVSNER, NIKOLAUS : *An Outline of European Architecture* (Penguin).

STANDARD TEXTS

- BREASTED, J. H. : *Ancient Times* (Ginn).
- BURY, J. B. : *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great* (3rd ed., revised) (Macmillan).
- CARY, MAX : *A History of Rome down to the Reign of Constantine* (2nd ed., 1954) (Macmillan).
- CARY, MAX, and HAARHOFF, T. J. : *Life and Thought in the Greek and Roman World* (Methuen).
- CHARLESWORTH, M. P. : *The Roman Empire* (O.U.P.).
- CLARK, SIR GEORGE : *Early Modern Europe, c. 1450-c. 1720* (O.U.P.).
- COULTON, G. G. : *Medieval Panorama* (C.U.P.).
- DAVIS, H. W. C. : *Medieval Europe* (O.U.P.).
- DICKINSON, G. LOWES : *Revolution and Reaction in Modern France* (Allen and Unwin).
- FISHER, H. A. L. : *A History of Europe from Neolithic Man to Hitler* (Eyre and Spottiswoode).
- GRANT, A. J., and TEMPERLEY, A. C. : *Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Longmans).
- GREEN, V. H. H. : *Renaissance and Reformation* (Arnold).
- JAMES, W. J. : *Habsburg and Bourbon: 1494-1789* (Harrap).
- PENROSE, BOIES : *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620* (O.U.P.).
- PIRENNE, HENRI : *A History of Europe from the Invasions to the 16th Century* (Allen and Unwin).
- SAYLES, G. O. : *The Mediæval Foundations of England* (Methuen).
- The Legacy of Greece*, ed. Sir Richard W. Livingstone (O.U.P.).
- The Legacy of Rome*, ed. Cyril Bailey (O.U.P.).

SOME OTHER GOOD BOOKS IN CHEAP EDITIONS

- COTTRELL, LEONARD : *The Bull of Minos* (Pan Books).
- : *The Lost Pharaohs* (Pan Books).
- BARROW, R. H. : *The Romans* (Penguin).
- CARCOPIANO, J. : *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (Penguin).
- GLOVER, T. R. : *The Ancient World* (Penguin).
- GRAVES, ROBERT : *The Greek Myths* (Penguin, 2 vols.).
- KITTO, H. D. F. : *The Greeks* (Penguin).
- PALLOTTINO, M. : *The Etruscans* (Penguin).
- C.O.H.—19

POWER, EILEEN : *Medieval People* (Penguin).

WELLS, H. G. : *A Short History of the World* (Penguin).

WOOLLEY, SIR L. : *Digging up the Past* (Penguin).

The Pelican History of England (Penguin)

I. A. Richmond : *Roman Britain* ; D. Whitelock : *The Beginnings of English Society* ; D. Stenton : *English Society in the Early Middle Ages* ; A. R. Myers : *England in the Late Middle Ages* ; S. T. Bindoff : *Tudor England* ; J. H. Plumb : *England in the 18th Century* ; D. Thomson : *England in the 19th Century*.

GIBBS, H. A. R. : *Mohammedanism* (Home University Library).

POWER, RHODES : *We Were There* (Allen and Unwin).

SOME TEXTS EASILY AVAILABLE IN TRANSLATION

BEDE : the *History* (Penguin, Everyman).

BEOWULF (Penguin).

CHAUCE : *The Canterbury Tales* (Penguin).

HERODOTUS : the *Histories* (Penguin, Everyman).

HOMER : the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (Penguin, Everyman, World's Classics).

LANGLAND : *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (O.U.P.).

PLATO : Translations (Penguin, Everyman, World's Classics).

SOPHOCLES AND EURIPIDES : Translations (Penguin, Everyman).

Gilbert Murray's translations of Euripides (Allen and Unwin).

The Koran (Penguin).

The Song of Roland (Penguin).

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Everyman).

The Travels of Marco Polo (Penguin).

THUCYDIDES : the *History* (Penguin, World's Classics).

VIRGIL : Translations (World's Classics, Everyman, Penguin).

OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCE-BOOKS

COULTON, G. G. : *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation* (C.U.P.).

They Saw it Happen (eyewitness accounts of events in Britain, 3 vols., 55 B.C.-1897) (Blackwell).

INDEX

- ABRAHAM, 36, 37
 Abraham, Heights of, 231
 Abyssinia, 25, 94
 Academy, the (Athenian), 59
 Acadia, 231
 Acre (town of), 137
 Acrobats: Egyptian, 26; Cretan, 32, 33
 Acropolis, the, 50, 51, 53-54, 55
 Act of Supremacy (1559), 189
 Act of Supremacy (1701), 222
 Act of Uniformity (1559), 189
 Actors: Greek, 50; Tudor, 210
 Ædiles, 66
 Ægean Islands, 25, 35
 Ægean Sea, 31, 51, 52
 Ægina, 48
 Egospotami, battle of, 61
 Æneas, 65, 77
 Æneid, 77
 Æschylus, 54
 Africa, 70, 78, 81, 95, 177-180, 197; exploration of, 276; missionaries in, 276; 'opening up' of, 276-277; partition of, 277
 Africa, North, 47, 77, 135
 Agamemnon, 34, 285
 Agrarian Revolution in Britain, 254-257
 Agricola, 81
 Agriculture, 13-14, 20, 26, 31, 41, 46, 104, 125, 139, 173. *See also* Domestic Animals, Open Fields, Wheat, etc.
 Alaric, 86
 Alcuin, 99, 112
 Ale, 102, 214
 Alexander of Macedon, 62-63, 81
 Alexandria, 63, 69, 78, 138
 Alfred, King, 99, 107, 108-109, 114
 Alhambra, 97
 Alphabet, 29, 30; Phœnician, 35; Greek and Phœnician, 47
 Alps, 69, 70, 139
 Altamira, cave drawings of, 16
 Alva, Duke of, 194
 Amboyna, Massacre of, 228
 Amenhotep III, Pharaoh, 26
 America, 55, 111-112, 226, 231-232
 America, Central, 181
 America, South, 181, 196, 197
 American Civil War, 244
 American colonies, 240-244
 American Declaration of Independence, 243, 245, 246, 249. *See also* United States
 Amorites, 36
 Amos, 39
 Amphitheatres, Roman, 79, 80
 Angles, 85, 86, 100, 101
 Anglo-Dutch rivalry, 224-229
 Anglo-French rivalry, 230-232
 Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 108-109, 119, 120, 121, 131
 Anglo-Saxons, 100-110, 113
 Animals, domestication of, 13, 14
 Anne, Queen, 222
 Anti-slavery Society, 239. *See also* Slavery
 Antioch, 136, 137, 138
 Antoninus Pius, 84
 Appalachian Mountains, 241
 Apprenticeship, 148
 Aqueducts, Roman, 81
 Aquinas, St Thomas, 155
 Arab literature, 96
 Arabian Nights, 96
 Arabic, 93, 94, 95
 Arabic numerals, 96
 Arabic words in English, 96
 Arabs, 94, 95, 135, 177
 Aramæans, 36, 39
 Arch, the, 66, 78, 96
 Archangels, 45
 Archery, 210
 Architecture: Egyptian, 20, 22, 24, 25; Cretan, 32-33; Greek, 47, 48, 53-54, 55; Etruscan, 66, Roman, 80; Arab, 96-97
 medieval, 152-154; Byzantine, 153; Norman, 153-154; Romanesque, 153-154; Gothic, 154, 175; Renaissance, 175; Tudor, 212-213
 Argos, Gulf of, 33
 Aristophanes, 54

- Aristotle, 60, 63
 Arithmetic, 30
 Ark of the Covenant, 37, 38
 Armada, 196-199
 Armenia, 77
 Army: Assyrian, 43; Spartan, 49, 52, 61; Persian, 51-52; Athenian, 58; of Philip of Macedon, 61; of Alexander, 62; Roman, 67, 71-72, 74, 77, 84-85; of Hannibal, 69-70
 Art: of cave men, 16; Egyptian, 23; Greek, 47-48, 53-54, 70-71; Roman, 70-71, 77; Arab, 97; Renaissance, 173
 Arthur, King, 100
 Asia, 25, 46, 137
 Asia Minor, 31, 44, 45, 62, 78, 85, 90
 Assembly—*see* Popular Assembly
 Assurbanipal, 44
 Assyrians, 38, 41, 43
 Astrolabe, 177
 Astronomy: Egyptian, 30; Greek, 59; Arab, 96; Renaissance, 174
 Athena, 49, 53, 54, 55
 Athens, 32, 45, 48-64
 Athletics: Cretan, 32, 33; Greek, 49, 59; Roman, 79; in the Middle Ages, 155
 'Atrium,' 80
 Augsburg, Peace of, 190
 Augustus Caesar, 76-78, 81, 84, 88.
 See also Octavian
 Austerlitz, battle of, 251
 Australia, 275, 277
 Austria, 16, 246, 250, 251, 252
 Azores, the, 179
 Aztecs, 181, 182

 BABYLON, 35, 38, 41, 43, 62
 Babylonian Captivity, 38, 40
 Baghdad, 96, 138, 142
 Bahamas, 181
 Bailiff, 125
 Baker, medieval, 149-150
 Bakewell, Robert, 256
 Balboa, Vasco Nuñez de, 181, 183
 Ball, John, 167, 168, 169
 Baltic Sea, 111, 138
 Barbarians, 75, 85, 86, 93, 98, 100-103
 Barley, 14, 26, 31, 41, 55, 102, 104, 125
 Baronet, 216
 Barrows, 15, 16, 284
 Basilica, 81
 Bastille, 248, 249
 Bastwick, John, 217
 Baths: Egyptian, 26; Cretan, 33; Roman, 79-80
 Bayeux, 117
 Bayeux Tapestry, 116-117
 'Beaker folk,' 284
 Bear-baiting, 155, 210
 Becket—*see* St Thomas à Becket
 Bede, the Venerable, 106-108
 Beer, 26, 214
 Belgium, 195, 276
 Benevolences, 216
 Beowulf, 114
 Berlin Conference (1884), 277
 Bermudas, 224, 225
 Bethlehem, 88
 Bible, the, 175, 189
 Bible, translations of the, 185-186
 Bicycle, 260-261
 Bireme, 46
 Bishops, 91, 217, 219
 "Bishops' War," 219
 Black Death, 151, 166-169
 Black Hole of Calcutta, 232
 Black Prince, 132
 Black Sea, 44, 47, 54, 111
 Blackwell Hall, 202
 Blake, Admiral, 228
 Blake, William, 280
 "Blanketeers," 267
 Blenheim, battle of (1704), 231
 Boats—*see* Ships
 Bodleian Library, 287
 Bojador, Cape, 177, 179
 Boleyn, Anne, 187, 189
 Bologna, University of, 154
 "Boston Tea Party," 242
 Bosworth Field, battle of (1485), 191
 Botticelli, Sandro, 173
 Boule, 57, 58
 Bow and arrow, 26
 Brazil, 181
 Bread, 26, 46, 55, 78
 "Bridewell," 206
 Bridges, Roman, 81
 Bridgewater Canal, 259
 Bristol, 146
 Britain, ancient, 35, 75, 78, 81, 92.
 See also England

- British: in America, 224-227, 240-244; in the East Indies, 224-229; in Canada, 231-232; in India, 232-233
- British Empire, 239, 275-279
- British Museum, 163, 287
- British trade: Indian, 224-229, 232-233; Eastern, 229; Colonial, 240-241; in the nineteenth century, 261-262
- Brittany, 100
- Broker ('brogger') in the wool trade, 144, 203
- Bronze, 16, 25, 31, 32, 33, 44, 66
- Bronze Age Man, 16
- Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, 281
- Browning, Robert, 281
- Bruegel, Pieter, 42
- Bruges, 140
- Bucephala (town), 62
- Bucephalus, 62
- Buckingham, Duke of, 216
- Building—*see* Architecture
- Bulls, 31, 32
- 'Bull-fights,' Egyptian, 27
- Bull-jumping, Cretan, 32, 33
- Burial: Stone Age, 15; Bronze Age, 16; Egyptian, 20-23, 25-26; Persian, 45; Viking, 113
- Burial customs, 284
- Bury St Edmunds, Abbey of, 146
- Byzantium, 85
- CABINET SYSTEM, 222
- Cabot, John, 196
- Cabot, Sebastian, 196
- Cadiz, 197
- Cædmon, 107
- Cairn, 15
- Cakes, 26, 78
- Calendar: Egyptian, 30; Sumerian, 42; Assyrian, 43; of Julius Cæsar, 76
- Calvin, John, 188
- Cambridge, University of, 154, 186
- Canaan, land of, 37, 38
- Canaanites, 36, 37
- Canada, 231-232, 277
- Canals, British, 259-260. *See also* Irrigation
- Canary Islands (*Canaria*), 179
- Canterbury, 91, 133, 160
- Canterbury, Archbishop of, 168, 217
- Canterbury Tales*, 133, 160, 172, 175
- Canute, King, 115
- Cape Breton, 196
- Cape Colony, 276
- Cape of Good Hope, 179
- Capitalism, 268
- Capitalist, 203
- Capitoline Hill, 69
- Caravan routes, 35
- Carolina, 227
- "Carrying trade," 228
- Carter, Howard, 284
- Carthage, 54, 69, 70, 76
- Carthaginian War—*see* Punic Wars
- Cartier, Jacques, 231
- Carts, wheeled, 41
- Caspian Sea, 111
- Castile, Isabella of, 193
- Castles, Norman, 117
- Cathedrals, 152-154
- Catherine of Aragon, 187, 188
- Catholics, Roman—*see* Roman Catholics
- Cattle, 14, 26, 41, 125
- Cavaliers, 220, 226
- Cave drawings, 16, 32, 283
- Cave-dwellers, 14
- Caxton, William, 100, 175-176
- Celtic Christianity, 92
- Censors, 66
- Centuries (Roman army), 71
- Centurions, 71
- Chæronea, battle of (338 B.C.), 62
- Chaldeans, 41
- Chamberlain, Joseph, 279
- Champagne, Fair of, 140
- Champollion, Jean François, 286
- Chanson de Roland*, 99
- Chuntries, 186, 187
- Charlemagne, 98-99, 142
- Charles I, King, 216-221
- Charles II, King, 221-222, 230
- Charles V, Emperor, 187, 193
- Charters, 147
- Chartism, 273-274
- Chaucer, Geoffrey, 133, 135, 160, 172
- Cheese, 26, 54, 106, 111, 214
- Cheops (Khufu), Pharaoh, 20
- Chephren, Pharaoh, 23
- Chimney-sweeps, child, 264-265
- China, 31, 78, 138, 182, 195
- Chivalry, 122, 131-134

- Cholera, 266
 Chorus (Greek), 50
 Christian Socialism, 269
 Christianity, 87-92, 94, 97, 99, 101, 106, 114, 118, 135; and slavery, 83, 236-237
 Christ's Hospital, 206
 Churl (*ceorl*), 103, 105
 Circus (Roman), 79, 80
 Cistercians, 129, 142
 Citeaux, 129
 City States (Greek), 46, 63, 64
 Civil War, American, 244
 "Clapham Sect," 238
 Claudius, Emperor, 75
 Clay: firing of, 24, 31; tablets, 32, 42, 44
 Clermont, Council of, 136
 Clive, Robert, 232-233
 Closed oven (for pottery), 24, 31
 Cloth, 106, 228; industry, 200-204
 Clothes: Stone Age, 14; Cretan, 33; Greek, 55; Roman, 78; Norse, 112; Victorian, 280
 Clothier, 202-204
 Clovis, 91, 98
 Cnossus, 31; Palace of, 32, 33
 Coal, 142, 259, 260
 Coal-mines, workers in, 264
 Cock-fighting, 155, 210
 Code Napoléon, 252
 Cohorts, 71
 Coins: Lydian, 44; Persian, 44; Athenian, 54; Saxon, 106
 Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 249, 251, 281
 Colet, John, 174
 Colonies and Settlements: Greek, 47, 49; Roman, 67, 74, 76; Portuguese, 179-180, 182, 228; Spanish, 180-183, 194; Dutch, 195, 228-229; British, 224-229, 240-242, 261, 277-279; French, 231-232
 Colonization, 224, 275-279
 Colosseum, the, 79
 Columbus, Christopher, 180-182, 193
 Combination Act (1799), 268
 Comedy (Greek), 54
Comitia centuriata, 66
 Commodus, Emperor, 84
 Commons, House of: beginnings of, 164-165; development of, 215-223
 Commonwealth of Cromwell, the, 221
 Commutation of Services, 166, 168
 Compass, 177
Concilium Plebis, 67
 Congo Free States, 276
 Congress (American), 242-244
 Conrad III of Germany, 137
 Consort of viols, 211
 Constantine, Emperor, 85, 90-91
 Constantinople, 85, 86, 95, 111, 139, 153, 174, 177
 Consuls, Roman, 66, 76
 Co-operation, 268
 Co-operative Commonwealth, 269
 Cook, Captain James, 275
 Copernicus, Nicolaus, 174
 Copper, 16, 20, 24, 25, 31, 44
 Cordova, 97
 Corinth, 48, 76; League of, 62
 Coriolanus, G. Marcius, 67
 Corn, 26, 32, 46, 54, 55, 61, 74, 76, 78, 125, 139, 140
 Corsica, 69
 Cortez, Hernando, 181
 Cotswolds, 145, 146
 Cottars, 122, 124
 Cotton, 78, 138, 244
 Cotton industry, 258, 260; inventions in, 258; workers in, 263-264
 Court of Pie Powder, 141
 Coverdale, Miles, 186
 Crabbe, George, 280-281
 Craftsmen: Egyptian, 24; Cretan, 31-32; Sumerian, 42; Athenian, 56; Roman, 83; Anglo-Saxon, 104; English, 147
 Cranmer, Archbishop Thomas, 189
 Crécy, battle of (1346), 132
 Crete, 25, 31-34, 71, 139, 286
 Cromwell, Oliver, 218, 219, 221
 Crucifixion, the, 89
 Crusades, the, 134-138
 Cuneiform writing, 42, 44
 Custom, 15, 104, 123, 124
 Cybele, 88
 Cyprus, 139
 Cyrus, 38
 DAMASCUS, 36, 90, 96
 Dancing: Egyptian, 26; Cretan, 33
 Danelaw, the, 114
 Dante Alighieri, 170, 173

- Danton, Georges Jacques, 250
 Danube, river, 77, 79
 Dardanelles, 52, 61, 62
 Darics, 44
 Darien, Isthmus of, 181
 Darius, 44, 51
 David, King, 37, 39
 Declaration of the Rights of Man, 249, 250-251
 Dekker, Thomas, 209
 Delphi, Oracle at, 49
 Demesne land, 123, 125
 Democracy: Athenian, 54, 57-58; derivation of word, 63; British, 221, 222, 273, 274
 De Montfort, Simon, 164
 Demosthenes, 61
 Denmark, 16, 110, 283
 De Ruyter, 228
Deserted Village, The, 256
 Diaz, Bartholomew, 179
 Dickens, Charles, 281
 Diocletian, Emperor, 84, 85
 Dionysus, 49
 Diorite, 22
 Discoveries, geographical, 177-183
Divine Comedy, 170
 Divine Right of Kings, 215-216
 Divining (Roman), 87
 Doge of Venice, 139
 Dome, the, 78, 96
 Domesday Book, 120-121
 Domestic animals, 14, 19, 26, 36, 41, 46, 93, 104, 125-128, 129, 256.
 See also Horse and Sheep
 "Domestic System," 202-204
 Dominicans, 130
 Dordogne, Caves of, 16
 Drainage, 33, 127-128. *See also* Sanitation
 Drake, Sir Francis, 183, 197, 199
 Drama, Greek, 50, 54
 Dupleix, Joseph, 232
 Duesquesne, Fort, 232
 Dutch and English rivalry, 224-229
 Dutch independence, 194-195

 EASTERN EMPIRE, 85
 Eastern Provinces, 82, 85
 East India Company: Dutch, 195; British, 227, 228, 232-233; French, 232
 East Indies, 195, 196, 197, 227, 228, 229

Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation (Bede), 106, 108; quoted, 91
 Edessa, 137
 Edict of Nantes, 190
 Education: Greek, 58; Roman, 80; Anglo-Saxon, 106-109. *See also* Schools
 Edward the Confessor, 115, 116
 Edward I, King, 144, 145
 Edward II, King, 144
 Edwin of Northumbria, 91
 Egmont, Count of, 194
 Egypt, 18-31, 35, 36, 38, 41, 43, 44, 46, 54, 62, 63, 78, 94, 95, 138, 248
 Elba, 252
 Elephants, in war, 62, 69
 Eliot, Sir John, 216
 Elizabeth I, Queen, 189, 191, 197, 198, 209, 215
 Elizabethan Age, 208-214
 Embalming, 22, 23, 45
 Embroidery, 22, 78, 117, 138
 Emigration, British, 277
 Empire: Egyptian, 25; Assyrian, 43-44; Persian, 44-45, 51; of Alexander, 61-64; Roman, 72-86; of Charles V, 193-194; of Napoleon, 251-252; British, 275-279
 Enclosure: for sheep, 200-220; for arable farming, 255-257
 England, 100-109, 116-121, 142-145, 161-169, 191-193, 196-223, 255-279 *et passim*. *See also* Britain
 English language, 170-173
 Erasmus, Desiderius, 174, 186
 Eretria, 45
 Erfurt, monastery and university, 184
 Ethelbert, King, 91
 Etruscans, 65-68, 70, 78
 Eukleides, 64
 Euphrates (river and valley), 36, 41, 43, 65, 77
 Euripides, 54
 Evangelicals, 238
 Evans, Sir Arthur, 33, 285-286
 Explorers, 177-183; Vikings, 111-112; English, 196-197

 FACTOR, 203
 Factories, 259, 263-264

- Factory Acts, 271-272; system, 203; reform, 271-272
 Fairfax, Lord, 220
 Fairs, 140-141
 Falkland, Lord, 220
 Fallow land, 125
 Farming: Egyptian, 19-20; Anglo-Saxon, 104-105; 'Open field,' 125-128, 254-257; Capitalist, 255-257
 Fasting, 26, 95
 Ferdinand of Aragon, 193
 Ferdinand II, Emperor, 190
 Fertile Crescent, 36-37
 Festivals: Egyptian, 27; Greek, 49-50, 54; Roman, 79
 Feudal dues, 123, 146-147, 161
 Feudalism, 119, 122-128, 166; in eighteenth-century France, 246, 250, 252
Fidei Defensor, 187
 Fielden, John, 272
 Fire, and Stone Age Man, 14, 16
 Fish, as food in: Stone Age, 14; Egypt, 26; Athens, 54-55; Rome, 78; Viking times, 111; Open-field Villages, 125
 Flanders, 142, 200
 Flanders galleys, 140
 Flax, 20, 24, 104
 Fleet: Persian, 44, 52; Roman, 82; Spanish, 198. *See also* Navy
 Florence, 142, 173, 175
 Flying buttress, 154
 Flying shuttle, 258
 Folk moot, 102
 Food: of early man, 14; Egyptian, 26; Greek, 46, 54-55; Roman, 78; Anglo-Saxon, 102, 104; in the Middle Ages, 151-152; of the Tudors, 213-214
 'Forced loan,' 216-217
 Forest law, 119
 Forum (Rome), 79
 Fossils, 16, 283
 Fox, Charles James, 249
 France, 15, 16, 47, 96, 98, 135, 189, 190, 193, 231-232
 Franchise, 222, 273-274
 Franciscans, 130
 Frankfurt, 140
 Franklin, Benjamin, 243
 Frank-pledge, 156
 Franks, the, 95, 98
 Frederick I Barbarossa of Germany, 137
 Freedom: of conscience, 218, 221, 274; of speech, 218, 274; of the Press, 218, 274
 Freeholders, 122, 254
 French Revolution, 245-253
 Frescoes, 32
 Friendly Societies, 268
 Froissart, Jean, 132, 135, 170
 Fruit, 26, 31, 55, 78
 GALILEO GALILEI, 174
 Gama, Vasco da, 179
 Games: Egyptian, 26-27; Greek, 49; Medieval, 155
 Gaugamela, battle of (331 B.C.), 62
 Gaul, 75, 81, 98
 Gauls, 69, 70, 91, 98
 Gaunt, John of, 168-169
 Genoa, 135, 136, 139, 140, 177
 Geographical influences, 17
 Geography, 96
 Geometry, 30, 64, 96
 Germany, 92, 100, 184-186, 189, 190, 230, 252
 Gibraltar, 35, 95, 231
 Giotto, 129
 Gizeh, Pyramid of, 20, 22
 Glass, 22, 105, 142
 "Glorious Revolution," 222
 Gloucester, charter of, 147
 Gods: of primitive man, 15; Egyptian, 23; Cretan, 32; Hebrew, 36-37, 39; Sumerian, 42; Persian, 45; Greek, 49-50; Roman, 79, 87-88; Christian, 88-89; Mohammedan, 94; Anglo-Saxon, 101; Norse (Viking), 113. *See also* Chapters V, XVI, XVII
 Gold, 22, 25, 31, 32, 37, 44, 105, 182
 Gold Coast, 234-237
Golden Hind, 197
 Golden House of Nero, 79
 Goldsmith, 173
 Goldsmith, Oliver, 256
 Goths, 85, 86
 Government: Egyptian, 20, 22; Greek, 57-60; Roman, 65-67, 74-77, 81; Anglo-Saxon, 102; Norman, 119; British, 222; United States, 244; French, 252
 Gracchus, Gaius, 74

- Gracchus, Tiberius, 73, 74
 Granada, 97
 Granicus, river, battle of the (334 B.C.), 62
 'Great and Ancient Customs on Wool,' 145, 164
 Great Council—see Privy Council
 Greece, 31, 33, 45-60, 66, 70, 71, 81, 98, 173-174
 Greenland, 110
Groans of the Plantations, 241
 Guilds, 146-150, 267-268
 Guinea coast, 179, 181, 225, 228

 HADRIAN, Emperor, 78, 84; villa, 79
 Hadrian's Wall, 78
 Hamburg, 140
Hamlet, 210
 Hammurabi, 41, 43
 Hampden, John, 216, 219
 Hannibal, 69-73
 Hanseatic League, 140
 Hapsburgs, 193, 252
 Hargreaves, James, 258
 Harold, 116
 Haroun-al-Raschid, 142
 'Harrying,' 112
 Hastings, battle of (1066), 116
 Hastings, Warren, 233
 Hatshepsut, Queen, 25
 Hawkins, Sir John, 197-198, 234
 Hayward, the (feudal official), 124
 Headington (Oxon.), in Domesday Book, 120
 Health: Egypt, 26; Middle Ages, 151-152, 166; Tudor period, 208; Britain, 265-266, 272
 Heating (Roman), 80
 Hebrews, 36-40, 93
 Hegira, the, 94, 95
Heimskringla, the, 117
 Helots, 49
 Helvetii, 75
 Henry II, King, 156, 158-160
 Henry III, King, 164
 Henry VII, King, 191-193
 Henry VIII, King, 186-187
 Henry the Navigator, Prince, 177
 Hieroglyphics, 29, 33, 35, 42, 286
 Hindu Kush mountains, 62
 Hippodamus, 55
 Hippocrates of Kos, 64
 Hiram, King, 38
 Hittites, 44

 Holland—see Dutch
 Holy Places, 135, 137
 Holy Roman Empire, 193, 252
 Homer, 34, 47-48, 64, 70
 Honey, 26, 102, 104
 Hongkong, 276
 Hoorn, Count of, 194
 Horace, 71
 Horatius, 67-68
 Horse, 25, 44, 69, 259
 House of Commons, 165
 House of Correction, 206
 House of Lords, 165
 Houses: Egypt, 24; Greece, 55, 80; Rome, 80; Medieval Europe, 151; Tudor, 208, 212-213; Britain, 265-266, 272
 Howard, Admiral Lord, 199
 Hudson Bay, 196, 231
 Huguenots, 190
 Hundred court, 156
 Hundred Years War, 132
 Huns, 86
 Hunting: early man, 14
 Egyptians, 26; Norman, 119
 Hydaspes, river, 62

 ICE AGES, 14
 Iceland, 110
Iliad, the, 34, 99
 Illuminated MSS., 106
 Illyria, 61
 Imhotep, 20
 Imperial post, 82, 100
 Incas, 181-182
 Independents, 217
 India, 44, 62, 78, 95, 138, 179, 182, 232-233
 Indulgences, 185
 Industrial Revolution in Britain, 258-262
 Ine, King, 104
 Ink, 28, 106
 Inquisition, 174, 189-190, 194
 International African Association, 276
 Iona, 92, 112
 Ionia, 34, 45, 47
 Ireland, 91-92, 100, 112, 199
 Iron, 44, 105, 140, 142, 259
 "Ironsides," 220
 Iroquois Indians, 231
 Irrigation: Egypt, 19-20; Mesopotamia, 41

- Islam, 93-97
 Israel, 37-38
 Issus, battle of (333 B.C.), 62
 Italy, 47, 65, 69, 70, 73-74, 91, 135, 173, 189, 252
 JACK OF NEWBURY, 202-203
 Jacob, 37
 James I (James VI of Scotland), 193, 202-203, 215-216, 217, 219, 224
 James II, 222
 Janiculum Hill, 67
 Jarrow, 106, 112
 Jefferson, Thomas, 243
 Jehovah, 36, 37, 39
 Jena, battle of (1806), 251
 Jericho, 37
 Jerusalem, 37-38, 70, 89-90, 95, 135-136
 Jesuits, 188, 190
 Jesus, 88-90
 Jewellery, 78, 104, 138
 Jews, 38-40, 88-89, 94
 John, King, 144, 161, 164
 Johnson, Samuel, 238
 Jones, Inigo, 175
 Jonson, Ben, 209
 Journeymen, 148, 150
 Judah, 37-38, 70
 Julius Cæsar, 74-76
 Jupiter, 87
 Juries, 58, 158-159
 Justices of the Peace, 192, 204-205, 207
 Justinian, 165
 Jutes, 86, 100
 KABA, 94
 Karnak, Temple of, 25
 Kassites, 41
 Kay, John, 258
 Keats, John, 54-55, 281
 Kent, 91, 168
 Kepler, Johann, 174
 Khufu (Cheops), Pharaoh, 20
 Kingsley, Charles, 269
 Kipling, Rudyard, 279
 Knighthood, Order of, 131-133
 Koran, the, 94
 LABOURERS, STATUTE OF (1351), 167
 Labrador, 196
 Labyrinth, of Crete, 32
 Lafayette, Marquis de, 245
Laissez-faire, 271
 'Lake-dwellings,' 16, 283
 Lamps, of early men, 16
 Langland, William, 171
 Langton, Stephen, 161
 Lares and Penates, 87
 Lars Porsena, 67
 Lascaux, caves of, 283
 Latimer, Bishop Hugh, 189
 Latin, 71, 82, 98-99, 107-108, 118-119, 122, 154, 184
 Laud, William, 217, 219
 Laws: tribal, 15; Jewish, 40; of Hammurabi, 43; of Athens, 58, 64; Roman, 82; of Ine of Wessex, 104; English, 157-160; of Justinian, 165
 League of Corinth, 62
 Lebanon, 38
 Legion, Roman, 71-72, 77, 84, 85.
See also Army
 Leonardo da Vinci, 173
 Leonidas, 52
 Leopold II, King, 276
Letters on Yorkshire Slavery, 272
 Lexington, battle of (1775), 242
 Lincoln, President Abraham, 244
 Lindisfarne, 92, 112
 Linear writing, 33, 286
 Linen, 22, 24, 46, 78
 Literature: Egyptian, 29; Hebrew, 38-39; Assyrian, 44; Greek, 47-48, 54, 64; Roman, 70, 77, 99; Arab, 96; Anglo-Saxon, 106-109; Norse (Viking), 112; Medieval, 171; Renaissance, 171-173; Tudor (Elizabethan), 209-211; British, 281
 Liverpool, 235
 Locke, John, 243
 Lombards, 85, 193
 Lombardy, 98
 London, 100, 105, 114, 116, 161, 168-169, 208
 Long Parliament, 219
 Loom, 24, 203
 Lord of the Manor, 122-125, 200, 254
 Louis VII, King, 137
 Louis VIII, King, 230
 Louis XIV, King, 193, 230-231
 Louis XVI, King, 246, 250
 Louis XVIII, King, 252
 Louisburg, 231

- Low Countries, 200
 Loyola, Ignatius, 188
 Luddites, 267
 Luther, Martin, 184-186
 Luton, in Domesday Book, 120
 Lyceum, the (Athenian), 59
 Lydia, 44, 51
 Lysippus, 63

 MACEDON, 61, 63, 70. *See also*
 Alexander, Philip
 Machinery, 258
 Magellan, Ferdinand, 181-182
 Magellan Strait, 181, 183
 Magistrates, 57-58, 66
 Magna Carta, 161-163, 217
 Mahomet, 93-97
 Malory, Sir Thomas, 100, 134, 135
 Malta, 276
 Manchester, 259
 Manor, the, 120, 122-128
 Manor court, 125, 146, 156, 158
 Mansfield, Lord, 237
 Maps, 177, 179, 181
 Marathon, battle of (490 B.C.), 51, 62
 Marco Polo, 139-140
 Marcus Aurelius, 84
 Marie Antoinette, 246, 250
 Marius, Gaius, 71, 74
 Marlborough, Duke of, 230-231
 Marlowe, Christopher, 209
 Martel, Charles, 95
 Marvell, Andrew, 225
 Marx, Karl, 269
 Maryland, 227
 Mary Tudor, 187-189
 Mary II, 222
 Matilda, Queen, 131
 Mayflower, 226
 Mead, 102, 104, 214
 Meat, 26, 46, 55, 78, 213
 Mecca, 93-96
 Medes, 41
 Medicine, 30, 64, 96
 Medina, 94
 Mediterranean, 25, 31, 35-36, 43-44,
 69, 138
 Megaliths, 15, 16, 284
 Memphis, 22, 25
 Merchants, 23, 35, 37, 42, 138
 Mesopotamia, 25, 35-36, 38, 43, 51
 Messenian plain, 48
 Messiah, 88
 Mexico, 181-182

 Michaelangelo, 173
 "Middle Passage," 197, 235-236
 Milk, 26, 46, 214
 Miller, medieval, 124, 172
 Milton, John, 218
 Mines, 56, 272
 Mines Acts, 272
 Minoan script, 286
 Minos, 32-33; Palace of, 32-33
 Minotaur, 32-33
 Miracle plays, 150
 Missionaries, 90, 92, 276
 Mithras, 45, 88, 286
 Model Parliament, 165
 Mohammedanism, 93-97, 135
 Monasteries, Dissolution of, 187,
 201
 Monastery, 91, 106, 129, 142, 154,
 184-186
 Monks, 106
 Moors, 96, 136, 193
 More, Sir Thomas, 174, 187, 189,
 201
 Morris, William, 269-270
Morte d'Arthur, Le, 100, 175
 Moses, 36
 Mosques, 96
 Muezzin, 95
 Mummies, 22
 Music: Egyptian, 26; Greek, 59;
 Anglo-Saxon, 107; Tudor
 (Elizabethan), 211-212
 Muslims, 93-99, 138
 Mycenæans, 33, 46, 284

 NAPOLEON I, Emperor, 251-252
 Nation States, 191-195, 215
 National Assembly, 248-250
 National Guard, 248
 Navigation Acts, 228, 241
 Navy: English, 198, 228, 251;
 Dutch, 228. *See also* Fleet
 Nebuchadrezzar, 38, 41
 Nelson, Admiral Lord, 251
 Nero, Emperor, 78, 90
 Netherlands, 193-195, 200. *See*
 also Dutch
 New Amsterdam, 227-228
 New England, 226, 241
 New Model Army, 220-221
 New Testament, 90, 186
 New York, 227-228
 New Zealand, 275, 277
 Newbury, battle of (1643), 220

- Newfoundland, 231
 Nile, river, 18-23, 36, 41, 63
 Nîmes, 81
 Nineveh, 35, 41, 43
 Nomads, 36
 Norman Conquest, 116-121, 118-119, 170
 Normandy, 116-117
 Normans, 109, 116-121, 136
 Norsemen, 110-115, 116
 North-east Passage, 196
 Northleach, 144
 North-west Passage, 197
 Northumbria, 91-92
 Norway, 110
 Nova Scotia, 231
 Numbers: Sumerian, 42; Arabic, 96; Roman, 96

 OCTAVIAN, 76. *See also* Augustus
 Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, 117
 Odysseus, 48
Odyssey, 70, 99
 Old Colonial System, 240-241
 Old Testament, 39, 43, 186
 Olives, 25, 31, 46, 55, 78, 139
 Olympic Games, 49
 Olympus, Mount, 49
 Open-field Village, 125-128, 254-256
 Orange, William of (William the Silent), 194
 Ornaments, 24, 104-105, 113, 118
 Oseberg ship, 113
 Ostia, 287
 Ostracism, 58
 Ostrogoths, 86
 Otto of Germany, 129
 Ovid, 87
 Owen, Robert, 269, 271
 Oxford, 146
 Oxford, University of, 154

 PACIFIC OCEAN, 181-183
Paidagogos, 58-59
 Palaces: Cnossus, 32-33; Mycenæ, 33-34; Renaissance, 175
 Palæontology, 283
 Palatine Hill, 65
 Panama, Isthmus of, 183
 Papacy—*see* Popes
 Paper, 28
 Papyrus, 24, 27-28, 30, 39, 42, 47, 78, 81
 Paris, 246, 248; University of, 154;
 Treaty of (1763), 232
 Parish Officers, 207
Parlement of the Three Ages, 171
 Parliament, development of, in
 England, 145, 164-166, 215-223
 Parthenon, 53, 55, 64
 Patricians, 66-67
 Pausanias, 52
 "Peace of the Fair," 141
 Peasants' Revolt (1381), 167-169
Pelican, the, 197
 Peloponnese, the, 48
 Peloponnesian War, 60-61
 Pen, 28, 42, 81
 Penda, King of Mercia, 106
 Penn, William, 227
 Pennsylvania, 227
 Penny, 106
 Pericles, 53-54, 56-58
 Peristyle, 80
 Persia, 38, 41, 51, 61, 63, 85, 94-95
 Persian Empire, 44, 51-52, 62
 Persian Gulf, 36, 41
 Persian War, 51-53
 Peru, 181-182, 197
 Peter the Hermit, 136
 Petition of Right, 217
 Pharaoh, 20, 22-23, 25
 Pheidippides, 51
 Phidias, 53, 64
 Philip II of Macedon, 61-62
 Philip II of Spain, 188
 Philip Augustus of France, 137
 Philippa, Queen, 132
Philippics, the, 62
 Philippine Islands, 182
 Philistines, 37
 Philosophy, 53, 59
 Phœnicians, 34-36, 39, 44, 46, 69
 Picts, 100
 Picture writing, 28-29
Piers Plowman, 172
 Pilgrim Fathers, 226
 Pilgrims, 94, 135, 160
 Pillars of Hercules, 35
 Pillory, 158
 Pindar, 124
 Pippin, King, 98
 Piræus, 50, 54-55
 Pisa, 135-136
 Pitt, William, the Elder, 238
 Pittsburgh, 232
 Pizarro, 181

- Plague, 151
 Plantations, 227
 Plassey, battle of (1757), 232
 Platæa, battle of (479 B.C.), 52
 Plato, 60, 63
 Plebeians, 66-67
 Plymouth, 197, 226
 Po, river, 74
 Pocahontas, 225
 Poetry—*see* Literature
 Poitiers, battle of (1356), 95, 98
 Poll tax, 168
 Pompeii, 286
 Pompey, 70, 75
 Pont du Gard, 81
 Pontius Pilate, 89
 Poor Law (Elizabethan), 205-207
 Popes, 91-92, 98, 108, 122, 129, 135-136, 184, 186-188, 193
 Popular Assembly, 57-59
 Population, 47, 78, 207, 216, 272
 Portugal, 177-180, 182, 193, 234
 Portuguese in East Indies, 227-228
 Potato, 182-256
 Potter's wheel, 24, 31, 33
 Pottery: Egyptian, 24; Cretan, 31-32; Mycenaean, 33; Athenian, 54-55
 Power, 259
 Prætors, 66
 Prayer Book, 189, 219
 Presbyterians, 217
 Priests, 23, 26, 42
 Prime Minister, 222
 Printing, 175-176
 Privy Council, 164, 192, 215-216.
 See also Witan
 Protagoras, 59
 Prussia, 251-252
 Prynne, William, 217
 Prytanies, 57
 Ptolemies, 63
 Public Record Office, 287
 Punic Wars, 69-70
 Punishments, in medieval England, 157-158
 Puritans, 188-189, 217, 220-221, 226
 Pym, John, 219
 Pyramids, 20-23, 25, 30
 Pyrenees, 16, 95, 99, 135
 QUÆSTORS, 66
 Quakers, 227, 238
 Quebec, 231
 Queen's House, Greenwich, 175
 RAILWAYS, 260
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 224-225
 Ramadan, (Muslim fast), 95
 Red Sea, 36, 41, 77
 Reeve, 125, 173
 Reform Act (1832), 273
 Reformation, 184-190
 Reformation Settlement, 189
 Religion: of Primitive Man, 15-17;
 Egyptian, 23; Cretan, 32;
 Hebrew, 36-37, 39; Sumerian,
 42; Persian, 45; Greek, 49-50;
 Roman, 77, 87-88; Anglo-Saxon,
 101, 106; Viking, 111, 113;
 Norman, 118; German, 184-186,
 190; English, 186-189, 217-218,
 221-223; Spanish, 189-190;
 French, 190
 Renaissance, 99, 137, 170-176
 Rhine, river, 75-77
Rhubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, 96
 Ridley, Bishop, 189
 Richard I, King, 137, 144
 Richard II, King, 168-169
 Ritual washing, 26, 95, 132
 Roads: Persian Empire, 44;
 Roman, 67, 81; Anglo-Saxon,
 105; British, in nineteenth
 century, 259
 Robin Hood, 146
 Rochdale, 268
 Rock tombs, 25-26
Rocket, the, 260
 Rolf the Ganger, 117
 Rolfe, Thomas, 225
 Roman Catholics, 188-190. *See*
 also Religion
 Roman Empire, 45, 65-86, 88, 90,
 96-97, 100
 Roncesvalles, Pass of, 99
 Rosetta Stone, 286
 Rotation of Crops, 127
 Roundheads, 220
 Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 243, 246
 Royalists, 220, 226
 Rubbish, of early man, 16, 283
 Rubicon, river, 75
 Runes, 114
 Runnymede, 161
 Russia, 138, 251-252, 276
 SACK OF ROME (410), 86, 91
 Sacrifice, 87
 Sagas, 112, 114, 117, 170

- St Albans, 100
 St Augustine, 91
 St Bartholomew, Massacre of (1572), 190, 200
 St Bartholomew's Fair, 141
 St Bartholomew's Hospital, 206
 St Benedict, 91
 St Bernard, 137
 St Dominic, 130
 St Francis, 129
 St Giles' Fair, 140
 St Helena, island of, 252
 St Lawrence river, 231
 St Paul, 89-91
 St Paul's Cathedral, 175
 St Peter's, 91, 98
 St Sophia's, 153
 St Thomas à Becket, 133, 160, 172, 187
 St Thomas Aquinas, 155
 Saladin, 137
 Salamis, battle of (480 B.C.), 52
 Salerno, University of, 154
 Salt, 105, 142
 Salting animals, 104-105, 128
 Samarkand, 138
 Sanitation : in Crete, 33 ; in Athens, 55 ; in Rome, 80 ; in medieval Europe, 151, 166 ; Tudor, 208 ; nineteenth-century Britain, 266
 Sappho, 48
 Saracens, 96, 135
 Sardinia, 69, 78
 Saul, 39
 Saxons, 85-86, 98-101
 Scandinavia, 110-115, 186, 189
 Schliemann, Heinrich, 284-285
 Schoolmen, 154
 Schools : Greece, 58-59 ; Rome, 80-81 ; Anglo-Saxon (Alfred), 108 ; Middle Ages, 154 ; Renaissance, 174
 Science : Egyptian, 30 ; Greek, 47-48 ; Arab, 97 ; modern, 281-282
 Scipio, Publius Cornelius, 70
 Scotland, 78, 100, 186, 189, 199, 219
 Scurvy, 151-152
 Sea Beggars, 194
 Seals, Sumerian, 42-43
 Sects, 188
 Seine, river, 112
 Semites, 34, 41, 43
 Seneschal, 125
 Serf, 123, 141, 144, 169
 Shaduf, 19, 20
 Shakespeare, William, 67, 208-210, 225
 Sharp, Granville, 237
 Sheep, 14, 26, 41, 125, 128, 142-145, 200-201
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 281
 Shepherds, 36-37, 144
 Sheriff, 146, 192
 Ship burial, 113
 Ships : Egyptian, 24-25 ; Cretan, 31 ; Phœnician, 34, 35 ; Greek, 46-47, 52 ; Persian, 52 ; Anglo-Saxon, 108, 114 ; Viking, 110-111 ; Venetian, 138, 140 ; Genoese, 140 ; Portuguese, 140 ; Henry the Navigator's, 177 ; English, 198, 261 ; Spanish Armada, 198
 Shire court, 156
 "Short Parliament," 219
 Sicily, 47, 54, 69, 78, 136
 Sierra Leone, 179, 239, 276
 Silk, 78, 105, 111, 138
 Silver, 22, 32, 37, 44, 56, 173, 182
 Sinai, 20, 24-25, 36-37
 Singapore, 276
Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight, 171
 Skara Brae, 283-284
 Slavery, 24, 30, 36, 42, 44, 55-56, 58, 66, 73, 82-84, 87, 90, 103, 122, 179, 196-197, 227-228, 228, 234-239, 244
 Smith, Adam, 238
 Smith, John, 225
 Smoking, 181, 224
Social Contract (Rousseau), 243, 246
 Socrates, 59-60
 Solomon, King, 37-38
Song of Alfred, 108
 "Sons of Liberty," 242
 Sophocles, 54
 Southampton, 140-141, 146
 Southey, Robert, 249, 251
 Spain, 16, 47, 69-70, 75, 78, 81, 95, 96, 98-99, 135, 180, 182, 189-190, 193-195, 196-199, 230, 251
 Sparta, 31, 48, 51-52, 61
 Spenser, Edmund, 209
 Sphinx, 23, 25
 Spices, 105, 111, 138, 140, 227
 Spinning, 24, 203, 258

- Sport: Egyptian, 26-27; Cretan, 32; Greek, 49; Roman, 79; medieval, 155; Tudor, 210
 Squire, the, 133, 254
 Stamp Act (1765), 242
 Standing army, 192
 Stanley, Henry, 276
 Staple, Merchants of the, 140, 145, 200, 203
 Star Chamber Court, 192, 219
 State, the, 202, 204-205, 205-207, 216, 271-274
 States General, 246-247
 Statute of Artificers (1563), 205
 Statute of Westminster, 164
 Steam engine, 260
 Stephen, King, 131
 Stephenson, George, 260
 Steward, the, 125
 Stilo, 81
 Stocks, 158
 Stone Age men, 13-18
 Stonehenge, 16-17, 284
 Strafford, Earl of, 219
 Straw, Jack, 168-169
 Streets: Athens, 55; Rome, 81; Middle Ages, 152; Tudor, 208
 Strong, Jonathan, 237
 "Sturdy beggars," 201, 205
 Sugar, 214, 224-225, 244
 Sumerians, 41-43
 Sutton Hoo, 113
 Switzerland, 16, 75, 186, 189
 Synod of Whitby (664), 92
 Syria, 34, 36, 43, 94-96
 TACITUS, 81
 Tasman, Abel, 275
 Taxation: Roman Empire, 85; England, 146-147, 161, 216-219; Colonies, 242; France, 245-246
 Tea, 242
 Telegraph, 261
 Telephone, 261
 Telescopes, 174
 Tennyson, Lord, 281
 Tetzel, John, 185
 Textile inventions, 258-259
 Thackeray, William Makepeace, 281
 Tharshish, 37
 Theatres: Greek, 50, 54, 59; Roman, 50, 79-80; Elizabethan, 208-209
 Thebes, 25
 Thegn, 112, 114
 Themistocles, 52
 Thermopylae, battle of (480 B.C.), 52
 Theseus, 33, 49
 Thirty Years War, 190
 Tiber, river, 65, 67
 Tigris, river, 25, 36, 38, 41, 43
 Timber, 24, 32, 34, 139, 140, 142
 Tin, 16, 25, 35, 78
 Titus, Emperor, 79
 'Tofts,' 124
 Toleration, 221, 222
 Tools, 14, 16, 24, 44
 Tombs, 20, 22-23, 25-26, 31, 33, 45
 Toronto, 231
 Tower of Babel, 42
 Tower of London, 117
 Towns: Athens, 55; Roman, 63, 81; Anglo-Saxon, 105; Medieval, 124; Tudor, 205-208; nineteenth-century British, 268-269, 272
 Towns, growth of, 146-150
 Townshend, Lord, 256
 Toys: Egyptian, 27; medieval, 155
 Trade: Egypt, 23, 25, 78; Crete, 31; Phoenician, 35, 47; British, 35, 142, 182, 196-197, 224-229, 227-229, 231-233, 261-262, 277; Solomon, 37-38; Sumerian, 41-42; Persia, 44; Greece, 46-47, 54-55; Roman, 69, 78, 82, 84, 90; Arab, 93; Anglo-Saxon, 105; Vikings, 110-115, 116; Middle Ages, 137-141; Venice, 138-140, 182; Baltic, 140; Hanse, 140; Portugal, 179-180, 182; Spanish, 182; Dutch, 195, 224-229; Hudson Bay, 196-197; French, 231-233; American Colonies, 240-242; Africa, 276-277
 Trade unions, 267-268
 Trafalgar, battle of (1805), 251
 Trajan, Emperor, 79
 Transport in nineteenth-century Britain, 259-261
 Trial: by combat, 156-157; by oath, 157; by ordeal, 157, 159
 Triennial Act (1641), 219
 Tripoli, 137
 Trireme, 46
 Trojan War, 34, 47-48

- Troy, 34, 285
 Tudors, 186, 191-215
 Tull, Jethro, 256
 Turks, 135, 173-174
 Turnips, 256
 Turnpike Trusts, 259
 Tuscany, 54
 Tutankhamen, 284
 Tyler, Wat, 168-169
 Tyndale, William, 186
 Typhus, 266
 Tyrant: in Athens, 58; in Rome, 67
 Tyre, 38, 62

 UNEMPLOYMENT, 205, 267
 United States of America, 243-244, 276
 Universal suffrage, 273-274
 Universities, 154, 174
 Ur, 36
 Urban II, Pope, 135
 Utrecht, Peace of (1713), 231

 VAGRANCY, 205-207
 Valhalla, 111, 113
 Vandals, 85
 Van Tromp, Martin, 228
 Venice, 135-136, 138-140, 142, 177, 182
 Ventris, Michael, 286
 Vernacular, 170-173
 Versailles, 230; Treaty of (1783), 243
 Verulamium (St Albans), 100
 Vespasian, Emperor, 79
 Victoria, Queen, 33, 233, 279
 Vikings, 109, 110-115, 116, 136
 Villa (Roman), 82, 100
 Villein, 119, 122-128, 144, 147, 166-167
 Vinland, 112
 Virgil, 77
 Virginia, 196, 224-226
 Visigoths, 85-86, 98

 WAGES, REGULATION OF, 204-205, 216
 Wales, 17, 91-92, 112
 Walworth, Sir William, 169
 War-captives: Egyptian, 24; Crete, 32; Greek, 56; Roman, 82; Anglo-Saxon, 103
 Washington, George, 243
 Watt, James, 260
 Weapons, 14, 16, 26, 44, 72, 111, 116-117
 Wedmore, Treaty of (878), 114
 Wesley, John, 237
 Wessex, 101, 105, 108, 114
 West Indies, 181, 224
 Wheat, 14, 31, 38, 41, 55, 104, 125
 Wheel, the, 22, 41, 282
 Wheel, potter's, 24
 Whitby, Synod of (664), 92
 Wilberforce, William, 238-239
 William I (the Conqueror), 116-121, 129
 William III, King, 222
 William IV, King, 222, 230
 Winchester, 141, 142
 Wine, 26, 46, 55, 78, 105, 142
 Wireless, 261
 Witan, the, 102, 116
 Wolfe, General James, 231
 Wolsey, Cardinal Thomas, 204
 Wool, 128, 140-141, 200
 Woollen industry and trade, 142-145, 200-204
 Wordsworth, William, 249, 251, 281
 Workers: domestic system, 203-204; factory system, 263-265; in Industrial Revolution, 263-266
 Wren, Sir Christopher, 175
 Writing, 16, 28-30, 33-35, 42-43, 47, 81
 Wycliffe, John, 186

 XERXES, 51

 YEOMAN FARMER, 254
 Yeomen, 103
 Yeomen of the Guard, 192
 York, 99, 116
 Young, Arthur, 256

 ZAMA, BATTLE OF (202 B.C.), 70
 Zoroaster, 45, 94



Self
N 23/4/75

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.

S. B., 148, N. DELHI.