

W. L. W. Knorr to

with his father's love

How long

New Year. 1848.

THE STORY  
OF  
SOME ENGLISH SHIRES

*This Edition is limited to one hundred and fifty copies,  
of which this is Number 7.*



THE STORY  
OF  
SOME ENGLISH SHIRES.

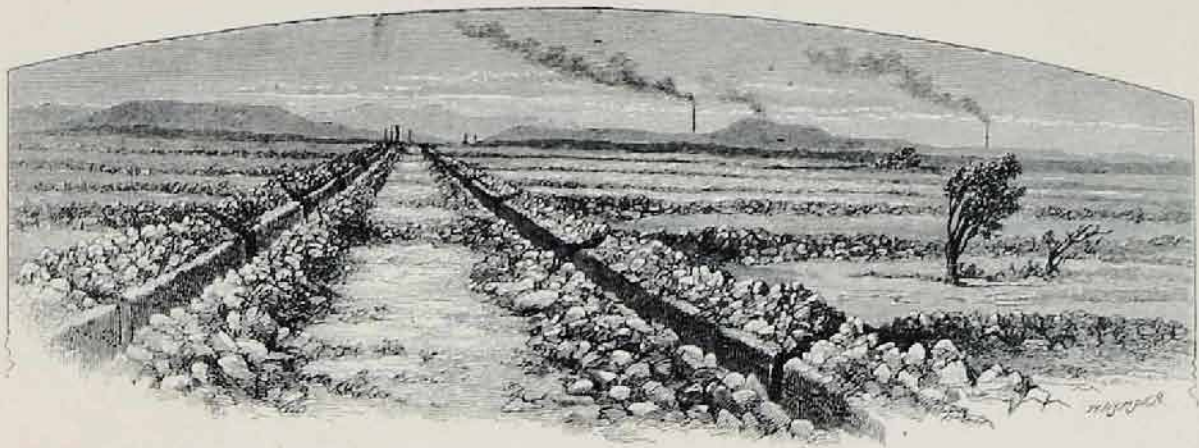
BY THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND  
MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.D.,  
Lord Bishop of London,  
AUTHOR OF 'QUEEN ELIZABETH,' 'A HISTORY OF THE PAPACY,' ETC., ETC.

*WITH A PHOTOGRAVURE FRONTISPIECE AFTER AN UNPUBLISHED DRAWING  
BY THOMAS HEARNE, AND NINETY-EIGHT ENGRAVINGS.*

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CHATMOSS.

## PREFACE.



THE following chapters originally appeared in the *Leisure Hour*, and were written at the request of the Editor. They were written in intervals of leisure, and were the result of impressions produced by rambles in various parts of England.

Places have characters of their own as much as individual men. They owe their distinctive features to the same causes as do men—to their ancestry in the past. England is united into one country, just in the same way as all Englishmen form part of one race. But though England forms one country, its districts differ greatly from one another. A North Country man finds it hard to understand what is said by a dweller in the South. Habits of life, manners, customs, all have strong marks of peculiarity. Year by year these peculiarities are growing less strong, as people move about more freely, and do not always live and die in the place where they were born. But the differences themselves exist, because the folk came of rather different stocks, and because the nature of the country they lived in, and the things that happened many years ago, caused their lives to take different shapes.

There is much to be learned from trying to see how these local peculiarities arose. They generally follow the lines of the divisions of the

shires, which carry us back to times when there were many kingdoms, and each managed its own affairs. Though the shires are now only divisions of the English kingdom, they still keep the traces of their independent life, and each of them has much that is peculiar to itself. Though they have all shared in the history and the fortunes of England as a whole, yet each has had a history and a fortune of its own, which has left its mark upon it.

These are the points which I have tried to illustrate in the following pages. Increasing occupation has prevented me from finishing the series; but I still sometimes hope that I may succeed in doing so.

M. LONDIN.

FULHAM PALACE,

*July 30, 1897.*

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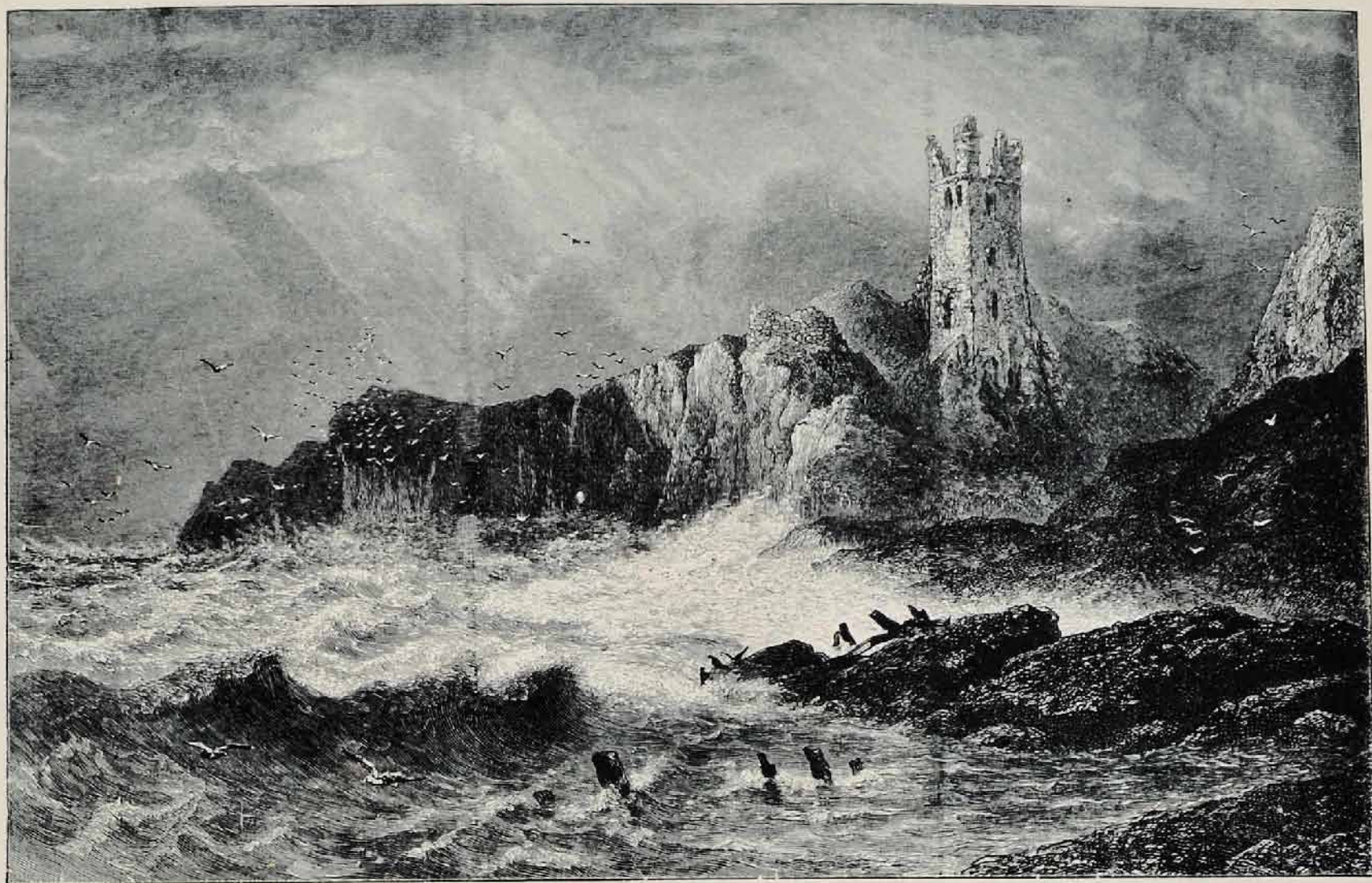
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DUNSTANBOROUGH CASTLE.

*[From a Drawing by J. W. Whymer.]*

## NORTHUMBERLAND.



NORHAM CASTLE.

IT is my purpose to tell some of the leading events of the history of the chief English shires, and I begin with Northumberland, which has perhaps had the most striking history of any of them.

The leading feature of the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland is that they are Borderlands. They remind us that it was hard to bring the whole of our island under one rule, and that this difficulty was felt in the earliest recorded times. When the Romans conquered Britain, they were driven, as all colonists always are driven, to extend their boundaries in self-defence. They did not wish to penetrate into country which they could not easily hold, and which was not profitable to them. So after some experiments they resolved to draw a line, extending from east to west,

where the island was narrowest. It was to be a boundary between peaceful civilisation and barbarism, and was to be so strong that it could not be passed by savage raiders. For this purpose they built a stone wall, defended by a ditch and an earthwork, from the Solway to the Tyne. This wall, with its fortresses and castles, was a stupendous work, the remains of which excite our admiration, and are a testimony to the thoroughness of Roman workmanship. The line of the wall was garrisoned by ten thousand soldiers, and must have been the busiest part of Roman Britain. It is a striking witness to the prowess of the northern tribes that such a work of defence should have been deemed necessary, and that it



ROMAN WALL.

should not have served its purpose. For its ruins show clearly enough that it sometimes suffered from invasion, and was the scene of many a conflict. The power of Rome decayed, and its civilisation passed away; but it would seem as though early associations remained, claiming the Borderlands in later days as a scene of perpetual strife.

We are not, however, concerned with the Borders, but with Northumberland. Its very name takes us at once a long way back—it takes us to the time when all the land along the east coast, from the Humber to the Firth of Forth, was one kingdom. Our English forefathers came as invaders, in their long boats, from the land that is now called Sleswig.

Numbers of them pressed up the River Tweed and drove away the native Britons. Presently their scattered tribes were united under a king, Ida, called the Flame-bearer by the trembling Britons; and Ida fixed his royal residence on the basalt crag of Bamborough, which rises steep above sea and land alike. Ida's rule soon reached from the Forth to the Tees, and another kingdom was similarly formed between the Tees and the Humber by another English chieftain. These kingdoms—Bernicia and Deira, as they were called—were at first engaged in constant warfare. Then they were long united under powerful rulers, and formed the great kingdom of Northumberland. After a time the Danes conquered the southern kingdom of Deira and settled there. The land between the Tees and Tyne was given to the great Church of Durham, and formed a county by itself. The land between the Tweed and the Forth was handed over to the Scottish king because he could govern it most easily. So it came to pass that, after all these losses, the land between the Tyne and the Tweed was left sole heir to the title of the great kingdom of Northumberland, which had more than once seemed likely to bring the rest of England under its sway.

The present county of Northumberland, then, is the central part of an old English kingdom, from which it takes its name. That old kingdom did great things in early times. Above all else, the story of its conversion to Christianity shows us what the Church did for English civilisation, and how rapid was the progress of our forefathers in the days of old. At first, these little kingdoms of the English were engaged in constant war with the Britons, and their fortunes rose and fell with great rapidity. In 635 the Northumbrian kingdom was invaded by the Welsh, and was helpless before them. It had no king, and sent for one of the royal line who had been driven into exile. Oswald had taken refuge amongst the Picts, and found a home in the Monastery of Iona, which had been founded by missionaries from Ireland. There Oswald learnt Christianity, and when he went back to Northumberland he advanced to meet the Welsh army full of trust in God. He met the foe near Hexham, and before the battle called his people together and told them of his belief that God would be on their side if they too would believe in Him. The people agreed that, if they won

the day, they would become Christians. Then Oswald made a wooden cross as a standard for his army. Round it he fought, till the Welsh invaders were completely defeated. He called the place of his battle Heavenfield, and sent at once to Iona for priests to teach his people.

The first missionaries went back to Iona dispirited; they could make no impression on the stubborn and barbarous folk. The monks listened sadly to their tale, till Aidan spoke out, 'Were you not too severe for this unlearned people? Did you not give them strong meat, when you should have fed them with the milk of the Word?' Then all exclaimed, 'Aidan shall go!' Aidan went to Northumberland and laboured with gentleness and kindness. He could not speak the English tongue, and for some time



GATE AT LINDISFARNE.

King Oswald interpreted his words as he preached to the lords of his court. Aidan's teaching carried conviction. Churches of wood were built, and monasteries were endowed by the king, to be the homes of the new preachers; they wandered through the scantily-peopled land, and men flocked on all sides to hear them. Aidan, as bishop, set up his seat at the little island of Lindisfarne, since called Holy Island, which lies off the coast just north of Bamburgh. It was a bleak but quiet spot, which served to remind him of his old home of Iona, which he had left with sorrow. King Oswald and Bishop Aidan worked lovingly together. Oswald died in battle against the heathen,

and his last words were, 'Lord have mercy on their souls!' Aidan, as he felt his end approaching, was carried to the church of Bamburgh, and died in prayer holding to a beam of the church wall.

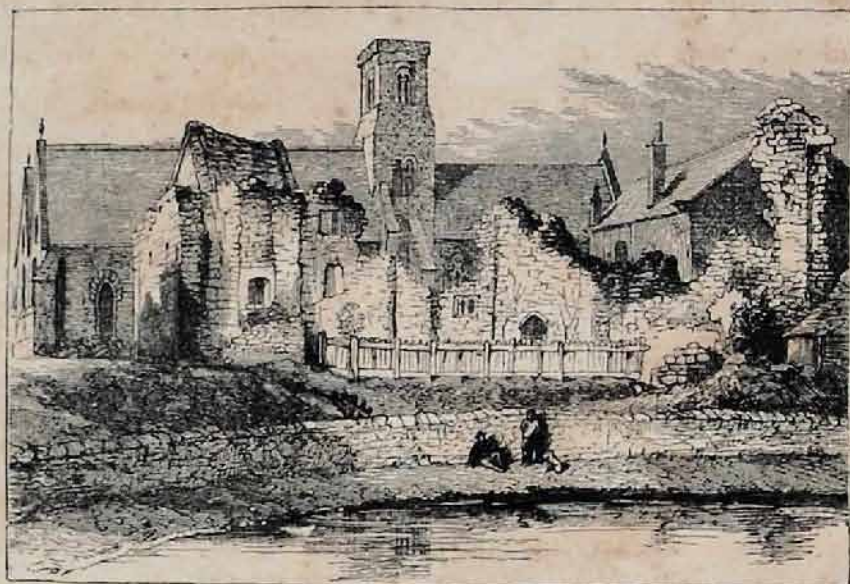
Christian Northumberland helped to spread Christianity among the neighbouring kingdoms. Its people learned from the monks the beginnings of a settled life. The monkish missionaries built their monasteries along the river valleys in convenient spots. They cleared away the trees and tilled the land. They lived simply, and gave ready hospitality to all who came to visit them. They set up schools and sent forth preachers on all sides. The monasteries were the only homes of peace amid the tumult of ceaseless war. But a great question soon arose about the position of the Church of England. Southern England received its Christianity from missionaries who came from Rome; Northern England had been converted by missionaries from Ireland. The Irish Church had not followed quite the same lines as the Roman Church. There were differences in the time of keeping Easter, and in other points of ritual and organisation. The organisation of the Roman Church was stronger than that of the Irish Church, and many men in Northumberland preferred it. Quarrels arose between the two Churches, till at last the Northumbrian king Oswy called his Wise Men together at Whitby in 664 to discuss what was to be done. He decided that it was better to follow the customs of the great majority of Christian people. Many of the Irish missionaries went away. Those who remained submitted to the rules of the Church of Rome.

But the work of the Irish missionaries was carried on by a Northumbrian who had been trained in their ways. A shepherd lad, by name Cuthbert, was feeding his sheep on the Lammermoor hills on the night that Aidan died. He saw meteors fall through the sky, and when he heard of Aidan's death he said that he had seen the angels who had come to carry Aidan's soul to heaven. He resolved to give himself to God's service, and entered the nearest monastery at Melrose. The labours of Cuthbert, his holy and his simple life, enabled him to win all hearts. The former missionaries had been strangers; Cuthbert was a Northumbrian peasant, who knew how to speak to all manner of men. After much work for others he withdrew to live as a hermit on one of the Farne Islands, which lie off Bamburgh. Birds and beasts are said to have loved him and listened to his words. He could not be left in quiet, for all men wished him to be bishop. Cuthbert



refused, till King Egfrith himself sailed to his island and compelled him to take the office. For three years Cuthbert wandered on foot through his diocese, preaching and confirming. Then he went back to his island cell to die in peace. Men loved and honoured him; Lindisfarne became famous because it was the resting-place of Cuthbert's bones. St. Cuthbert was taken by the men of the North for their patron saint.

Meanwhile the union with the Roman Church brought greater civilisation to Northumberland. Pilgrimages to Rome were frequent, and the knowledge of many things was brought back by the pilgrims. Two Northumbrians of noble birth, Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, made Northumberland



JARROW CHURCH AND RUINS OF MONASTERY.

famous throughout Europe. Benedict Biscop founded monasteries at Wearmouth and Jarrow, and built there churches of stone, such as he had seen at Rome. Hitherto the buildings of the English had been of turf, wattles, or wood. A church made of oaken beams was regarded as magnificent. Benedict Biscop set the example of building in stone. He brought also glass-makers, adorned his church with pictures, and even allured from Rome the chief singer of the pope's chapel, that he might teach the English the use of sacred song. Benedict Biscop's example was followed by Wilfrid, who founded monasteries and built churches at Ripon and at Hexham.

Benedict Biscop did still more good by bringing books to his monastery at Wearmouth. He founded there a library, and set up what was really a great university. The monastery of Jarrow produced the earliest, and one of the greatest, of English scholars. Bede was a native of Wearmouth, who at the age of seven was committed to Benedict's care. His whole life was spent in study. He taught and wrote on all the subjects that were known in his days—philosophy, arithmetic, poetry, above all, theology. But his great work was an *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, a book which makes us love the writer and admire the force and nobility of the times about which it tells. Bede's history is a splendid memorial of the power of Christianity to civilise and exalt the lives of men. Bede died in 735, and on his death-bed continued to teach his scholars. He was busied with the translation of St. John's Gospel, and went on dictating as long as he could. With difficulty he reached the last chapter. 'There is still one sentence unwritten,' said his scribe. 'Write quickly,' said Bede, as he dictated it. 'It's done,' said the boy, joyfully. 'You speak the truth,' answered Bede; 'it is finished. Turn me to the place where I used to pray.' Then on the floor of his cell he sang the *Gloria*, and breathed his last. Literature can give no more touching picture of the life and death of a devoted student.

Bede lived long enough to see the approaching end of the greatness of the Northumbrian kingdom. There were disputes about the succession to the throne; the nobles grew powerful, and promoted discord. Even the monasteries lost their original purity. The monastic life had become fashionable, and monasteries were unduly multiplied. Men entered them for the purpose of living a quiet life and escaping trouble, rather than from any higher motive. There were signs of disorganisation on every side; and when the ships of the Norse pirates began to attack the eastern coast, Northumberland could offer little resistance. The heathen Northmen were tempted by the treasures of the monasteries, which were mostly built along the coast. Lindisfarne and Jarrow both were sacked. The civilisation of Northumberland began to wane, and its force declined. In 822 the great Northern kingdom submitted to the over-lordship of Egbert, the West Saxon king.

The ravages of the Danes almost swept away the traces of Benedict

Biscop, of Wilfrid, and of Bede. The Danes settled in the southern part of the Northumbrian kingdom, which is now called Yorkshire. The northern part was left under its own rulers, but was made tributary. Its people were left unchanged by any mixture of Danish blood; and the men who dwell between the Tyne and the Forth may still claim to be of purer English race than any other dwellers in our island. The Danish parts of England were gradually won back by the West Saxon kings, and Northumberland made submission to Edward the Elder in 924. But the men of the North were lawless and hard to reduce to order. Northumberland ceased to be a kingdom, but was ruled by an earl chosen from its old royal line. The life of Earl Uhtred may serve as an example of the wild spirit which had grown up amongst the Northumbrian folk. Uhtred had covenanted to marry the daughter of a wealthy citizen, on condition that he slew an enemy of her father. This projected marriage was given up in favour of a nobler bride, the daughter of King Ethelred. But the man whom he had sworn to kill could not forgive him for his promise. He waited for years till Uhtred's fortunes had waned, and then slew him in the presence of King Cnut. Uhtred's son slew the slayer of his father, and the slain man's son vowed revenge in turn. The two enemies lived in constant terror of one another, till their friends came between them and exhorted them to forgiveness. The two men met and vowed friendship: to make their vows sure, they undertook a pilgrimage to Rome. When they reached the coast, the sea was stormy, and they returned. On their way back the old passion for revenge, which had been freed from any religious obligation, suddenly broke forth, and one slew his unsuspecting fellow as they rode together through a wood. We see from this story how law and order had ceased to prevail in Northumberland, and the personal duty of revenging blood had taken the place of justice.

When William the Norman became King of England and set up a stronger government, he found it hard to bring into obedience the unruly North. The earls whom he sent to govern it met with violent ends. At length he made the Bishop of Durham, Walcher, Earl of Northumberland. Walcher did not please the Northumbrians, and he summoned them to a conference at Gateshead to talk over their grievances. As he spoke a cry

was raised in the crowd, 'Short rede, good rede : slay ye the bishop!' and Walcher was slaughtered at the chapel door. The king resolved to crush the spirit of this turbulent folk. Northumberland was harried by his troops, and the king's son Robert laid the foundations of a strong castle on the bank of the Tyne opposite the spot where Walcher was slain. The castle was called the New Castle, because an old Roman camp stood near its site. Round this castle houses were built, which grew into the great city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the centre of the industrial life of Northern England.

It would seem that lawlessness was in the air of Northumberland. The Norman Earl, Robert Mowbray, who was sent to govern it, did good service by killing in battle near Alnwick Malcolm, King of Scotland, who invaded the land. But Mowbray engaged in rebellion against William Rufus, and held the castle of Bamburgh against the royal troops. Sieges were difficult in those days, and all that Rufus could do was to erect opposite Bamburgh a wooden castle of his own, which was called by the appropriate name of Malvoisin, the Evil Neighbour. The siege went on slowly, till Mowbray was led to leave his fortress by the promise that Newcastle would open its gates to him. By night he stole from Bamburgh with only thirty men, and was pursued by the garrison of Malvoisin. When he reached Newcastle he found that he was disappointed of his welcome. He was made prisoner and taken back to Bamburgh. Then he was led to the gate, and his wife was summoned to surrender, unless she was prepared to see her husband's eyes put out there and then. The threat was more than her courage could bear. Bamburgh was given up to the king, and William Rufus determined to appoint no more earls to govern Northumberland. The last remains of its old independence were swept away, and the Earldom of Northumberland was vested in the English Crown.

It was, however, still a question whether it was worth the while of the English king to keep such a possession as Northumberland. The weak king Stephen gave it to the Scottish king for the sake of peace, and for some years Northumberland was under Scottish rule. But Henry II. swept away all the traces of Stephen's misgovernment, and reclaimed Northumberland as English ground. William the Lion, King of Scotland, took advantage of

Henry II.'s difficulties after Becket's murder and ravaged Northumberland. He met with so little resistance that his army dispersed to plunder. A thick fog came on, during which the Scottish king rode at random. The fog suddenly cleared away, and William found himself close to Alnwick Castle, with only sixty horsemen. He was attacked and taken prisoner by a body of English knights; and after that Northumberland had peace for a time. But Scotland was always watching for an opportunity to attack the English Border, and Edward I.'s attempt to reduce the Scottish kingdom to subjection to England opened up a long period of almost constant warfare between the two countries.

The brunt of this warfare fell upon the Border lands; and the chief features of Northumberland at the present day tell a tale of constant struggles. The villages and towns in the northern part of the county strike the stranger as singularly cold and bare. There are no picturesque houses of any antiquity. The architecture is severe, simple, and solid. There are scanty traces of ornament even in the few ancient churches which have any pretensions to architectural beauty. The reason is, that for centuries the dwellers in Northumberland encamped rather than dwelt on their land. The villages are small, and at long distances from one another. North of the mining district in the south of the county, Morpeth, with a population of 4,000, and Alnwick, with a population of 7,000, are the only important places for forty miles. The farmsteads, each with its row of houses for the farm labourers, are all modern buildings, erected for the convenience of the farm holding. The old villages did not possess houses fit for the labourers to dwell in. Northumberland of to-day, for all purposes of daily life, bears a most modern look, and has been arranged for the convenience of modern needs. On the other hand, Northumberland is full of castles, some in ruins, some fitted up for residence; and many of its country houses have been built round ancient towers.

This is easily explained, if we consider the conditions of life which the constant warfare on the Borders naturally produced. The king built castles for the defence of the country against the Scots, such as Norham on the Tweed, Bamburgh on the coast, and Newcastle on the Tyne. The lords

who held lands in Northumberland followed his example, and their castles, or the sites of their castles, may be seen at Wark on the Tweed, Etal, Ford, and Chillingham along the Till, Dunstanborough on the coast, Alnwick on the Aln, Warkworth and Harbottle on the Coquet, Bothal, Morpeth, and Mitford on the Wansbeck, and Prudhoe on the Tyne. These castles were



WARKWORTH CASTLE.

strongholds, situated in a large courtyard, which was surrounded by a wall, strengthened here and there by towers. They could hold garrisons and stand a long siege. Besides the more important castles, a number of towers, called peel towers, were scattered over the country. Some of these were large and some were small, according as they belonged to a more or less important

person. Their principle, however, was in every case the same. The tower was of strong and solid masonry, and its entrance was generally from the first floor, by means of a plank which could easily be withdrawn. It was surrounded by a strong palisade of wood. These towers were places of refuge when a raid was made by plundering Scots. The people drove their cattle hastily inside the palisade, and then mounted up into the tower. If the Scots were only making a rapid dash for booty, they drove away the cattle which they found unprotected, but did not waste time in attacking a guarded post. If the Scots meant more serious business, they could, of course, force the palisade and carry off the cattle, but the men and their movable goods escaped. Often, however, these peel towers had to stand a siege, when their assailants first drove the garrison by their arrows from the loopholes in the tower, and then piled wet straw round the walls, and set it on fire, so as to smoke them out.

The peel towers were of varying sizes. Some were fairly comfortable dwellings in ordinary times; some were mere places of refuge in out-of-the-way spots. Some, again, were the dwellings of the clergy, who gave shelter to their neighbours in time of need. At Corbridge, on the Tyne, stands such a one, close to the church. We still can trace a stone slab by the side of the narrow window, which was so placed as to form a desk for the priest's book, that he might get all the light he could for his reading. In some cases the tower of the church was built on the model of a peel, standing square and massive, that it might receive in the time of need those who dwelt beneath its shadow. In other cases, farmhouses seem to have been built upon the same model. The ground floor was a vaulted stable for the cattle, which might be reached from the dwelling-room above by means of a trap-door.

These defences, however, only served for a portion of the dwellers in Northumberland. In 1465 there were thirty-seven castles and seventy-eight towers. The castles mostly contained small garrisons of soldiers; the towers were the residences of the well-to-do folk. The mass of the people lived in villages, within reach of a castle or a tower, if possible. It was not worth while building houses, which would be in constant danger of destruction.

Poverty was the best defence against pillage. A man who had often to flee for his life did not care to encumber himself with baggage. The ordinary houses were built of mud, turf, or wooden beams. The floor was hollowed out, and the roof was supported by a beam rising from the centre. The cattle often shared the houses with their masters. There was no furniture save of the rudest kind. Weapons for war were the most precious possessions of the Borderer. Yet the prevailing insecurity did not destroy agricultural life. Men were accustomed to the daily risks they ran, and only grew more sturdy and vigorous through their hard training.

The defence of the Borders was committed at the end of the thirteenth century to officials appointed by the Crown, who were called Lords Wardens. The English Border was divided into three marches—east, middle, and west—each of which had a warden. At first the office was held by the chief lords in the district—generally the Earls of Northumberland, who had their strong castle at Alnwick. The Castle of Harbottle was the seat of the warden of the middle marches, and the castle of



PEEL TOWER, CORBRIDGE.

Carlisle was held by the warden of the eastern march. These wardens had to arrange with the other lords of lands within their district how many men each was to have in readiness for war. Each village had to supply its contingent; and, from the records of the number of men capable of bearing arms at different times, we see that the agricultural parts of Northumberland maintained a larger population in early times than they do at the present day.

The long war between England and Scotland had some periods of truce, but these did not much affect the Borderers, who lived in a state of perpetual



warfare, and had a code of honour of their own. They delighted in deeds of daring, and were proud of their doings. Nowhere were minstrels more frequent than on their borders; no part of England has so large a store of martial ballads. Most famous of these is the *Ballad of Chevy Chase*, of which Sir Philip Sidney wrote that 'it stirred his blood like the sound of a trumpet.' It owed its origin to the Battle of Otterburn in 1388, which may be taken as a sample of the nature of Border warfare. The Scots, taking advantage of the disturbed state of England, ravaged the country round Carlisle, and carried off three hundred prisoners, besides much cattle. Encouraged by their success, an army led by the Earl of Douglas entered Northumberland, wasted part of Durham, threatened Newcastle, and then retired leisurely along the Reed Valley, laden with booty. Henry, Lord Percy, who won the name of Hotspur by his prowess, pursued them and attacked their camp at Otterburn, where they had halted for the night. A desperate battle was fought in the moonlight, with varying fortunes. Earl Douglas was slain; Henry Percy and his brother were taken prisoners. Both sides claimed the victory; but the Scots returned home with the greater part of their booty.

How serious were the results of this devastating war may be gathered from the fact that in 1380 we are told the Scots carried off from England forty thousand head of cattle. It is no wonder that an Italian traveller through Northumberland in the year 1435 regarded it as sunk in hopeless barbarism. Only in Newcastle did he seem to be in a world which he knew. The rest of the land was 'uninhabitable, uncultivated, horrible.'

The difficulty of keeping order on the Borders of England and Scotland was great, and exceptional means were used for the purpose. Besides the ordinary law of the land, by which all English and Scottish subjects were bound, there was also a system of international law which was set up by common agreement. As early as 1249 English and Scottish commissioners met, and according to custom called to their aid juries of twelve English knights and twelve Scottish knights, whose business it was to reduce to writing the customs which had gradually grown up for self-preservation. These customs grew into a code of laws, which it was the duty of the wardens on both sides to administer in time of peace,

They met with large bands of followers on some neutral ground on the moorlands, and there held their court. All who had complaints of robbery or other wrongs brought forward their claims. If the warden was convinced of the innocence of the accused person, he might clear him by pledging his honour. If he found that he was mistaken, he was bound to withdraw his protection. Cases in which the wardens did not interfere were submitted to a jury. The decisions of the jury were written on the statements of claim, and the wardens were bound to see that redress was given accordingly. The system was excellent; but, as might be expected,



ALNWICK CASTLE.

it gave rise to many disputes between the wardens, who did not find their duties easy, and were not always diligent in performing them.

The need of constant warfare on the Borders necessarily made the Border lords men of great importance. They were the military leaders of the people, and such order as was kept was enforced by their strong arm. Chief amongst them were the Percy Lords of Alnwick, who by marriages added to their lands till they were the greatest landowners in England.

Henry Percy was made Earl of Northumberland in 1377, and it was greatly owing to his influence that Richard II. was deposed from the throne of England and Henry IV. reigned in his stead. But the Percys had grown too powerful to be obedient subjects. Hotspur quarrelled with the king, made common cause with the Welsh rebels, and led the Northumbrians to take part in civil war. Luckily, he was defeated and slain at Shrewsbury, and the power of the Percys was broken.

Henry V. restored their confiscated lands, and Northumberland was faithful to the fortunes of the House of Lancaster. Henry VI. and his Queen Margaret made their last stand in Northumberland, where Henry VI. dwelt for some years, king of little else save the Castle of Bamburgh. In Northumberland were fought in 1464 two battles of the Wars of the Roses. At Hedgeley Moor, near the base of the Cheviots, Lord Montague cut off a large body of troops who were marching to join the Lancastrian forces. Most of the leaders fled, but Sir Ralph Percy rallied his men to meet the foe. He fell mortally wounded, and as he died exclaimed, 'I have saved the bird in my heart!' meaning that he had kept his honour and died with a clear conscience. Encouraged by this success, Lord Montague marched against the main body of the Lancastrians, and defeated them at Hexham. Queen Margaret fled with her young son into the woods which fringe the Devil's Water, where, hidden among the larch-trees in a deep glen, a cave is still shown which tradition points out as the queen's refuge. There it was that she is said one day to have encountered a band of Border robbers, who stripped her of all she possessed, till she threw herself on the generosity of one, in whose hand she placed the hand of her boy, and said, 'Save the son of your king.' The Borderers soon found means to further her escape to Scotland, whence she made her way to Flanders.

When the Wars of the Roses were ended, the Tudor kings began a more peaceful policy towards Scotland. Europe was forming into strong nations, which were bound together by a system of alliances. The object of Henry VII. was to detach Scotland from her old alliance with France, which she had formed through hostility to England. He wished to unite her with England in the way of peace, and gave his sister Margaret in

marriage to the Scottish king. But the old disagreement did not rapidly cease, and causes of ill-will went on growing. In 1513 Henry VIII. was at war with France, and the Scottish king determined to strike a decisive blow against England. James IV. crossed the borders with an army of 40,000 men. The royal castles fell into his hands. The English king with the greater part of his forces was away in France. But the men of the North rose in defence of their homes, and the Earl of Surrey was soon able to muster an army equal to that of the Scots. He marched into Northumberland, where James IV. was encamped on the hill of Flodden, between the Tweed and the Till. His position was hard to attack. Surrey advanced on the opposite side of the Till, and sent his artillery and one division of his army northward, to cross the Till by the bridge at Twizel, near its confluence with the Tweed. The rest of his army crossed by a ford nearly opposite the Scottish camp. The battle began at four o'clock on a September afternoon, and raged till darkness fell.

The various divisions fought with varying success over the low range of hills, and no one knew who was the victor. The battle was bloody, and the loss of the Scots was enormous. King James IV. fell upon the field. Though Surrey was conqueror, his forces were so weakened that he did not pursue his campaign farther. Scotland was entirely crushed by the defeat; there were few families that had not to lament some loss.

After this the English Government seemed to have resolved to weaken Scotland by all means in their power, and force her to abandon her alliance with France. The wardens of the marches became generals of skirmishing troops, constantly waiting for an opportunity to inflict damage on their foe. Border warfare was no longer the plundering raids of lawless and adventurous folk; it was organised into a system of destruction and havock. Records were kept of the mischief wrought, and accounts were rendered from time to time to the Privy Council. They contain a dismal story of villages burned, land thrown out of cultivation, cattle carried away, men slain or made prisoners. The lovely abbeys which rose along the Tweed were not spared. Nothing was respected, nothing was safe. The Borders became a scene of deliberate savagery,

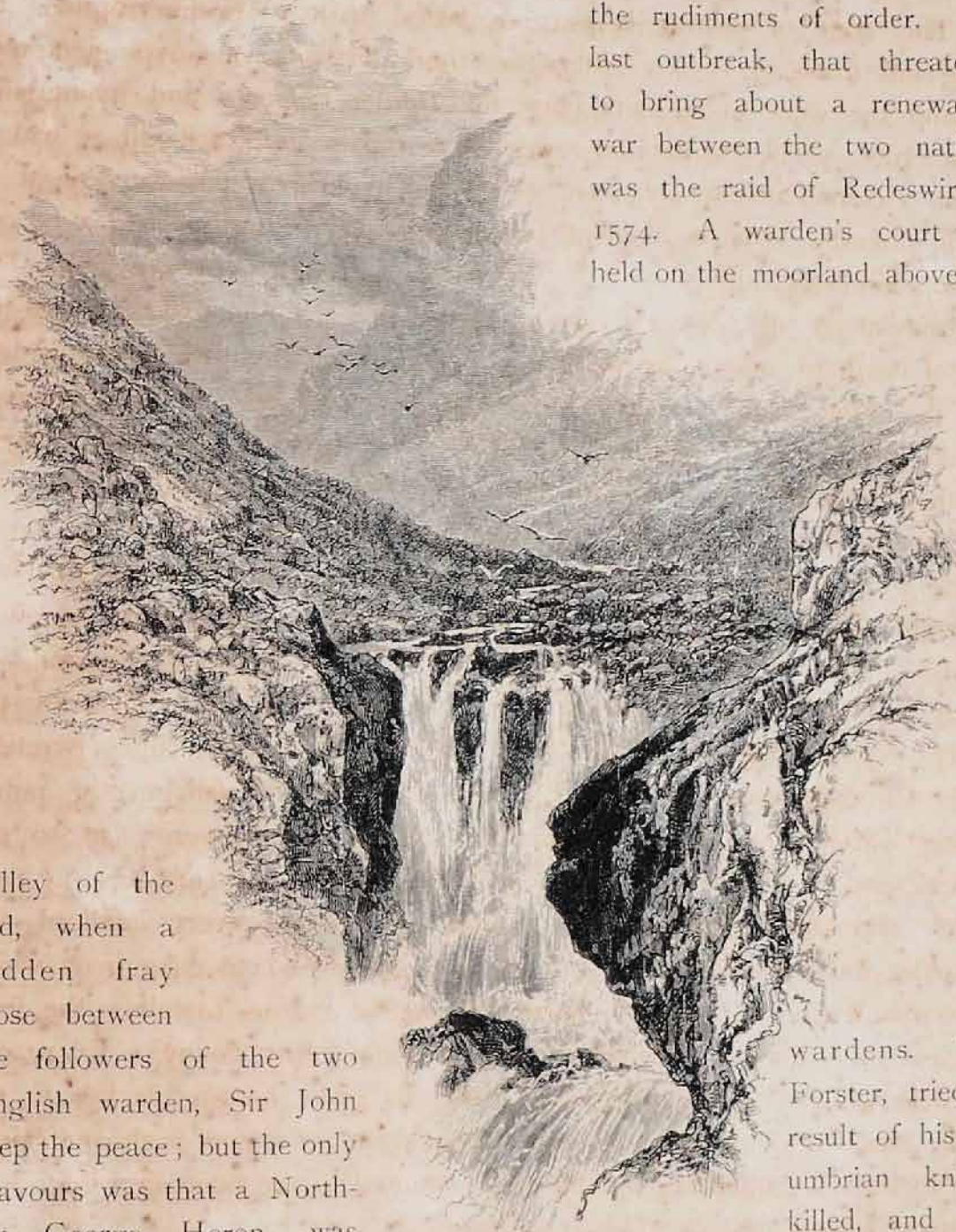
while little was accomplished towards the purpose which Henry VIII. had in view.

This state of destructive warfare lasted, with a few interruptions, till peace was made in 1550. After that time the English Government took in hand the work of strengthening the Border defences and maintaining better order. The castles and towers were repaired. Each village had to furnish a certain number of men, who were to keep watch every night at certain places. When a band of plundering Scots came in view a beacon fire was kindled, which was repeated by the next watch, till the news had been spread on all sides. Every man who saw the signal was bound on pain of death to mount his horse and follow the fray with hue and cry until the stolen goods were recovered. Those who recovered them received a good payment for their service. Moreover, men were ordered to keep bloodhounds, to help them in the pursuit of the robbers. At the same time, to make the country less accessible, fords were strictly watched; the passes in the hills were staked; the villages near the Border were enclosed by high hedges or deep ditches. The wardens' courts were carefully revived, and every old custom that tended to the defence of the land was strictly enforced. The wardens were no longer the chief lords of the county, but were royal officials, appointed for their skill and discretion. Under Elizabeth especially there was a marked improvement in the public service. Men who wished to make their reputation were sent to the Borders, and were kept for a long time, in spite of their entreaties, at their difficult and thankless work. They had to see that every landlord and freeholder was properly armed, that every tenant had land enough on which to keep a horse and maintain himself in sufficient arms to follow the fray, and that no land was left unoccupied by some sturdy family. Every one who had suffered losses from plunder was to make known his loss to the warden, and the warden's books, in which he kept account of such complaints, were to be made up every month, and submitted to the Scottish warden with a request for redress.

Though the Reformation had severed Scotland from France, and though the policy of Elizabeth did much to bring England and Scotland nearer to-

gether, yet it was hard for the Borderers to live in peace. It needed a long course of steady persistency on the part of the wardens to introduce even the rudiments of order. The last outbreak, that threatened to bring about a renewal of war between the two nations, was the raid of Redeswire in 1574. A warden's court was held on the moorland above the

valley of the Jed, when a sudden fray arose between the followers of the two English warden, Sir John keep the peace; but the only deavours was that a North-Sir George Heron, was Sir John Forster himself, gentlemen, were taken prisoners.



IN THE CHEVIOT HILLS.

wardens. The Forster, tried to result of his en-umbrian knight, killed, and that and many English

Elizabeth was exceedingly angry at this

outrage, and wrote threatening letters to the Scottish Government, which was driven to make ample amends. The queen's attitude on this occasion forced Scotland to be more zealous in putting down disorder on the Borders. The English wardens were kept up to their duty. It is said of Henry Carey, Lord Hundson, who was for many years Governor of Berwick, that 'he took as great pleasure in hanging thieves, as other men in hunting or hawking.' It was by such men that Northumberland was brought back to something resembling orderly and civilised life. Nowhere do we find a clearer testimony to the good government of Elizabeth than in the records of Border affairs.

With the accession of James I. the crowns of England and Scotland were united. There was no longer any question of war between the two countries, and the Border land now ceased to be a scene of military strife. The office of Lord Warden was abolished, and the men of the Borders were answerable only to the laws of their country, like other men. But the long period of warfare had created roving habits. The Cheviot valleys were inhabited by clans who had been trained in ancestral feuds, and who were accustomed to live by adventurous plunder rather than settled industry. They still carried on their ancient enmities; they still gloried in the perils of a life of hazard. But their position fell into increasing disrepute. They were no longer irregular soldiers, but were mere lawless thieves, who enjoyed the more honourable title of 'moss-troopers.' The duty of dealing with these moss-troopers and reducing them to order fell upon the gentlemen of the Border in their office as justices of the peace. Everything depended upon their zeal and activity in carrying out the laws. Sometimes they were rigorous, and put down disorder. Sometimes they were careless, and their officers shared the plunder of the thieves and overlooked their misdeeds. Sometimes even the clergy joined with their flocks in plundering raids. It was long before a stern administration of justice succeeded in bringing back the wild people to orderly ways. In the open country it was easier; but the valleys of the North Tyne and the Rede long continued to harbour bands of lawless plunderers. Now and then a raid was made, and the most notorious moss-troopers were transported with their families to Ireland. All that could be done was to keep down their numbers; their habits of life could not be changed.

Hitherto we have been considering mainly the fortunes of the northern part of the country. In the south, where the frontier of the Cheviot hills gave way to the large plain which broadens round the mouth of the Tyne, the town of Newcastle was gradually increasing in importance. Its position as a fortified place in a disturbed territory early attracted a considerable population, and its harbour at the mouth of the Tyne made it a centre of export trade to Flanders. It early had customs of its own for the arrangement of its affairs, and obtained from Henry II. a charter which gave it some powers of self-government. In the reign of John a guild of Merchant Adventurers was formed for the regulation of trade. Newcastle exported wool and hides, and the skins of foxes, sables, and beavers. This mention of beavers shows us that the country must have consisted largely of marshy lands, uncultivated and little trodden; for the beaver has long ceased to be found in England, and has disappeared before the advance of man's industry. Besides these articles of export was lead from the mines in Allendale, which were early disclosed by the making of a Roman road, and which were worked so far as there was any means for sending off their produce. But these early exports were in time surpassed by coal, which is especially connected in our own time with the name of Newcastle.

Coal was known to the Romans, and there are traces in some of their buildings in Northumberland that they used it for fuel. But in old days the forests supplied plenty of wood; there was little demand for fires for the purpose of manufactures; houses were small, and men did not need so much warming as they do at present; chimneys to carry off the smoke were almost unknown, and coal was not very greatly in demand. It began, however, to be sent to London, where it was gradually used by smiths and brewers, who needed fires for their trade. In 1305 Parliament complained to Edward I. that the burning of coal corrupted the air by its smoke and harmful vapours. An order was made that those who used coal should be punished and their furnaces destroyed. However, coal was still used in spite of this order, and gradually became more common. In the sixteenth century the population of the South of England greatly increased; trade rapidly developed; the woods had gradually been cleared away, and fuel became more



difficult to get. In the reign of Elizabeth coal crept from the forge to the kitchen and the hall. Houses were larger and better built; chimneys were common, whereas formerly not more than two or three were to be seen in ordinary towns. The coal trade along the Tyne became brisk, and in 1615 four hundred ships were employed in carrying coals from the harbour of Newcastle.

The greatest part of the labour was not that of the miners who dug the coal, nor of the sailors employed in carrying it away, but of those who conveyed it from the mines to the ships. It was drawn in waggons to the nearest landing-place on the river bank, which was called by the old name of *staithe*. Here it was put on barges, still called by the old name of *keels*, and was carried by them to the ships, which were anchored in deep water. The keels were manned by two men, who shoved their boat down stream by means of two heavy poles. It was severe work, and needed a race of stalwart men—who lived by themselves and had strongly marked characteristics of their own. The song, 'Weel may the keel row,' still carries their memory over every part of England.

The growing trade of Newcastle naturally helped to spread order in the neighbouring parts; but even Newcastle found it necessary to protect itself from contamination by the lawless folk who had been trained to plunder. In 1564 the Merchant Adventurers passed a bye-law forbidding any one to take as an apprentice a native of Tynedale or Redesdale, on the ground that they 'commit frequent thefts and felonies,' and that no good can 'proceed from such lewd and wicked progenitors.'

Free from disturbances, Newcastle flourished, and its trade increased rapidly. Early in the seventeenth century one coal merchant employed between five hundred and a thousand men. But trade even in early days, when competition was less keen than now, was uncertain. For this merchant, 'for all his labour, care, and cost, could scarce live off his trade; many others have consumed and spent great estates and died beggars.' The spirit of enterprise soon grew up. A south country gentleman adventured with thirty thousand pounds—a very large sum in those days—into the Northumbrian mines. He brought many engines hitherto unknown

to drain the pits, and invented boring with iron rods to discover the thickness of the seams. But his inventions brought no good to himself. He consumed all his money, 'and rode home on a light horse.'

The prosperity of Newcastle was disturbed by the great struggle of the reign of Charles I. Northumberland was loyal to the king, and bore the brunt of the first outbreak of hostilities. Again a Scottish army crossed the Tweed in 1640; but the Scots did not come to plunder, they came in defence of their constitutional liberty. They issued a proclamation that they would not take from the people a chicken or a pot of ale without paying for it. They brought with them sheep and oxen for their food. The king's troops vainly endeavoured to hold Newcastle, whose fortifications had fallen into ruins. The Scots crossed the Tyne at Newburn, routed the Royalists, and occupied Newcastle, which was the first victim of the Great Rebellion. The trade of Newcastle was stopped, and its population dwindled. No town in England suffered more severely from the Civil War. It was held for the king by the Marquis of Newcastle, and in 1644 was again besieged by the Scots. The Marquis of Newcastle proposed to fire the coal mines, so as to drive back the enemy, and this destructive step was only prevented by General Lesly's capture of the boats on the Tyne. The men of Newcastle were proud of the tower of their church, which is surmounted by flying buttresses, which form a crown on the top. Lesly ordered his guns to be directed against this ornament, whereon the Mayor of Newcastle commanded that the chief of the Scottish prisoners should be bound with ropes to the buttresses, that they might share the ruin. The church was saved, but Newcastle was driven to surrender. To Newcastle Charles I. fled in 1646, when he placed himself in the hands of the Scots. Next year the Scots gave up the king to Parliament, and withdrew from England. Newcastle was held by the Parliament to be the chief of the malignant towns, and was treated accordingly. It did not resume its peaceful ways till the Restoration.

On the accession of the House of Hanover, Northumberland was strongly Jacobite, and in Northumberland the ill-fated rising of 1715 was devised. Mr. Forster, of Bamburgh, and Lord Derwentwater placed them-

selves at the head of the gentlemen of the county and raised forces which were to join with the Scots. At Warkworth James III. was proclaimed King of England, and a troop of three hundred horsemen was gathered to accomplish this revolution. As Newcastle would not open its gates, the rebels withdrew towards Scotland. But the Scots and English could not agree on a plan for the campaign. The Scots wished to fight in Scotland; the English wished to fight in England. By way of a compromise, they spent a few days in wandering along the Cheviot Hills, and then entered Lancashire. At Preston the little army was surrounded, and all the gentlemen were made prisoners. Lord Derwentwater was impeached and executed for high treason. He was a man of spotless life and character, universally beloved, and his untimely end created universal pity. In Northumberland especially he was long venerated as a martyr, and the ruins of his castle at Dilston, near Hexham, are still thought to be haunted by the wailing spirit of his wife, who vainly pleaded for his pardon.

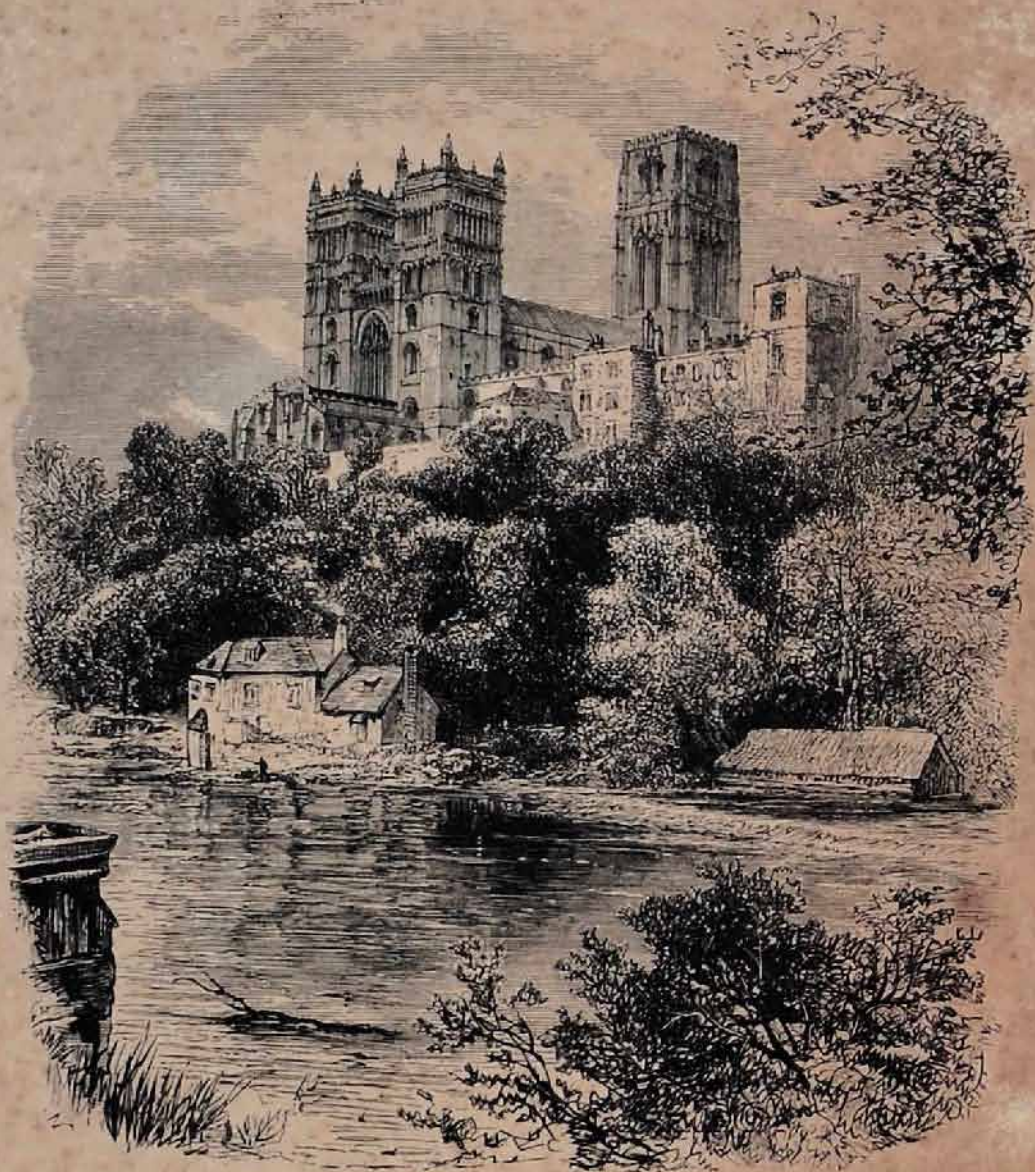
Once again Northumberland was disturbed by military preparations, when in 1745 General Wade made his headquarters at Newcastle, to prevent the coal mines from falling into the hands of the Jacobite rebels. So dependent had London now become upon Newcastle for its supply of fuel, that it seemed necessary above all things to avert the chance of a coal famine. The Jacobite invasion, however, was directed against the western counties, and General Wade's forces were only needed as a precaution. So bad were the roads at this time that General Wade could not drag his artillery from Newcastle to Carlisle, and was too late to save Carlisle from falling into the hands of the rebels. After this he made a high road between Newcastle and Carlisle—a road which followed the line of the old barrier wall which the Romans had built. Much of the remains of this wall was destroyed, and the stones used for road-making. It is strange to think that not till 1747 were the means of civilisation in Northern England made as good as they had been in the days of the Roman rule. Equally strange is it to note that General Wade's road is now grass-grown and deserted, for the railway runs in the valley below, and all traffic follows it.

The railway itself is a product of the Northumbrian coal trade, whose

greatest difficulty was the carrying of its heavy products. First the pack-horse, then the cart slowly bore the coal from the pit's mouth to the shipping place on the Tyne. Next wooden bars were laid along the road for the wheels to run upon, and so a four-wheeled waggon took the place of the two-wheeled cart. Then came iron tramways, with flanges on each side of the rail to keep the waggon wheels in their place. This was improved by transferring the flange from the rail to the wheel, which was a great saving of cost, and enabled railways to be largely used. Meanwhile the chief use made of the steam-engine after its invention in 1710 was for draining water from the mines. It was easy to use it also for raising coals to the surface. Most of the improvements which were made in the steam-engine proceeded from Northumberland. It was left for a Northumbrian, George Stephenson, to combine the steam-engine and the railway by the invention of the locomotive. The son of an engine fireman at Wylam, on the Tyne, he went to work with his father at an early age. He loved his engine and studied it with care. He worked twelve hours a day, and yet had time to spend his nights at school, that he might learn the rudiments of knowledge. He was famous for his mechanical skill, and in 1812 was made engine-wright at the Killingworth Colliery, with a salary of £100 a year. There, with rude instruments and unskilled workmen, he made his first locomotive, which was tried with success in 1814. The locomotive of George Stephenson was soon used for other purposes than dragging coals from the pit to the river bank. Stephenson lived long enough to see the tokens of the great change in social life which his invention had begun.

Meanwhile the rural districts of the North had been keeping pace with the advance of Newcastle. The lands which had been held in common by the men of the township were divided. Small holders found it to their advantage to sell their lands, which passed into the hands of wealthy landlords. The sturdy peasants went to make their fortunes in the coal mines. The men of the Tyne and the Rede were converted into farm-labourers like their neighbours. Small landowners almost entirely disappeared, and agriculture was carried on by large tenant farmers. In no part of England has agriculture been pursued with more capital or more science. The

adventurous spirit of the moss-trooper has been turned into a more productive channel. Instead of its old appearance of desolation, Northumberland everywhere bears traces of comfort and prosperity. The farm labourers do not live in villages, but in substantial cottages built near the homestead. But at the beginning of this century their houses were little better than the rude clay huts which their ancestors had inhabited a thousand years ago. Four earthen walls, with a thatched roof, a hole for a chimney and a hole for a window, were all that a labourer found for a house fifty years ago. His chief article of furniture was a box-bed—that is, a bed arranged so as to fit into a wooden partition which went across the dwelling. In one half the family lived, in the other half stood the cow. All this has been changed within the memory of many who are still alive. Northumberland, which was for centuries a scene of violence and pillage, is now peaceful and contented. Its people are hard-working, intelligent, orderly, and well-educated. The farm labourer in Northumberland is better off than in any other part of England. He is hired for the year, and receives his wages like a domestic servant, whether he is able to work or not. His weekly wage at present is fifteen shillings, besides a house rent-free, and a large allowance of potatoes grown on the farm, making a total of about a pound a week. The Northumbrian *hind*, as he is still called, does not envy the artisan whose work is uncertain. The Northumbrian miners are foremost among their class, and their representative, Mr. Burt, M.P. for Morpeth, has long given worthy expression to their political aims. One of the most encouraging signs of the present day is the interest taken by the Northumbrian miners in their own education.



DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

## DURHAM.



THE MARSDEN ROCK.

THE name of the county of Durham shows that it has a history peculiar to itself. It is never called a *shire*, and in this is like many other counties. But all the other counties which are not called shires are remains of old kingdoms, or mark old tribal settlements. When the old kingdoms were divided for administrative purposes the divisions were called *shires*, because they were *sheared*, or cut off, from an older unit. Thus, when we speak of Leicestershire, we go back to a time when the district round Leicester was, from reasons of convenience, made into a province or department of the English kingdom. Now Durham was a part of the old

kingdom of Northumberland, but it does not mark any tribal settlement. It came to be a separate division of England in a way of its own. In the middle of the Northumbrian kingdom a large tract of land was divided from the rest for special reasons, and its peculiar existence was convenient in so many ways that it was allowed to remain in its old fashion till quite recent times.

The county of Durham was in old days called 'The Bishopric,' and its people were known as 'the men of the Bishopric.' It was the land belonging to the great Church of Durham. It was the patrimony of St. Cuthbert, in the same way as the country near Rome was known as the patrimony of St. Peter. It is not strange that in early times lands should have been given to a church. Large tracts of land lay unoccupied and well-nigh waste. It was better that they should be inhabited, and the clergy were more likely to bring them into order than were other lords. So when the missionary bishop Aidan came from Iona and set up his church at Lindisfarne, it was quite natural that King Oswald should give the church the lands that lay between Lindisfarne and the Tweed. There, in 830, a Bishop of Lindisfarne built a church in the Tweed valley, at a spot where he meant to make a settlement in the north, and which changed its name in consequence to Norham. The possessions of the see of Lindisfarne were in after times divided into two parts, known by the names of Northumberland and Islandshire, the districts round Norham and Holy Island. These long remained part of the Bishopric, and went by the name of North Durham. They were not annexed to the county of Northumberland till 1844.

The Church of Lindisfarne received its importance from the love and reverence which men felt for its holy bishop Cuthbert. His tomb was visited by many pilgrims, and a splendid shrine was raised over it. St. Cuthbert became the patron saint of Northern England, and the place where his glory rested was famous throughout Christendom. But evil days came upon Northumberland. The pirates of the North Sea, in their long boats, ravaged the English shore, and in 793 laid waste and pillaged the Monastery of Lindisfarne. The monks were scattered, but presently ventured back and



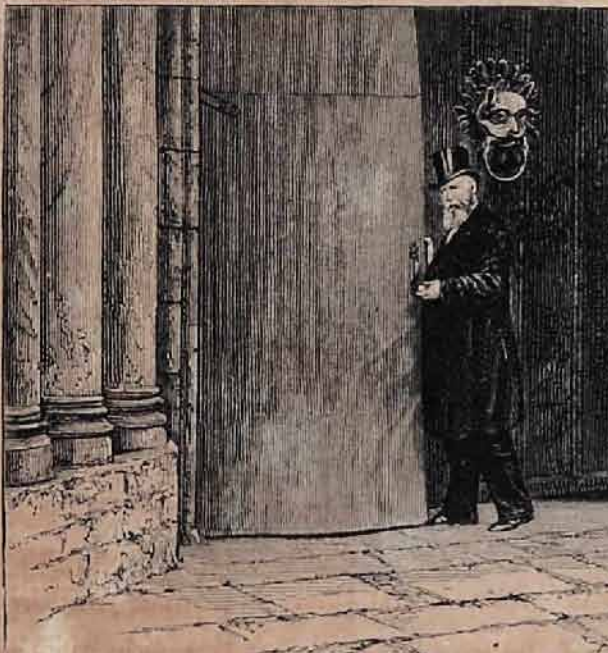
built again their ruined home. They were not long allowed to dwell in peace. Again the Northmen returned, but this time they came as a conquering host. In 875 Bishop Eardulf and his monks resolved to flee from Lindisfarne, and seek a place where they might dwell in safety. Taking with them the remains of St. Cuthbert, they set forth on their pilgrimage. Seven years they wandered, but peace was nowhere to be found. Once they resolved to seek refuge in Ireland; but scarce was their boat put out to sea before a violent storm arose and drove them back to the shore. Eardulf took this as a sign that St. Cuthbert did not wish to leave his native land. Again he commenced his wanderings, and finally settled at Craike, in Yorkshire, a village which also formed part of the patrimony of St. Cuthbert.

The first check to the successes of the heathen Danes was given by the West Saxon king, Alfred, in 872. The Danish king made peace and became a Christian. The Danish raids began to give way to peaceful settlement. When the monks of Lindisfarne at last fixed their abode at Craike, they hoped that the rule of heathendom was past, and that the Danes would look with reverence on their sacred calling. Their hopes were fulfilled beyond their expectation. Just at that time the Northern host of the Danes had lost their leader, Halfdene, and a disputed succession seemed likely to lead to a civil war. This prospect was unwelcome alike to the Danish chiefs in the North, to their brethren in the South, and to King Alfred, who wished for a time of quiet in which to reorganise his power in Wessex. They all combined to bring about a peaceful settlement, and used for this purpose the good offices of the monks at Craike, who were already looked upon with respect by the common folk. The story runs that the Abbot of Lindisfarne came before the Danish leaders and told them that St. Cuthbert had appeared to him in a dream, saying that a youth, by name Guthred, son of a former chieftain, who had been sold into slavery, should be redeemed, and be taken as the Danish king. Most probably the choice of Guthred was a compromise acceptable to the other claimants. Guthred had been sold to a widow woman who dwelt at Whittingham, near the foot of the Cheviot Hills. There he had been taught the doctrines of

Christ, and had learned to reverence St. Cuthbert and his followers. When he became king he was grateful to the monks for what they had done, and by King Alfred's advice granted to them all the land between the Wear and the Tyne. This grant of Guthred to St. Cuthbert's monks was the origin of the Bishopric, or the county of Durham. It was a grant which cost the Danes little. They did not need the northern lands for their settlements, which were mostly made in the southern part of the Northumbrian kingdom, which is now called Yorkshire. The district between the Wear and the Tyne was not particularly attractive to the settler; it mainly consisted of moorland, forest, and marsh. The Danes found it convenient to have a neutral land between their own settlements and the lawless North, where the old Northumbrian princes still ruled their wasted territory as tributaries to the Danish kingdom. To make the lands of St. Cuthbert still more sacred, the right of sanctuary for thirty-seven days was given to any one who fled for refuge to St. Cuthbert's tomb.

The monks of Lindisfarne chose as their resting-place in their new territory, Chester-le-Street, the site of a Roman camp on an old Roman road. There they built a little wooden church, which was for a hundred years the seat of the Bishopric. But Denmark and Norway were still dangerous neighbours to England. Their population grew, and was adventurous. The armies of the Danes and Norsemen again landed upon the English coast, bent upon conquest. Northumberland was harried, and England was without a leader. Again in 995 the monks of St. Cuthbert carried away the body of their patron saint, and fled from Chester-le-Street to Ripon. In a few months they recovered from their panic, and resolved to seek again the home which they had left. As they journeyed back, the oxen which drew the waggon that bore St. Cuthbert's body suddenly stood still. Nothing could make them move; no force could stir the waggon. Bishop Aldhun bade his brethren fast and pray, that the meaning of this portent might be revealed. On the third night—so runs the tradition—St. Cuthbert in a dream bade one of the monks take his body to Dunhelm. They had much difficulty in finding out what spot was meant. At last a woman milking a cow told them that Dunhelm was the name of a hill by the side of the

Wear. Dunhelm, which was softened into Durham, means the hill fortress. It is a bold cliff round which the Wear circles on three sides, so as almost to make it an island. It was a strong position for defence, and a lovely site for a monastery. The men of the Tyne and the Coquet lent their aid to clear away the trees from the rough hill-top. A chapel of boughs was rudely built as a resting-place for St. Cuthbert's body. Even Uhtred, the son of the Northumbrian earl, came to help the monks in their buildings, which rapidly rose. In 1004 Durham was a place of sufficient importance to be besieged by the Scots. But Uhtred gathered



NORMAN DOOR AT DURHAM.

forces and came to its aid. The Scots were defeated, and Uhtred celebrated his victory in barbaric fashion. The heads of the handsomest among the *allen* were cut off and fixed on the walls of Durham. Four women were employed to wash these ghastly trophies and plait their long hair. Each received a cow as wages for her work.

After its establishment at Durham the Church of St. Cuthbert rapidly grew in importance. Its possessions gradually extended by gifts at different times, till almost all the land between the Wear and Tees depended also on the Bishopric. Its privileges were observed and grew venerable by prescription.

When the Norman William made good by the sword his claim to the English throne, the old Northumbrian kingdom stood aloof. Bishop Egelwin, it is true, made submission to the Conqueror; but the men of the North were not prepared to obey. In 1069 King William exercised his sovereignty by appointing one of his followers, Robert of Comines, Earl of Northumberland. Robert, with a small body of troops, advanced in the depth of winter, plundering and slaughtering as though he were in an enemy's land. Bishop Egelwin went out to meet him, and warned him of the risk which he was running. Robert made light of the warning, and entered Durham, where he was the bishop's guest. In the night the men of Northumberland gathered to take vengeance on the spoiler. They burst open the city gates, slew the Norman soldiers, and set fire to the bishop's house, which Robert tried to hold. The Normans were all slain; but the men of the Bishopric saw with horror that the flames were spreading from the bishop's house to the adjoining Church of St. Cuthbert. Terrified, they fell on their knees and prayed. The wind changed, and the western tower of the church was saved from its danger.

William's answer to the rebellious North was sharp and stern. He wrought such havoc in the land round about that Bishop Egelwin again fled with St. Cuthbert's body, and sought shelter at Lindisfarne. Most of his flock followed his example, and made for the hills. When William crossed the Tees, he found a land well-nigh deserted, but he did not on that account stay his hand. Houses were burnt, even churches were not spared. The

Church of Durham alone was not destroyed, and it became the refuge of the sick and dying. When Egelwin returned to his wasted see, he gathered together such treasures as he could find, and quitted the scene of desolation.

King William appointed the next Bishop of Durham. He saw the use of the ecclesiastical organisation as a means of bringing the country into order. He sent to Durham a priest of Lorraine, Walcher by name, and for him he built by the side of St. Cuthbert's Church a strong castle after the Norman fashion. There Walcher might be in safety amongst his rebellious flock. During his stay at Durham in 1072 King William confirmed all the rights and privileges of the patrimony of St. Cuthbert. He had no motive for changing the old state of things. The land of England must be committed to lords who would hold it under the king, and who were responsible for keeping order and raising troops in time of need. For these purposes a bishop was more useful than a lay lord. Durham lay close to the Scottish border, and was a place of great importance. The lands and power of a lord passed on from father to son; bishops had no heirs to succeed them. On every vacancy the king could exercise his influence on the election, and so could in some degree secure a man whom he could trust. William I. was content to leave undisturbed the lands of the Bishopric.

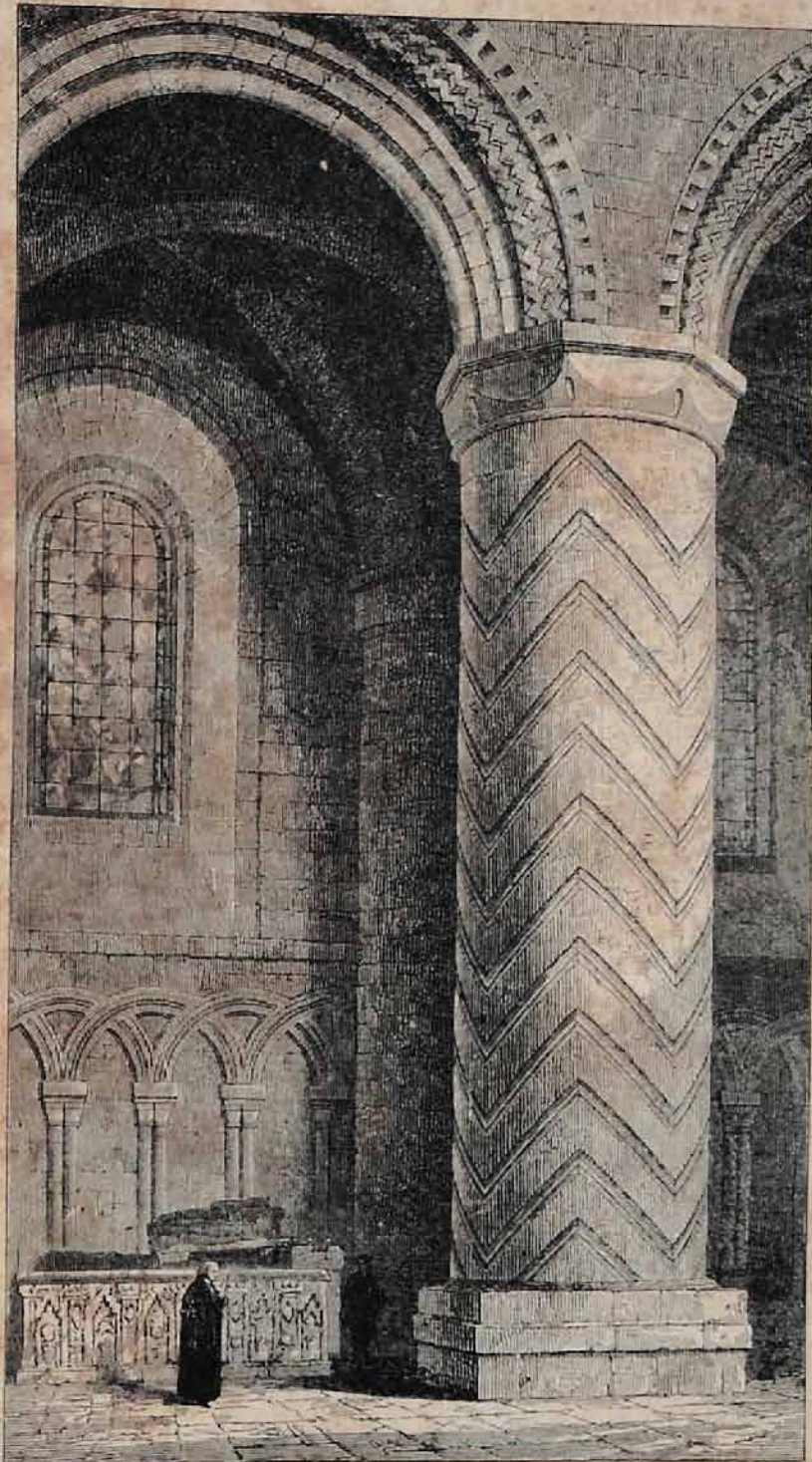
The rights and privileges of the Bishopric were vague and indefinite in the old English days. The Normans were skilled in organisation; they were precise and legal. In their legal language the patrimony of St. Cuthbert ranked as a County Palatine. The bishop was its earl, with special powers conferred on him by the king. He had, within his county, all the power of the king. 'Whatever the king has outside the county of Durham the bishop has inside it,' was the legal maxim which defined the bishop's power. Hence the Bishop of Durham had his own courts of justice, and appointed his own officers. Writs ran in his name, and he had the right of giving pardon for offences. He coined his own money, and granted charters at his will. He held councils of the nature of parliaments, and created barons of the Palatinate by summons to his councils. In fact, he was a little king, surrounded by a little court of his own.

These powers can have meant little to Bishop Walcher when first he came into his wasted lands, where little peace awaited him. The last of the old English lords, Waltheof, was made Earl of Northumberland, but was accused of plotting against the king, and was executed in 1075. Bishop Walcher was appointed earl in his stead, and had enough to do in trying to defend his earldom from the ravages of the Scots and in quieting an unruly people. This last task proved impossible. The men of Northumberland took offence at some action of the bishop, and slew him and his men at Gateshead, whither he had summoned them to meet him. The rioters tried to seize the Castle of Durham, but the stout building of the Normans was too strong for them. Again Northumberland was harried, and peace was restored by a strong hand.

King William chose as Walcher's successor William, Prior of the Monastery of St. Carilef, in Maine. William of St. Carilef gave to the city of Durham the features which have distinguished it since his time. He built the chief part of the great cathedral which rises over the Wear, and which is one of the noblest buildings that England possesses. Moreover, he arranged the monks of St. Cuthbert according to a new plan, which had many important results.

The old monastic system which had been established at Lindisfarne had long since died away before the ravages of the Danes. The monasteries were burnt, and the monks were scattered. Those who followed St. Cuthbert's body had ceased to observe any monastic rules. They were priests who lived together and mixed with others as they pleased. Many of them were married. They were simply the body of clergy attached to a great church. But in the days of Bishop Walcher there had been a monastic revival. Three monks in the southern abbeys of Winchcombe and Evesham had read in the history of Bede the great doings of Northumbrian monasteries in the olden times. They put their little luggage on the back of a donkey, and set out to revive the spirit that had decayed. After a long journey they reached Wearmouth and Jarrow, which they found in ruins. Bishop Walcher befriended them and gave them Jarrow and its land. Their teaching and example found many followers. Jarrow, Wearmouth, Whitby,

and Melrose again became centres of monastic life. Bishop Walcher thought of setting up a monastery at Durham, and Bishop William carried out his plan. The clergy of the Church of Durham were bidden to choose whether they would become monks or retire. A monastery was built adjoining the cathedral, and because there was not enough money to maintain more than one great monastery, Jarrow and Wearmouth were made small dependencies. The monks of Durham were ordered to live according to the rule of St. Benedict, the great founder of monasteries in the West. The bishop ranked as abbot of the monastery, which was governed under him by a prior elected by the monks.



IN THE NAVE OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

This system of a cathedral and a monastery joined together, this union of the duties of a bishop and abbot, is peculiar to England, where it was largely introduced after the Norman Conquest. It led to many curious results. Monasteries became powerful corporations, and obtained from the pope privileges which they pleaded against the power of the bishop. The prior, who was always there, became the real head of the monastery rather than the bishop, who was frequently absent on business of State. The monastery grew more and more independent and powerful. There were constant quarrels between the prior and the bishop. Sometimes these disputes led to scenes of violence and bloodshed. They always led to endless law-suits, appeals to the king, and appeals to the pope. The townsmen sometimes took part with one side and sometimes with another. The whole neighbourhood was divided into parties. Ecclesiastical rule was not much more peaceful than secular rule. It afforded ample scope for turbulent spirits. It is the custom nowadays to speak of the dulness of cathedral cities. They were by no means wanting in excitement in former days.

It would be long to tell the tale of all the prince-bishops of Durham and their doings. Some, however, were men of great mark in the history of England, notably Ralf Flambard, who succeeded William of St. Carilef in 1099. Flambard is notorious as the unscrupulous minister of the rapacious King William Rufus, whom he helped in his tyrannical exactions, and from whom he received the Bishopric as a reward. He was so generally hated that Henry I., on his accession, imprisoned him at London in the Tower. The bishop, however, managed to have a rope sent to him in a flagon of wine. He regaled his guards with the wine till they fell asleep; then he escaped from the window of his cell by the help of the rope. His friends were waiting for him, and he escaped to Normandy, where the king's brother Robert took him under his protection. When Robert invaded England Flambard came with him, and one of the terms of peace between Robert and Henry I. was Flambard's restoration to his see. Flambard came back to Durham a better man. He set to work at building the cathedral, and almost finished it. He also built the great Castle of Norham, on the Tweed, to be a defence against the Scots. He was a man of restless



energy, which must find some sort of employment. As he grew old he became more bountiful towards the poor and needy, and died a penitent for his early misdeeds.

The history of Durham gives us a vivid picture of the anarchy and confusion of the reign of Stephen. On a vacancy of the Bishopric, a Scot, William Comyn, seized on the Castle of Durham, and strove to have himself elected bishop by the monks. The Scottish king helped him, for he wished to join the Bishopric to Scotland. Stephen was helpless, and only the constancy of the monks saved Durham from its danger. The monks for three years refused to elect, and were kept closely guarded by Comyn within their monastery walls. At last a few of them managed to escape to York, where they elected as their bishop William of St. Barbara, Dean of York. Still, it was nearly two years before Bishop William could gain admittance into his church; only by force of arms was Comyn reduced to submission.

The successor of William of St. Barbara was Hugh de Puiset, a young man of noble birth, who held the see for forty-four years. Hugh de Puiset was the first bishop who showed the grandeur of the office of a county-palatine. He was an ambitious politician, always engaged in State affairs, and generally quarrelling with his monks. When Richard I. went on his crusade Hugh de Puiset bought for a large sum of money the dignity of Earl of Northumberland for life, and the Manor of Sadberge for the Church of Durham. This was the last addition made to the lands of St. Cuthbert. Puiset bought also the office of justiciar, which left him chief minister of the kingdom during Richard's absence. But Puiset's haughtiness offended many of the English barons, who made common cause with the chancellor, who was the second great English bishop, the Bishop of Ely. Puiset was for a time imprisoned in the Tower of London, and was obliged to confine his authority to the North of England, where he ruled in princely fashion.

Though the bishop was ruler of the county-palatine of Durham, much land within it was held by powerful barons. The great families in the Bishopric were the Bruces, who built their castle at Hartlepool, the Baliols at Barnard Castle, and the Nevilles at Brancepeth and Raby. The bishop, besides his castle at Durham, had also castles at Stockton and Auckland.

There were many smaller castles scattered through the land, and many peel towers; though Durham was not so much exposed to the attacks of the Scots as were Northumberland and Cumberland. Naturally the bishops were great builders of churches, and their example was followed by their barons. Magnificent churches remain at Chester-le-Street, Auckland, Darlington, Lanchester, Jarrow, Houghton-le-Spring, and many other places. At many of these churches bodies of canons were established, and prosperous towns sprang up around them. The bishops were also careful for works of Christian charity. Flambard built a hospital at Kepyer, and Puiset founded one for lepers at Sherburn. It is noticeable that in 1181, when he founded his hospital, leprosy was so common that he made provision for sixty-five inmates. In 1429 leprosy had disappeared from England, and the hospital was turned into an almshouse. Another hospital was founded in 1272 by the bishop at Greatham. The circumstances of its foundation are a curious illustration of the bishop's authority. After the defeat of the barons in their rising against Henry III., the lands of the De Montfort family were forfeited to the Crown. Some of these lands were at Greatham, and the king granted them to one of his favourites. The Bishop of Durham thereupon instituted a suit against the king, on the ground that forfeitures within the Bishopric belonged to him as count-palatine, and not to the Crown. The cause was decided in the bishop's favour, and he founded a hospital on the lands which he had thus gained. Other public works which the bishops undertook were bridges, which were works of great usefulness to the neighbourhood, and made communications easier. Under the rule of their bishops the men of the Bishopric led a more civilised and prosperous life than their neighbours. They enjoyed special privileges, and bore the special name of *Haliwerfolc*, or men for the defence of the saint. They were the body-guard reserved for the protection of the abode of St. Cuthbert, and were not liable to military service outside the limits of St. Cuthbert's territory.

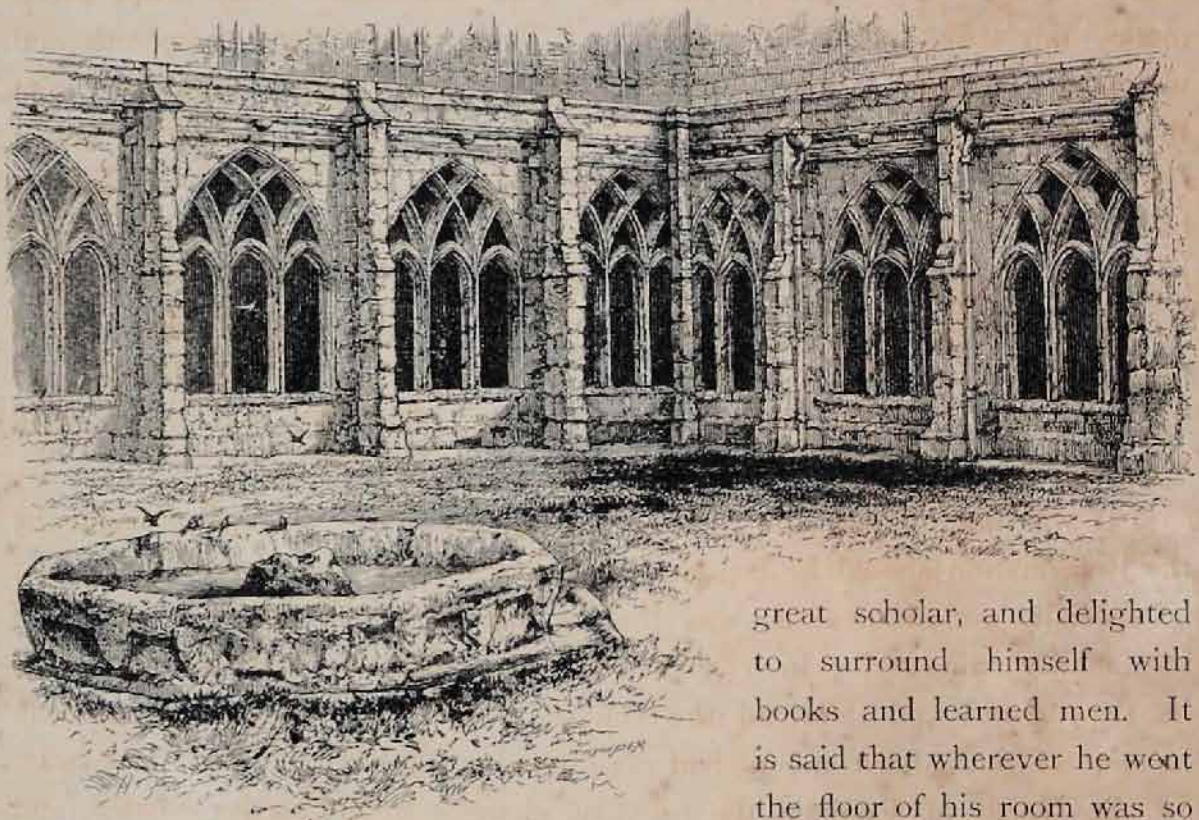
It is remarkable that in the dispute about the succession to the Scottish Crown both claimants, Bruce and Baliol, were barons of the palatinate. Each of these Norman families had married ladies of the royal line in

Scotland, and held lands in Scotland and England alike. The long war between England and Scotland which followed on Edward I.'s interference in Scottish affairs made the Bishop of Durham a man of great political importance. He had to gather troops and lead his men to battle; he had to be a soldier as well as a bishop. Chief of these warrior-bishops was Antony Bek in the days of Edward I. Bek never rode abroad without a following of one hundred and forty mounted knights. His wealth and magnificence knew no bounds. One day in London a merchant had a piece of cloth which he said was too dear even for the Bishop of Durham. Bek bought it at once, and ordered that it should be cut up for horsecloths.

The reign of Edward III. showed the need of military capacity in the ruler of the palatinate. In 1346 Edward III. was warring in France, where he won the great battle of Cressy. King David of Scotland thought that England was now bereft of her soldiers, and might be easily attacked. With a strong army he advanced through Cumberland into the Bishopric, plundering as he went. Bishop Hatfield, the Archbishop of York, Lord Neville, Lord Percy, and other barons, gathered their troops, determined to withstand the progress of the Scots. The battle was fought on the Red Hills, close to Durham. The city trembled for the issue of the day. Many of the monks mounted the great tower of the cathedral, that they might pray in sight of the combatants. Others of them went out bearing a holy relic of St. Cuthbert, and stood upon a hill still nearer the scene of battle. The fight was long and furious, and victory wavered. At last a charge of the English cavalry on the flank of the Scots threw them into confusion. The slaughter was terrible. The chief barons of Scotland were cut down as they fought desperately round their king. King David was made prisoner; and England saw the Kings of France and Scotland captured in the same year by the valour of her soldiers. The Battle of the Red Hills is generally known as the Battle of Neville's Cross, for on the hill where it was fought an old cross stood, erected by a Neville as a mark for pilgrims on their way to St. Cuthbert's shrine. It was commemorated by the monks of Durham as a testimony to the power of their patron saint. Every year, on the anniversary of the fight, a hymn of thanksgiving was chanted on

the top of the cathedral tower. The custom still continues, though the date has been changed from October 17 to May 29. Still every year the cathedral choir ascend the tower at sunrise, and with songs of praise commemorate the great deliverance wrought for their city in the days of old.

The Bishops of Durham were warriors and statesmen, but many of them were more than that. Bishop Richard de Bury (1333-1345) was a



CLOISTERS AT DURHAM.

great scholar, and delighted to surround himself with books and learned men. It is said that wherever he went the floor of his room was so littered with books that it was hard to find a passage by which to reach him. He left his library to Durham College at Oxford, which was attached to the monastery of Durham, and has now passed away. He wrote a book in praise of learning, and few books that have been written show more simply the delights of a student's life.

The careers of these prince-bishops offer a striking contrast to that of St. Cuthbert, whose successors they were. There was a great difference

between the cell of the hermit of the Farne Island and the splendid castle of the Bishop of Durham, surrounded by his guard of knights and busied with the affairs of State. Churchmen had drifted far away from the simplicity to which they owed the reverence of men. Still, even in its days of worldly splendour the Church kept alive the memory of better things. The Bishops of Durham were little else than great lords, but they were better than those who would have been in their place if they had not been there. They were wealthy, but they were bountiful. They spent much money on works of public usefulness. Their people were prosperous and were not oppressed. Several of these bishops were themselves sprung from the people, and were not ashamed of their origin. Bishop Robert de Insula (1274-1283) was a poor lad born in Holy Island. He often said that he was by birth unfit to live like a lord. He set up his mother in a little house of her own; but the good lady complained that she had so many servants to do things for her that she could find no occupation, and her servants did everything so well that she had not even an excuse for scolding them. Though the position of Bishop of Durham was one of the most dignified in England, it was in reach of the poor and low-born.

It was natural that the shock of the great social changes wrought by the Reformation should be especially felt in a district whose organisation was so specially ecclesiastical as was that of the Bishopric. The dissolution of the smaller monasteries in 1536 left the monastery of Durham shorn of all its dependants, and deprived the country districts of establishments which, in spite of their shortcomings, had done much to lighten the load of poverty. In the North of England the religious changes were bitterly resented, and Durham took part in the popular rising known as 'the Pilgrimage of Grace.' The rebels had no settled plan, and dispersed before promises to redress their grievances. On the suppression of this rising Henry VIII. proceeded to lessen the power of the Bishop of Durham. The privileges of the Bishopric were greatly diminished. The bishop no longer was the king's representative; the writs ran in the king's name; the bishop no more appointed justices of the peace, nor had the right of pardon. The royal jurisdiction was established, and Durham was henceforth governed directly

by the king. The Bishop of Durham was, however, still left with his possessions untouched and with a position of great dignity.

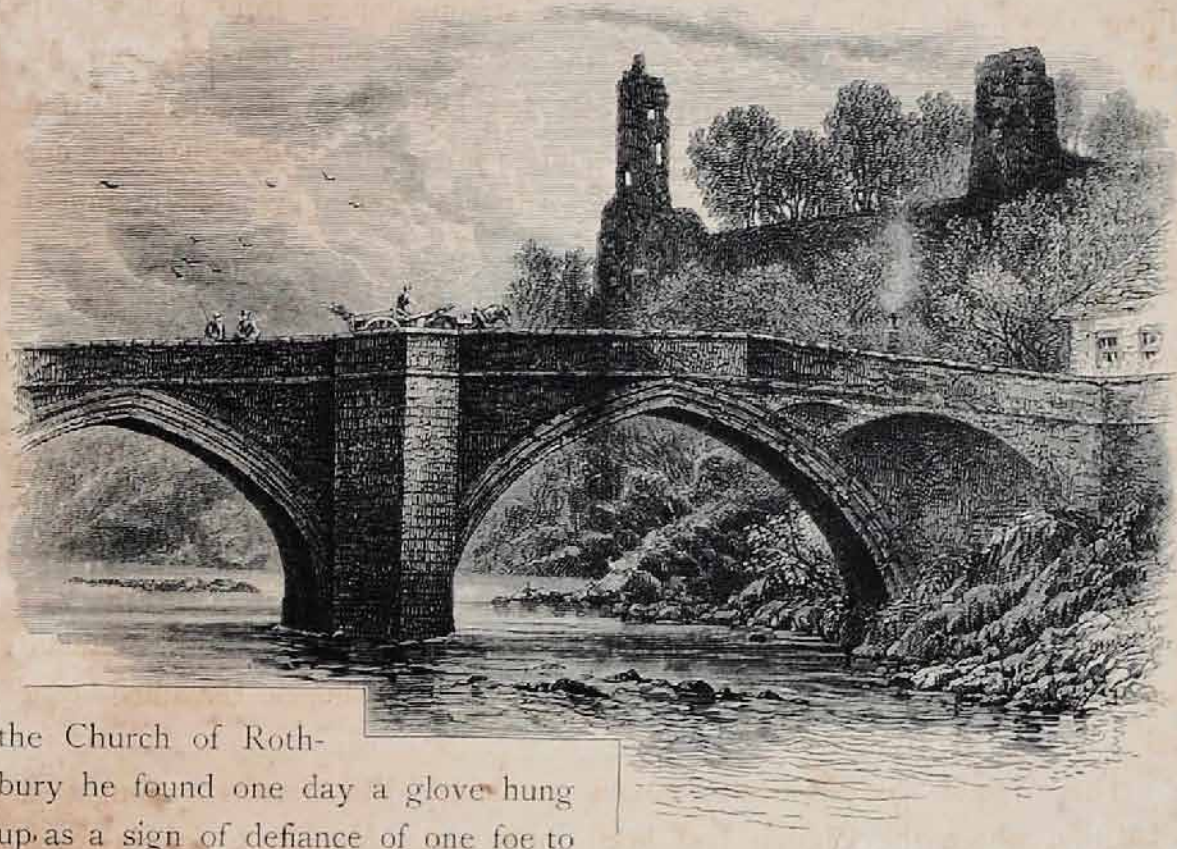
The suppression of the greater monasteries in 1540 put an end to the great monastery of Durham. The Royal Commissioners visited the cathedral and stripped St. Cuthbert's shrine of its jewels and gold. A blacksmith mounted a ladder and with a hammer broke open the coffin of the saint.

'Fling down his bones,' said one of the commissioners from below. In vain the man struggled; the limbs of the saint still held together, and his body, uninjured, was decently interred. It was scarcely to be expected that such scenes as this could fail to shock many who had looked with reverence upon the resting-place of the saint. It was ill done to enforce enlightenment by acts of rude violence.

The church of Durham, like the bishop, was left with much of its possessions, and the monastery made way for a dean and twelve canons. The position, however, of the Bishop of Durham marked him out for further attack. In the reign of Edward VI., Bishop Tunstal was accused of treason, on no definite grounds, and was deprived of his see. An Act of Parliament in 1551 dissolved the Bishopric, and professed to found in its stead two insignificant sees at Durham and Newcastle. The death of Edward VI., and the accession of Mary, saved the Bishopric from destruction. Tunstal was restored; his lands were given back, and the Bishopric remained as it had been left by Henry VIII.

These rapid ecclesiastical changes produced bad results amongst a population where the Church had been important. Much was taken away, and nothing was put in its place. The monasteries were gone; the number of clergy was largely diminished; the clergy who remained were poor and ignorant. Laymen, who had succeeded the monasteries as patrons of benefices, made poor provision for filling benefices. 'A thousand pulpits in England,' said Bernard Gilpin, 'are covered with dust; some have not had four sermons these fifteen or sixteen years, since the friars left their limitations.' Civilisation fell back in Northern England. The people were discontented, and clung to the old faith. 'The people are sullen and churlish,' said Bishop Barnes in 1577; 'the custom of their lives, as their

country is, is truly savage.' The man who laboured most earnestly for their improvement was Bernard Gilpin, Rector of Houghton-le-Spring (1557-1584), who, in the true spirit of Christian charity, lived and taught amongst the common folk. He rambled through the wild dales of the Rede and the Tyne, and exhorted all men to lead better lives. The story goes that in



BARNARD CASTLE.

the Church of Rothbury he found one day a glove hung up as a sign of defiance of one foe to another. Taking it down, he used it as a text, and preached a sermon upon the blessings of peace. So much was he beloved, that when one day a moss-trooper stole his horse from a servant, the thief was seized with horror when he found whose horse it was, and hastened to restore it and ask pardon for the crime. Gilpin established a grammar school at Houghton, and his example was followed by Bishop Pilkington. He deserves the name which is given him, 'the Apostle of the North.' His life and teaching did much to restore order in a desolate land.

The Bishopric was indeed made desolate by the rising of 1569, when the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland took arms in behalf of Mary Queen of Scots and the old religion. They carried with them the favour not only of the common people, but also of the gentry. 'There are not,' wrote a contemporary, 'in all this country ten gentlemen that do favour and allow of her Majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion.' Yet Elizabeth had wise counsellors and trusty friends. The plans of the Northern earls were known betimes at Westminster. Before they were ready to rise they were summoned before the council, and so were driven to declare themselves before their preparations were made. Troops rapidly gathered round their standard. They marched to Durham, took possession of the cathedral, destroyed the Prayer-books and the English Bibles, and, amidst the joy of the people, restored the altar and celebrated mass. But they had no real plan of operations, and their counsels were divided. They marched southwards, and then retired to the Earl of Westmoreland's castle of Raby. They wreaked their vengeance on Sir George Bowes, who in Barnard Castle kept loyal watch on the Queen's behalf. Barnard Castle was besieged and taken; but that was the last triumph of the rebels. The royal forces advanced under the Earl of Sussex, and the rebel army melted away before the news. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland fled, and Sir George Bowes was left to inflict punishment which should strike general terror. Some six hundred men were executed, and the land was reduced to sullen silence.

Large forfeitures followed, and the great family of the Nevilles, who had been the chief of the barons of the palatinate, was swept away, as a punishment of the treason of the Earl of Westmoreland. Bishop Pilkington in vain pleaded that the forfeitures belonged to the bishop, who still possessed that right of the palatinate. The claim was not denied; but the Queen declared that her expenses in putting down the rebellion had been so great that she would keep the lands for a time. They were never given up; the power of the Bishop of Durham had really gone, and the Bishopric existed only in name.

In these unquiet times the people of the Bishopric suffered much. The

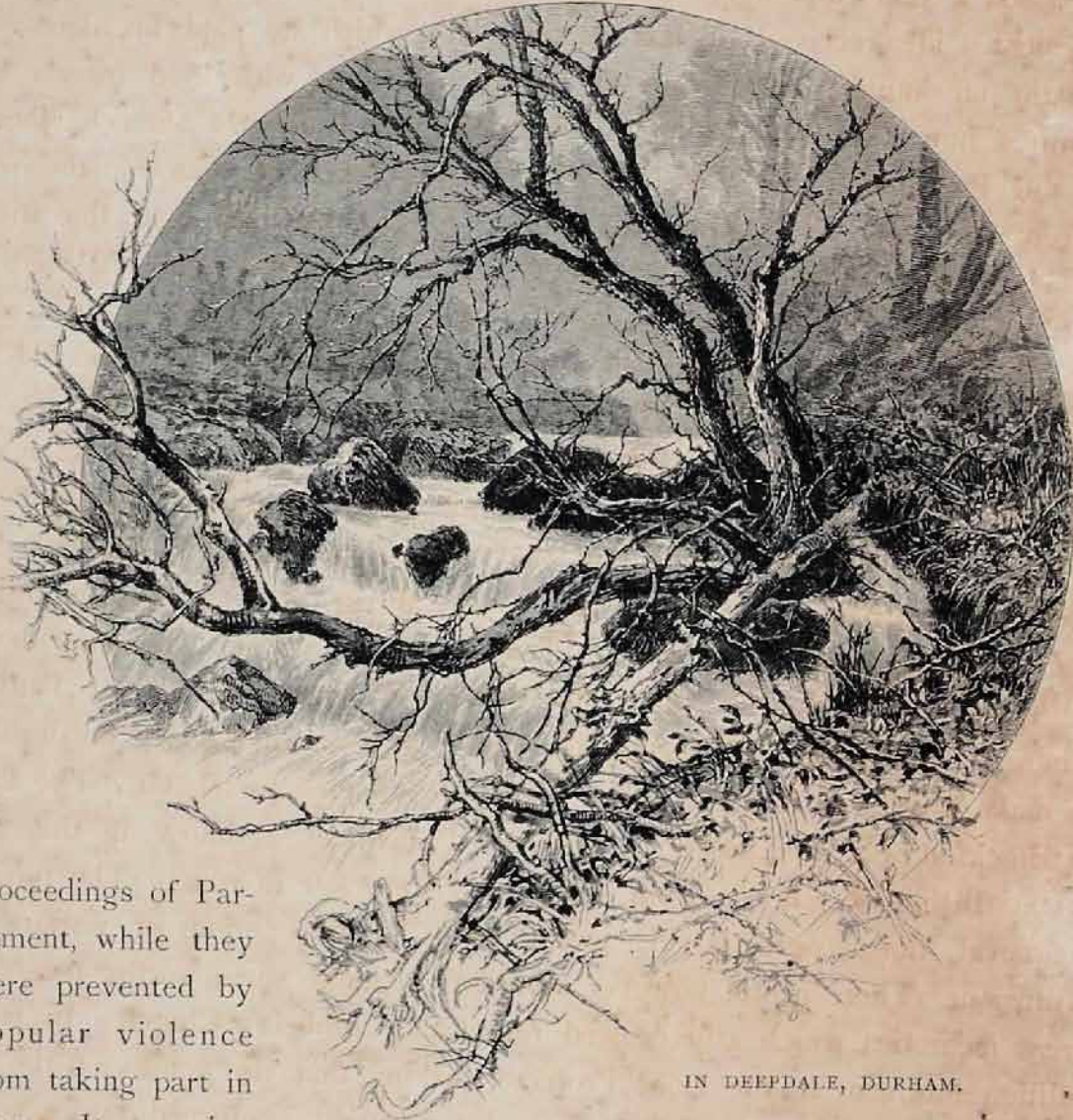


Reformation destroyed the monasteries and lessened the resources of the bishop. The rising of 1569 overthrew most of the nobles of the palatinate. The prosperity of the common people suffered. The towns fell out of repair. Hartlepool was allowed to fall before the advance of the sea. When James I. visited Darlington he looked out of his iron window and asked what the place was called. When he was told, he said, 'Darneton, Darneton! I think it's Darneton in the Dirt!' In every part of the Bishopric there were signs of poverty, disorder, and decay. The government of the Crown was not at first so good as the government of the bishop; yet the sphere of the bishop's authority was gradually diminished. In 1603 the outlying possessions of the see—Norham Castle, Norhamshire, and Islandshire—were handed over to King James I. The union of the crowns of England and Scotland made exceptional measures for the defence of the Border no longer necessary.

The increase of the coal trade brought back some signs of prosperity to the Bishopric; though the port of Newcastle was so much better than that of Sunderland that Northumberland was far in advance of Durham. The outbreak of the Great Rebellion again destroyed the peace of the North. Durham, which held to the king's cause, was after the Battle of Newburn, in 1640, occupied by the army of the Scots, and ordered to pay a fine of £350 a day so long as the troops remained. Before this heavy exaction the people fled in dismay, so that not one house in ten was occupied. The country suffered equally from the ravages of the Scots, and from the attempts of the Royalists to prevent them from obtaining food. An order was made that the upper millstones were to be taken away and buried, so that the Scots might not be able to grind their corn. The land was made almost uninhabitable; and when the Scots withdrew their forces the Bishopric was saddled with a payment of £25,600—to them a very large sum in those days.

The Bishop of Durham in these days, Thomas Morton, was a man of genuine piety, simple, generous, kindly, and self-sacrificing. He went to London to attend Parliament in 1641, and shared the unpopularity of his order. As he was driving to the House the mob cried, 'Pull him out of

his coach!' 'Nay,' said others, 'he is a good man.' 'For all that, he is a bishop!' was the reply, and Morton was hustled with the rest. The bishops indiscreetly signed a protest against the validity of any of the



IN DEEPDALE, DURHAM.

proceedings of Parliament, while they were prevented by popular violence from taking part in them. It was im-

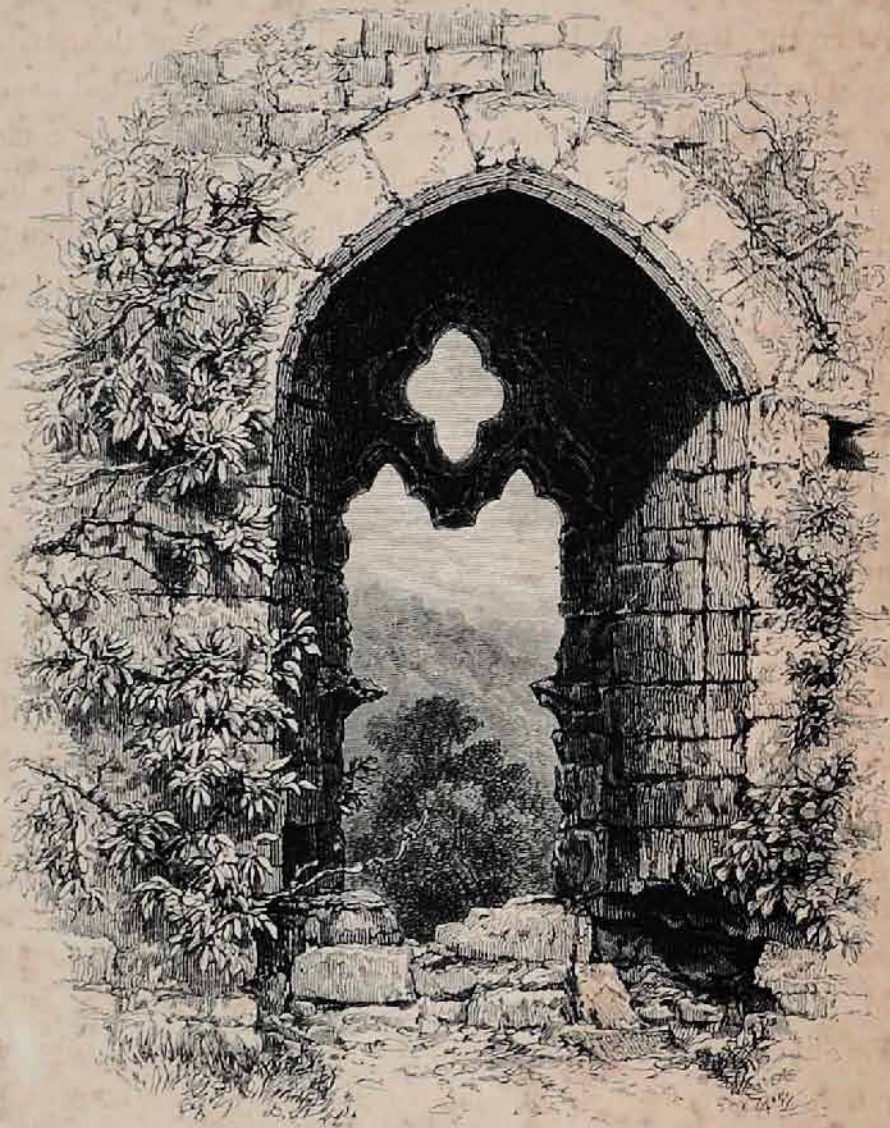
possible that such a challenge could be allowed to pass unnoticed. The bishops who signed it, amongst them the Bishop of Durham, were charged by the House of Commons with high treason, and were imprisoned. Events rapidly passed far beyond their control, and in 1646 episcopacy was declared by Parliament to be abolished, and the bishops' lands were sold. Bishop

Morton stubbornly refused to acknowledge this Act, and would not give up the seal of the palatinate. He was again imprisoned; but his great age and high character won the respect even of his opponents. An allowance of £800 a year was made him for life; but no provision was made for its payment. He received at last £1000, with which he paid his debts and bought an annuity of £200. He lived peaceably with kind friends who admired him. One day, as he was journeying to London, a staunch adherent of the Parliament, Sir Christopher Yelverton, overtook him on the road. After some talk he inquired his name. 'I am that old man, the Bishop of Durham, in spite of all your votes!' was Morton's answer. 'Where are you going?' was the next question. 'To London; to live a little while, and then to die.' Sir Christopher was so touched that he took the old man to his own house, where the bishop acted as tutor to his son till he died in 1659, at the age of ninety-five.

The period of the Commonwealth saw great changes in the Bishopric. The bishop's lands were sold, and the bishop's courts were abolished. The Castle of Durham was sold to the Lord Mayor of London; the bishop's manors were occupied by strange landlords. Sir Arthur Haselrigg bought so much land that he was called laughingly 'the Bishop of Durham.' Amongst other places he bought the Castle of Auckland, which he destroyed to make way for a dwelling-house which he intended to inhabit. The Castle of Stockton was dismantled by order of Parliament. Almost all the castles in the Bishopric suffered from sieges, and were left in ruins. The traces of mediæval times were largely swept away in the period of warfare and confusion. There arose, however, a desire to make some worthy use of the great memories which still centred round St. Cuthbert's Church. In 1650 a petition was sent to the Lord Protector, asking that the houses of the dean and canons, which were falling into decay, might be turned into a college for the instruction of youth. Cromwell welcomed a plan which, as he said, 'might conduce to the promotion of learning and piety in these poor, rude, and ignorant parts.' In 1657 Cromwell issued a scheme for the erection of this college. It is a document which shows his practical capacity, and was excellently adapted to the needs and possibilities of the time. It was not,

however, carried out. The Restoration restored the lands of the Bishop of Durham, and schemes which had been framed during the time of confiscation were not likely to meet with favour.

The restoration of the Bishopric fell into the hands of one well fitted



LOOKING UP THE VALLEY OF THE TEES.

for the task—Bishop Cosin. He was a great builder, as well as an organiser. He repaired the castles of Durham and Auckland. Characteristically enough, he refused to live in the part which Sir Arthur Haselrigg had

built, because it was in great part constructed out of the stones of the old chapel which he had pulled down. Cosin built the beautiful chapel which at present stands at Bishop Auckland. He built at Durham a library, which he furnished with books, close by the castle gate. He restored the canons' houses, which had fallen into ruins, and also the cathedral, which had greatly suffered. After the Battle of Dunbar Cromwell sent three thousand Scottish prisoners to Durham. They were shut up in the cathedral, and whiled away their time by defacing the interior as far as they could reach, destroying the woodwork for fuel and disfiguring the monuments for amusement. Bishop Cosin had much work to do in restoring the dignity of the Bishopric. He did it zealously and well. Schools and hospitals were repaired as well as churches, and the county rapidly began to recover from the desolation in which it had been plunged.

The Commonwealth however, left traces which were not to be effaced. However much a restoration might be desired, it was impossible to bring back the past. The forms of feudalism which remained were felt to be irksome, and Charles II. consented to the abolition of the old rights of the Crown in return for a money payment. Landowners were freed from the dues which before they had paid, and from an interference which they resented. The Crown did not lose by the bargain; but the Bishop of Durham, who had similar rights within his palatinate, received no compensation in return for their abolition. The position of the bishop, as a temporal lord, was gradually passing away. It was, indeed, a needless survival of a past state of things, yet Bishop Cosin strove to retain as much as he could. In old days the Bishopric sent no members to Parliament, as the bishop held a parliament of his own. Cromwell, however, had treated Durham like any other county, and had summoned members from it. After the Restoration they ceased to be summoned; but, as Parliament was now important, the men of the palatinate naturally resented their exclusion from the national council. Cosin opposed their petition that they should be allowed to send members to Parliament, and was unpopular in consequence; but in 1673, after his death, an Act was passed enfranchising the Bishopric, which from that time became still more like an ordinary county.

When the troubled times were over, the north-eastern part of England settled down to a steady course of increasing prosperity. Coal mines were diligently worked along the coast, and lead mines among the western hills. The trade of glass-making was established on the Tyne by some refugees from Lorraine in the reign of Elizabeth, and became a considerable industry. The northern parts of the Bishopric shared in the commercial growth of Newcastle; but those parts which could not easily reach the Tyne were hampered by the want of means for carrying away their products. The harbours of the Wear and the Tees were not so accessible as was the harbour of the Tyne. It was not till the present century that the harbours of Sunderland and Hartlepool made Durham superior to Northumberland as a centre of trade. The south of Durham was a meeting-place for coal and iron ore, the towns sprung up with astonishing rapidity round the dreary tract of sand through which the waters of the Tees reached the sea.

The great transformation, which was to convert the old county-palatine of Durham from being an outpost of the English kingdom into a centre of English industry, proceeded steadily through the eighteenth century. Palatine bishops succeeded one another, and distinguished their reigns by acts of princely beneficence. Twelve canons still cared for the services of St. Cuthbert's Church, and the rich stalls of Durham Cathedral were counted as the prizes of an ecclesiastical career. Coal mines multiplied on the estates of the bishop and of the chapter, and their revenues increased accordingly. Long leases were taken of lands which had minerals below the surface; capital was largely invested, and population steadily grew. The records of colliery accidents are painful enough at the present day; they were much more frequent a century and a half ago, and the miners met with little consideration from their employers. In 1767 a Newcastle newspaper wrote: 'As so many deplorable accidents have lately happened in collieries, it certainly claims the attention of coalowners to make a provision for the distressed widows and fatherless children occasioned by these mines, as the catastrophe from foul air becomes more common than ever. Yet, as we have been requested to take no particular notice of these

things, which, in fact, could have little good tendency, we drop the further mentioning of it.' Accidents in those days were hushed up; little care was taken to discover their causes and prevent their occurrence; little was done to console or provide for those who were left distressed and destitute. The newspapers were gagged; publicity was avoided; everyone felt that the mention of these things 'could have little good tendency.' There was no notion of taking common counsel for the avoidance or mitigation of a great evil.

The miners looked after their own interests. Strikes and riots were by no means uncommon when they banded together to protect themselves. At first the miners were hired for the year at a fixed wage. There were disputes about the days on which the working year began and ended, about the hours of work, and the rate of annual wages. As coal mining became a more important industry, disputes increased; as the miners realised the power of combination they obtained a hearing. If the miners of Durham were the first to combine for the purpose of redressing their grievances, the present day has shown them to be amongst the first who were willing to submit their claims to peaceful settlement by means of arbitration. The records of the struggle between capital and labour may compare honourably with the records of any constitutional contest. All struggles are costly, and seem to bystanders to involve needless waste; but it must be admitted in all fairness that the industrial struggles of our own days have been so conducted as to lead to a better understanding between the contending parties. The records of the arbitration system which is in operation in the county of Durham show that employers and employed are reasonable in their demands, and respect one another. Both parties are equally anxious to avoid a contest which is disastrous to both alike.

The growth of modern industry completely changed the county of Durham. It was still an ecclesiastical principality; but the conditions of life were entirely altered since the days when the bishop was a great military leader and governor of his people. The Bishops of Durham were relieved of many of their ancient duties, and prospered as their lands, owing to their mineral wealth, increased in value.

Their munificence was largely shown in providing for the spiritual

needs of a growing population. But the spirit of reform, which was victorious in 1832, was opposed to all extraordinary positions, and aimed at the systematic organisation of the country. The Ecclesiastical Commission in 1833 made provisions for equalising the distribution of the possessions of the Church. The Bishop of Durham was no longer left as a great landowner, but received a fixed salary, and his surplus revenues were distributed to endow new benefices. The Church of Durham was shorn of its ancient splendour. Its canons were reduced from twelve to six, and their incomes were sorely diminished. The last act of the old body was to devote a portion of their revenues to carry out the plan which had been projected in the days of the Commonwealth, and found a university at Durham. It had a noble home in the old castle of the prince bishops, next to the cathedral, overlooking the Wear. Its keep no longer bristles with soldiers, but provides rooms for students. Its banqueting-hall, the finest in England, is no longer thronged with retainers, but is the dining-room of black-gowned scholars. Learning could find no more pleasant seat, and could inhabit no spot more full of memories of past greatness. Unfortunately for the University of Durham, it was founded at a time when railways began to make communication easy. It did not become a rival to Oxford or Cambridge, but it pursued a career of usefulness with small numbers. In our own days the desire for education has largely increased, and the University of Durham occupies an honourable position among the colleges which have sprung up in great centres of population. Its neighbourhood to Newcastle has enabled it to supply the educational needs of the North of England. The cathedral and the university together make Durham still a monument of all that was noblest and best in its historic past.

The Ecclesiastical Commission led to the destruction of the palatine authority of the bishop. On the death of Bishop Van Mildert in 1836 the palatinate was annexed to the Crown. The name of 'the Bishopric' departed, and Durham became like any other county. The Bishop of Durham has no sign of his old greatness except a dignified position amongst the other bishops. The county of Durham was left to its industrial pursuits without any mark of its ancient organisation.



In Durham invention prospered, and from the enterprise which its industry fostered sprang the greatest change of modern times. When George Stephenson applied his locomotive engine to drag the coals from the pit mouth of a Northumbrian colliery, Durham fostered the expansion of this invention into the railway system which we now know so well. Mr. Edward Pease, of Darlington, wished to construct a railway to carry goods from Darlington to Stockton. He applied to Stephenson, who did not doubt that a locomotive engine could be used to traverse a distance of twenty miles. He set to work, and in 1825 the railway was opened in the presence of a vast crowd of people, who saw with amazement an engine drag a load of ninety tons, and marvelled that it accomplished a distance of eight miles in sixty-five minutes. It was soon found that adventurous passengers were ready to risk their lives by being dragged along the lines by an engine in preference to a horse. From this time the railway system rapidly grew, and with its growth came the disappearance of many local traits and characteristics which it is the object of these pages to recall.

The growth of the railway system led to the full development of the coal-fields of Durham. Before the invention of railways the growth of the industrial population had been slow; afterwards it became rapid. Villages were suddenly turned into towns; agricultural districts were invaded by miners. The relics of the past on all sides disappeared. Wearmouth and Jarrow, the seats of Northern monasticism, are now mere names for portions of a densely-inhabited district which extends almost continuously along the coast. The city of Durham alone remains to tell of the past. Even round Durham the tall chimneys rise and pour out their smoke, while the water of the Wear runs black with coal-dust.

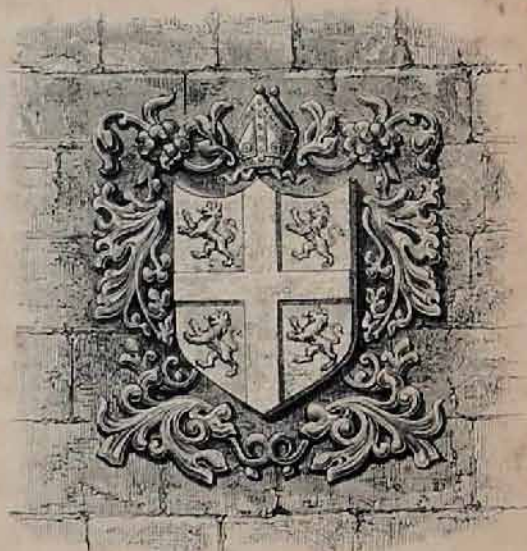
Perhaps no part of England speaks out so clearly as does the county of Durham the deep pathos of industrial life. In the west of the county the uplands slope to the moors, and we see the quiet of agricultural life. The lower tract that runs some twenty miles along the coast is given over to coal mines. Rows of houses have rapidly sprung up, built in long lines with dreary uniformity. Heaps of black refuse mark the neighbourhood of the pit. The very roads are black, and the paths are made of small coal.

The inhabitants themselves have owned their fate with good-humoured mockery; one village goes by the name of 'Pity-me.' Yet the miners have striven manfully against their untoward surroundings. They are genial, kindly, and intelligent; their lives are by no means unhappy. It was but natural that the first beginnings of a coal-pit should bring together a number of men from different parts who had few bonds of sympathy. A settled population and continuous industry quickly supplied common interests. The miners are proud of their work, and have learned how to use their leisure to as good purpose as other folk. A little poem written by a working miner, Mr. Skipsey, tells with touching simplicity the story of peaceful home-life and daily display of unconscious heroism:—

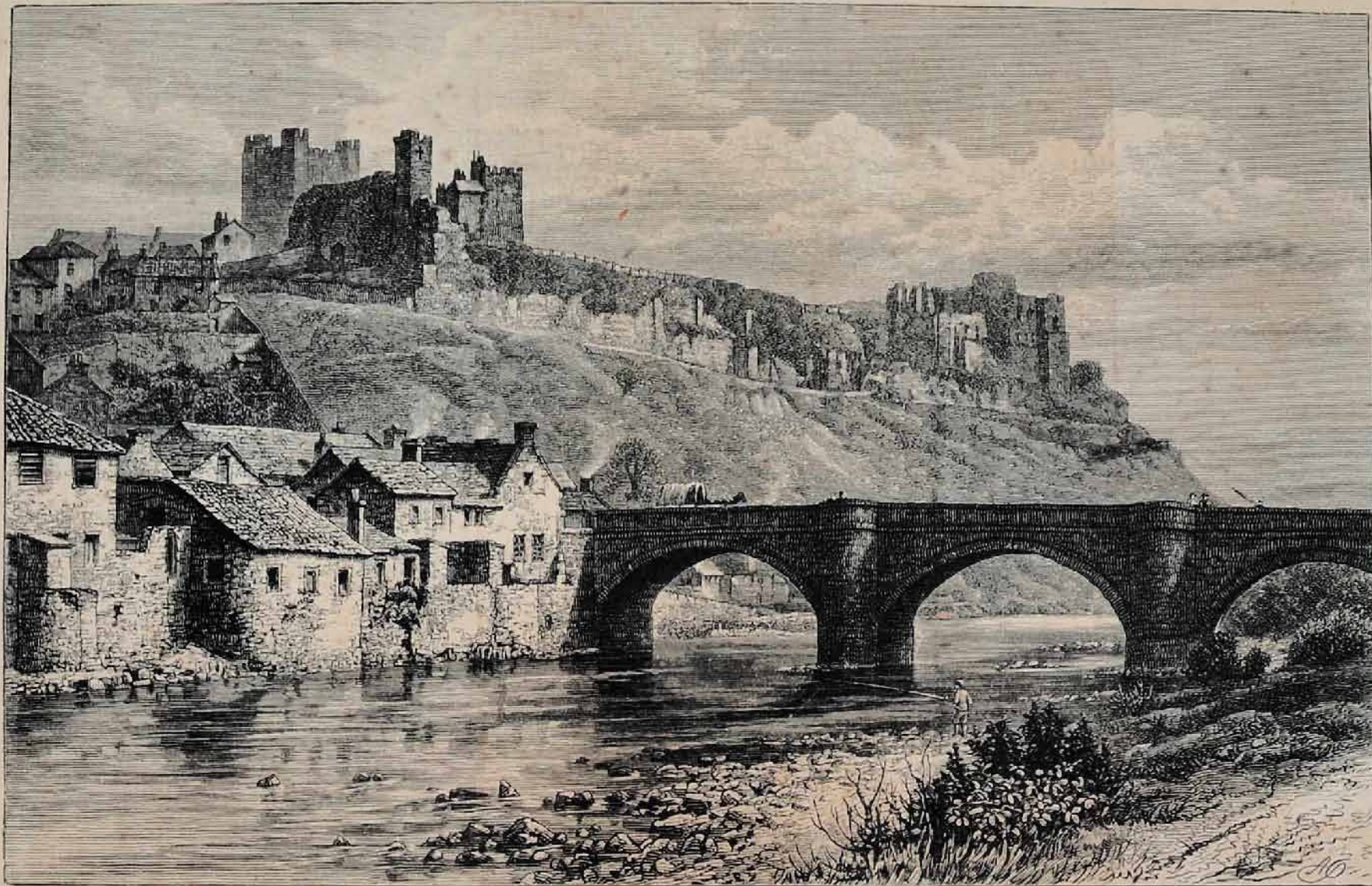
"Get up," the caller<sup>1</sup> calls, "get up":  
 And in the middle of the night,  
 To earn my babes their bite and sup,  
 I rise a weary wight.

My flannel dudden donned, thrice o'er  
 I kiss my birds, and then  
 I with a whistle close the door  
 I ne'er may ope again.

<sup>1</sup> The 'caller' is the man whose business it is to summon the miners to their shifts.



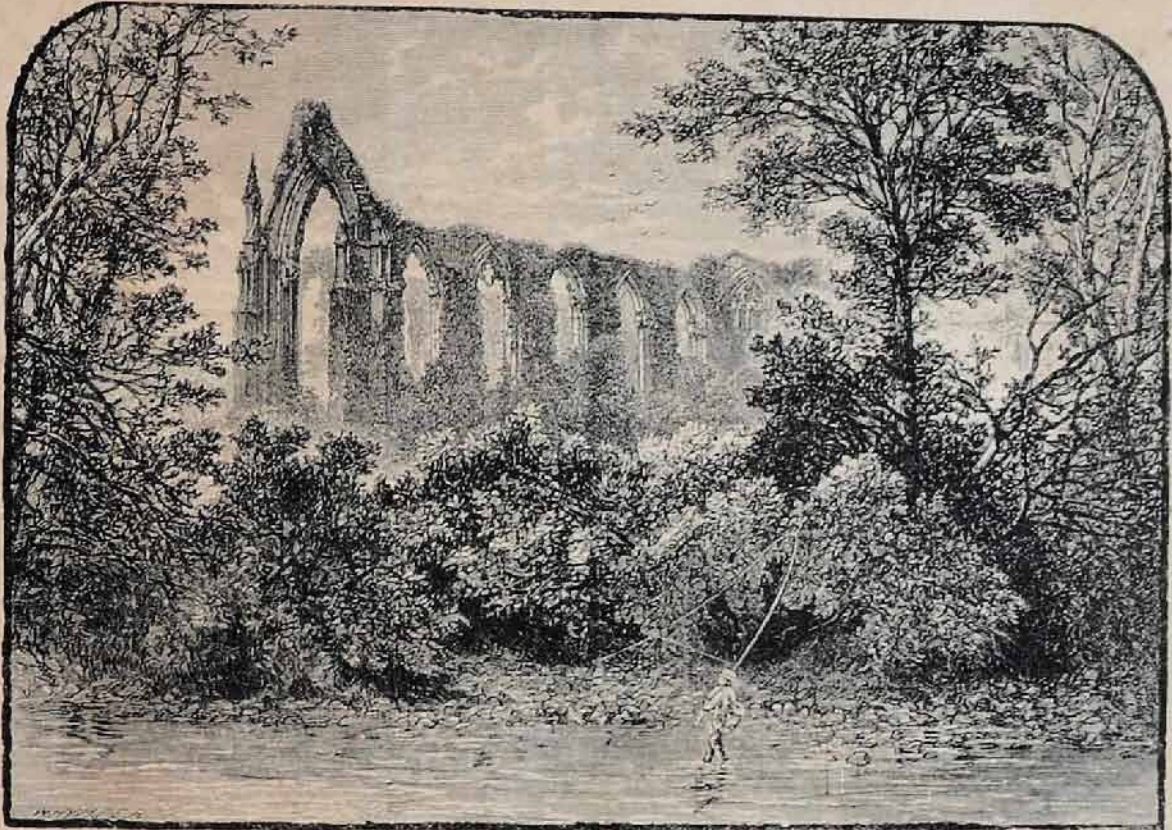
DURHAM ARMS.



RICHMOND CASTLE

[From a Photograph by Valentine.]

## YORKSHIRE.



BOLTON ABBEY.

YORKSHIRE is the largest of the English shires, and its size corresponds to its ancient greatness. It is the chief part of the ancient kingdom of Northumberland, though the name has passed to the more northern shire, which gave up much of its old possessions to make the richest part of the Scottish kingdom. A second part went to St. Cuthbert's Church, and formed a principality ruled over by the Bishop of Durham. What remained was called Yorkshire, from the name of its chief town, one of the most memorable of English cities.

In the days when the Romans ruled in Britain, Eboracum, as York was then called, was the seat of government, though London, from its

position, was the chief port and the centre of commerce. It was natural that this should be, for the Roman conquerors aimed at establishing order, and were long doubtful how far northwards it was useful and profitable for them to extend their sway. They held South Britain; they kept Wales in check; they occupied the fertile plains and river valleys, and they saw that the vale of York was well worth possessing. Beyond it the land between the Tees and the Tyne was of little value, but the valleys of the Tyne, the Irthing, and the Eden again attracted them. North of this they were doubtful about the expediency of extending their occupation. Finally they resolved to hold fast by the frontier line between the Solway and the Tyne, and they fortified this frontier by building a massive wall, along which were stationed nearly ten thousand soldiers. Beyond this boundary they made roads and established camps in the district between the Tyne and the Frith of Forth, between the Solway and the Clyde. This second boundary between the Forth and the Clyde was also held by an earthen fortification. The Romans seem to have resolved that south of the Tyne the order and the law of Rome should thoroughly prevail. North of that district was a debatable land, which might in time be brought within the civilisation of Rome.

With such a policy it was natural to choose Eboracum as the capital of the province of Britain. There dwelt the governor of the province and his court; there converged many of the roads which the Romans were so skilled in making; thence went forth the troops who were to keep in order the turbulent barbarians of the North. Thither came the Emperor Hadrian, and there, in 211, died the Emperor Severus, who wasted the strength of Rome in a useless attempt to brave the difficulties of climate and of territory in a march against the Caledonians. Later, when the Roman Empire was divided, Eboracum became an imperial city, as the dwelling-place of the Cæsar Constantius, and on his death, in 306, his more famous son Constantine was hailed in Eboracum as his father's successor. From Britain Constantine went forth to win for himself the mastery of the Roman world. But Rome's power was even then sinking into decay. Another century saw the Roman legions withdrawn, and the British people, enervated by Rome's

civilisation, were left a prey to the incursions of the Picts and Scots from the North, and more dangerous attacks of the English and Saxon pirates along their coasts.

We can only guess at the course of the English conquest of Deira, as the southern part of the Northumbrian kingdom was called. Probably the first band of conquerors settled on the promontory at the mouth of the Humber, to which they gave the name of Holderness. Thence they spread along the valley of the Derwent till they occupied the district now called the East Riding, which perhaps is a surviving record of the first kingdom of the new-comers. Soon they advanced along the fertile valley of the Ouse, sacked Eboracum, and drove the Britons into the waste moorland on the west. Then they pursued the valley northwards, settling on such spots as attracted them, till they reached the Cleveland hills and the valley of the Tees. The territory which they occupied on this second advance corresponds to the existing division of the North Riding. The land of the West Riding, the rough ground that rises beyond the vale of York, was left for some time in the hands of the fugitive Britons.

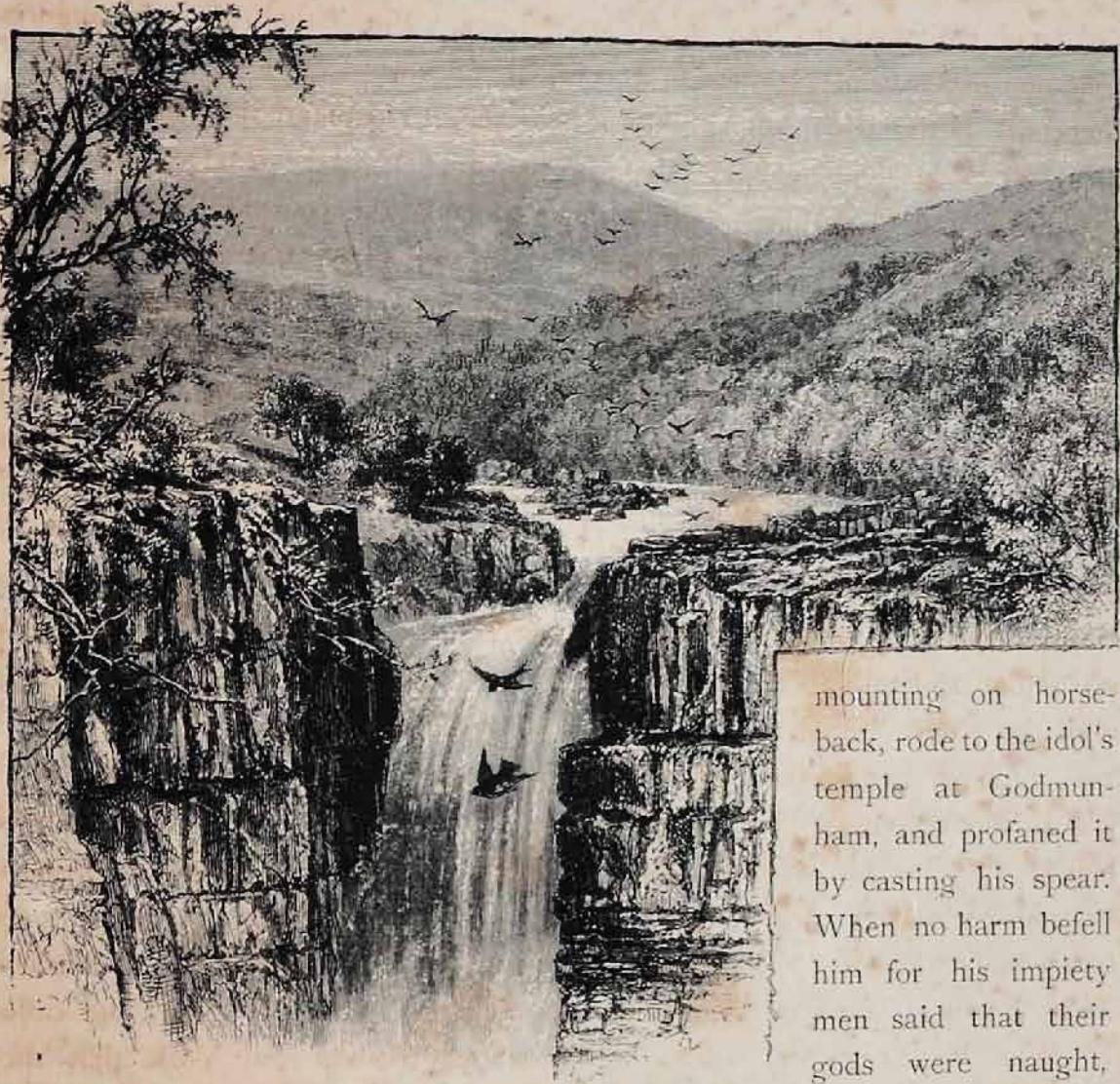
Meanwhile another English kingdom had been formed, with its seat on the rock of Bamborough, the kingdom of Bernicia, which spread southward till it bordered upon the lands of the men of Deira. Dissensions arose between these bands of kindred race, and Ælla, the Deiran king, waged war against Bernicia, and brought it under his sway. So little were the English conscious of their unity of race that captives taken in their raids upon one another found their way into the slave market of Rome. There a Roman priest was struck by a group of boys. 'Of what race are these lads?' he asked. 'They are Angles,' was the answer. 'Not Angles, but angels,' said Gregory. 'From what land are they?' 'Deira,' said the merchant. 'De ira,' he repeated; 'saved from the wrath of God. Who is their king?' 'Ælla,' was the answer. 'Then shall "Alleluia" be sung in Ælla's land!' The priest lived to be Pope Gregory I. He did not forget his promise, and sent a band of Roman missionaries to spread the gospel in that far-off land.

The mission of Augustine did not, however, reach Deira for some time.

King Ælla died, and on his death Bernicia overran Deira, and King Ethelfrith united the two kingdoms into one. He was a great conqueror, and dealt a crushing blow at the Britons by marching along the valley of the Ribble against Deva or Chester. There he overthrew the Britons in 613, and extended his rule from sea to sea. But Ethelfrith was angered that one of the sons of Ælla had escaped the sword, and lived in exile at the court of the East Anglian king. He sent to demand his surrender, and King Redwald doubted if he should give up his guest. The exiled Edwin sat despairing of his safety on a stone outside the courtyard, when in the gathering darkness of the night there stood before him a stranger, who bade him be of good cheer. 'You will not only escape your present danger,' he said, 'you will live to become a mighty king. If he who tells you this can give you good advice for life and soul, will you listen to him?' Edwin said 'Yes,' and the stranger laid his hand upon his head, saying, 'When this sign is given you remember your promise.' So he passed away.

His words came true. Redwald not only refused to give up Edwin, but warred against Ethelfrith on his behalf. Ethelfrith fell in battle, and Edwin succeeded him on the Northumbrian throne. In his exile he had married the daughter of the King of Kent, who had learned the gospel from the Roman missionaries. She brought with her one of them, Paulinus, and urged on her husband that he also should accept the faith of Christ. But Edwin hesitated, till Paulinus laid his hand upon his head and reminded him of the promise which he had made to the stranger. 'By God's help,' he said, 'you have escaped your enemies and have gained a kingdom: see that you break not your promise; see that you deserve His future mercies.' Then Edwin delayed no longer, but accepted the faith of Christ, and called his Wise Men together to one of his country houses near York, that they might give their counsel. Very characteristic of the reasonable and thoughtful minds of our forefathers is the account of their meeting. 'Man's life,' said one, 'is like a sparrow that flies through the hall: from darkness it comes, and into darkness it goes—it stays but for a moment in the light and heat. So man's life stays here for a while, but whence it came and whither it goes we know not. If this new teaching tells us anything certain

of these, let us follow it.' Then rose Coifi, the priest of the idols. 'No one,' said he, 'has worshipped the gods more than I, yet they have not shown favour to me.' All agreed to listen to the new teachers; and Coifi,



HIGH FORCE FALL, THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY  
OF YORKSHIRE.

mounting on horse-back, rode to the idol's temple at Godmunham, and profaned it by casting his spear. When no harm befell him for his impiety men said that their gods were naught, and pulled down the temple, and burned the idols with fire.

Edwin reigned in York, and brought such order into his land as men had never known before. He subdued the British kingdom of Elmet or Loidis (Leeds), which had been left hitherto undisturbed amidst its woods



and moors. This conquest brought into the Northumbrian kingdom the district which we now call the West Riding, and so the different parts of Yorkshire were united, though the traces of the old divisions still remain. But Edwin's greatness was not confined to this extension of his own dominions. There was already in England a tendency to national unity. The scattered bands of the original settlers early formed themselves into three great groups—the northern kingdom of Northumberland, the central kingdom of Mercia, and the southern kingdom, in which the West Saxons gradually took the chief place. But Edwin carried this process a step farther: his supremacy was owned by all the English folk except the kingdom of Kent. It seemed likely in his days that York would keep her ancient place, and would become the capital of England, as she had been the capital of the Roman province of Britain.

This, however, was not to be. Edwin fell in battle against the Mercians, and the rule over Northumberland passed to the Benician royal house in 633. Oswy overthrew the Mercians in 655, and the supremacy of Northumberland again seemed possible. Oswy was anxious for unity within his dominions, and removed one source of discord. Deira owed its Christianity to Paulinus; Bernicia had been converted by missionaries from Iona. The story has already been told how Oswy called a council at Streoneshalh, as Whitby was then called, in 634, at which the King decided in favour of the Roman use, and England from that time was one with Western Christendom in its religious organisation.

The results of this were soon seen in the appointment by the Pope of Theodore, a monk of Tarsus, as Archbishop of Canterbury, and Theodore organised the English Church in a way that gave additional unity to the English nation. The ancient dioceses of England were such as he planned. The greatness of Northumberland was testified by the fact that York was made the ecclesiastical capital of the second province. Canterbury, the seat of Augustine, remained the head of the southern province, and to the province of York was assigned the north of the island. It is true that the sees in the province of York are not so numerous as those in the province of Canterbury. But in the days of Archbishop Theodore the independent

existence of Scotland was not reckoned probable. The scheme was that the northern bishops should all be suffragans of the province of York. Not till the defeat of the Northumbrian king Egfrith at Nechtansmere near Fife in 685 did the Northumbrian advance northwards receive a decisive check.

From this time the chances of the supremacy of Northumberland were at an end. But Northumberland was the centre of the learning and the religious zeal of England. Monasteries, after the fashion of that which the monks of Iona had founded at Lindisfarne, spread over the land. Chief amongst them was that of Streoneshalh (or Whitby), which was ruled over by Hild, a descendant of the great King Edwin. There on the lonely cliff above the sea were heard the first strains of the first English poet in the land which the English had made their own. One of the servants, Cædmon, now advanced in years, felt shame that he could not sing at the feasts when his turn came, and when the harp was passed round the table he would rise and go away. One night he went to the stable, as it was his turn to take care of the cattle. As he slept he saw One who bade him sing. 'I cannot sing,' he said, 'and therefore am I here.' 'Yet sing of Me,' was the answer. 'What shall I sing?' asked Cædmon. 'Sing,' replied He, 'of the beginning of created things.' Then Cædmon sang in his sleep, and when he awoke he repeated the verses he had made. The brethren marvelled, and read and expounded to Cædmon a portion of Holy Writ. Next morning he brought them his verses, and the first of English singers went on his way, singing lovingly and sweetly of God's ways with men.

Moreover York grew into a great centre of ecclesiastical life and learning. Paulinus induced King Edwin to begin the building of a stone church, which was finished by Bishop Wilfrid, famous for his architectural zeal. Under Archbishop Egbert (735-766) the school of York was famous throughout Europe, and sent forth Alcuin, who became the great scholar at the court of the Emperor Charles the Great. The library of York was one of the best in Europe. Though Northumberland had lost its political supremacy over England, it was the centre of English civilisation.

The advance of Northumberland had been too rapid, and was followed by a period of decay. Political discord and anarchy wasted its strength.

Archbishop Egbert was driven by increasing disorder to abandon his school, and ended his days in the retirement of a monastery. The greatness of the Northumbrian kingdom came to an end, and in 829 Northumberland submitted to the over-lordship of Egbert, King of Wessex.

It was not long before England was plunged into confusion by the coming of the Danes. In 867 they conquered Northumberland and settled at York. Before their advance the traces of previous civilisation were swept away. Monasteries, churches, and libraries all disappeared. The house of Hild at Streoneshalh was so completely ruined that when its neighbourhood was occupied by the conquerors they gave it their own name of Whitby. Deira was the chief seat of the Danes, and York was their capital. For the third time York seemed likely to become the chief town in England. But the West Saxon kings fought bravely against the invaders, and by their constancy secured to Wessex the rule over England, which the fight against the Danes united more firmly than it had been united before.

It was during the period of the Danish rule that Yorkshire assumed its definite form. The Danes settled in Deira; they left Bernicia tributary under its own rulers. The district in which the Danish conquerors mainly dwelt was marked off distinctly from the rest of the Northumbrian kingdom. The terminations, *by*, *thwaite*, and *dale* serve to distinguish the Danish settlements from the *hams* and *tons* of the English. A glance at the map shows us that the Danes clustered thickest in the district of Cleveland, where they had easy access to the sea, while the vale of York attracted those who had a turn for agricultural pursuits. Now for the first time were old local differences recognised, and made the basis of local administration. The division into three *Trithings* or Ridings, though already marked out, was the work of the Danes, and these Ridings all converged in York as the centre of government.

The Danes, however, did not become the rulers of England, but slowly fell back before the arms of the West Saxon kings. In 926 Ethelstan, King of Wessex, was recognised as King of Northumberland; but this extension of the royal power was premature, and Ethelstan found it better to give the northern kingdom a separate but dependent ruler. There were

constant rebellions and constant warfare till in 954 the kingdom of Northumberland was reduced to an earldom, and was ruled by an English earl appointed by the West Saxon king. Northumberland still stood apart from the rest of England. The mixture of Danish blood seems to have increased the lawlessness which had already begun to prevail. The history of the Earls of Northumberland is a chronicle of deeds of treachery, bloodshed, and savagery. Their untamed nature may be seen in the story of the death of Siward, the Danish earl, who had himself clad in full armour and died standing on his feet. 'It is a shame,' he said, 'for a warrior to die like a cow.'

After Siward's death in 1055 a step was taken to bring Northumberland closer to the rest of England. Siward's son Waltheof was a boy; the Northumbrian earldom was given to Tostig, brother of Harold, and a West Saxon ruled over a people who still were proud of their independence. Tostig was unpopular, Northumberland rebelled, and Harold was not strong enough to uphold his brother. Tostig, in wrath, left England, and stirred up Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, to espouse his cause. The Norwegian ships sailed up the Humber and captured York. King Harold rapidly gathered troops and marched against the invader, whom he met and routed at Stamford Bridge. Then he hastened southwards to meet a more formidable invader, William of Normandy, before whom Harold fell.

From this great conflict for the English crown the Northumbrians stood aloof. Morcar, the Earl of Northumberland, did not lead the forces of the North to Harold's aid. The men of the North still clung to their old position of independence. It mattered little to them who wore the West Saxon crown. They had long since ceased to strive for Northumbrian supremacy, but they hoped for a separate Northumbrian kingdom. A change of ruler in the southern kingdom would make their plans easier of execution. But they had reckoned ill, and William I. soon showed that he meant to exercise to the full all the rights of the old English kings. The North was sullen; and William, in 1068, marched to York, where he built a castle on the land between the Ouse and the Foss. Next year the North rose in revolt, and William returned in wrath, punished the men of York, and built another castle on the right bank of the river. Scarcely was he gone

before the rebellious folk, helped by reinforcements from Denmark, again rose, took York, slew the Norman garrisons, and overthrew the hateful castles. This time William I.'s answer was terrible. The men of the North could rise in revolt, but they had no power of organisation or sense of discipline. They fled before William's advance; he ordered his castles to be rebuilt at York, and then proceeded to lay waste with fire and sword the land between York and Durham. So thoroughly was this done that Yorkshire was reduced to a wilderness. Great part of its people died from hunger; for years the land was left untilled. Villages and towns alike were laid in ashes; the traces of the old greatness of the land were swept away. Not till the development of modern trade did Yorkshire recover her old position. The vengeance of King William I. dealt her a deadly blow.

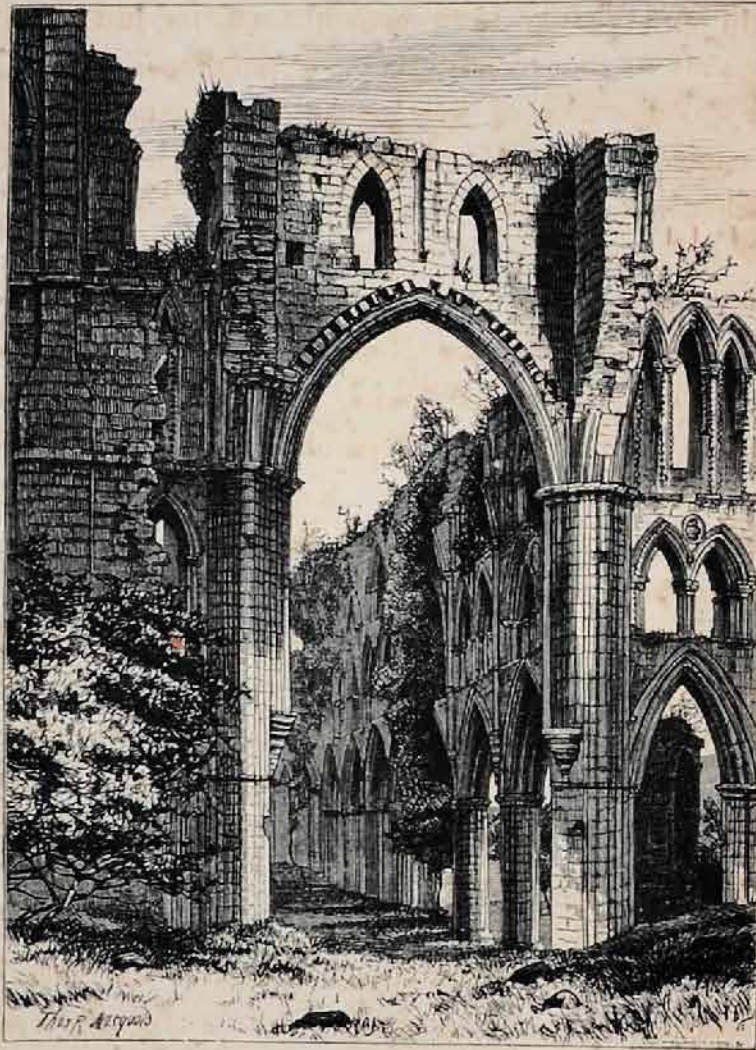
The restoration of Yorkshire was the work of the Norman barons, of the churchmen and the monks. Chief amongst the barons who have left their traces on the land was Alan of Brittany, who on the height above the rocky bed of the Swale built a castle, to which he gave the name of Richmond. Around it grew a town, which thrived and became important, till it gave its name to a local division known as Richmondshire. In like manner Ilbert de Lacy built his castle near the bank of the Aire, at a spot where William I., on his journey north, had found the bridge broken down. On this account Lacy gave to it the name of Pontefract. Another Norman baron, William de Percy, built castles at Topcliffe and Spofforth; but these did not become centres of municipal life.

The churchmen also did what they could. The first Norman archbishop, Thomas of Bayeux, rebuilt the ruined church of York. Monastic life had decayed of itself, and William's ruthless harrying had swept away its traces, save at Beverley, whose sainted founder John is said to have stricken down the leader of the band which came to profane his church. There were, however, signs of the revival of monasticism. A monk of St. Germain's monastery at Auxerre was warned by the saint in a dream to flee away. He came to England, and settled as a hermit at Selby on the Ouse. There he was accidentally seen by the sheriff, who took him under his protection, and a little band of monks gathered round the hermit's cell, till they grew

rich enough to build the mighty minster which stands to this day. From the southern monasteries of Evesham and Winchcombe came three brethren anxious to restore the holy places of which they read in Bede. Their zeal spread from Durham into Yorkshire, and the monasteries of Whitby and St. Mary's, York, again rose into being. Nor was it long before Archbishop Thomas began the restoration of Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon, and established it as a house of Augustinian canons.

In the next century came from a foreign source the impulse to monasticism which brought back civilisation into the wasted and untilled lands of Yorkshire. But though the impulse came from abroad, its origin was English. Stephen Harding, a native of Sherborne in Dorset, had sought rest from the troubles of a hard and reckless world in the monastery of Molesme in Burgundy. He was, however, dissatisfied with the want of austerity that there prevailed, and led away a few who were zealous like himself to seek a simpler and quieter life in a more secluded spot which he chose at Citeaux, not far from Dijon. There he and his comrades lived an ascetic life, divided between devotion and labouring in the fields. To Citeaux came a man who in time made his influence felt throughout Europe—Bernard, generally known as St. Bernard of Clairvaux, from the name of the monastery which he founded, and of which he was abbot. Bernard carried on the work which Stephen had begun, and made himself a missionary of the new monastic order, which was called Cistercian, from the name of its first monastery. In 1128 Bernard sent some Cistercian monks to England with a letter to Thurstan, Archbishop of York. Thurstan commended the new-comers to Walter Espec, Lord of Helmsley, whose mind had been weaned from the world by a sore misfortune. He lost his only son, by a fall from a horse, and in his grief at the loss vowed he would 'make Christ heir of part of his lands.' Already he had fulfilled his vow by founding in the vale of the Derwent, not far from Malton, the Abbey of Kirkham, which he filled with Augustinian canons. But the greater severity of the Cistercian rule attracted him, and he built a second abbey for the Cistercian monks in the valley of the Rye, not far from Helmsley. From its situation in the Rye valley the monastery was called Rievaulx,

and its site was then reckoned one of 'terrible solitude and trembling.' So much was Walter Espec attracted by the monks of Rievaulx, that when his warrior days were over he withdrew to their monastery, and died there in peace. The rough, rude life of that age had little charm even for those



RIEVAULX ABBEY.

who were foremost in its doings. All finer minds wearied of the restless activity and stern deeds of warfare among which their life was passed. There was no choice between that and the quiet of the monastic cell, to which many looked forward as their one escape.

The example of the monks of Rievaulx was soon fruitful. In 1132 some brethren of the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary's, York, grew discontented with the laxity of life that there prevailed. They complained to Archbishop Thurstan, and he attempted to restore greater order. But the monks of

St. Mary's would not hear the archbishop; they rose and threatened the brethren who had drawn upon them his rebuke. With difficulty Thurstan rescued them from violence. He took them with him to Ripon, and bestowed on them a place for retreat in the rough valley of the Skell. Their abbey

was called Fountains, from the springs which flowed forth in its neighbourhood. For some time the monks of Fountains fought desperately against poverty and want. One day a traveller, exhausted with hunger, asked for food. The prior, hearing that the store of the house was only two loaves and a half, still ordered one to be given to the stranger, saying, 'The Lord will provide.' His faith and charity were recompensed, for just afterwards a supply of food was sent to the monastery by a neighbouring lord. It was not long before the good works of the monks of Fountains were recognised, and they were enabled to begin the building of their beautiful monastery, the plans of which came from St. Bernard's Abbey of Clairvaux.

It were long to tell of the foundation of the many monasteries which were founded in the Yorkshire vales. The waste lands of the West Riding were a fit place for monks to dwell in, and the Norman names of many of the Yorkshire abbeys tell the tale of their foundation. Sawley rose amongst the willows that clad the banks of the Ribble. Jervaulx, in the wild valley of the Ure, corresponded to Rievaulx on the Rye. Kirkstall tells how the monastery church rose in the place of the foresters' stall or lodge in the wild woods that covered the upper valley of the Aire. Roche Abbey rose on a spot where some hermits had settled because they had discovered on the steep face of the limestone rock what seemed to them to be the rude outline of a crucifix. In the barren marshes of Holderness was planted the Abbey of Meaux, so called after the name of the birthplace of the first Norman lord of that land. By the roaring waters of the imprisoned Wharfe rose the Augustinian Priory of Bolton, and at the foot of the Cleveland hills nestled the Priory of Guisborough.

These are but some of the more important of the monastic settlements which spread civilisation through the Yorkshire wilds. Where the sword of the conqueror had wrought havoc the labours of the monks restored civilised life. The Cistercians set an example of toiling in the fields; all the monastic orders organised agriculture. The monks settled in remote valleys, cleared the rough ground, and gradually brought the land under cultivation. The monasteries scattered here and there throughout the land opened up communications and afforded ready hospitality to travellers. It is not without



reason that Yorkshire is famed for its monastic remains. Even in their ruins they tell of the workers who in an age of warfare upheld the dignity of labour, and set forth by their example the blessings of peace.

Though Yorkshire lay far within the English border it nevertheless suffered from its neighbourhood to Scotland, and was better fitted than the more northern shires to afford battle-fields for the more serious hostilities of



BRIGNALL WOODS.

the Scots. The troubles of the reign of Stephen gave the Scots an opportunity to plunder the English land, under colour of maintaining the cause of Matilda as the rightful heiress of the English Crown. The Scots ravaged the northern shires, burning, slaying, and plundering. The newly-founded monasteries were in many cases reduced to ruins; the people were plunged in despair, and King Stephen did nothing to help them. At last, in 1138, the aged Archbishop Thurstan stirred up the northern barons to undertake their own defence against the Scots, who, after ravaging Northumberland

and Durham, had entered Yorkshire and were advancing southwards. The barons listened to the words of the archbishop, who sent them a standard round which to fight. It was the mast of a vessel erected in a waggon; on it hung a silver crucifix and the holy banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfred of Ripon, the three patron saints of Yorkshire. Advancing with this standard, the barons met the Scottish army near Northallerton, and prepared for battle. The representative of the old archbishop, who was too ill to come himself, addressed the soldiers and prayed for their success. The Scottish attack was begun by a charge of the men of Galloway, the wildest and most barbarous of the Scottish race, but they were repulsed by the steadiness of the English, who fought round their standard, and thought it cowardly to move and leave it to the enemy. The men of Galloway fell back, and threw the rest of the Scottish army into confusion. King David fled in dismay, and many of the Scots fell in the retreat. The men of Yorkshire by themselves fought the battle for England, and routed the foe. The Battle of the Standard shows how Yorkshire had recovered its old spirit, and how the influence of the Church was powerful for national organisation.

The city of York soon rose again to its early importance as capital of the North, and obtained from Henry I. a charter of liberties which enabled its citizens to manage their own affairs. A similar charter was granted by Archbishop Thurstan to Beverley, which, from its position on the Hull river, became a port, and was the earliest centre of the woollen trade in Yorkshire. How rapidly York advanced in commercial importance we may gather from the number of Jews who lived there, and lent money to the needy barons and merchants who were in want of capital. One of the most terrible stories of mediæval times attaches to the Jews of York in the reign of Richard I. Crusading zeal had stirred men's hearts into abhorrence of all enemies of the Christian faith, and at the same time many who purposed to follow the king to the Holy Land were driven to raise money for their equipment at usurious rates. The Jews in York were numerous and powerful. They used the opportunity of the crusading spirit to drive hard bargains, till they awakened a feeling of sullen wrath. No sooner had

Richard I. crossed the sea than an attack was made upon the Jews in York. Five hundred of them fled into the castle, carrying with them their wealth, which they held under the protection of the king. It so happened that the governor of the castle was away. When he returned, the Jews, terrified by the massacre of their friends outside, and doubtful of the governor's goodwill, refused to admit him inside the castle. The townsmen rejoiced at this act, which gave an opportunity for vengeance. The castle was besieged, and priests and monks joined the ranks of the besiegers. After some days a breach was made in the wall, and the Jews could resist no longer. The night before they expected the final onslaught an old rabbi rose and spoke: 'God has called us to die for His law. Let us choose death rather than apostacy; let us freely give our lives to Him who gave them.' The greater part hearkened to his words. They set fire to the castle and cast all their wealth into the flames. They slew with their own hands their wives and children, then they leapt into the flames and perished. Those who were not brave enough to follow their example tried to make terms with the enemy, but when the gates were opened all were put to the sword. The victorious rabble rushed to the cathedral and seized the chest in which were kept the registers of the money lent by the Jews, which they burned in the nave of the church.

Such outbursts of disorder were not common, and Richard I. ordered the men of York to be punished for their doings. But the story shows how York was growing in wealth, and illustrates the difficulties which beset the development of trade and industry. Money was almost entirely in the hands of the Jews, and could only be borrowed at a ruinous rate of interest. The Jews shared their profits with the king, who in return took them under his protection and allowed no one to plunder them save himself. The nobles were spendthrift; trade was carried on without much capital, and its returns were uncertain. Men were only too glad of any opportunity of wiping out old scores and freeing themselves from the bondage of the money-lender.

We soon find a more striking instance of the renewed importance of the northern shires. The training which the northern barons obtained in their defence of the Borders made them vigorous and clear-sighted politicians.

They took the lead in the opposition to the tyranny of King John, and were the first to begin that breach with the Crown which was only healed by the grant of the Great Charter. Men of the families of Mowbray, Lacy, Percy, Bruce, and the like, were the first who banded themselves together in defence of the ancient liberties of England, and set an example which was readily followed by those of the South. Even then the severer life of the North seems to have favoured the growth of sturdy resolution and clear decision in the conduct of affairs.

Thus Yorkshire prospered while the barons built their castles and the monks reclaimed to cultivation its waste lands. Agriculture flourished and population increased. The civilisation of Yorkshire was restored by the barons, the Church, and the monks, during two centuries of comparative peace, till the failure of Edward I.'s plan for the conquest of Scotland again exposed Yorkshire to invasion. After Edward II.'s defeat at Bannockburn the Scots acted on the aggressive, and again penetrated into Yorkshire. So formidable were they that the Prior of Bolton fled into Lancashire in 1316, and the monks took refuge in Skipton Castle. Again the Archbishop of York strove to organise the defence of the country, but he was not so successful as Thurstan had been. The best soldiers were all absent with the king, and the army of ten thousand men which the archbishop succeeded in collecting fled almost without striking a blow before the Scots, who were posted at Myton on the Swale, not far from Knaresborough. So many monks and clergy were present at this battle that the Scots called it in derision 'The Chapter of Myton.'

A few years later, in 1322, King Edward II. had a narrow escape from falling into the hands of the Scots. He was sitting at dinner at Rievaulx Abbey when a Scottish army suddenly swooped down across the moors. Two monks guided the king to York, but his treasures fell into the enemy's hands, and the monastery was stripped of all that it contained.

Nor was it only the invasion of the Scots that disturbed the peace of Yorkshire. The unbusinesslike qualities of Edward II. made him an incapable king, and threw him into the hands of favourites, who awakened the envy and anger of the English barons. The baronage opposed the

Crown, not as before, in behalf of the nation at large, but by asserting their own influence against the growing power of the courtiers who immediately surrounded the king. Their leader was the king's cousin, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, who had married the heiress of the Lacys, and was lord of their lands at Pontefract. The strength of the castle at Pontefract, which commanded the passes of the Aire, made Yorkshire the scene of the baronial conflict against Edward II. Thomas of Lancaster was violent, and determined to assert his power. Edward II. vainly strove to save his favourite, Gaveston, who took refuge in the castle of Scarborough. The castle was taken, and Gaveston was carried away to execution. For a time the king was powerless; but Earl Thomas had no wish to see him freed from his troubles with the Scots. He lent no help to the men of Yorkshire in their efforts to resist the Scottish invasions, and was suspected of helping the Scots, as a means of embarrassing the king. At last, in 1322, Edward II. was ready to take his revenge. Earl Thomas advanced northwards from Pontefract, hoping that he might be aided by the Scots. At Boroughbridge he found the governors of York and Carlisle with their forces ready to oppose his progress. He was compelled to surrender, and was taken as a prisoner to his castle of Pontefract. There King Edward II. passed sentence upon his relative. He would not forgive the man who had so long thwarted him and who had wrought the death of Gaveston. Regardless of his rank, Edward II. condemned him to die a traitor's death, and the great baron was led to a mound outside his own castle. His face was turned to the north, that he might look towards his friends the Scots; then, as he knelt, the executioner cleft off his head by a stroke of a heavy sword. After his death men saw in his opposition to the king's folly something noble that we do not find in the brutal character of Thomas. The people flocked to his tomb in the priory of Pontefract, and miracles were said to be wrought by his relics. He was called by many Saint Thomas of Lancaster, as though he had been a martyr for the liberties of the people.

In the reign of Edward III. Yorkshire was better protected from the raids of the Scots, and Archbishop Zouche sent a contingent to the defence

of Durham, which redeemed the Yorkshiremen from the disgrace of their defeat at Myton. Again the country applied itself to the arts of peace. The monasteries set the example of manufacturing woollen cloths, not, however, of the finest sort, nor of much reputation for the purposes of export. Edward III. induced many Flemings to settle in England and teach the people better ways of manufacturing cloth. Some of these Flemings came to Leeds, but Yorkshire was not yet adapted for a great manufacturing centre. Its harbour at the mouth of the Humber was only struggling into existence. The old village of Wyke-on-the-Hull was brought into new life by Edward I., who on his return from Scotland in 1299 happened to light upon the hamlet while on a hunting expedition. He bought the site from the Abbot of Meaux, caused a new town to be laid out, and gave privileges to all who settled there. He gave it the new name of Kingstown, and may claim to be its real founder. The eye of Edward I. was keen enough to see the advantages of its position as the only possible harbour for the Yorkshire coast. The flats of Holderness made the harbourage of the Humber uncertain. The earlier ports have passed away. Hedon, with its mighty church that tells of early greatness, is now a little hamlet two miles from the sea, and its ancient harbour is a shallow creek. Ravenspurg, where Henry of Lancaster landed when he came to claim his heritage, no longer exists. Spurn Head offers some resistance to the waves, which avenge themselves by capricious encroachments on the low-lying land within the estuary. Kingston-upon-Hull alone held its place, and grew in importance as its rivals declined.

Yorkshire was deeply involved in the struggles between the baronial parties which mark the history of the fifteenth century in England. The balance of the strength of the baronage lay in the North. The northern barons were foremost in expressing their discontent with the weak government which the pressure of untoward circumstances alone made possible to Henry IV. The Percys rose in revolt, and were with difficulty put down in 1403. But the discontent of the northern barons still continued, and in 1405 Archbishop Scrope of York joined with the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Mowbray in demanding a free parliament for the redress of grievances.

Eight thousand men assembled in arms at Skipton, near York ; but on the arrival of the Earl of Westmoreland with a message from the king, they disbanded, and agreed to leave their matters to the king's decision. Archbishop Scrope and Mowbray were taken prisoners to Pontefract. Thence they were led to the archbishop's palace of Bishopsthorpe, and were condemned to death. It was an unheard-of thing to put an archbishop to death, and the Chief Justice refused to pass sentence upon him. A more obedient judge was found, and Archbishop Scrope was executed in a meadow outside his house. The men of Yorkshire were filled with indignation at the murder—for so they called it—of a man who was beloved by all. He was revered as a saint, and crowds hastened to make their offerings at his tomb in York Cathedral.

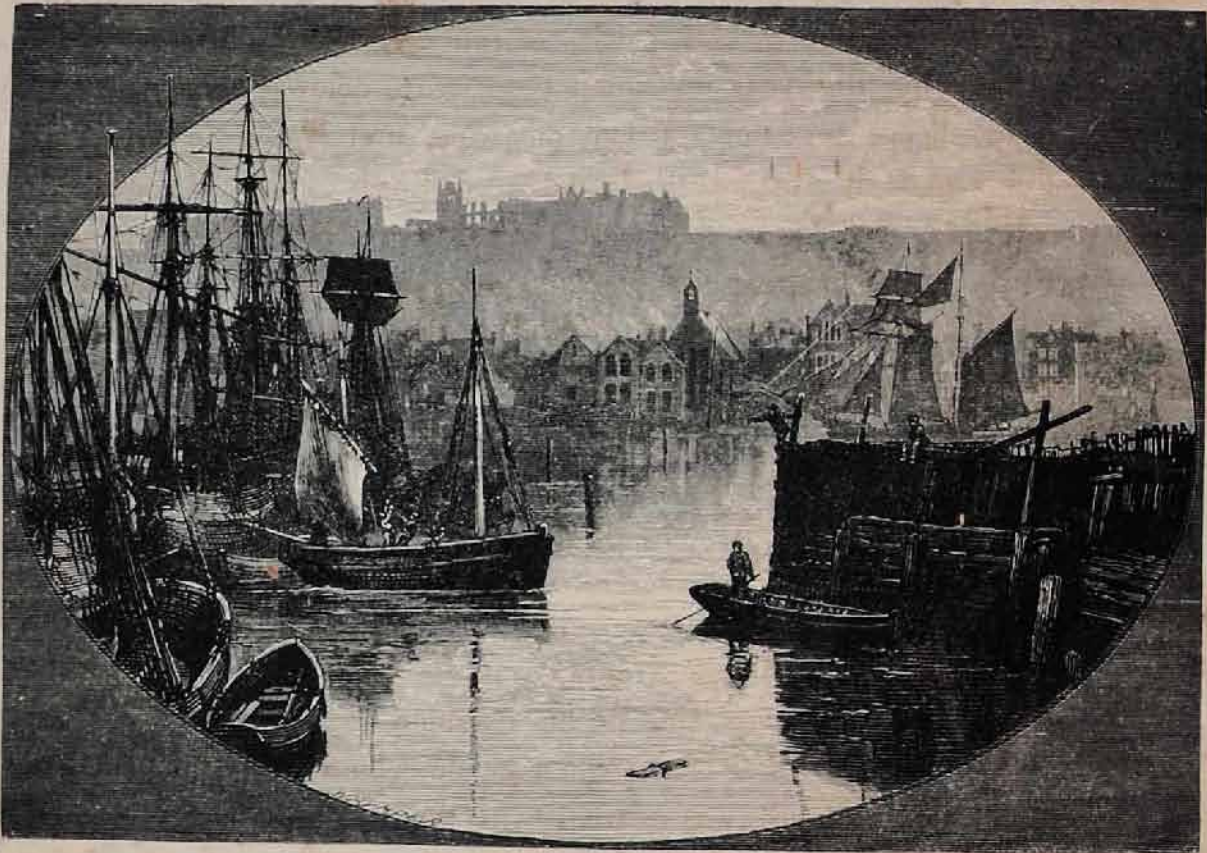
When war broke out between the houses of York and Lancaster, the northern barons were mostly ranged on the Lancastrian side, and supported Queen Margaret in her gallant efforts to uphold the rights of her young son. She would not agree to the compromise by which the Duke of York should succeed on Henry VI.'s death, and gathered troops in Yorkshire. The Duke of York advanced against her to Wakefield, where, on the meadow between his Castle of Sandal and the town, he was hemmed in and slain, together with the greater part of his army, December 30, 1460. But his son Edward was undeterred by his father's fate, and renewed the war with vigour. Margaret was repulsed in an attempt to march on London, and retired into Yorkshire. Thither Edward followed, and made his headquarters at the royal castle of Pontefract. Both sides were eager for battle, and there was a skirmish at Ferrybridge for the passage of the Aire. On March 29, 1461, the two armies met between the villages of Towton and Saxton. The fight began in a heavy fall of snow, which drove in the faces of the Lancastrians, and prevented them from calculating the distance for their arrows. The battle raged for ten hours, and was a desperate hand-to-hand encounter, in which no quarter was given. When at last victory declared for the Yorkists, the number of slain exceeded 30,000. Half the Lancastrians were killed, and Edward IV. only won the crown at the cost of terrible bloodshed.

The Battle of Towton marks the beginning of a period which exercised great influence on the fortunes of Yorkshire—the period of the decline of the baronage. Nowhere in England were the barons more numerous or more powerful than in Yorkshire. The ruins of their mighty castles are still dotted over the land, and tell of a time when the lords in their fortified houses kept great retinues of servants, and were attended by many officials who regulated the administration of their lands. They did justice within their territory, levied soldiers, and kept in their pay bands of trained soldiers. Their houses were schools for the sons of neighbouring knights and squires; their service was a source of profit to farmers in the country and tradesmen in the towns. They were popular through their wealth and munificence, and men were glad to be dependent on them. It was thus that Richard Neville rose to his position as the Kingmaker, and when he died his possessions in Yorkshire, chief of which was the Castle of Middleham, was given by Edward IV. to his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Richard lived at Middleham, and showed great energy in organising the defence of the North against the Scots. His popularity in the North helped him in his schemes to raise himself to the throne, and the treacherous conduct of Richard III. did not shake the allegiance of the Yorkshiremen. Even after his fall it was said that 'his memory was so strong in the North that it lay like lees in the bottom of men's hearts, and if the vessel was but stirred it would rise.'

Thus it was that Henry VII. was not popular in Yorkshire, which supported the pretender, Lambert Simnel, and was ever ready to rise against the king. In 1489 the Yorkshiremen refused to pay the land-tax, and when the Earl of Northumberland addressed them in the king's name, and ordered their obedience, they rose in arms, seized the great earl in his manor house at Topcliffe, and beheaded him. The insurrection was soon put down, and its leaders were executed; but it shows the existence in the North of the old spirit of independence, which it took long to quell. The men of the North did not follow the lead of the men of the South; even their great nobles could not lead them as they were wont to do. They resented change, and were loyal to old names and expiring causes.



The Wars of the Roses had seen the destruction of the power of the great baronial houses, and Henry VII. was resolved that they should not regain their former place. He favoured the growth of the middle-class and fostered commerce. He invited foreign workmen to England, and new settlements of Flemings at Halifax and Wakefield gave a fresh impulse to the manufacture of cloth. Halifax had only thirty houses in 1443, but



WHITBY.

rapidly began to spread, while Wakefield became a market town for the sale of coarse drapery. Besides his care of the middle-class, Henry VII. was also persistent in his endeavours to reduce the power of the nobles, and make them obedient to the laws. They were not allowed to keep a body of retainers, ready at all times to espouse their quarrels, and numerous enough to prevent any hope of redress against their caprice by legal means. Even after all that Henry VII. could do, the position of a great noble

remained almost equal to that of the king. We have an account, written in 1511, of the household of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, in his Yorkshire castles of Wressel and Leckonfield. The number of attendants who lived permanently in the house was 166, besides those who were employed outside. Amongst them were officials of every sort, including eleven chaplains, and a complete choir to sing the service daily. The daily occupations of each were minutely regulated, and the system of accounts was carefully prescribed. The various articles of provision for this vast household were estimated for the year to amount to 2116 quarters of wheat, 124 bullocks, 677 sheep, ten tuns of Gascon wine, and so on in proportion. The meat was generally eaten salted, and needed 160 gallons of mustard to make it palatable. Of course the number of the household does not include guests. Every day something like three hundred must have been fed at the castle. At six o'clock all attended service in the chapel, after which they breakfasted off beef and ale. At ten o'clock came dinner, at four supper, and at nine o'clock all retired to rest. The household of a great noble gave a training in business habits, in which our forefathers were as proficient as men of the present day. In fact, their ordinary occupations were so few that they gave great attention to the regulation of the minor matters of daily life.

The Earl of Northumberland, however, was one amongst a few in the greatness of his establishment and in his magnificence. Even he had few comforts, as we should reckon; and when he moved from one of his castles to another, all his furniture was carried with him. The rough walls were hung with tapestry, which was suspended from hooks. Food, though plentiful, was coarse, and furniture was plain. There was little privacy in the grim fortresses which the great inhabited. Two or three rooms were set apart for the use of the family and their guests; the rest were small chambers for holding stores and providing sleeping room for the host of attendants.

Meanwhile the towns were growing in proportion as the nobles declined. Their organisation became more complete, and covered all things relating to their various industries. Each trade was regulated by its guild, a corporation

originally instituted for religious purposes, but rapidly gaining importance as it gained wealth. Every guild regulated matters concerning its trade, admitted apprentices, and prescribed the conditions of their service. Round the guilds the social life of the mediæval towns chiefly centred. Thus York had its guild of the Lord's Prayer, which was instituted to keep up a yearly play 'setting forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer, in which all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn, and the virtues were held up to praise.' At Beverley was a guild of St. Helen, which represented the discovery of the cross. There, too, in the church of St. Mary, are traces of the pious work of the different classes of the community, each of whom contributed a pillar to the building of the church. One bears the inscription, 'Thys pyllor made the meynestrells,' and round its capital are the figures of a harper, a drummer, a piper, and a violin-player. Two other pillars bear a record that they were the gift of the 'good wives' of Beverley. Civic feeling and civic energy found in Yorkshire a rapid development.

The decline of the power of the nobles under the Tudor kings greatly affected one of the two great powers round which English civilisation had hitherto centred. The other was suddenly swept away by the progress of the Reformation movement. The dissolution of the monasteries was a great social change everywhere; in Yorkshire it was almost a revolution. No part of England was so thickly covered with large and important foundations, which discharged manifold duties. The children of the peasants were educated in monastery schools. The alms of the monasteries provided for the poor and aged. Impoverished gentlemen wandered from one monastery to another, and lived on monastic hospitality. The monasteries were the inns to which travellers resorted, and were the chief employers of labour, being more constant and permanent than the barons. This great system fell all at once, amidst general bewilderment. The monastery lands passed into the hands of new landlords, men who wished to make the utmost profit. Much that had made life tolerable for the poor was swept away. The popular discontent gathered in strength till it broke out into rebellion in 1536. The rebels were happy in finding an able leader in Robert Aske, a

lawyer, whom they forced to stand at their head. They captured York, Pontefract, and Kingston-upon-Hull; then they laid siege to Skipton Castle. Most of the great families of the North joined them in their purpose to march on London in a pilgrimage, and demand from the king that he should put away his low-born counsellors and call back the old nobles; that he should make restitution to the Church for the wrongs done to it, and restore the commons to what they used to be. The insurgents marched under the banner of St. Cuthbert, and called their expedition the 'Pilgrimage of Grace.' At Doncaster they met the royal forces under the Duke of Norfolk, and so sure were they of their good intentions, and of their numerical superiority, that instead of fighting they listened to proposals for peace. Envoys were sent to lay the grievances of the insurgents before the king, who used the delay to detach many from their opposition. Meanwhile the monks were restored to their monasteries and the rebel army began to disband, thinking that it had gained its point. Aske was summoned to London for a conference with the king, who, however, granted nothing more than a general pardon to all who had been concerned in the rebellion. On his return the popular disappointment found expression in a renewed rising, but the royal forces had now been gathered together, and the Duke of Norfolk was enabled to put down the rebels. Aske, who had been guilty of nothing more than trusting in the king's word, was executed at York.

When the rebellion had been put down, and many of the rebels punished, Henry VIII. took steps to keep in order the discontented spirit of the northern counties. For this purpose he established a Council of the North, a branch of the King's Privy Council, which sat at York, and exercised jurisdiction over the five northern counties. This extraordinary council was one of the chief means by which the authority of the Tudor rulers was established. Strengthened by the suppression of the rebellion, Henry VIII. proceeded with the dissolution of the monasteries. His visitors scoured the country, and the terrified monks were driven to surrender their possessions into the king's hands. By the end of 1540 the great monasteries of Yorkshire were untenanted, and many of them lay in ruins. The causes of the discontent created by the dissolution of the smaller monasteries were

now ten times more powerful; but the peasants were reduced to silence, and the wealthy men of the middle-class were glad to get a share of the monastery lands.

The reign of Elizabeth saw the overthrow of the great northern families, the Nevilles and the Percys. The 'Rising of the North' in favour of Mary Queen of Scots, in 1569, was the last attempt made by the old baronial families to assert their political power. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland showed themselves incapable leaders. They meant to have rescued Mary from her prison at Tutbury, and when she was removed out of their reach they marched back from Tadcaster northwards, and were easily overthrown. Knights and men of smaller name who had been trained in affairs were able to thwart the projects of the great nobles, and the Nevilles and Percys were overmatched by Sir George Bowes, of Streatham. The day of the great nobles was past, and the time had come in which power really rested with the capable and diligent man who applied himself solely to affairs. The official class had supplanted the nobles, and the official class attracted to itself men of capacity and ambition from every rank of life. The political training of the reign of Elizabeth raised up the men who, in the next generation, resisted the power of the Crown and brought clearly forward the power of the middle-class. If Yorkshire tells the story of baronial and monastic civilisation in its remains, its present aspect no less clearly tells the tale of the energy and enterprise which the middle class developed, and which changed the face of the land as completely as it had been changed by the labours of the monks and the castles of the barons.

It is interesting to notice the attitude of the men of the North towards the great questions of English politics. In early days the northern barons had been foremost in their opposition to the Crown. They were the first to set on foot the movement which led to the Great Charter, and helped to carry on the struggle which made the written clauses of the Charter a reality in the government of England. But in the fourteenth century the North took little part in the intrigues and struggles of baronial parties which were constantly disturbing public peace. The people were as a rule

contented, and were slow in changing their allegiance. They were not forward to welcome the accession of the House of Lancaster; but when it was established they were loyal to it, and grudged to transfer their allegiance to the House of York. In like manner they looked with disapproval on the accession of the House of Tudor. Dynastic quarrels did not affect them, and they were slow to change their ways. The Reformation was unpopular in Yorkshire; the old religion lingered in many parts, and the most serious risings in its favour had their strength in the North. But this feeling died away in its turn, and again Yorkshire was conspicuous for its loyalty to Charles I., when the Great Rebellion divided England into opposite parties.

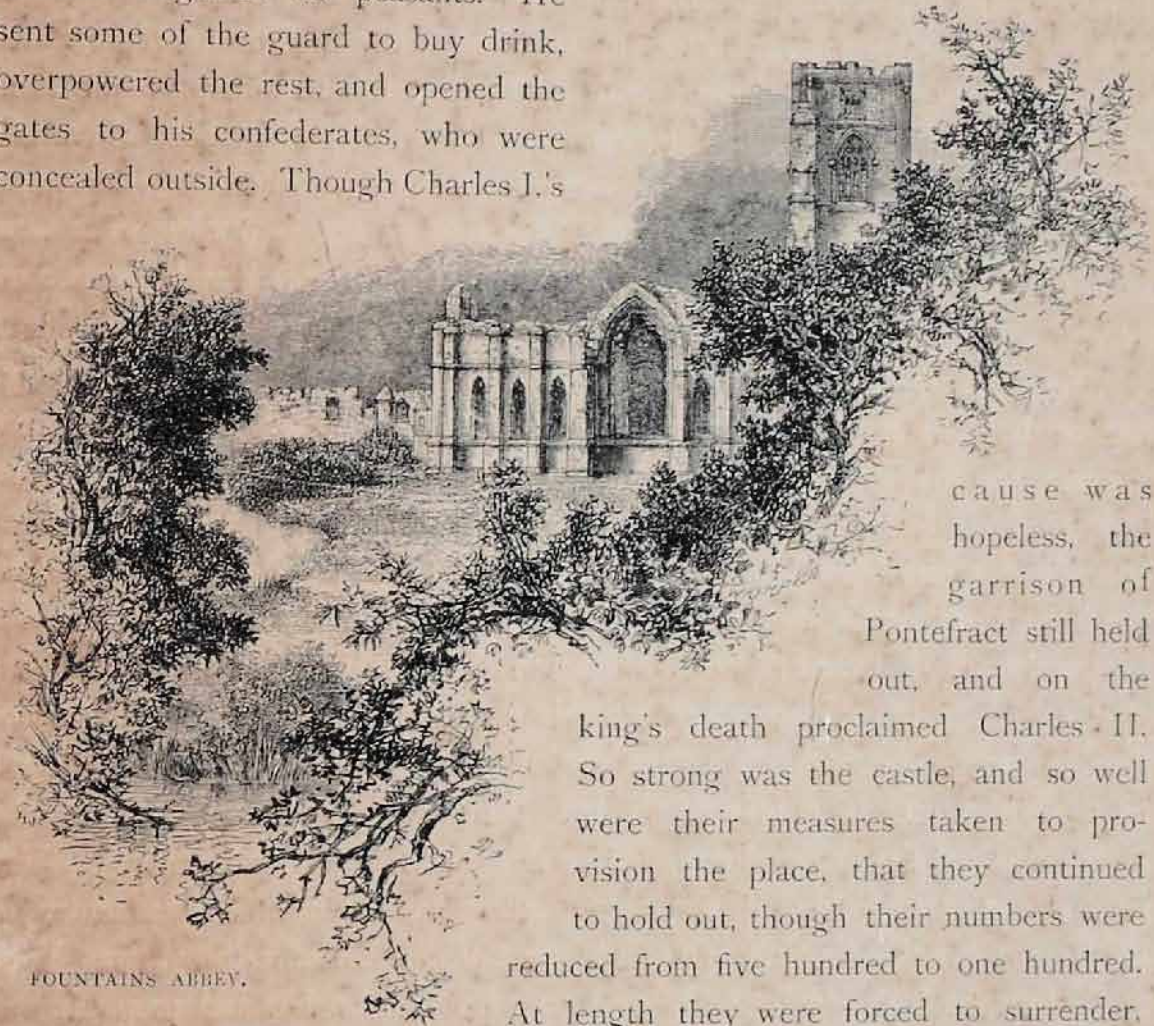
Much of the history of the Civil War is connected with Yorkshire. York was the headquarters of Charles I. in 1639, when he contemplated a march into Scotland to reduce a people whom his misgovernment had stirred to take steps to protect themselves. But Charles's army was ill prepared, and he had to resign his military plans. When the Scots invaded England next year, Charles I. went to York as the post of honour. Thither he called the peers to a great council, which was his last desperate expedient to avoid the summons of a parliament—the memorable Long Parliament, as it was afterwards called. When it was seen that agreement between the king and parliament was impossible, both parties wished to obtain possession of Hull. There were stored all the munitions that had been provided for the Scottish war, and it was an important place for Charles I., who hoped to bring Danish soldiers to fight against the Scots. The Civil War practically began when Sir John Hotham, governor of Hull, refused to admit the king within its walls. It would have been well for Hotham if he had remained steadfast to his first resolution. Later he changed his mind, and devised a scheme for surrendering Hull to the king. His plan was discovered, and he and his son were executed in London as traitors by order of the Parliament.

Hull, however, stood almost alone amongst the Yorkshire towns in its adherence to the parliamentary side. Strange as it may seem, York was indignant because Parliament had demanded the suppression of the Council

of the North. Even that exceptional tribunal had become dear to the minds of Yorkshiremen, and seemed to them to assert the old claims of their shire to a position of semi-independence. York itself resented the loss of importance which it thereby suffered. It was natural that in the struggle between Charles I. and the Parliament both sides should attach great weight to the possession of Hull. Twice it was besieged by the royal forces; twice it was saved by cutting the dykes, which kept out the waters of the Hull and the Humber from the low-lying land. These heroic measures involved great loss of property. The town of Hull was impoverished, and its trade was for a long while destroyed.

Encouraged by his success in defending Hull, Lord Fairfax marched against York, which was held by the Marquis of Newcastle. The danger of the loss of York was so great—for Fairfax was aided in his siege by the Scottish army—that Prince Rupert marched to its relief. The parliamentary army raised the siege, and took up their position on Marston Moor, where Rupert followed them. The battle was won for the Parliament by the skill of Oliver Cromwell, who there secured his military reputation, and inflicted on the royal cause a blow from which it could not recover. York was driven to surrender, and the power of Charles I. in the North was broken. After this the Yorkshire castles which held for the king were besieged and taken after a long resistance. At the siege of Knaresborough Castle a story is told of a son, who every night scaled the sides of the dry moat and carried food to his father, who was one of the garrison. The father stood ready to receive these gifts through a hole which he had made in the wall. At last the pious fraud was discovered, and the young man was condemned to death as a traitor. But the republican general was kinder than his sentence. The youth was respited, and, on the surrender of the castle, was allowed to join his father, for whom he had ventured his life. The castle of Scarborough held out so long that its surrender in 1645 was celebrated by the proclamation of a general thanksgiving. During the siege the cannon of the besieging army destroyed the choir of the neighbouring church of St. Mary, which is still in ruins. But three years afterwards Scarborough again declared for the king, and had to be reduced

a second time. Pontefract Castle was also reduced with difficulty, and was again recaptured by a stratagem. A man named Morris, who professed to be a Roundhead, gained the confidence of the governor. Knowing that supplies were expected, he drove into the castle some waggons escorted by soldiers disguised as peasants. He sent some of the guard to buy drink, overpowered the rest, and opened the gates to his confederates, who were concealed outside. Though Charles I.'s



FOUNTAINS ABBEY.

cause was hopeless, the garrison of Pontefract still held out, and on the king's death proclaimed Charles II. So strong was the castle, and so well were their measures taken to provision the place, that they continued to hold out, though their numbers were reduced from five hundred to one hundred. At length they were forced to surrender, and Morris was executed at York.

The lesson taught by these desperate efforts to uphold a ruined cause was rapidly learned by Parliament, and the Yorkshire castles were ordered to be dismantled, so that they could be no longer centres of disaffection. As the Reformation, by sweeping away the monasteries, wrought one great change in the aspect of Yorkshire, so the Civil War wrought another. The strongholds of the barons shared the fate of the houses of the monks,



and the ruins of Yorkshire castles and Yorkshire monasteries equally tell the tale that institutions pass away when they have served their purpose. By the side of the ruined monasteries of Rievaulx, Fountains, Jervaulx, Kirkstall, Bolton, Easby, Guisborough, and the rest, we must set the ruined castles of Wressel, Scarborough, Pickering, Helmsley, Knaresborough, Bolton, Skipton, Spofforth, Tickhill, and Pontefract. The monks passed away altogether, because they had outlived their usefulness, and men needed them no more. The barons were bidden to lay aside their old character of military leaders, and become peaceful gentry living amongst the people. The troubles of the Civil War told of the beginning of a new state of things that was rich with the promise of a peaceful and prosperous future.

From this time forward the records of war disappear from our story, and we have to see how industry grew and flourished, making still greater changes on the face of the land than had been wrought by monks or barons of old. It was some time before Yorkshire recovered from its losses during the Civil War, and the city of York never afterwards rose to the importance which it had hitherto held. Its citizens mourned over the suppression of the Council of the North; but the increasing consolidation of England made a secondary capital needless, and the government of England was carried on from one centre. York petitioned that it might be made the seat of a university; but Durham was preferred, though the design was not then carried out. After this York sank to a quiet city, which was a winter residence of the neighbouring gentry and was a centre of local amusement and gaiety. Not till the introduction of railways was York again brought back into close connection with English life and progress.

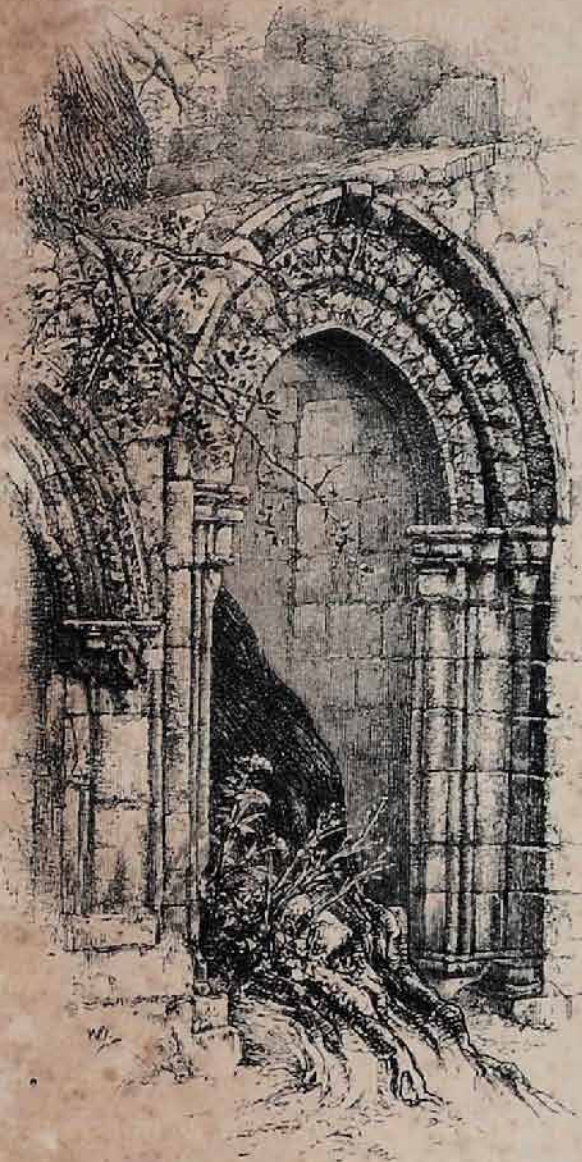
The new era of industry, which began in the eighteenth century, did not find its home in the vale of York or in the moorlands of the North Riding or along the coast of the East Riding, but in the valleys of what was long the least civilised west. Wool was of course plentiful in Yorkshire, and had long been manufactured into coarse cloth, principally sold in the neighbourhood. The short wool was used for this manufacture; the more skilful process of weaving the longer and finer wool into worsted was

confined to Norfolk, which was the earliest manufacturing centre of England. But early in the eighteenth century we find the manufacture of worsted begun in Bradford; and from that time forward the West Riding of

Yorkshire steadily rose in importance. At first the worsted yarn of Yorkshire was sent to the Norwich market, there to be dyed and woven into fine stuffs, but gradually the Yorkshire workman proved himself equal to his East Anglian master, and then outstripped him in the race.

The chief cause which transferred the worsted trade to the North of England was the greater cheapness of labour. The workmen of Norwich presumed on their superior skill, demanded high wages, and were often troublesome to their employers. The Yorkshire weaver lived principally on oatmeal porridge, oaten cake, and milk. He was industrious and thrifty, and could be depended on more than the workman of the South. Gradually the worsted trade passed from its old home at Norwich and settled in the regions of the West Riding, where natural advantages favoured its growth.

One who nowadays looks on the tall chimneys that surround Halifax, Bradford, or Leeds, can scarcely carry back his mind to the simple conditions of an earlier time. The Yorkshire manufacturers were originally



EASBY ABBEY.

farmers living in the valleys. They used their own wool, and travelled round the country on horseback to buy more if they needed it. The finer kinds were at first brought from Lincolnshire, but gradually a desire for fine wool led to improved methods of breeding and feeding sheep. The wool that they gathered was cleaned and sorted at home. It was partly spun by their own wives and daughters, was partly distributed amongst neighbouring workmen, and partly sent to shopkeepers in little villages, that they might dispose of it amongst those who wished to earn the wages of a spinner. The wages were not high; but the work was neither hard nor unpleasant. Women and children would be seen in fine weather seated out of doors, and keeping up a merry chatter above the hum of their wheels. It was work that could be put aside and taken up at any moment.

When the wool was spun it had to be again distributed amongst weavers, and then carried to the fulling mills, which were erected by the waterside, so as to use the water power. It was the number of streams running through the vales of the West Riding that made it so fit a place for industry, and provided one great requisite for labour. When the cloth had passed through the fulling mills it was taken away to the market to be sold. Sometimes the merchant laded his wares on pack-horses, and went to the different fairs and market towns in England, selling wholesale to the shops. This method of sale, however, was found to be troublesome, and middle-men rapidly arose. Markets were organised on a greater scale, and methods needed by the development of trade rapidly came into use.

It is interesting to trace the market at Leeds. First the trade was done on the spacious bridge which crossed the Aire, and, 'therefore,' De Foe tells us, writing about 1720, 'the refreshment given to the clothiers by the innkeepers (being a pot of ale, a noggin of pottage, and a trencher of boiled or roast beef for two pence) is called the *Brigg-shot* to this day.' Dinners were simple, copious, and cheap, if the bridge were somewhat crowded and incommodious. Soon the growth of trade required that the markets should be held in the more roomy street, which still bears the name of Briggate, till a sort of building was erected which gave place in

1758 to what is now known as the Mixed Cloth Hall. An account of the Leeds market about 1730 is worth quoting:—

'The clothiers came early in the morning with their cloth; and as few bring more than one piece, the market days being so frequent, they go into the inns and public-houses with it, and there set it down. At about six o'clock in the summer, and about seven in the winter, the clothiers being all come by that time, the market bell at the old chapel by the bridge rings, upon which it would surprise a stranger to see in how few minutes, without hurry, noise, or the least disorder, the whole market is filled, all the benches covered with cloth, each proprietor standing behind his own piece, who form a mercantile regiment as it were, drawn up in a double line, in as great order as a military one. As soon as the bell has ceased ringing, the factors and buyers of all sorts enter the hall and walk up and down between the rows. Most of them have papers with patterns sealed on them, in their hands, the colours of which they match by holding them to the cloths they think they agree to. When they have pitched upon their cloth they lean over to the clothier, and, by a whisper in the fewest words imaginable, the price is stated: one asks, the other bids; and they agree or disagree in a moment. In little more than an hour all the business is done. In less than half an hour you will perceive the cloth begin to move off, the clothier taking it upon his shoulder to carry it to the merchant's house. At about half an hour after eight the market bell rings again, upon which the buyers immediately disappear, and the cloth which remains unsold is carried back to the inn.'

This simple system was natural in early days, when manufactures were rather an appendage to rural life than a pursuit that stood by itself. The clothier was a farmer who manufactured wool; the spinners were the wives and children of husbandmen; only the weavers were a separate class. But it was obvious, as the manufacture grew, that it could be carried on more profitably if all its processes were brought together and its workers lived in one place. The waste of time in carrying the wool to the spinners, from them to the weavers, and so on, was great, and the cost was still greater. It was natural to bring the spinners and weavers to live by the waterside

where the fulling mill was at work. The system under which each one worked at home gradually gave way to the factory system, where all worked in a common building. The change was slow in coming about universally. Yorkshiremen still liked to hold by their old-fashioned ways. Not till the end of last century did factories become common. At first few were wealthy or adventurous enough to raise factories alone; they were the result of co-operation on the part of separate manufacturers, who used a building and machinery in common. It is easy to see how such a system developed into the great trading companies with which we are now familiar.

The worsted trade in Yorkshire was slow in making or in welcoming improvements. The factory system was unpopular, and only gradually made its way. The inventions which, towards the end of last century, revolutionised industry did not spring from Yorkshire. New machinery was discovered and applied to the manufacture of cotton, while worsted was woven according to the traditional system. Even the use of the steam-engine was looked on with dislike, and the first attempt to set up a steam factory in Bradford in 1793 had to be abandoned before the threats of the chief employers in the town. Only the impossibility of obtaining sufficient yarn from the common wheel led to the introduction of Arkwright's machinery in 1794, and not till 1800 was steam used as a motive-power. It was long before machinery was understood by the working classes, and it was not unnatural that those who found themselves thrown out of employment by its use should feel aggrieved. Especially when steam frames were used for weaving there was an outcry of the handloom weavers, who could not be expected to see the great increase of employment which must rapidly ensue. There were frequent riots and attempts to destroy the new machinery, which lasted down to the year 1848, though they were not so serious in Yorkshire as in the neighbouring counties.

Only with the introduction of machinery did the West Riding fully realise its natural advantages. Its numerous rivers and streams had supplied it with water-power, and also furnished means of carriage, which were improved by the formation of canals. The introduction of the steam-engine was equally favourable to its prosperity; for iron in plenty was found in its hills, and

the coalfields, which reach to Derby and Nottingham, supplied the third great requisite for industrial prosperity. The ironstone of the Cleveland Hills has called into existence the busy town of Middlesborough, at the mouth of the Tees, which in the memory of many living men has sprung from a fishing village into a great centre of commercial life.

The ancient town of Sheffield has always been noted as the chief seat of English cutlery, but it was long before it could compete with the superior workmanship of Italy, the Netherlands, or Spain. But Sheffield also made great strides during the eighteenth century, till it distanced its foreign rivals.

It would take long to tell the progress of the manufacturing energy of Yorkshire. Our purpose only is to show how it has affected the face of the country and the life of its inhabitants. The great county of Yorkshire may claim to contain within it almost all that is most interesting in the past and the present of English life. It even contains almost all the characteristic features of English landscape. Its coast is surpassed in grandeur only by Devon and Cornwall. The Cleveland Hills are excelled only by the range of Malvern. The vale of York is a sample of the agricultural quietude of England. The moorlands of the West are rich in the beauty which is most peculiar to our scenery. Clustering in the valleys of the West lie the great manufacturing towns, many of them in spots which only the labour of man has made habitable. Amidst them are the memorials of England's past; as where the ruined abbey of Kirkstall stands, blackened by the smoke of Leeds. Nowhere are more worthy testimonies to be found of the efforts of our own age to face its altered problems and supply its altered needs. From ruined abbeys and ruined castles we may turn to the town of Saltaire, and see in it an expression of modern achievement. Planned all at once, and adapted to its object, Saltaire rose into being as a symbol of our own day. By the side of the Aire rises a great factory, which employs five thousand hands, and sloping up the hill behind is laid out the town in which the workpeople dwell. Church, reading-room, dining-room, all are provided, as well as gardens, and even pigsties, for those who wish to employ their leisure in practical pursuits. It is impossible not to find in such a scene suggestions of the difference between the past and the present.

The monastery church was wrought with careful and loving hands as a token of God's abiding presence amongst men. The baronial castle rose in haughty strength and gloomy grandeur as a token of the power of man's arm to protect in time of need. But round monastery and castle alike clustered only the mud hovels of the peasants, who clung to them for shelter. Our own day may be less imaginative, less picturesque; but it is eager in a sober way to distribute to the best of its power the advantages which it reaps by organising labour, and employing the skill of all for the service of all. Much remains to be done in the future, but the past shows us how man can mould his surroundings to his needs.



RICHMOND CHURCH.



THE VALLEY OF THE EDEN.



## CUMBERLAND.



CARLISLE.

CUMBERLAND, like its eastern neighbour Northumberland, is the remnant of an old kingdom. But there is this great difference between the two, that whereas Northumberland was an English kingdom, Cumberland was British; whereas the early history of Northumberland tells us the story of English civilisation, the early history of Cumberland is hidden in obscurity. We know that in the days of the Romans the northern part of the land now called Cumberland was important as a border land against the tribes of the North; and Lugubalia (Carlisle) was a military town on the line of the wall which the Romans built to guard their northern frontier. But it may be doubted if the Roman occupation brought the Celts of Cumberland into close relations with their Romanised brethren of the South. When the Roman arms were withdrawn the little clans of the North seem to have combined to withstand their common enemies. Later times found a legendary hero in King Arthur, who with his knights long fought a desperate battle against heathen barbarism. Whether there was such a king or no, we cannot say; but if the legend is to be accepted as containing any germ of truth, the names of places mentioned in the story can be identified

in the district round Caerlluel, the modern Carlisle, with even greater definiteness than in Caerlleon by the Usk.

However this may be, the 'heathen swarming o'er the northern sea' succeeded in making good their conquest on the eastern shores, and drove the trembling Britons farther and farther into the western hills. There they formed a closer confederacy, till the little States that stretched from the Derwent to Dumbarton were gathered into a kingdom of Strathclyde, which rose as a counterpoise to the English kingdom of Northumberland.

The Britons of Strathclyde were not at first a match for the English of Northumberland. In 603 they were defeated in a bloody battle, and the English settlers advanced into the central plain of modern Cumberland, the only part which attracted them as fit for settlement. Some time about 670 the Northumbrians carried their arms farther, and conquered the district between the Ribble and the Solway. It would seem that their conquest did not much affect the British people, who were left tributary and lived as they had done before. But Cumberland was brought into connection with the Northumbrian Church, and thereby shared in the strong ecclesiastical civilisation which is expressed in the person of St. Cuthbert. Carlisle and the region round it were given to the See of Lindisfarne, and formed part of St. Cuthbert's patrimony. There is none of the towns in England which has such an unbroken history as Carlisle. Its municipal life never ceased. It was a town in the days of the Romans, and it continued to be inhabited as a British town. In Cuthbert's days it had a monastery; and when Cuthbert visited it in 685, the people showed him, as historical curiosities, the Roman walls and the fountain which the Romans had made. Cuthbert, moreover, had friends who followed his example in spreading the Gospel in the wilder parts of the west. We find him writing a letter of encouragement to the hermit who gave his name to the island on which he built his cell in the midst of Derwentwater, St. Herbert's Isle.

The year 685 saw the downfall of the Northumbrian power. Though Cumberland still remained in nominal subjection to Northumberland, it was only a few great landholders and the influence of the Church which affected it. The Northumbrian power was feeble, and little by little its conquests

were torn from its grasp. In this dark time Cumberland fell a prey to Norse pirates, whose boats sailed along the Irish Channel. Of their settlement we know nothing in written records; but the Norse endings of place-names in Cumberland, *gill*, *thwaite*, *haugh*, *fell*, and the like, survive to this day, and tell how the Norsemen settled in the valleys of the Lake district. Scarce had the land recovered from this invasion before it suffered from the armies of the Danes, who conquered Southern England, and in 875 destroyed Carlisle in their career of plunder. After this Cumberland was conquered by the Britons of the North, who seem to have been so proud of the acquisition that the old name of Strathclyde disappeared, and the land from the Duddon to the Tay was known as Cumberland, or the land of the Cymri.

The task of recovering England from the Danes and again uniting it into a kingdom was undertaken by the Kings of Wessex. One great difficulty in their way was the help given to the Danes by the Scots and the Britons of Cumberland, who formed a loose confederacy in time of need. This confederacy was overthrown by Athelstan at the battle of Brunanburh in 937; and his successor, Edmund, invaded Cumberland in 945 and slew its king, Dunmail, whose name is celebrated in the hill of Dunmail Raise, where tradition says that he fell in battle. But Edmund did not try to keep his conquest as part of his own dominions. He used it as a means of strengthening the connection between himself and the Scottish king. He granted Cumberland to Malcolm, on condition that he should be his 'fellow-worker by land and sea.' By this grant the North was quieted, the Danes were separated from their Scottish allies, and the English kingdom could proceed peaceably towards union.

For more than a century Cumberland was held by the Scottish king as a dependency of England. But as the English power waned weak before the renewed invasion of the Danes, this dependency was forgotten, and the Scottish king regarded Cumberland as part of his own dominion. For a long while it was doubtful where the boundary between England and Scotland should be fixed. The Norman kings were organisers above all things, and required definiteness in their arrangements. In the reign of

William the Conqueror the part of modern Cumberland north of the Derwent was held by the Scottish king, while the part south of the Derwent belonged to the Northumbrian kingdom, and was reckoned as Yorkshire.

It would seem that the Northumbrian earls had made further conquests in the dominions of the Scottish king, who probably found it difficult to keep order in his wasted lands. At all events, he permitted Dolfin, son of the Northumbrian earl Gospatric, to hold Carlisle and the district round it. The territory so marked out was seen by William Rufus to be of use in fixing the borders of the English kingdom, and enabling him to curb his Scottish neighbour. In 1092 he marched northwards, drove Dolfin out of Carlisle, rebuilt the city, erected a castle, and filled it with his own soldiers. Carlisle, which for two centuries had been well-nigh desolate, again became a strong town, and was claimed as part of England.

Moreover, as the land was scantily peopled, new colonists were brought from the South, with their wives and cattle. It has been supposed that they were some of the luckless folk whose homesteads William II. destroyed that he might extend the limits of the New Forest, to satisfy his love of the chase. Anyhow, this new population filled up the measure of different races whose mixture has given the folk of North-western England a character of their own. Britons, English, Picts, Norwegians, Danes, and Saxons there met and mingled.

William II. kept his new possession in his own hands, but Henry I. made it an earldom—the earldom of Carlisle. Moreover, as its ecclesiastical allegiance was disputed by the sees of Durham, York, and Glasgow, Henry I. took a further step towards uniting it to England by making it the seat of an independent see. In 1133 the first Bishop of Carlisle was appointed, and Carlisle was the last English diocese created till the reign of Henry VIII. The church, which had been already begun as the seat of a college of secular priests, was, on the foundation of the see, given over to the Augustinian canons. The appearance of the cathedral at the present day tells of the difficulties which befell the men of Carlisle. Only a fragment of the old Norman nave remains; and the choir, which was begun

in the middle of the thirteenth century, took more than a hundred years to build. The canons of Carlisle never had the opportunity of carrying out their plans by welding together the old building and the new; and the devastations of later times swept much of their work away. Enough remains to show us that the architectural taste of the canons of Carlisle was as fine as that of their more fortunate brethren of the South; but sterner work than church-building was laid upon the men of the city. They did what they could; but the convenient season for perfecting their plans never came.

The first Earl of Carlisle had a thankless task before him, and was lord of an unprofitable domain. He portioned off three baronies, Gilsland and Lyddale to defend its northern boundaries by land, and Burgh to guard the coast of the Solway Firth. Perhaps he was not sorry when, in 1120, he inherited the earldom of Chester and gave back Carlisle to the Crown. Henry I. kept it in his own hands, and so Cumberland did not become the seat of a great territorial jurisdiction. The barony of Appleby was severed from the earldom of Carlisle, and went to make the county of Westmoreland. The remainder was granted out in five smaller baronies, while the king kept for himself the city of Carlisle and the most fertile lands of the interior, the forest of Inglewood.

But Henry I.'s sagacious arrangements were all overthrown by the feebleness of Stephen, who, in his desire to be safe from Scotland in his struggle against Matilda, gave back Northumberland and Cumberland to the Scottish king. The strong hand of Henry II. claimed their restoration, and Scotland dared not say him nay. But Scotland brooded over its loss, and was ever ready to make a dash across the Border. The Scottish king would not resign his claims, which were the subject of endless negotiations and much warfare. At length, in 1242, it was agreed that the Scottish king should withdraw his claims in return for a grant of lands within the counties which he claimed. Six manors were consequently given him; and it is noticeable that all of them lay in Cumberland, which was thus recognised as being most closely connected with Scotland.

While this quarrel went on Carlisle was exposed to several sieges, and

its lands were harried by the Scots. In 1174 the capture of the Scottish king, William the Lion, at Alnwick, brought peace for a time, and Henry II. used it for a permanent organisation of his northern dominions. In 1177 the modern county of Cumberland was definitely determined with its present boundaries. The old name of the Cambrian kingdom was kept by that portion of it which fell to the share of England, though even that was rearranged to suit the needs of administration. The barony of Appleby was taken to make the county of Westmoreland, and a portion of the West Riding of Yorkshire was further distributed between the two counties.

Thus Cumberland was amongst the latest of English counties, and was left to be a bulwark against Scotland. The English barons who held it did something to bring in the civilising agency of the castle and the monastery, though seldom on a great scale. Abbeys arose at Wetheral, Calder, and Lanercost; Henry of Scotland founded a monastery at Holme Cuttram; and the ancient house of St. Bega, an early abbess, was refounded and gave its name to St. Bees. Castles were built at Brougham, Egremont, Cockermouth, Rose, Penrith, Newcastle, Greystock, and elsewhere; but at first they seemed only fortified posts held in an enemy's land. Cumberland was not an attractive dwelling-place for great lords; it did not invite the display of feudal magnificence. The barons who held it had to trust always to their sword, and were always ready for active service. They had no leisure for interest in general politics. It was long before they could venture to amass large holdings or aspire to great estate.

Still the De Vaux lords of Gilsland were men of some importance, as were their successors the De Multons. Cumberland was advancing in prosperity and gaining greater security when Edward I. made his attempt to bring Scotland into dependence on the English Crown.

The reign of Edward I. was a stirring time along the Borders, and Carlisle became one of the most important cities in the kingdom. It paid dearly, however, for its short-lived advancement. After the battle of Stirling the hordes of Wallace ravaged Cumberland, sparing neither person nor place; churches were destroyed and monasteries were pillaged. But Edward I. was resolute in following out his plans. In Carlisle he held his last parlia-

ment in 1307, and from Carlisle the dying king was carried in his litter to make his last invasion of Scotland. He only advanced a few miles beyond the city, and died at Burgh-by-the-Sands, where on the marsh that fronts the Solway stands a pillar to mark the spot where the great Edward died.

His death was followed by a time of confusion, which the defeat of Edward II. at Bannockburn almost turned to panic. The Scottish king had been deprived by Edward I. of his manors in Cumberland, and on Cumberland the weight of his resentment fell. A strenuous soldier, Andrew de Hartela, was made governor of Carlisle Castle, and in 1322 was made Earl of Carlisle, a dignity which had slept for two centuries. But the new earl seems to have despaired of holding his possessions by his own power, and knew that he could expect little help from Edward II. He judged it wiser to make terms with the Scottish king and hold Cumberland as his ally. But feeble as was Edward II. he could still punish treason; and Earl Andrew does not seem to have carried his men with him in his attempt to sever Carlisle from England. No one stirred in his behalf when he was made prisoner in his own castle and executed as a traitor. The attempt to provide for the safety of Cumberland by giving it a lord with large powers was proved to be a failure. Henceforth the Castle of Carlisle was held by a royal governor, and the Warden of the West Marches was responsible for organising the defence of the Border.

Carlisle is eminently *the* Border city and Cumberland *the* Border county. A glance at the map will show why this was so. The frontier between England and Scotland was well defined on the eastern side by the Tweed and the Cheviot Hills, which almost reach to the bank of the river. The level space between was guarded by the strong castles of Wark, Notham, and Berwick, and for more security Roxburgh Castle was generally in English hands. But on the western side the Cheviot range is lower, and fades into the plain some ten miles before the River Eden and the Solway Firth afford another natural barrier. In this plain, the valleys of the Liddel and the Esk attracted population on the Scottish side, and supplied a road for the advance of marauders. There were few places of natural strength on the English side till Carlisle was reached, with its castle on a hill

ensconced behind the Eden River. Farther west was Naworth with its outlying castle at Bewcastle. Between Carlisle and Naworth, and north of them again, were a series of peel towers, which could afford a refuge against a marauding raid, though they could not stand a protracted siege. The district so marked out was for centuries a battle ground between English and Scots. Whatever might be the political relations between the two countries as a whole, the Border clans lived in continual warfare.

The general character of life on the Borders has been described in speaking of Northumberland; but the Cumbrian border had some characteristics of its own. The nearness of the Scots and English to one another brought about a strange condition of social life. The Borderers on both sides were organised in clans, and their relations towards one another were a curious mixture of intimacy and hostility. A tract of land lying near the confluence of the Esk and the Liddel was in dispute between England and Scotland, and was known as the Debatable Land. Scots and English alike pastured their cattle on it between sun-rising and sun-setting; but anything left there during the night was fair booty for him who seized it. It may be imagined that few who could avoid it ventured into this district of strife. The Border clans grew up, with their own customs and their own ways of managing their business. The whole population of the Western Border belonged to a few independent clans. On the Scottish side the Armstrongs and Elliots were the chief; on the English side the Grames. Outside authority had little power over any of them; and there was little law, save of their own making, in the lands where they dwelt. If they unduly disturbed or pillaged their more peaceful neighbours, the lords wardens interfered when they were able; but in the quarrels of Armstrongs and Grames no one took part who could avoid it.

So warfare and plunder prevailed on the Border, and the Captain of Carlisle did what he could to prevent the disorder spreading southwards, where the folk pursued, as well as they were able, a quiet pastoral life. The reign of Henry VIII. introduced much more barbarity into Border warfare. The times seemed favourable for England to extend its influence in Scotland; but Henry VIII. could not go to war openly with Scotland.

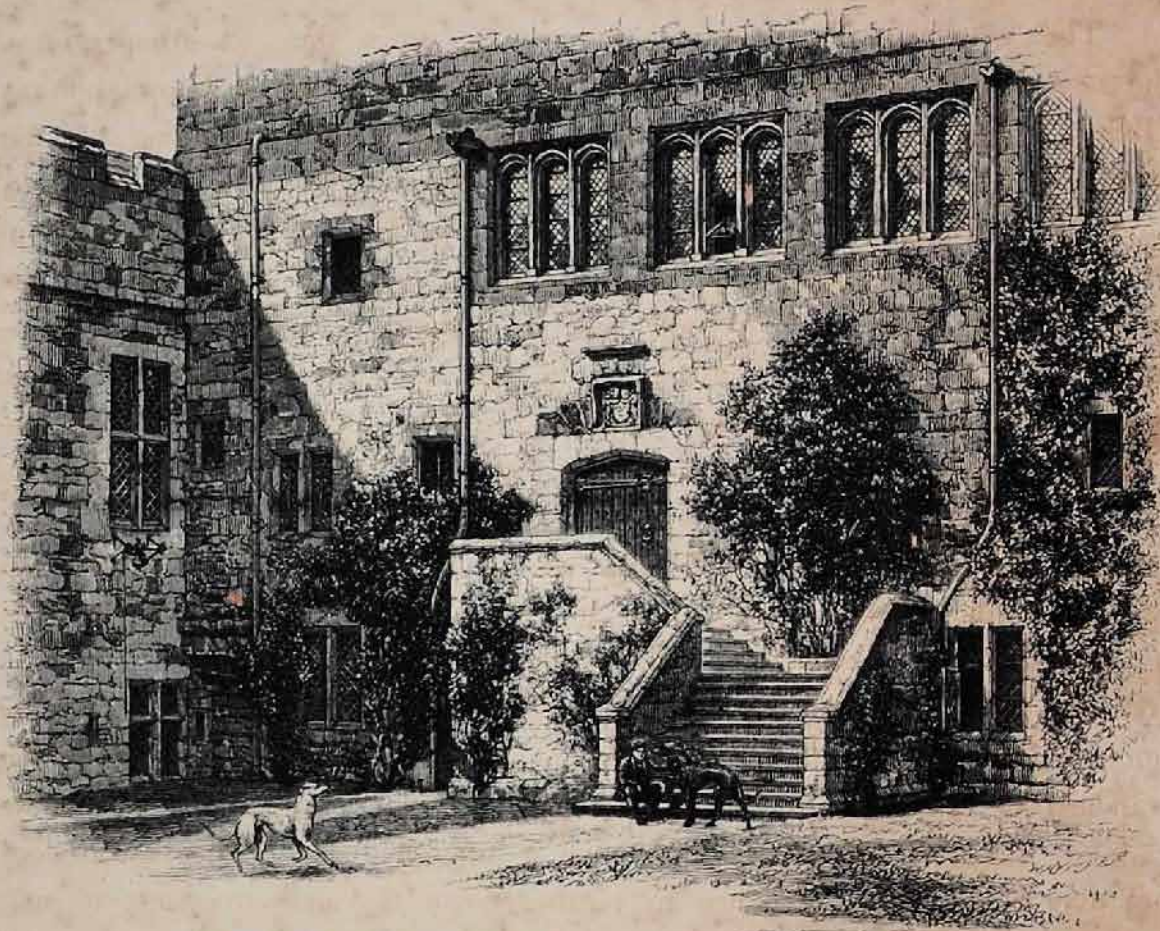


which was in alliance with France. Accordingly he devised a scheme of harassing and weakening Scotland by fanning the flame of discord on the Borders, and then wreaking savage revenge for injuries. Chief in carrying out this policy was Thomas Dacre, Lord of Gilsland, and his son William. Thomas Dacre sent to the king's council regular accounts of his labours, from which we can gather the deliberate savagery of this Border warfare. At one time he writes that the land which once was tilled by 550 ploughs has by his praiseworthy activity been turned into a desert. Another time he records an expedition which drove off 1800 cattle and burned the houses on the frontier. Of course the Scots retaliated when they were able, and life upon the Border became more and more barbarous.

The Reformation and the events that followed detached Scotland from its alliance with France and brought it into closer connection with England. The downfall of Queen Mary was the last blow to those in Scotland who desired to restore the old state of things. When Mary fled before her rebellious subjects she landed unexpectedly in Workington Bay, and was conducted for greater safety to Carlisle Castle. There she spent two months before it was decided whether she was a guest or a prisoner. Her spirits had not sunk before her disgrace. She would look on for hours as her followers played football in the meadows by the castle, and went out to hunt the hare, riding so fast that the English who went with her were astonished at her recklessness. From Carlisle she was removed to Bolton Castle, where the dreary time of her captivity was to begin, and her hopes were slowly to fade away. But at first she was dangerous to the peace of England, and the great barons of the North rose in her favour. The story of the ill-planned rising of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland has already been told. One of their associates was Leonard Dacre, who held the Castle of Naworth, and gathered round him the 'rank riders of the Borders.' Elizabeth ordered him to be apprehended, and Lord Hundson set out from Berwick to join Lord Scroop at Carlisle, that with their combined forces they might attack Naworth. But Leonard Dacre attempted to surprise Lord Hundson on his way, by the little stream of the Gelt. It was but a skirmish, in which Dacre was defeated and fled, but it saved

the allegiance of the North for Queen Elizabeth, and dealt a decisive blow at the rebellion.

When peace was established between England and Scotland, both countries wished to put down the disorders of the Borderland. But the long warfare had begotten lawless habits which were hard to subdue. There



COURTYARD, NAWORTH CASTLE.

were family feuds of long standing, and the adventurous life of plunder would not be converted into one of humdrum industry. The Borderer could not understand that, through the change of circumstances, his immemorial customs were reckoned merely as the doings of ordinary thieves. Matters were made worse when the old Border laws fell into disuse, and no method of settling international disputes was put in their stead. Every man felt

himself justified in redressing his own wrongs as he thought best. For a long time the administration of the Borders taxed to the utmost the skill of the officials to whom it was entrusted. In 1600 an heroic measure was undertaken—the transportation of the Grames to Ireland. Many of them were shipped across the Channel, but many of them still remained, and the plan was again repeated in 1604.

The man who is renowned for putting down the moss-troopers was the new lord of Naworth, Lord William Howard. Legend knows him as 'Belted Will,' who administered high-handed justice by hanging all the moss-troopers whom he could catch upon the nearest tree. In fact, however, Lord William Howard is the highest type of the English country gentleman. He lived in simple, patriarchal fashion in his castle of Naworth, with his ten children. He was a scholar and a student, rejoicing above all else in his library, which still remains as he left it. But his sense of public duty made him an excellent man of business, and he showed all the capacity of a statesman in his labours for the good of the district where he lived. He encouraged industry; he was fertile of plans for the public benefit; he demanded that the law should be carefully administered, and was unsparing in exposing abuses and denouncing indolence and jobbery. Too often those to whom the administration of justice was entrusted made common cause with the wrong-doers, and disorder flourished because it was not condemned by enlightened opinion. Lord William Howard raised a standard of obedience to the law, and his whole life was devoted to the task of 'reducing these parts into civilitie and quietness.' The legend does not over-estimate his influence in putting down the moss-troopers; it only misrepresents the way in which that influence was applied.

Besides its troubles from the moss-troopers, Cumberland suffered severely in the Civil War. In 1645 Carlisle was surrendered to the Scots under Lesly, and in 1648 was made a centre of the intrigues of the Duke of Hamilton, who tried to raise a combined force of Scots and English to help the king. Cumberland was plundered by the Scottish generals; and after the failure of their expedition Carlisle was surrendered to the Parliament, by whom it was plundered again. It may be doubted if

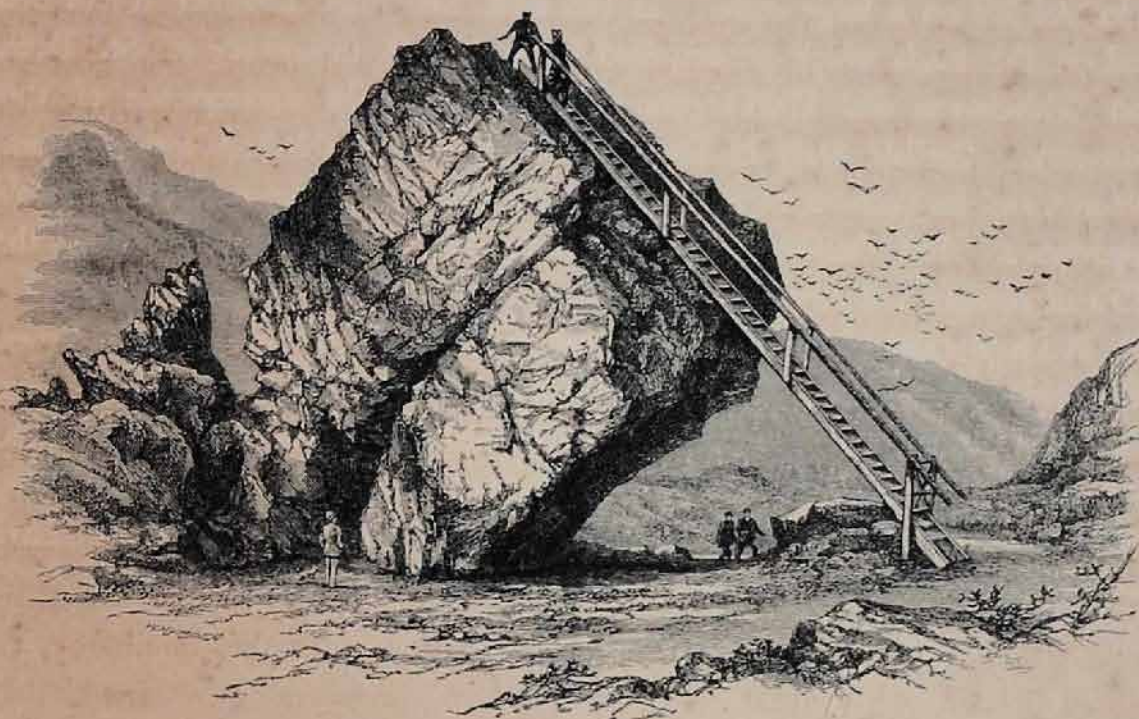
Carlisle had recovered from these calamities when it received a still more serious blow by the union between England and Scotland in 1704, which robbed it of its old importance as a frontier town. No longer a military station, Carlisle was left as the centre of a scattered agricultural district, and soon dwindled down to a population of some 4000.

Yet Cumberland by this time was thoroughly English, and had no sympathy with the Jacobite rising of 1715. Indeed, the *posse comitatus* was called out to withstand the invaders, and 15,000 men assembled at Penrith. But the farmers were ill supplied with arms, and fled before the Scottish forces, scarcely striking a blow. More serious was the Jacobite rising of 1745, when Carlisle was besieged by the Young Pretender, and its citizen militia was found unable to maintain the long line of ruined fortifications. On November 18 Prince Charles entered Carlisle on a white steed, amid the strains of a hundred bagpipes; on December 19 he returned a fugitive. Still, he left a garrison, wholly unable to withstand a siege; it was soon driven to surrender to the Duke of Cumberland. When the rebellion was over the punishment of the rebels began. There were so many prisoners awaiting their trial for treason at Carlisle that it was hopeless to go through the formalities of a separate trial for each. They were divided into batches of twenty, out of whom one was chosen by lot to stand his trial; the other nineteen were transported. Even with this diminution of judicial labour, a hundred and twenty-seven prisoners were tried, and Carlisle saw for many weeks the brutalities of the execution of traitors.

This is the last historic event that happened in Cumberland. The rest of its history is the tale of peaceful progress. Gradually the moss-troopers disappeared, though the moor of Bewcastle was famous as their last resort, and a journey in that district at the end of last century is vividly described in Scott's *Guy Mannering*. The end of the moss-troopers was that they degenerated into sheep-stealers, and met with the punishment of the law. A story is told of a stranger who visited the church at Bewcastle and read the epitaphs on the gravestones in the churchyard. Turning to the woman who acted as his guide, he said, 'I see that almost all these stones are for women; where are the men?'

'Ah, sir,' was the answer, 'they're a' buried at that weary Carell.' For generations the male population of the district had been hanged for sheep-stealing at Carlisle, and were buried at the foot of the gallows.

Cumberland after the Union was left a poor county, as may be seen in its churches, of which few have much pretension to architectural grandeur. The country houses in Cumberland also are mostly modern buildings; those of older date have become farmhouses, and so have luckily preserved the



THE BOWDER STONE.

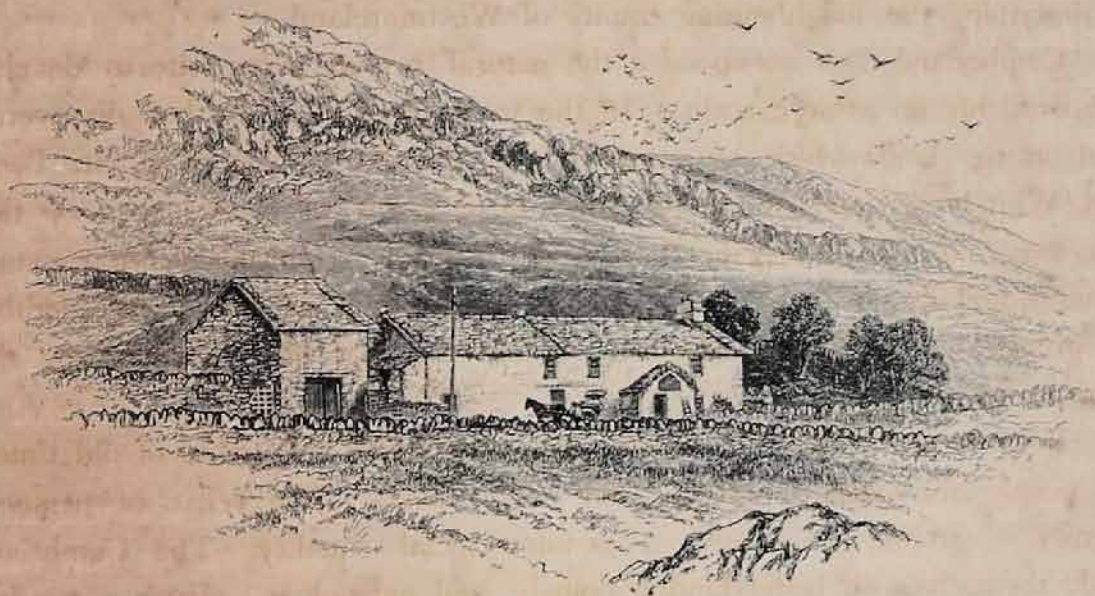
characteristic features of many of the old towers of defence. When a more peaceable time began along the Border the greater part of the land was common, and much was waste. The nature of the country was such that feudal lords were content to leave it in the hands of freeholders, who would defend it with their sword. It was the industry of small freeholders which brought the land under cultivation, and in the last century Cumberland became a prosperous agricultural district, divided into small farms, which were tilled by a sturdy and independent class of yeomen. Carlisle renewed its prosperity as the market of a rich agricultural district. It became a

small capital, where the families of the substantial yeomen often went to spend the winter months in social gatherings. Education was valued by them, and Cumberland can boast a considerable literature, which is racy of the soil, and bears the marks of a strong provincial life. Of the characteristics of this class of 'statesmen,' as they were called, we will speak in describing the neighbouring county of Westmoreland.

Cumberland does not possess the natural resources requisite to develop industrial life on a large scale. In the west Sir John Lowther discovered coal on the lands which he acquired from the old monastery of St. Bees, and Whitehaven and Workington are busy towns in consequence of this discovery. Carlisle early in the present century established cotton manufactures, and its position as a railway centre makes it a place of considerable importance. But Cumberland as a whole has not been changed by the spirit of modern industry.

It keeps more clearly than any part of England the traces of old times. Its people are stalwart, sturdy, and independent. The sense of personal dignity is strong, and secures a genuine social equality. The Cumbrians pride themselves on being kindly, homely, and outspoken. Even a passing traveller through the county will feel that he is amongst a folk who have their roots in an historic past.

## WESTMORELAND.



FARM ON THE KIRKSTONE PASS, THE HIGHEST HOUSE IN ENGLAND.

THE district now called Westmoreland lay in early days in that part of the British kingdom of Strathelyde which bore the name of Cumbria, which is now inherited by the neighbouring county of Cumberland. In fact, Westmoreland, the *land of the western moors*, is a slice of that portion of the old Cumbrian kingdom which fell to the share of England, and which was for some time a troublesome and profitless possession to the Norman kings. In dealing with Cumberland we saw that William II., by his conquest of Carlisle, fixed the boundary of the English border on the west. The circumstances of the formation of Westmoreland into a shire may serve to illustrate the growth of the system of administration under the Norman kings.

William II. kept Carlisle in his own hands; but Henry I. formed it into an earldom and gave it to one of his barons, Ranulph de Meschines. Ranulph was apparently a careful man, and married a lady who was a great

heirress, being possessed of all the district known as Amounderness, which took in the south-western corner of modern Cumberland, the south of Westmoreland, all Lancashire north of the Ribble, and a piece of Yorkshire as well. But vast as was the extent of these lands, they were not very profitable, and in 1118 Ranulph exchanged them with the Crown for the earldom of Chester. After this exchange the king resolved to have no Earl of Carlisle in the future, but to manage these lands by means of the sheriffs. Accordingly he gave the southern portions of them to smaller barons, and divided the rest into two counties, Cumberland and Westmoreland. The county of Westmoreland was formed out of the barony of Appleby, which had belonged to the earldom of Carlisle, and the barony of Kendal, which had formed part of Amounderness. It is because these divisions of existing baronies were followed that the boundaries of Westmoreland seem so arbitrary; thus the district of Furness is not included in it, as would seem natural, but forms part of Lancashire.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the baronial history of Westmoreland, though the ruined castles at Appleby and Kendal still tell us how these towns grew up under their shelter. The position of the county and its physical features prevented it from playing any very distinct part in the affairs of England, nor did its barons rise to great importance. The barony of Kendal was divided in the reign of Henry III.; the barony of Appleby, especially in the days of the Clifford lords, was more distinguished. But the district was poor and inaccessible; there were few monasteries, that of Shap being the only one of any size: and the poverty of the country in mediæval times is still further shown by the rarity of ancient churches. Moreover, poor as the county was, it was not free from the raids of the Scots, who passed through it on their way to richer spoils beyond. Yet in spite of these disadvantages it was not devoid of enterprise; for in the southern part of the county, where the hills began to slope into the plain and the land was more fertile, Kendal became the centre of a manufacture of woollen homespuns, the memory of which survives in the 'knives in Kendal green,' whose exploits Shakespeare has immortalised in the mouth of Falstaff.



The interest of Westmoreland, however, does not lie in the great events which there took place, nor in the prominent part which its inhabitants played in the political or industrial history of England, but in the character and lives of its people themselves. The 'dalesmen,' as they are called, have a history of their own; and though many of their characteristics belong also to the men who lived amongst the hills of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Yorkshire, yet Westmoreland may be considered as the dalesmen's special home. The nature of the country, with its rough wooded hills and narrow valleys, shut it off from much communication with the outer world; agriculture was carried on with difficulty, and the pursuits of the people were almost entirely pastoral. In these remote parts the power of the feudal lord was little felt, and there was nothing which made it worth his while to interfere. Provided that men were furnished for military service, he was content; and it was the interest of the peasants themselves that some of their number should be always in readiness to drive back the Scottish plunderers and intercept them in their devastating track. The obligations of vassalage were slight, and serfdom early ceased to have any definite meaning. The little communities distributed tenements amongst themselves; and the name 'dalesmen' comes from the old word 'delen,' to divide, not from the dells in which men dwelt.

Each man had his pasture ground marked out, and fenced it round with the rough stones which the hillside plentifully supplied. The hills are now mostly cleared of their forests; but it is probable that the stone walls which still run along them were erected in old days to prevent the flocks from straying, and protect them in some measure against wild beasts.

These scattered peasants lived an isolated life, which fostered habits of sturdy independence. They performed their military service, and otherwise were left to themselves. In the broad expanses below the hills were a few manor-houses, of which Kentmere may be taken as a sample; but even these were few. The county as a whole was left to the industrious peasant, and offered few attractions for the class of smaller gentry who gathered round the great barons. Yet Westmoreland was not wholly neglected, and the chief of its benefactors was Robert of Eaglesfield, Rector of Brough-

under-Stainmore, who was made chaplain to Philippa, Queen of Edward III. He did not forget his county when things prospered with him, but founded, in the University of Oxford, Queen's College, named after his patroness, with special endowments for the natives of Westmoreland and Cumberland. The link thus formed grew stronger as years went on, and a traditional connection was established between the northern counties and the universities, so that for several centuries they supplied a number of students far beyond the average of their population.

The stirring times of English history did not much affect Westmoreland, though Catharine Parr, the last wife of Henry VIII., was lady of Kendal Castle. Moreover, one who has a greater claim on our respect, Bernard Gilpin, the Apostle of the North, as he was called, was born at Kentmere Hall, and testifies to the religious fervour as well as the sturdy character which Westmoreland could produce. It may be doubted if Westmoreland was benefited by the peace between England and Scotland which followed on the union of the two crowns. The cessation of Border warfare only completed its isolation, and removed one of the causes which broke the monotony of a sluggish pastoral life. What the need of military organisation had done for the men of Westmoreland is shown by their resolute action against James I. The needy king thought that his good services in pacifying the Borders by his accession to the English Crown deserved some recognition from those who were benefited. His lawyers were perplexed by the anomalous tenure of land by the small owners of the Border country; and James I. claimed to be lord of these estates, on the ground that the *statesmen* (as the dalesmen were also called) were vassals of the Crown. The menaced statesmen took prompt measures in their own defence: they met to the number of two thousand near Kendal, and resolved 'that they had kept their lands by the sword, and were able to defend them by the same.' The royal claims were withdrawn before this resolute opposition.

In the troubles of the Great Rebellion Westmoreland did not escape its share of disquiet. The Clifford Castle of Appleby was taken by the Parliamentary forces, and was dismantled, like its Yorkshire neighbours. In

1745 the listlessness of Westmoreland was again disturbed by the march of the Pretender, and the Westmoreland Militia did not show the spirit of former days in checking his advance. The county, however, was little moved by his apparent successes; and on his retreat in a brief time a



THE OLD MAN, CONISTON.

sober native watched the Scottish troops march by with the caustic remark, 'Yes, there they go, and never a wise man among them.'

It was during this period of quiet which followed upon the union of England and Scotland that the dalesmen, or statesmen, developed those characteristics which still partly remain, and which constitute the chief historic interest of the shire. They lived an industrious and independent

life, supporting themselves and their families according to a traditional fashion, contented with their own ways, and seeking nothing beyond what they themselves could supply. Each little farm grew a small quantity of barley, oats, and flax; the sheep pastured on the hills; the pigs were fed on mast or acorns, and a few cows supplied milk. The ordinary food of the family was oatmeal-porridge and milk, with bacon, and occasionally meat, which was generally cooked in slices under a covering of potatoes, and was known as a *potato-pot*. A story is told in recent days of a traveller who was invited to share the midday meal in a statesman's household. All, including servants, sat down together at the table, and the potato-pot was passed round, each helping himself on the way. Seeing that the guest looked somewhat perplexed, his host encouraged him by exclaiming, 'Now help yersel and howk (dig) in; there's plenty of meat at bottom, but it's reyther het.'

The houses of the statesmen were mostly built of a rough framework of wood and stone filled in with wickerwork, daubed with clay, and smeared with cowdung. The chief room served as kitchen, dining-room, and sitting-room for the family; the principal object which it contained was a huge oaken closet or press, with panels adorned with simple carving, which made a handsome piece of furniture, and passed on from one generation to another. On one side of this room was a pantry, on the other the *bower*, or bedroom, where the master and mistress slept. The upper storey was a loft, without ceiling, where slept the children and servants; it was divided by a compartment between males and females. The arrangements of life were thrifty even to niggardliness; and there was, as a rule, nothing save the firelight to cheer the family through the long winter evenings. It is recorded of one careful housewife that when it was time for supper she lit a candle, to enable her to put the food on the table, and when all were seated round the bowls of porridge and milk, armed with spoons and ready to attack the common store, the candle was extinguished with the remark, 'Now you can see wi' the fireleet to hit yer own mouths.' This parsimony seemed excessive to the servant-man, who, taking a spoonful of hot porridge, not cooled in milk, slipped it into his master's mouth, and then cried out,

'Oh, mistress, bring a leet. I miss'd my oon mooth and hit t' maister's wid a speunful o' het poddish, an' I doubt I've scoudit him.'

In this simple fashion the household lived and laboured. It was self-supporting, and its wants were few. Every one was busy in some work



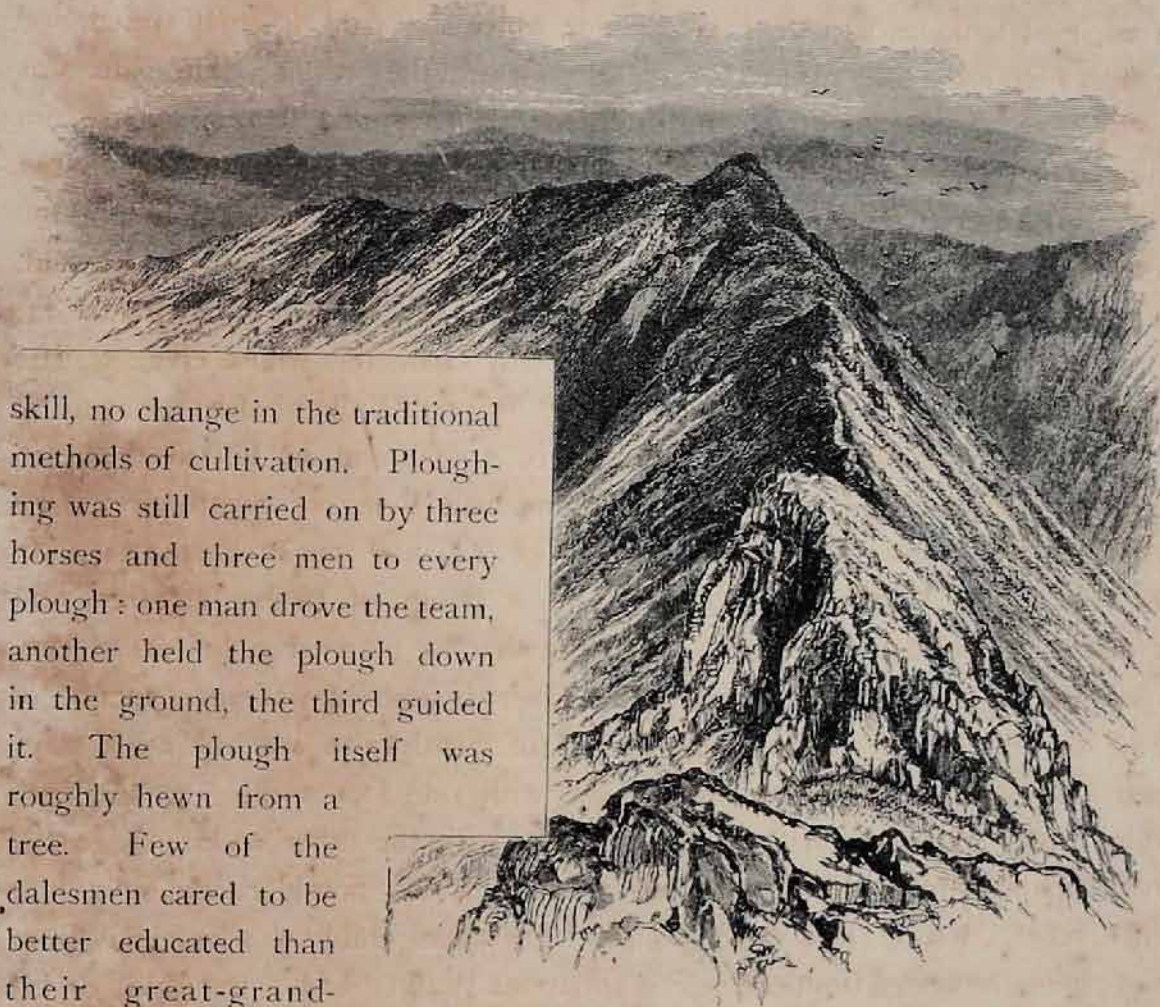
THE UPPER FALLS, RYDAL.

upon the little farm, and the manufacture of the wool into rough homespuns afforded an occupation for all spare time. The clothes of the family, even

the linen, were made at home, and whatever could be woven in excess of the needs of the household was carried at intervals to market and sold. Except on the rare occasions of these market days the dalesmen seldom wandered far from home. The only visitant from the outer world who penetrated their valleys was the 'butter-badger,' who came to relieve them of their superfluous stock of butter, for which he paid a small price and made a considerable profit by retailing it in the towns. The life was monotonous and isolated, and the dalesmen rather prided themselves on not having many acquaintances. A traveller who asked for direction about his way was directed by a dalesman standing at his own door to cross the hill, at the other side of which he would find a house; 'I don't know the man,' he said, 'but our sheep meet on the hilltop, and I dare say he is a canny man.'

These conditions of life produced a sturdy character, whose characteristic virtues are well represented by the Rev. Robert Walker, often known by the epithet of 'the Wonderful.' The son of a dalesman, he left his home in search of learning, and returned to hold the little living of Seathwaite. His benefice was at first of the yearly value of £5, and never exceeded £50. On this Robert Walker lived, brought up a family of twelve children, and at his death had saved £2000. It is true that he married a heiress, a lady possessed of £40 a year of her own. Their household was an example of thrift and hospitality. The little chapel of Seathwaite was on week days used as a school; and there Walker sat, with one foot turning a spinning-wheel which gave employment to his hands, with the other rocking a cradle, an occupation from which the rapid increase of his family rarely gave him much relief. Round him were grouped the school children, who came from many miles around. Besides these occupations Walker had a few fields of his own, and was always ready to help a neighbour who needed an extra hand. He was, moreover, the lawyer and doctor of the neighbourhood, and transacted all its business. On Sundays his congregation were invited to join his midday meal, and on that day only was there any sign of luxury on his table. For sixty-seven years did Walker afford this admirable example of a simple Christian life to his parishioners, till he died, a few months after his wife, at the age of ninety-two, in 1802.

Walker shows the good qualities engendered by this simple life; but the course of events gradually rendered this life impossible to those who had not Walker's virtues. This patriarchal fashion, attractive as it seems in some ways, was sadly unprogressive. There was no increase in agricultural



STRIDING EDGE, HELVELLYN.

skill, no change in the traditional methods of cultivation. Ploughing was still carried on by three horses and three men to every plough: one man drove the team, another held the plough down in the ground, the third guided it. The plough itself was roughly hewn from a tree. Few of the dalesmen cared to be better educated than their great-grandfathers, and their clinging to old habits

tended to make them surly; they scorned to be courteous, lest it might seem that they wished to set up for being gentlefolk.

But though the dalesmen refused to change, the world changed around them. Roads were made, communications were opened up, greater intercourse prevailed; there were more markets, and the produce of the dalesmen

was no longer absolutely necessary to the nearest towns. They found that others passed judgment on their processes, and were indignant. A traveller remarked on their breed of sheep, and suggested an improvement. 'Sir,' he was answered, 'they are sic as God set upon the earth; we never change them.' When a few of the more adventurous tried to move with the times they found it difficult to do so. A farmer sent his servant to bring some lime. On the journey there was a shower, and the bags began to smoke. The man, in alarm, brought water from a stream and threw it on them, only to increase the volume of the smoke which caused his terror. At last in despair he threw them into the stream, and came home well satisfied that he was rid of a source of mischief. Perhaps the following tale is a caricature, but it contains the germs of truth. A dalesman going to market was struck by the unwonted sight of a pair of stirrups. He bought them to aid him in his homeward ride, but in the course of a gallop stuck his feet so firmly into them that when he reached home he could not draw them out. After unavailing attempts on the part of the family the horse was led into the stable with his master still seated on his back. In two days' time it was suggested that it might be more lively if the horse was turned to graze in its accustomed field. Luckily, on the third day a younger son returned home from the theological college of St. Bees. He considered his father's unfortunate plight, and suggested that the saddle should be unfastened and carried with its burden into the house. There further meditation led to the suggestion of unloosing the prisoner's boots. When this was done, and the father was set free, he recognised with thankfulness the inestimable benefit of having a son who was a scholar.

It was, however, the development of machinery which especially hastened the decline of the small farmers. So long as wool could be spun at home a family could keep together and earn enough for their joint needs. But the home-made cloth of the dalesmen could not hold its own against the machine-made fabrics which crowded the markets. Competition, which had been gradually telling against their agriculture, suddenly destroyed their manufactures; and they had not the qualities which enabled them readily to adjust themselves to a new state of things. Families could no longer



hold together, and the younger sons went to the towns to try their fortunes.



WINDERMERE.

Those who remained suffered from their vain endeavours to make head

against the social changes which threatened them. They were involved in debts, and contracted mortgages on their lands, which soon passed out of their hands. Moreover, temperance had never been their characteristic virtue, and the despair which followed on fruitless expeditions to markets, with wares which they could not sell at a profit, drove many of them to reckless courses, which made their ruin more rapid. Their numbers steadily decreased owing to these causes combined, though the class is by no means extinct. Many learned to adapt themselves to the new state of things; employed improved means of agriculture; and retained their ancestral holdings. There is still a sufficient number to give Westmoreland marked characteristics of its own, and impress upon its people an old-world type of patriarchal simplicity.

Another powerful cause of the transformation of Westmoreland was the discovery of the Lakes, and the consequent flow of tourists, which has been steadily increasing. The love of wild scenery was indeed a discovery for the average Englishman at the end of last century. Before that time taste demanded trimness and neatness, or at least the appearance of sylvan or pastoral scenes. The general impression left on travellers in the Lake Country was one of discomfort; and the badness of the roads and general inaccessibility of the country did not invite many visitors. The first who brought its charms to public notice was a Roman Catholic priest of the name of West, who published in 1779 a *Guide to the Lakes*, the first of an infinite series which succeed one another every year. It required the affluence as well as the bustle of an industrial civilisation to create the taste for travelling in out-of-the-way places. Our forefathers did not find the need, which is now so universal, of change of air and scene. The transaction of their ordinary business gave them enough experience of the discomforts of a journey in those days of difficult locomotion; and when they travelled they did not wish to seek unfrequented spots, but preferred those where they mixed with men of different pursuits from their own. Perhaps none of the smaller changes which have been wrought in the present century is more remarkable than the custom of taking yearly holidays, which in our own day peoples the hillsides

of the Lake District with conscientious tourists bent upon seeing all they can.

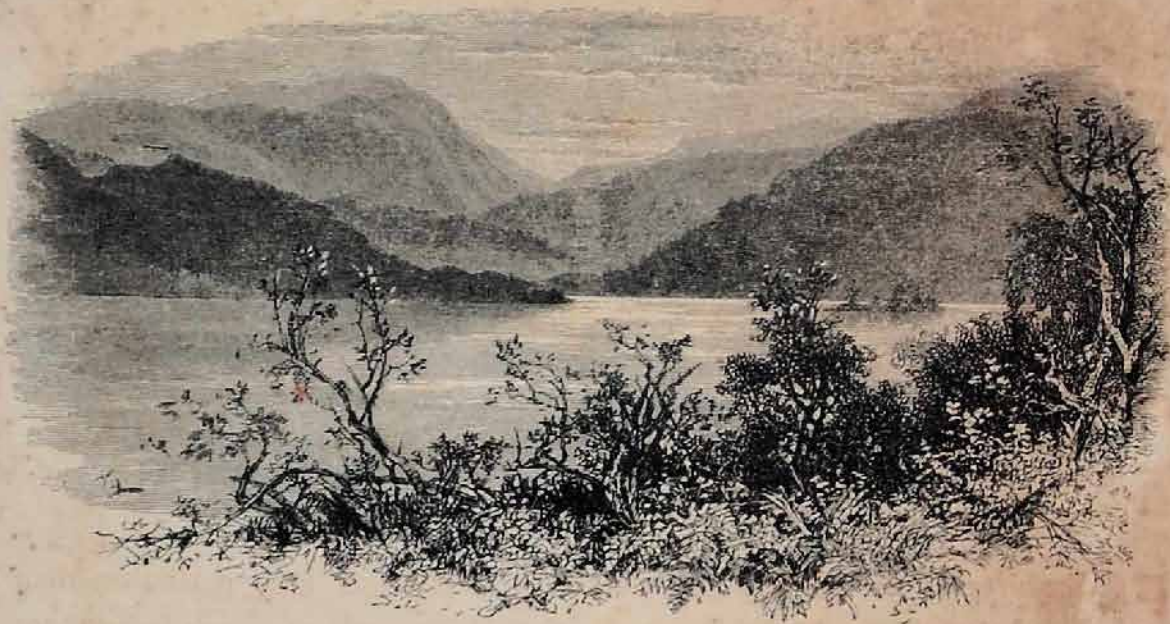
It is needless to speak of the glory shed over the Lake Country by the pen of Wordsworth, who gave an abiding expression to the influence



WORDSWORTH'S HOUSE, RYDAL MOUNT.

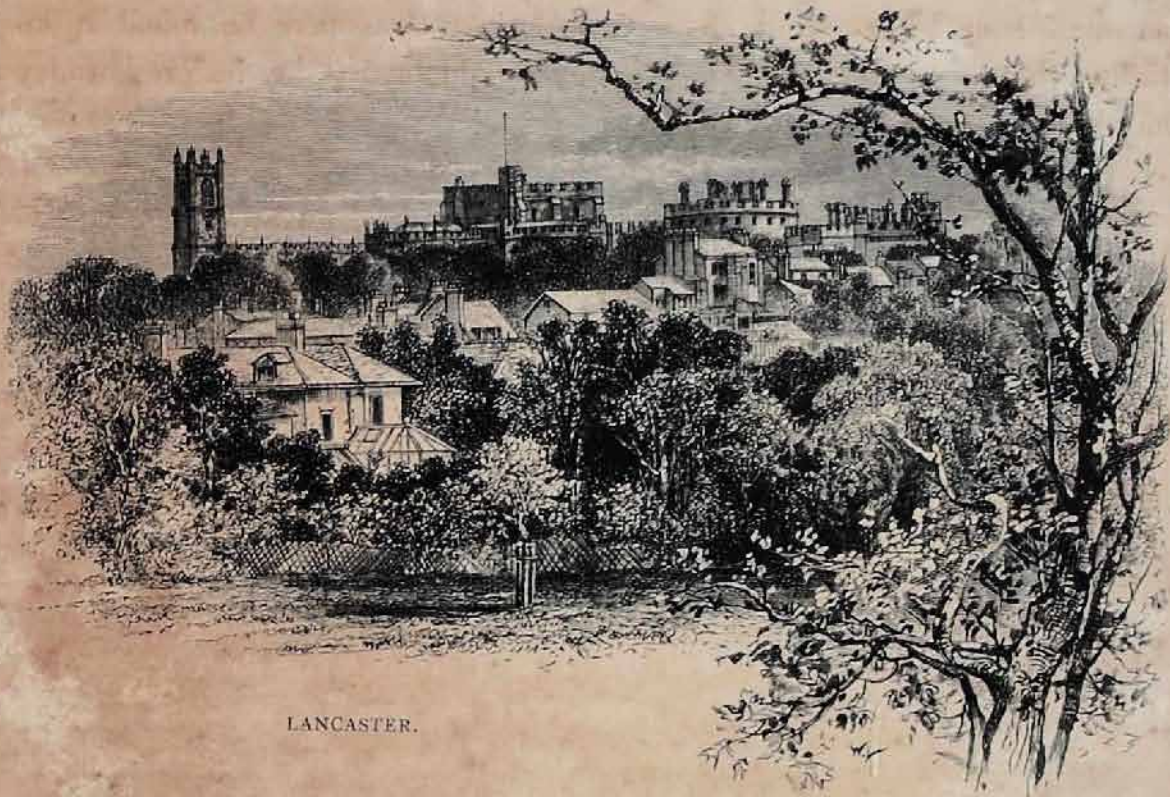
which the varying moods of nature could exercise over the mind which frankly lent itself to their charm. But, besides his descriptions of natural scenery, Wordsworth has also caught the historic character of the people, and has left a series of sketches of the homely virtues which were produced

by a simple and independent life. Yet his pen tended to sweep away their last remains—he made the Lakes a place of fashionable resort, and thereby drew them from their primitive isolation and made them part and parcel of the world around. As villas arose the old farmers disappeared; their land became valuable for building sites; they sold it, and disappeared from their ancestral homes. When the poet Gray visited Grassmere he found it inhabited by twenty-six dalesmen. It may be doubted if at the present day more than two or three survive.



ULLESWATER.

## LANCASHIRE.



LANCASTER.

FEW shires at the present day can boast of stronger local patriotism than can Lancashire; but the causes of this strength of local feeling are not to be found in the influences of race or in the strong impress left by early history; they arise from the unity of interest given by the commercial and industrial life of recent times. Lancashire owes its teeming population and its political importance to its great port of Liverpool, and to the manufactures for which its position offers conspicuous advantages; not to any great part which it played in the history of our land.

Yet the county which is contained in the Lancashire of to-day has much to tell about the past. When first we hear of Britain in the days of Roman rule, we find that, as soon as the Romans were masters of Central

Britain, they sought a spot where they could keep watch on the wild tribes who occupied the hills of Westmoreland and Lancashire, and found such a position in Chester. There they could command the valleys of the Dee and the Mersey. Thence they made their roads and opened up communications northwards, establishing their *castra* or camps, as the names still show, at Manchester, Ribchester, and Lancaster. By these they commanded the valleys of the Ribble and the Lune; and they further provided for the military occupation of the land by military stations on the sites where now stand Warrington, Wigan, Blackburn, Clitheroe, and Preston. That such precautions were deemed necessary is a proof of the sturdy vigour of these northern tribes. Rome had no profit to gain from their territory, which was desolate and unproductive; but she wished to preserve from their depredations the more fertile lands in the South, and to cut off the tribes of Wales from the tribes of the Lake district. So the Romans made their roads, whose lines can still be traced, and marked out for their camps places which have now grown into thriving towns. The Britons retired to the hills and watched their foes, inflicting on them from time to time such damage as they could.

The Romans withdrew, and the British tribes were soon exposed to still more formidable foes. The pressure of the English invaders from the east forced the western tribes into a sort of union, which afterwards constituted the kingdom of Cumberland. The men who dwelt in the south of this Cumbrian land were harassed from two sides at once. The Northumbrians pinched them on the east, and the Mercians pinched them on the south; but they had the moors of Ribblesdale as a barrier on one side, and the impenetrable forest of Cannock Chase on the other. At length, in 613, the Northumbrian king, Ethelfrith, broke through the fastness of Ribblesdale and marched upon Chester. The Britons were defeated, and the land between the Dee and the Ribble was added to Northumbrian territory. The land north of the Ribble remained to the Britons of Cumberland, till, in 670, the Northumbrian king, Egfrith, made another invasion, and drove the Britons from the district between the Ribble and the Duddon. Much of this new conquest he gave to the church of York.

by which the Britons were not dispossessed of their lands, but remained as tributaries. There was little to invite the English to settle, as the land, save along the valleys of the Lune and the Ribble, was given up to forests, moors, and marshes.

Towards the end of the ninth century this desolate region was reinforced by a new and sturdy population. The Norsemen sailed down the Irish Channel and made settlements along the western coasts, as the Danes did on the east. The place-names of Northern Lancashire bear the Norse endings which are borne in the Lake district, and tell how new elements of life were given to a remote and unheeded country. While these Norsemen were settling on the northern part of the Lancashire of to-day the Danes were pressing into its southern lands. It was the reconquest of England from the Danes by the kings of the house of Alfred that again recalled in Lancashire the traces of the civilisation of Rome. Edward, the son of Alfred, found it necessary to deal with the Danes as the Romans had dealt with the Britons—he cut them off from the Welsh by a line of forts between the Dee and the Mersey. He rebuilt Chester, and re-established the fortress at Mancunium, the modern Manchester. From his time till the Norman Conquest the land between the Mersey and the Ribble was Crown land, held under the king by a number of small holders, who were bound to keep in repair the royal buildings, and whose patient industry must have done much to make the country habitable.

Thus it came about that at the time of the Domesday survey there



ENTRANCE TO LANCASTER CASTLE.

was no county of Lancashire, but the three portions which the county now contains lay scattered. The district of Cartmell had been detached from Cumberland, and, together with Amunderness, formed part of Yorkshire. The southern lands were held by the Crown, and tended to form part of the great earldom of Chester. It would be wearisome to tell of all the lords to whom they were granted; it is enough to say that Stephen, before his accession to the Crown, held a great part of them, and deserves to be remembered for his foundation, in 1127, of the Cistercian monastery of Furness. There the monks carried on the work of clearing the land and promoting agriculture; and their civilising influence spread far and wide over the desert region that lay north of Morecambe Bay.

The grant of lands to some lord was the only means of securing the maintenance of law and order within them; and the tendency had been to grant the lands which make up Lancashire to the same lord to govern. Hence Henry II., in his reorganisation of Northern England after the disasters of Stephen's reign, recognised Lancaster as the head of a county, and conferred its earldom on his son John. Again, it would be tedious to trace the fortunes of the earldom, which passed from one lord to another, till, in the reign of Henry III., it was a second time granted to one of royal house, the king's second son Edmund. Before this period the earldom of Lancaster had been of little note, and its holders preferred to bear the names of other earldoms which they held together with it. But from the days of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, Lancaster stands first among the possessions of its lords, and does not again lose its pre-eminence.

It is not difficult to account for the slight estimation in which the earldom of Lancaster had been held by its previous possessors. It cannot have been profitable; for it probably was the most sparsely populated district of England, as scarcely a fifth of its surface was cleared and cultivated. Its situation was unfortunate, as it was liable to suffer from the disorders on the Welsh and on the Scottish borders alike; while its coast was exposed to the plundering raids of the Scandinavians who held the Isle of Man. Its inhabitants were liable to military service against both Welsh



and Scots; and when expeditions were fitted out against Ireland a third obligation was laid upon them. The earldom of Lancaster was obviously not a great prize to its holder, and it was generally conferred on the Earl of Chester or of Derby. When Henry III. granted it to his son he made it more worthy of his acceptance by adding to it the castle of Lancaster and the royal rights within the shire. This made it more important than other earldoms, and gave it a titular if not a real, value.

The attempt of Henry III. to enrich his second son was the cause of much trouble to his grandson Edward II. The powerful Earl Thomas of Lancaster headed the opposition to Edward II.'s misgovernment, and lost his head in consequence. But his brother Henry received the forfeited lands; and Edward III. was not deterred by what had gone before from attempting to set up as leaders of the English barons the members of the royal house. In 1352 he introduced a new title of nobility, borrowed from the Continent, and made Lancashire the seat of a Duchy. He did this because his fourth son, John of Gaunt, had wedded the daughter and heiress of Earl Henry, and so was the successor to his vast estates. For the same reason he raised the county of Lancaster to the dignity of a county palatine; so that its duke had within his domains all the royal rights, including that of appointing a separate chancellor and judges. Thus the county formed a little kingdom by itself, like its neighbours Chester and Durham.

John of Gaunt's son, Henry of Bolingbroke, being deprived of his inheritance by Richard II., came from his exile to assert his rights. This he did so effectively that he not only recovered his lands, but dispossessed Richard II. of the throne and succeeded him as Henry IV. He was of a cautious temper, and would not have his hereditary possessions merged in the lands of the Crown, but kept the Duchy of Lancaster separate, and conferred it on his eldest son. This admirable arrangement, however, somewhat broke down when Henry VI. had no son, and the country was hard put to it to pay the taxes necessary for a feeble government. The voice of Parliament made itself heard in regulating the royal expenditure, and allotted the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster to the maintenance of

the royal household. For this purpose they were ample, as the proceeds of the various lands and rights within the county were considerable, though much of them went to officials who performed the work of supervision.

In fact, it was obvious that the Duke of Lancaster, as King of England, was merely an absentee landlord, whose influence was least felt in his own lands. The chief nobles of the shire were the Stanleys, who put themselves at the head of the smaller gentry. Hence it came to pass that when the Wars of the Roses broke out, Lancashire followed the lead of the Stanleys, and paid little heed to its royal duke, but took the Yorkist side. When Edward IV. came to the throne he seized upon the Duchy of Lancaster as forfeit. From this time forward the hereditary right of the Lancastrian dukes was merged in the person of the king, and the Duchy of Lancaster has remained a possession of the English Crown.

It would seem, however, that Lancashire was long faithful to its Yorkist allegiance; for, when an attempt was made to upset the throne of Henry VII., by means of the pretender Lambert Simnel, it was in the Bay of Furness that the invading army of English exiles and German and Irish troops made their landing. Their leader, Martin Schwartz, raised his standard on the moor near Ulverstone, which bears the name of Schwartz Moor to this day. But the men of Lancashire did not show any eagerness to rise, and the rebellion was a failure. After this Lancashire enjoyed a time of quietness, in which it began to advance in an unpretending way towards greater prosperity than its unpromising beginnings had hitherto allowed.

Lancashire, in fact, lacked any definite unity or purpose amongst its people. It was late in coming into existence as a shire, and was a collection of three different districts only loosely connected. The northern part looked towards Cumberland and the Scottish border; the southern part looked towards the earldom of Chester and the Welsh marshes. The earldom of Lancaster went to great lords with many other possessions, and finally was annexed to the Crown. This prevented the shire from finding its unity under a great baronial family, as Lancaster was never the chief seat of its earl. It is true that a mighty castle was raised on the

site of the old Roman fort, and the position of Lancaster explains its name—the castle on the Lune. But Lancaster was a military outpost, not the seat of a baronial family. And what had happened to the earldom itself happened also to much of the land of the shire, which was held by lords whose chief possessions were elsewhere. Thus the De Lacys, Earls of Lincoln, were Barons of Clitheroe, and built the castle that guarded the pass across the Yorkshire moors. It was not the great barons, but the smaller holders, who did the work of bringing the land under cultivation. They gradually made clearings in the forest, retaining each of them enough of woodland round their dwellings to provide a hunting-ground, where they might chase the boar. Nor did the monasteries do as much in Lancashire as in the neighbouring shire of York. Though tolerably numerous, they were small and unimportant, with the exception of Furness and Whalley. Towns in Lancashire were not populous; though dwellers gathered round Preston, from its situation on the Ribble; round the castle of Manchester; and at Liverpool, which struggled into existence in the reign of King John, as a port for Ireland.

In a district not much given to industrial pursuits, and chiefly depending on agriculture for the supply of its needs, the suppression of the religious houses by Henry VIII. was bitterly resented. The movement known as the 'Pilgrimage of Grace' spread to Lancashire, but was put down by the Earl of Derby; and the last abbot of Whalley was hanged in front of his abbey. It was long before Lancashire was reconciled to the Reformation, and it continued to be a stronghold of the Roman Catholics. In 1612 it was the scene of one of those popular delusions which came like epidemics. An outcry was raised against witches in the district of Pendle Forest; and when men's minds were filled with suspicions, evidence of the most monstrous kind was forthcoming. The 'Lancashire Witches' have become famous, because more than thirty, mostly illiterate, women suffered as victims of the ravings of hysteria, generated by superstitious terror.

Lancashire, however, was prospering. The cause which had kept it back in earlier times, the absence of great lords, was now a cause of its

advance. When the Scots were restrained within their own borders, Lancashire was the first of the northern counties to reap the benefit. The land between the Yorkshire hills and the sea was a stretch of undulating country, sloping to the plain which reaches to the coast. It was well watered, and repaid cultivation. Under the Tudors the smaller barons began to be converted into country gentlemen such as we know at present; and Lancashire had a number of such men, who lived at home and improved their lands. In 1617 King James I. passed through Lancashire on his way to Scotland, and was royally entertained by his new baronets—a dignity which he created for the purpose of filling the royal coffers which he had a ready knack of emptying. The traditions of King James's visit still linger in Lancashire, and their long continuance shows the deep impression which the event produced. Lancashire, by this insignificant incident, seems to have awakened to a consciousness of its importance. It would seem that King James's visit drew it together, and kindled local patriotism, which had hitherto been faint.

Still King James's visit showed that Lancashire was far from being unanimous. Religious differences were profound. If many of the chief families adhered to the old Church, their opponents, through antagonism, were intensely Protestant. The Puritans insisted on a strict observance of Sunday; and many magistrates in Lancashire tried to enforce their own views by putting down all festive gatherings, which were generally held on Sunday afternoons. Complaints were made to the king, and he decided that men should please themselves about such matters. But he went further than this, and ordered all the clergy throughout England to read from the pulpit this declaration, which primarily concerned only a district where opinion was sharply divided, and by so doing raised a storm before which he had to give way.

The reigns of James I. and Charles I. had a further influence on Lancashire, because these kings, in their pressing necessities, sold many of the Crown lands in the duchy, and greatly reduced the revenues which the Crown derived from this source. This was no bad thing for the county, as it increased the number of landlords, who had an interest in

developing its resources. But the outbreak of the Civil War checked the growing prosperity of the shire. Political parties followed close upon religious differences, and Lancashire was very evenly divided. Its chief town of Manchester held for the Parliament; its chief noble, the Earl of Derby, raised forces for the king. Rival lord-lieutenants disputed men's allegiance. Armies were raised on both sides, and in few parts of England was the contest more severe.

It is needless to tell in detail the incidents of this struggle, in the course of which the chief towns—Manchester, Liverpool, Wigan, Lancaster, and Preston—all suffered sieges. In May, 1643, the Royalists, under the Earl of Derby, were dispersed by the Parliamentarians, and retired to their houses, which they fortified. The result was a series of sieges, in which the castles of Lancashire were mostly destroyed, and the manor-houses were to a great extent ruined. Famous in the annals of the warfare of that time was the brave resistance made by the Countess of Derby in Lathom House, which, with a garrison of three hundred men, she held for three months against a vigorous siege, which was at last abandoned before the news of Prince Rupert's advance to its relief. After the battle of Marston Moor the siege was again resumed, and the garrison surrendered on honourable terms. It was said at the time that 'the best man may be conquered, and so was Lady Derby.'

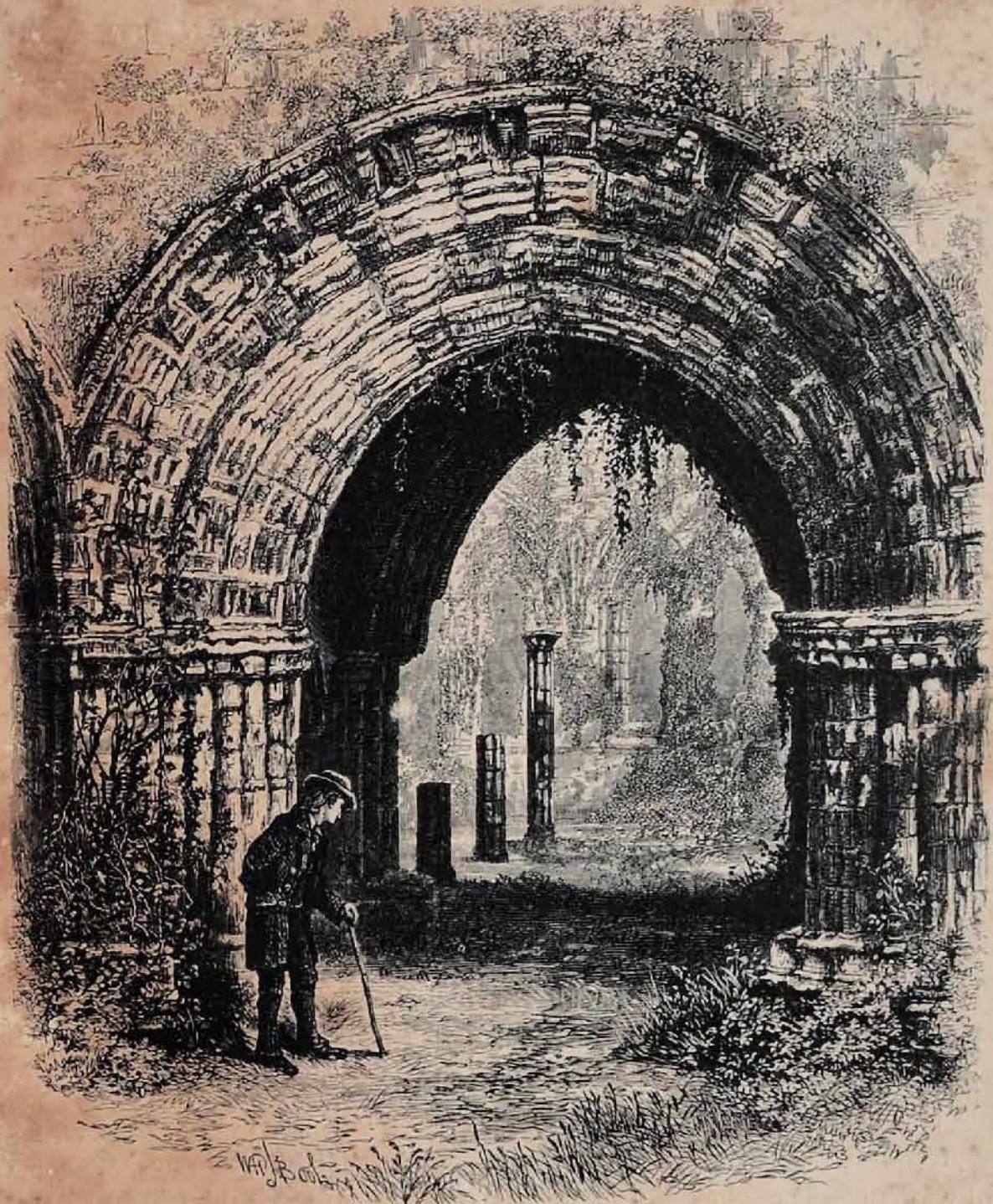
Lancashire had suffered severely in this struggle, but was destined to suffer still more. When, in 1648, the Scots rose against the English Parliament, it was from the strong Presbyterian feeling of Lancashire that they looked for support. They marched through Lancashire, and at Preston was fought the battle in which Cromwell overthrew them. After this the militia of Lancashire were disbanded, and men sullenly turned to contemplate the havoc which war had wrought. 'The three-corded scourge of sword, pestilence, and famine all afflicted the land at once.' Nor was it given rest even then. In 1651 the Scots who supported Charles II. marched through Lancashire, and a battle was fought at Warrington before they could force their way. The Earl of Derby raised forces in Lancashire, but was defeated at Wigan. He was taken prisoner and was sentenced to be beheaded; and

as a lesson to the men of Lancashire the sentence on their great leader was executed at Bolton.

When peace was at length established, Lancaster could return to its industrial pursuits, in which it had already begun to make considerable progress. In the reign of Henry VIII. Manchester had become a town of some importance as the centre of the cloth trade of Lancashire, and it speedily rivalled its neighbour Halifax. The advance of Manchester was marked by the foundation in 1524 of a grammar school by Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter; and his example was followed in 1657 by Humphrey Chetham, who established a hospital for educating and apprenticing poor boys. Still, in spite of these signs of progress, Lancashire was poor in comparison with the southern counties, and first made a decided start when the trade with the West Indies and the American Colonies was opened up. At an early time cotton had been imported in small quantities from the Levant; but more was obtained from the West Indies, and the special industry of Lancashire came into vigorous life. Liverpool grew into a thriving port, though at first it could not hope to rival Bristol and London. Still, there was a large influx of industrial population into the manufacturing towns of Lancashire, which by the end of the seventeenth century had ceased to be a purely agricultural county, and was already indebted to the south for its food supply.

Lancashire was still destined to be a battle-field; for in the ill-considered rising of the Jacobites in 1715 its leaders had hopes that the men of Lancashire would furnish numerous recruits. They advanced to Preston, but were only joined by some three hundred men—a convincing proof that busy and industrious men desired only quietness, and were not likely to take part in an enterprise which would cause confusion. The plan of the king's generals was to hem in the rebels at Preston. This was done, and they were made prisoners. A tale is told at this time of the Vicar of Preston, the Rev. Samuel Peplow, who, while the town was occupied by the rebels, read the service daily and prayed for King George. One day a Jacobite soldier drew his sword and threatened to kill him if he prayed for the usurper. Fearlessly he said, 'Soldier, do your duty, and I will do

mine,' and continued the service. His life was spared; and when George I.



FURNESS ABBEY.

heard the tale he said in his broken English, 'Peplow, Peplow; he shall

peep high and be a bishop;' and the Vicar of Preston in due time became Bishop of Chester.

In the peace which marked Sir Robert Walpole's administration capital accumulated, and the means of carrying on industrial pursuits were greatly improved. The roads of Lancashire were very bad, and during the war with France, when the sea was unsafe for coasting vessels, it was difficult to find a market for manufactured goods, owing to the cost of transport by waggons on roads which were scarcely passable in summer, and were entirely impassable in winter. The first mode of establishing communications was to deepen the estuary of the Mersey, and make the rivers navigable for barges. Thus, along the Irwell and the Mersey there was a good means of transit between Manchester and Liverpool; and along the Douglas and the Ribble the coal of Wigan could be carried to the sea. The harbour of Liverpool was improved, and the first wet dock in England was constructed on the Mersey in 1719.

The great stride, however, in the development of the commerce of Lancashire was made by the genius of James Brindley, a self-educated man, who worked with his own hands and developed a boldness of invention which ranks him amongst the greatest of engineers. Brindley was fortunate in finding a patron who understood him in Francis, Duke of Bridgewater. The beginning of Brindley's fame was owing to a wish of the Duke of Bridgewater to find a ready market for the coal from his mines at Worsley by sending it to Manchester. This Brindley did by forming a canal, in constructing which he overcame the difficulties caused by the irregularities of the ground. Taking his idea from the means which had been adopted to make rivers navigable, he constructed artificial rivers, and by a system of locks raised barges from one level to another. Moreover, he devised navigable canals underground, by which the produce of the Worsley coal-field was brought out in boats into the open canal. When this great work had been done for a small distance the Duke of Bridgewater was ready to extend his operations and make a new waterway between Manchester and Liverpool. The cost was great and the risk was considerable; but the Duke of Bridgewater staked his entire fortune on the success of the under-



taking, and Brindley worked for the wages of an ordinary mechanic. The work was done; and men long wondered at the boldness of the great aqueduct at Barton, which formed part of the undertaking. Canals were now established; and the next thing was to provide Lancashire with an outlet to the rest of England by the Grand Trunk Canal, which connected the Mersey and the Trent. From this time water-carriage was rapidly developed. Rivers were used as far as possible, and were connected with one another by canals. A great system was devised and extended over the most populous parts of England. The stimulus given to industry by the invention of canals was as great as that given by the invention of the locomotive; but the one followed so rapidly on the other that the fame of Brindley has paled before that of Stephenson. We look upon canals as relics of a primitive past; we have no opportunity of looking on the rough tracks called highways, which rendered the carriage of goods a difficult and perilous task before canals made water-carriage almost universal.

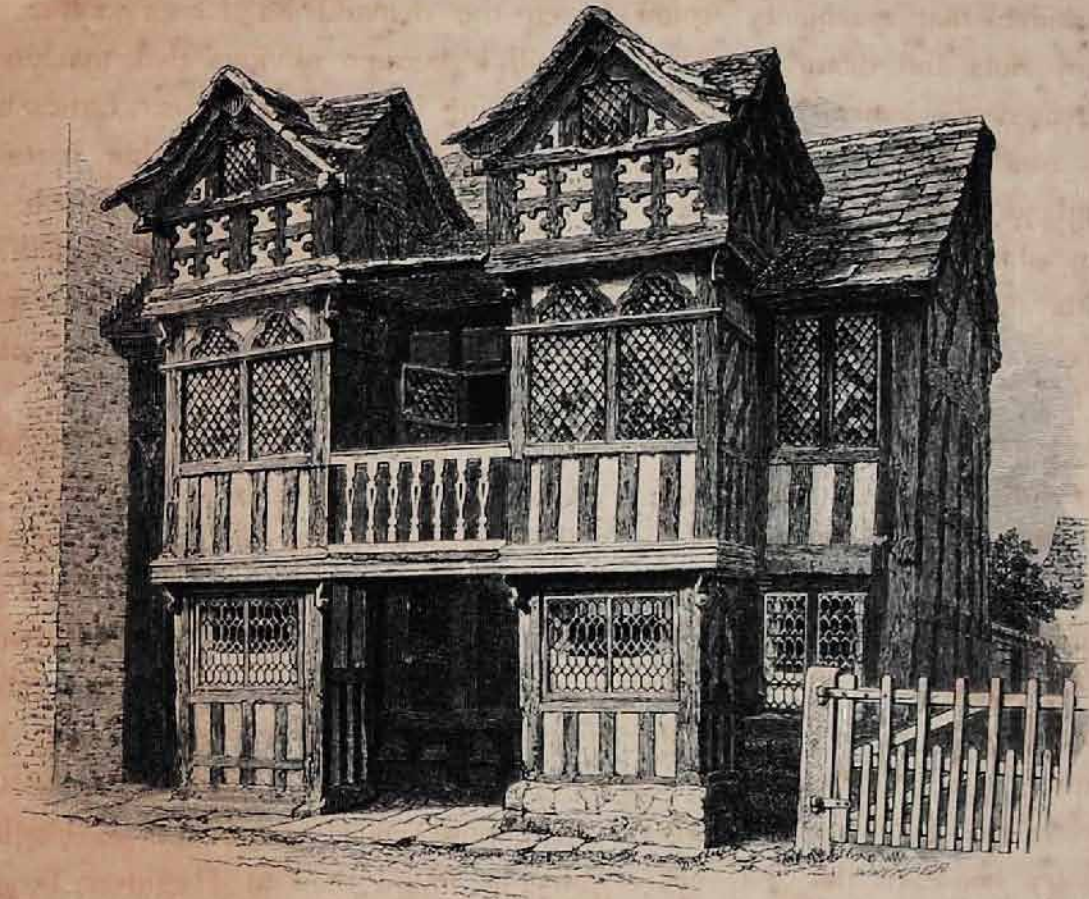
The history of Lancashire since 1760 is a record of continuous inventiveness in mechanism. The raw cotton imported from America had to be subjected, roughly speaking, to three processes: one, for preparing the cotton that it should be fit for spinning; the second, spinning the cotton into thread; the third, weaving the thread into cloth. Carding machines were first invented by John Wyatt, of Birmingham, in 1742; the spinning-jenny was invented almost simultaneously, about 1770, by James Hargreaves, of Blackburn, and Richard Arkwright, of Preston. It was not unnatural that when a problem was occupying men's minds more than one should arrive at its solution. But Hargreaves was a poor weaver; his invention seemed to his brother craftsmen to be destructive of the wages of labour; his house was attacked, his machine was destroyed, and he was driven to flee from Blackburn to Nottingham. Arkwright also had the same fate, but was fortunate in finding a manufacturer, Mr. Strutt, who adopted his invention. So Arkwright became a rich and famous man, while Hargreaves died in poverty.

The history of Lancashire more and more expands into a history of the cotton trade and the inventions which it produced. It is worthy of note

that these inventions were the result of a plentiful supply of raw material. The growth of cotton was introduced into the Southern States of America in the eighteenth century. After this, cotton was brought in greater quantities to Liverpool, and was manufactured at Manchester and the neighbouring towns. Invention kept pace with the supply; and the fears of the workmen that machinery would lessen the demand for labour occasioned many riots and disturbances at first, till it became obvious that machinery increased the demand for labour by increasing its productiveness. Lancashire has consequently been the field of constant emigration from other parts of England, chiefly the North; and the characteristics of the people of Lancashire may best be described as an amalgamation of all the qualities of the northern folk, modified by the nature of their industrial occupations. Mrs. Gaskell's tales, *North and South* and *Mary Barton*, are vivid sketches of Lancashire life.

Lancashire still retains the marks of its historic past. It is still divided into three districts. The northern district round Furness is an outlying spur of the Lake country, but wears a manufacturing appearance, owing to its iron mines and its great steel works at Barrow. The central district of Lancashire is still mainly agricultural, and partakes of the characteristics of Westmoreland. The northern portion of this central district, including Lancaster, wears the severe and stern appearance of the Borderland; the southern portion tells of the beginning of a comfortable country life in the days of the Tudors; and nowhere can a more typical example of an English country house of the sixteenth century be found than at Houghton Tower. The southern district of the county is entirely given up to manufactures, resembling in this the West Riding of Yorkshire, to which it formerly belonged.

## CHESHIRE.



PRESTBURY OLD HALL.

THE city of Chester is renowned for its picturesque antiquity, and its past history amply justifies its fame. In the earliest times of our annals the situation of Chester marked it out as an important place. The Romans, in securing their hold of Southern Britain, were led to pursue the hardy tribes of the North to their mountain fastnesses; and the plain formed by the estuary of the Dee and the Mersey lay between the Welsh hills on one side and the Yorkshire hills on the other. The plain was fertile, and

access to it from the south was easy. It was marked out by natural advantages as the seat of a Roman town, which should be the headquarters of the military work of Rome. So on the sandstone cliff overhanging the Dee not far from its mouth was built the city of Deva, more often known as *Castra Legionum*, a name which it still retains *par excellence*. For though many places in England bear the marks of their origin as sites of Roman garrisons in the termination *chester* or *caster*, the Camp on the Dee bears only the name of Chester, as though it were so clearly the chief station of the Roman army that no other could equal it in importance. It still bears the marks of its Roman origin in the regularity and precision of its four chief streets, which intersect one another at equal distances from the old gates and lead straight from one gate to another.

Five Roman roads converged at Chester, and along them the Roman arms steadily pursued their way, till the northern boundary of the Roman province was extended to the line between the Solway and the Tyne. Chester, originally merely a military post, became a flourishing town; its old extent is marked by its walls, some two miles round, which seem to have followed pretty closely the lines of the old Roman work. It was the capital of a pleasant and fruitful region, and mining industry was carried on along the valley of the Dee.

When the Roman legionaries withdrew after occupying Chester for over three hundred years its glory departed, and the district round it became a prey to confusion. The advent of the English invaders drove the tribes of Wales into a closer union, and Cheshire formed part of the kingdom of Gwynedd, as North Wales was then called. But in 613 the Northumbrian king Ethelfrith burst through the barrier of the Yorkshire hills and attacked Chester. The British army marched to its protection, accompanied by a thousand monks from a neighbouring monastery. Seeing these monks standing apart, with arms outstretched in prayer, the heathen Ethelfrith bade that they should be killed, saying, 'Whether they bear arms or not, they fight against us by crying to their God.' The victory, after a stubborn fight, fell to the Northumbrians, and the British monks were slain. Later times saw in their death the fulfilment of a prophecy of the

Roman missionary Augustine, whose authority the British Christians had refused to acknowledge.

The conquest of Chester united the lands between the Dee and the Mersey to Northumberland, and so broke the British power by separating the Britons of Wales from their brethren in Cumberland. More than this, it brought into close contact the two great English kingdoms of Northumberland and Mercia, between which hitherto the Britons had in some degree formed a barrier. In those days contact meant collision; and the fortunes of the fight varied between heathen Mercia and Christian Northumberland, till in the middle of the seventh century the Mercian king Wulfhere wrested from Northumberland the district south of the Mersey containing the modern Cheshire. Wulfhere was the first Christian King of Mercia; and his daughter, Werburgh, became Mercia's patron saint.

From this time the district now comprised in Cheshire formed part of Mercia, and shared the fortunes of the Mercian kingdom, which in 828 bowed to the superiority of Wessex. But the West Saxon power was broken by the invasions of the Danes, who, after conquering Eastern and Central England, carried their victorious arms to the Dee. Their settlements, however, were not numerous in Cheshire, which was remote from their main power; and, on the revival of Wessex under Alfred, the boundary line between the Danish possessions and those of the West Saxon king was drawn along the old Roman road of Watling Street, which ran from London to Chester. Thus the northern part of Cheshire was rescued from the Danes, and was committed to the charge of Ethelred, who married Ethelfled, Alfred's sister, and ruled as earldorman, no longer king, over the remnants of the Mercian kingdom. Chester, which had fallen into ruins, was again important as a frontier town; and its old walls were still strong enough to defend a body of Danish invaders in 894, whom Ethelred could only drive from their stronghold by a siege carried on through the winter. In Ethelred's hands Chester became a military position to cut off the Danes from the Welsh, and also from the Irish Channel. So in 907 Ethelred renewed its defences, and, to attract more people to the town, founded a house of secular canons named after the Mercian saint, Werburgh.

Perhaps at this time also the custom was established to which we owe the existence of the walls of Chester—that the owners of land in the shire were bound to repair its walls and bridge. At all events, about this time the



PHENIX TOWER, ON THE CITY WALLS, CHESTER.

old Mercian kingdom was divided into shires for convenience of administration; and the fortress of Chester was important enough to become the centre of a district to which it gave its name. From Chester a series of fortresses extended to Manchester, and as a supporting station was built the fort upon Eddisbury Hill.

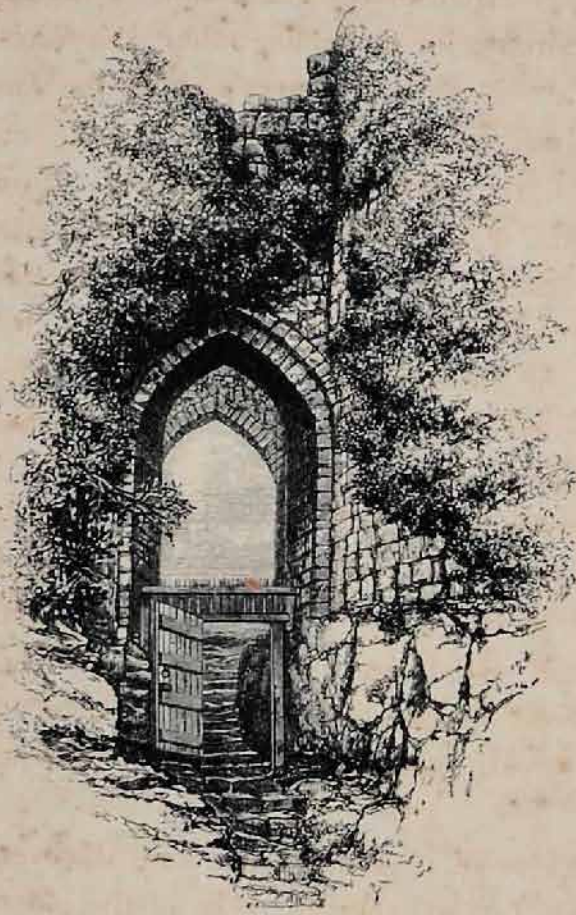
This district was in these days wild and poor, a vast tract of pasture land thinly populated. But Chester itself grew as a centre of trade, being a spot where the Danes of Ireland,

the Welsh, and the Cumbrians could all meet to barter their wares. Tradition makes it the place of Edgar's triumph, when eight vassal kings rowed him upon the River Dee. However imaginative may be the details of this glorification of the great English king, the choice of Chester as its scene marks the importance of the growing town.

The prosperity of Chester was checked by the Norman Conquest. Chester had by this time become the stronghold of Mercia, and was the last town in England that recognised the Conqueror's sway. The North of England was hard to conquer, and clung to its local leaders till William the Conqueror, in 1070, gave it a terrible lesson by his harrying of the North. After laying waste the land between Durham and York, he marched upon Chester, and spread devastation far and wide. The homeless fugitives of the neighbourhood fled, in the depths of winter, and found no refuge till they reached the Abbey of Evesham. Chester was taken, and on the mound where Ethelred had raised his fort was built a Norman keep, whose garrison should keep a watchful eye on the rebellious folk. Moreover, Chester was necessarily the border fortress on the marshes of North Wales, and became the seat of an earldom, whose holder had exceptional privileges. All the land in the shire, save that belonging to the Church, was given to him, and was held directly under him; so that he exercised within his earldom all the power which the king exercised over his kingdom. This important office was first conferred on a Fleming, Gerbod; but he went abroad, and was unfortunate in war, so that his place was taken by Hugh of Avranches, surnamed from his ferocity Hugh the Wolf, William I.'s nephew. Under him and his retainers the shire was reduced to order; strongholds were built wherever there was a passage through the morass which reached towards Wales. Chief amongst these were the castles of Beeston, Halton, and Hawarden, but there were smaller forts at places of lesser importance, such as Dodleston, Alford, Pulford, Holt, and Shotwick. Cheshire became the seat of war against Wales, and its civilisation depended on its barons and their castles. But with them came also the increased influence of the Church; Earl Hugh converted the secular canons of St. Werburgh into monks, and for a short time the seat of the Mercian bishopric was transferred from Lichfield to the old Church of St. John, in Chester, whence it was speedily removed to Coventry.

In the days of the Norman and Angevin kings the Earls of Chester were the most important men in the kingdom, and exercised a decisive influence on affairs. As a rule they were loyal; thus Ranulf, Earl of

Chester, opposed King Stephen in behalf of Matilda, whom he held as the rightful ruler, and it was largely owing to his aid that Henry II. succeeded to the throne. On the other hand, his successor in the earldom rose against Henry II. when he felt that the baronial privileges were in danger from the



BEESTON CASTLE.

*Gateway to higher wards.*

*By permission, from a photograph by Mr. W. Aston.*

strong hand of the Crown. But the great earldom of Chester passed away, through want of male heirs, into the hands of the Crown, and was, by Henry III., in 1238, appropriated as a provision for his eldest son Edward. When Edward I. ascended the English throne, one of his first undertakings was the reduction of Wales. At Chester in 1277, and again in 1283, were gathered the forces which Edward I. summoned to his Welsh expeditions; and with the conquest of Wales Chester lost its importance as a border town. Edward I. settled the earldom of Chester on the heirs-apparent of the Crown, who from that time forward have borne amongst their other titles that of Earl of Chester. Nor were the men of Cheshire regardless of the territorial

claims upon their loyalty; to the last they upheld the cause of Richard II., even when patriotism might have led them to distrust his tyrannical doings. However, the men of Chester were in turn loyal to Henry IV., and it was due to their help that in the battle of Shrewsbury he was victorious over the rebels of Wales and Northumberland. From the good service rendered at the time dates the rise of the family of Stanley, which grew in possessions in Cheshire and Lancashire alike, and exercised the chief influence



upon the politics of these two counties, which from that time forward were to a considerable degree united, and became still more united by identity of commercial interests.

However, through the period of the Middle Ages Cheshire and Lancashire were poor and insignificant. It is true that Chester was a military station, and also a port of great importance, commanding alike the Welsh frontier and the navigation to Ireland. But the greater part of the land within the shire was uncultivated. Much was marshy and unprofitable, and three great forests covered much of the surface of the ground. From Chester to the sea stretched the forest of the Wirral, from the Mersey to the Dee extended the forest of Delamere, and the forest of Macclesfield formed an impenetrable barrier between Cheshire and Derbyshire. There was so little agriculture that the men of Cheshire and Staffordshire used to leave their homes and serve as harvesters in districts where corn was grown, in the same way as did Irish labourers in our own days. So long as Chester was a place of arms, so long as its plains were liable to invasion from Wales, there was little to tempt men to undertake their careful cultivation. Nor were monasteries frequent, though the monks of Birkenhead made a clearing in the forest, and cared for the ferry between Liverpool and their shore, whence ran a road to Chester. On the banks of the Weaver nestled the Abbey of Vale Royal, founded by Edward I., and near Runcorn was the Priory of Norton.

Yet Cheshire had natural advantages of its own, which were discovered in the time of the Roman occupation. In the stratified rocks of the old red sandstone which runs through the country is a deposit of salt, which, mixing with the water, found its way to the surface in springs of brine. The salt-field of Cheshire is about thirty miles long and ten or fifteen broad, and lies principally along the valley of the Weaver. The Old English word for a salt-rock was 'wych,' and the names of Northwich, Middlewich, and Nantwich tell by their terminations what was their industry in the time when these names were given. At the time when the Domesday Survey was made, the right of using these salt works was one for which dues had to be paid to the king and to the Mercian earl. The method of

extracting salt from the brine was simple, and consisted in raising its temperature till crystals were formed and deposited themselves at the bottom. The manufacture of salt at the present day is an important industry, and the salt works of Cheshire count as the chiefest of its natural advantages. But the great demand for salt comes from the need of it as an ingredient in chemicals used in manufactures. In early times, when it was wanted only for domestic purposes, and when communication with other parts of the country was difficult, the salt works of Cheshire could not grow into an industry which was of sufficient importance to affect the general character of the county.

Chester still remained its centre, and gave a significant token of vigorous life. The monastery of St. Werburgh produced the last of the great mediæval historians, of whom England ought justly to be proud. Writing as they did in different monasteries, they show signs of local feeling and ecclesiastical prejudices; but they were men who spoke the thoughts of a strong people, with whose aims they sympathised, and whose progress they understood. This series of monastic historians ends in Ralph Higden, a monk of St. Werburgh, whose *Polychronicon* is a universal history of the world, schemed with a completeness never known before, and forming an encyclopædia of historical and geographical knowledge. Higden died in 1363, and his book enjoyed an unexampled popularity. It was written in Latin, but was soon translated into English by a Cornishman, John Trevisa, Vicar of Berkeley, in Gloucestershire; and when, more than a hundred years later, the printing-press brought books within the reach of more readers, amongst the earliest works which Caxton published were an epitome of the *Polychronicon* and Trevisa's translation of it.

It is worth noticing that Higden was the last of our monkish historians, for that fact tells us that monasticism was on the wane. The monks ceased to be at one with the people, and monasteries ceased to be the houses of learning. More than that, England, during the Wars of the Roses, passed through a period of unrest in which old things unconsciously passed away. The reigns of the Tudors saw the growth of a middle class,

intent upon trade and sympathising little with the aims of monastic life, as it was then set before their eyes. The monks were regarded as ignorant and idle, but the process of the transformation of the monasteries into some more useful institutions was delayed till it came in the shape of destruction. In the sweeping changes wrought by Henry VIII., Cheshire at least had some gain to set against its losses. Though its monasteries were overthrown, the church of St. Werburgh was raised to be the seat of a bishop, and the vast Mercian see of Lichfield was reduced to more manageable dimensions. But such has been the growth of population in the North-west of England that in this century the diocese of Chester, as it was established in the reign of Henry VIII., has furnished more than sufficient work for the two new sees of Manchester and Liverpool, besides contributing some of its extent to the see of Ripon.

The growth of English commerce did not much affect Cheshire in the days of the Tudors. The country was poor, as may be seen from the first assessment for Ship Money under Charles I., when £100 was demanded from Chester and only £200 from all the rest of the shire. The same assessment shows that Chester was still the chief port on the Irish Channel, for Liverpool's contribution is only set down at £15.

The Civil War wrought greater havoc in Cheshire than in any other part of the country. Soon after its outbreak Charles I. visited Chester, and inspired its people with unflinching loyalty to his cause. In 1643 Chester was besieged by Sir William Brereton, but its walls were proof against all assault. The Royalist troops from Ireland landed in the port of Chester, and by their help Brereton was defeated at Middlewich. Beeston Castle was taken, and Nantwich alone held out for the Parliament. It was besieged, but Sir Thomas Fairfax came to its succour; the Royalists were defeated and driven back to Chester, which was blockaded. The siege was raised by the advance of Prince Rupert, but after his defeat at Marston Moor the position of Chester was desperate. It still held out for eighteen months, hoping against hope and enduring famine and pestilence. In September, 1645, Charles I. came there on his march to Scotland, and from the Phoenix Tower upon the wall had the mortification of seeing the rout of the last

army which he could hope to raise in England. He fled to Raglan Castle, and the siege of Chester was resumed with fresh vigour. Still it held out bravely till February, 1646, when it surrendered, having suffered more than any other city for the royal cause. Nor did it suffer alone; Northwich, Middlewich, and Nantwich were equally devastated. The end of the Civil War left Cheshire exhausted and desolate.

At this time we cannot compute the population of Chester at more than 7000, and no other town in the county at more than 2000 inhabitants. Still the county soon advanced in riches, owing to the goodness of its soil, which had now been brought into cultivation and supplied cattle and dairy produce, while Chester was a centre both for fishing and for trade with Ireland. Moreover, its mines supplied salt, slate, and millstones. Nor was Cheshire to be allured into disquiet by the wiles of its bishop, Thomas Cartwright, who was James II.'s agent for carrying out his policy of a restoration of Roman Catholicism. It was to no purpose that James II. honoured Chester by a visit; when the Revolution broke out, no one in Cheshire moved in James's favour, and Bishop Cartwright had to follow his royal master into exile.

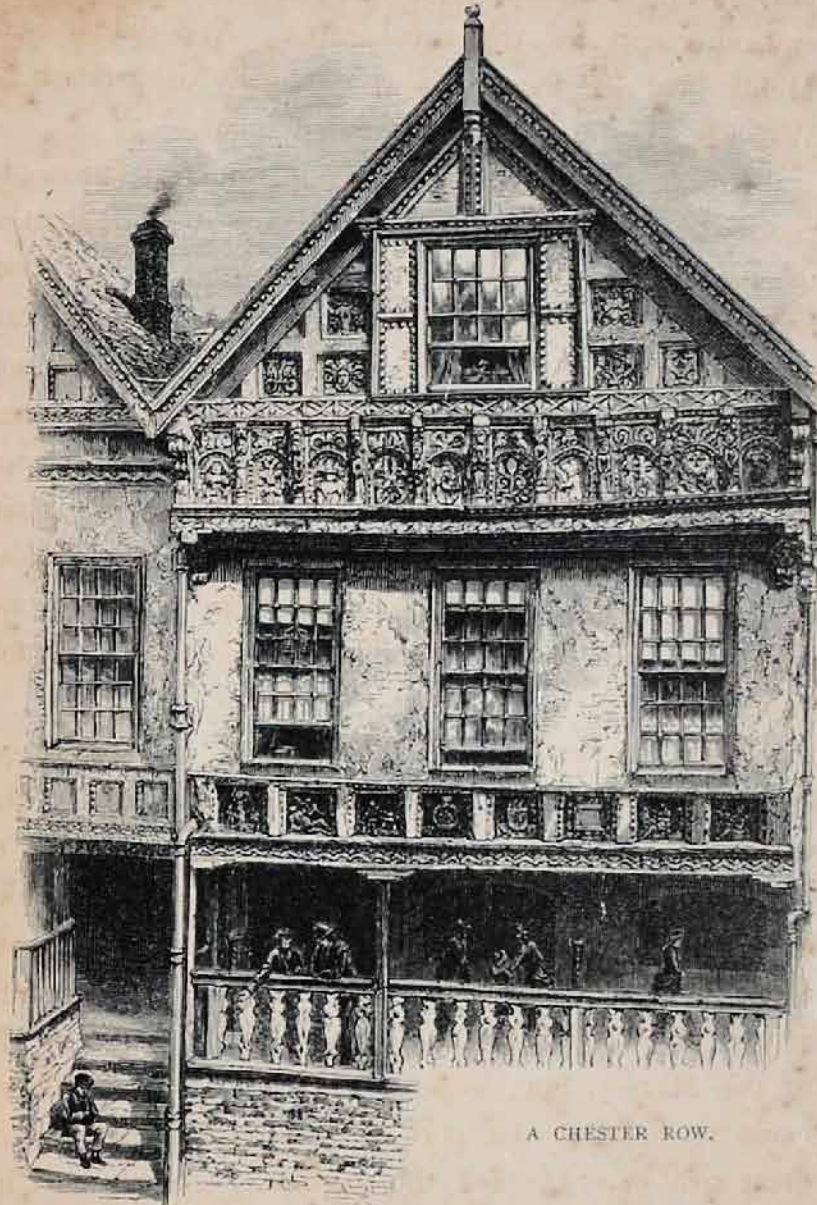
From this time onward Cheshire has enjoyed peace and prosperity. Her industrial development has been overshadowed by that of Lancashire, and much that was said about Lancashire applies to the neighbouring county of Cheshire. Chester sank in importance as a port before its rival, Liverpool; for the estuary of the Mersey afforded better harbourage than that of the Dee. The entrance to the Dee is wider, but the channel soon grows shallow, and is silted up with sand; whereas the water is shallow in the entrance to the Mersey, but deepens into a spacious harbour. Many efforts were made to improve the port of Chester, and a new channel was dug at a great cost in 1733; but the work was useless, as Chester never became a harbour for large vessels.

Thus, with the loss of its port, the trade of Cheshire became an appendage to the trade of Lancashire. The eastern side of the county forms part of the same geological formation as Lancashire and Yorkshire, and shares their natural advantages—coal, iron ore, and water-power. The

western side of Cheshire is the great plain that reaches to the Dee, and is still mainly an agricultural county, save for its salt works. In it, too, is a distinctive product of our own time, the great town of Crewe, which owes its importance solely to its position as a junction for many lines of railway, and consequently is a convenient centre for the great workshops which the manufacture of locomotives, carriages, and the like necessarily require.

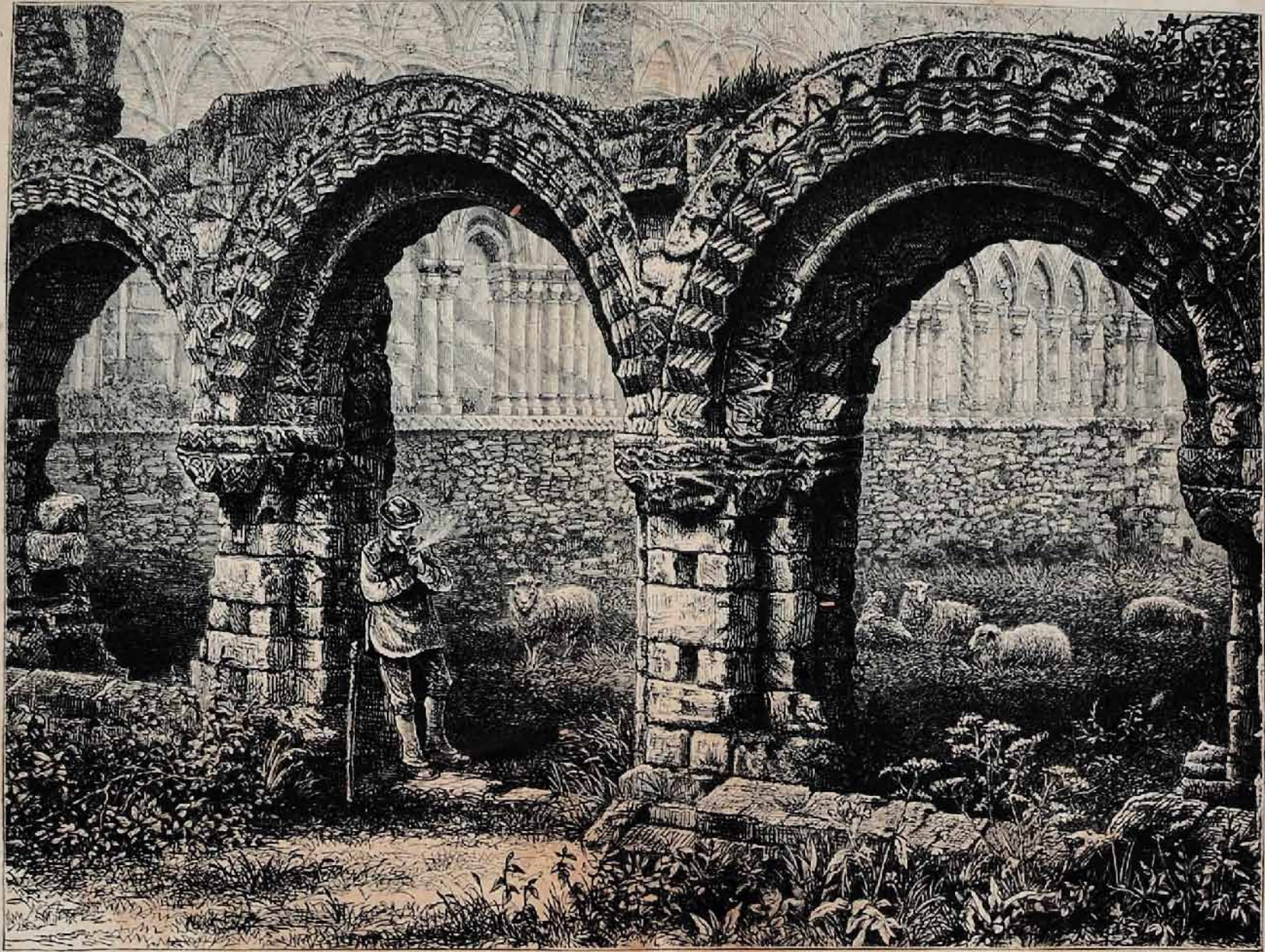
Thus Cheshire has a peculiar interest as being a county which combines, more distinctly than any other, the traces of the most ancient and of the most modern history of England. The journey from the old

walls of Chester to the mills of Macclesfield is but a short one, yet in the course of it the traveller can mark almost all the phases through which English life has passed. Chester itself contains almost an epitome of English history. Its prospect over the hills of Wales and the Irish Channel tells of



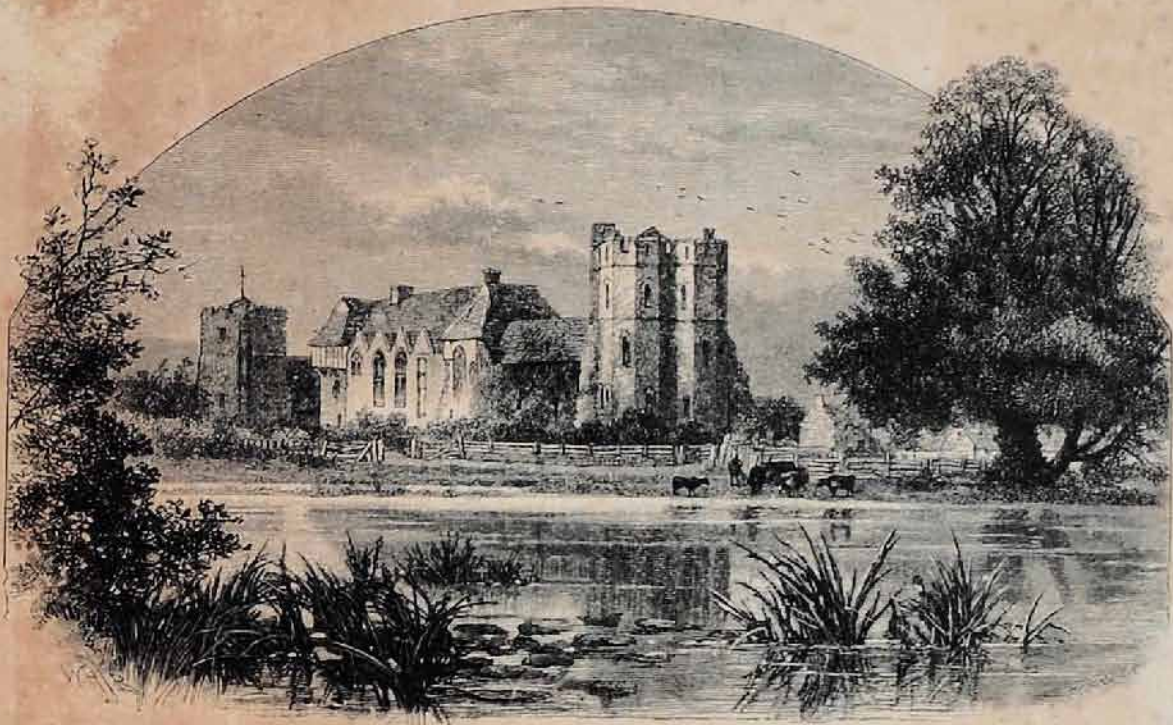
A CHESTER ROW.

the problems of the earliest rulers of the land, and Chester was the position whose possession helped to their solution. Within its walls are the survivals of every phase of civic life, Castle, Church, Guildhall, and the like. Its architecture recalls the time when English life under the Tudors began to assume a settled aspect. Its quaint 'rows' tell of the business of a mediæval city, and perhaps call up a reminiscence of the porticos which the Romans, accustomed to a southern sun, introduced into our northern clime. In like manner the country round about abounds in manor-houses which show the growing comfort of English life, till it reached its highest point in the magnificence of Eaton Hall. The salt works along the Weaver represent one of the oldest industries of our land. The Weaver itself passes on into the canals of Brindley and the district which is busy with the hum of modern machinery and filled with the dense population which modern manufactures bring together in places favourable for production on a large scale.



MUCH WENLOCK ABBEY.

## SHROPSHIRE.



STOKESAY CASTLE.

SHROPSHIRE is one of the most picturesque, as it is one of the most interesting, of English counties, possessing an interest of its own, as being the border-land between England and Wales, and associated with all the scenes of their unequal contest. It owes its picturesqueness and its historical interest to the same causes; it is the district where the Welsh mountains die away gradually into the broad valley of the Severn. It was early decided that the lands which lay eastward of the Severn should be English; it was long a matter of dispute how much of the hilly district which stretched westward should count as English soil.

In the days of the Romans the need was felt of guarding the passes of the Severn and the line of the great road which led to Chester. So,



at the base of Wrekin, the last spur thrown out by the Cambrian range before it disappears in the Severn valley, the Roman town of Uriconium (Wroxeter) was planted as a witness of the Roman rule. It would seem that the situation was attractive, for the remains of Uriconium show a larger enclosure than can be traced in any other Roman town in our island, while the width of its streets and the spaciousness of its public buildings lead to the conclusion that the outskirts of the western hills were the fashionable resort of the wealthy Roman.

After the departure of the Romans, Wroxeter became the capital of the Princes of Powis, and it was some time before the English conquerors of the east made their way so far westwards. But the defeat of the Britons by the West Saxon King, Ceawlin, at Deorham, in 577, incited the conqueror to penetrate farther up the Severn, and in 583 he made his way through the forest to Uriconium, and took it. The ruins of the town show how completely it was plundered and burned, so completely that it was practically swept away, and was left a heap of ruins. From the smoking ruins of the Roman Uriconium Ceawlin advanced to the British town of Pengwyrn (Shrewsbury), which he also destroyed, and then pressed onwards towards Chester. But the Britons of the North gathered their forces and routed the West Saxon host at Faddiley, not far from Nantwich. After this defeat the West Saxons fell back, and the Britons rebuilt their town at Pengwyrn, which then became the capital of the Land of Powis. Uriconium was too hopelessly destroyed to be again restored.

It was nearly two centuries before the borders of the Britons were again invaded. The Kings of Mercia were engaged in warring against their English neighbours, and felt no inclination to penetrate the forest which led to the Upper Severn. But in 780 the great Mercian King Offa turned his arms against the Britons, claimed Pengwyrn as an English town, and, in token of his claim, gave it an English name. Its new name was the English equivalent of its British name; Pengwyrn, which means 'the head of the alder wood,' gave place to Scrobsbyryg, 'the town in the scrub.' Moreover, Offa carried the Mercian border westward, and marked out its limits by an earthwork, which is still known as Offa's Dyke,

running from the mouth of the Wye to the mouth of the Dee. Englishmen now settled for the first time in the land between this Dyke and the Severn; but the old inhabitants were not disturbed, and the two races peaceably mingled with one another.

Thus the lands along the Upper Severn were made part of the Mercian kingdom, and shared its fortunes, in which they did not play a very conspicuous part. When the Danish invasion had been rolled back by the Kings of Wessex, the Mercian kingdom was politically extinct, and was divided into districts corresponding to old local divisions. Most of these districts took their names from the towns round which they centred, as Gloucestershire and Worcestershire; but there was no centre of sufficient importance to give its name to this district, which was called Scrobshire—the shire formed out of the bush (or scrub) region. But the cognate town of Shrewsbury began to show signs of life, and monks found a home in the secluded valley which lay below Wenlock Edge, though the Danish invaders penetrated even to this remote corner of England, and swept the monastery away. In the days of Ethelred the king took refuge at Shrewsbury, and there held meetings of his wise men; and in the days of Edward the Confessor the ruined monastery of Wenlock was again restored.

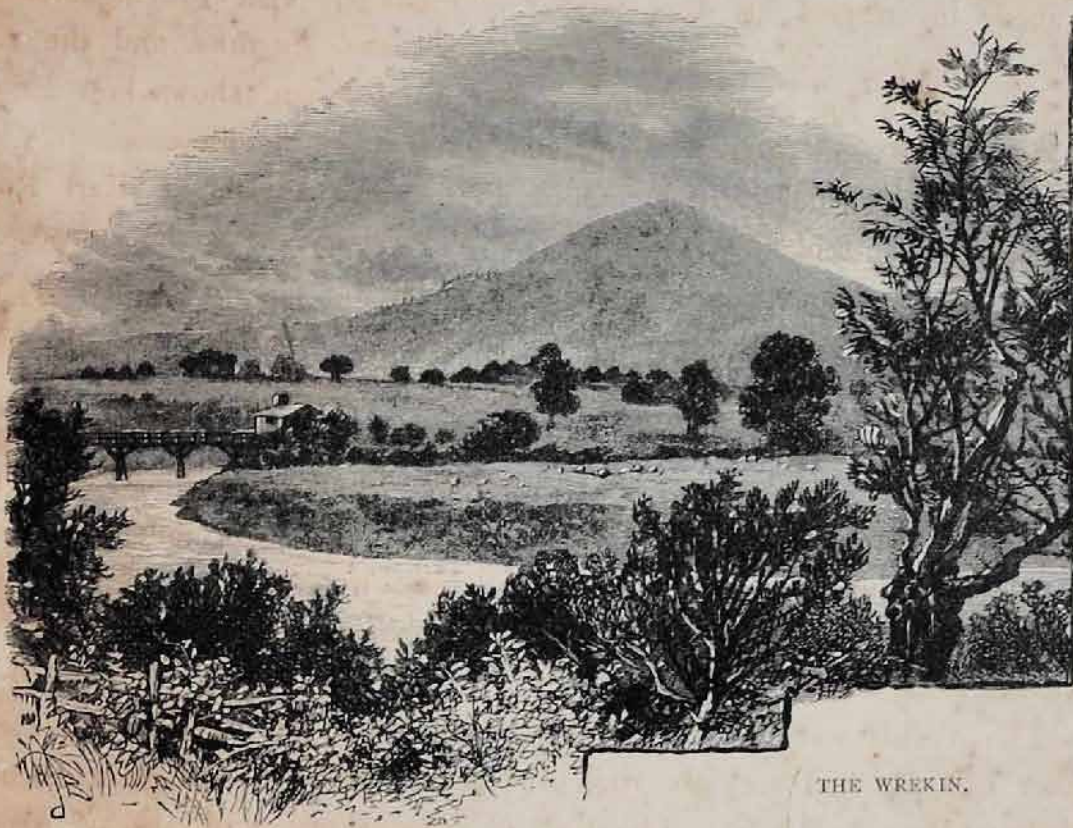
After the Norman Conquest the men of the West were loth to submit to the rule of the invader. It would seem that some Norman barons pressed onwards to the West, and were so struck by the position of Shrewsbury, rising above the river which winds round it, so as to make it a peninsula, that they held for William the highest point, and began the building of a castle. When the men of the West rose against William in 1069 the town of Shrewsbury was burned, but its fortress still held out; and after the suppression of the rising William bestowed on his trusty follower, Roger of Montgomery, the earldom of Shrewsbury. In this uncleared land were very few landholders, so that almost the whole district was directly in the hands of its earl, whose power was great. Earl Roger built the castle, which dominated the town of Shrewsbury, and put down disorder with a strong hand. But here, in this remote part of England, we have the first evidence of the power of the English race to overcome their

conquerors. Amongst the followers of Earl Roger was a priest of Orleans, Odelenis, who was the earl's chaplain and confessor. He married an English wife—for clerical celibacy was not yet strictly enforced—and his eldest son Orderic was brought up at Shrewsbury, and learned the English tongue. At the age of ten Orderic was devoted to a monastic life, and went across the sea to the monastery of St. Evroul in Normandy. There he abode the rest of his days, paying at least one visit to England. He wrote an *Ecclesiastical History of Normandy and England*, and the name which he chose for himself, 'Orderic the Englishman,' shows how English and Normans began to combine without much sense of difference.

Moreover, Orderic's father, Odelenis, was the adviser of Earl Roger, and urged him to found a monastery at Shrewsbury. For this purpose the church which Odelenis served outside the walls was chosen as the site, and in the Forgate of Shrewsbury rose the stately monastery of St. Mary. Further, the decayed house at Wenlock was founded anew, and care was taken for the religious instruction of a district which, by its position, was still marked out as the seat of border warfare. Earl Roger aimed at making Shrewsbury the seat of government, and built a castle of defence amongst the western hills, which he called by his own name of Montgomery. In later times Earl Roger's castle, and the town which gathered round it, gave the name to a Welsh county.

The Welsh war of William II. drove back the Welsh, and carried farther into their territory the ring of Norman castles which pent them in, and drove them to submit. The Earl of Shrewsbury, lord also of Arundel and Chichester, secure in his own domains by the castles of Shrewsbury and Bridgnorth, was almost too powerful a subject. After the death of William II., Robert de Belesme, who held these lands, in addition to many more across the sea in Normandy, rose against Henry I. on behalf of his elder brother Robert's claim to the English Crown. Robert de Belesme is typical of the evil features of the character of the Norman barons. Violent, cruel, and oppressive, he was a man of craft and cunning, so that he was the terror of his neighbours, great and small alike, and tales of his savagery were rife on every side. He manned his castle of Bridgnorth and

called the Welsh to his help; but Henry I. quickly marched against it, and the Welsh gave way before English gold. Robert de Belesme was forced to submit, to resign to the king all his lands in England and confine himself to Normandy. There he was the head of opposition to the king, who was not secure till, in 1106, he defeated the Norman barons at Tinchebrai, and consigned Robert de Belesme to prison, where he lingered



THE WREKIN.

out his life. From this time onward the earldom of Shrewsbury was vested in the Crown. There also, as at Chester, it was found dangerous to allow such great power to pass from father to son.

In the anarchy of Stephen's reign Shrewsbury Castle was held by William Fitzalan for Matilda. It was besieged by Stephen, and William Fitzalan himself fled away, leaving his garrison to hold out by themselves. Stephen's method of reducing them was at least peculiar. He filled the ditch around it with wood and set it on fire, so that the garrison was smoked out. When Henry II.'s accession again brought order into the

land, the powerful barons of the West refused to surrender the royal castles which they held. Hugh of Mortimer held Bridgnorth, Cleobury, and Wigmore. All were besieged and taken, and Hugh was driven to make submission to the king outside the walls of Bridgnorth in 1157.

Thus the leading influence for civilisation in Shropshire was that of the barons. Shropshire was a land of castles, equalled only by its neighbour, Herefordshire; it was a land of great lords. The only counterpoise to the military civilisation of the barons was to be found in the peaceful life of the monks; and the new orders which brought monastic life more into connection with the people—the Austin canons and the Cistercians—both found early homes in Shropshire, the first at Haughmont and Lilleshall, the second at Buildwas.

However, the time had not yet come when Shropshire could enjoy the blessings of peace. Wales had been acquired by the energy of Norman barons, who each conquered for himself and ruled as a little king in the lands which his sword had won. These lands were known as the Lordship Marches, and the extension of the marches at the expense of the Welsh was steady and persistent till the conquest of Ireland opened out a new field for the enterprise of Norman adventure. After this the native rulers of Wales had time to raise their heads. At the end of the twelfth century the Prince of Gwynedd (North Wales), Llewelyn ap Iorweth, was of so much importance that King John gave him in marriage a natural daughter as a means of binding him to his side. Llewelyn took part in English affairs, but it was against his father-in-law. He stood by the barons who demanded the signing of the Great Charter, and helped to reduce John to comply with their demands by occupying Shrewsbury in 1215, and only reluctantly restored the places which he had seized in 1218. But Llewelyn was powerful, and Henry III.'s government was weak. In 1225 an expedition against Llewelyn was a failure, and till his death in 1240 he made head against the Lords Marchers and kept up a constant warfare, in which Shropshire suffered, but Shrewsbury grew in importance as a great centre of military strength. Under Llewelyn ap Gwffydd this Celtic revival became still stronger. He ruled the Principality of Gwynedd with a strong

hand, and the land lay open to him from Chester to the Bristol Channel. Henry III. was miserably poor, and bestowed on his son Edward the revenues derived from Wales. But the Welshmen rose, on the grounds that Edward dealt with them not according to their customs, and Edward's attempt to reduce them by force of arms in 1257 was a failure. The second Llewelyn entered, like his predecessor, into English politics, and took part with Simon de Montfort and the barons against Henry III., while the Lords of the Welsh Marches held for the king. It was their perseverance that finally turned the stream against Earl Simon. The loss of the castles which commanded the Severn—Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, Ludlow, and Gloucester—cut him off from his friends in Wales, and left him helpless at Evesham, where he fell before Edward, whose troops had been drawn from the domains of the Lords Marchers.

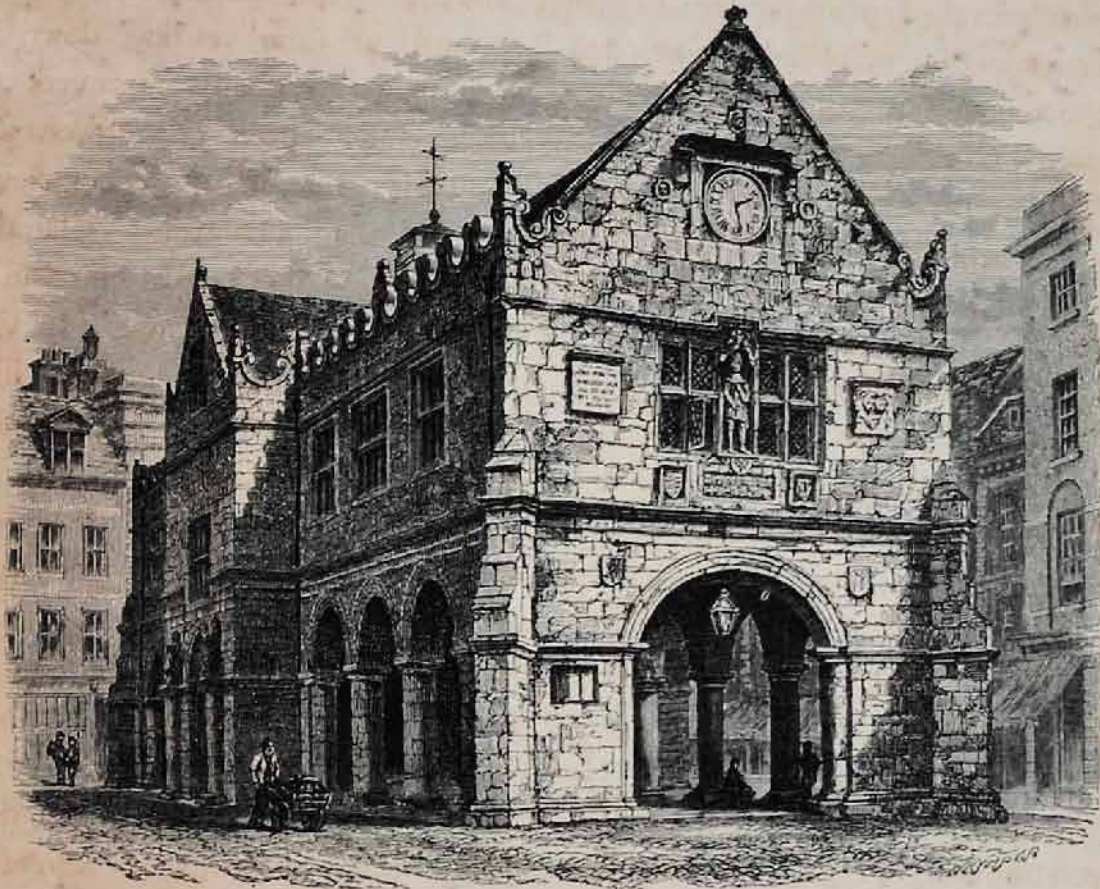
Edward I. had learned enough before he came to the throne to make him feel that the reduction of the Principality of Gwynedd, and the destruction of the independent power of its ruler, was a matter of the first importance. He systematically attacked the lands of Llewelyn, whom he slew in battle. The remaining claimant of the old line of kings was David, who had received many favours from Edward, had done him homage, and then had conspired against his lord. David was handed over to Edward as a prisoner, and Edward, determined to make an example of him, summoned to Shrewsbury a representative assembly of the laity of the realm, by whom David was tried and condemned to death (1283). His sentence was carried out in Shrewsbury. Edward, meanwhile, used the assembly for other than judicial purposes. He dwelt in the castle of his former tutor, Robert Brunell, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, at Acton Brunell, where was framed the Statute of Merchants, one of the most important measures for regulating commerce, by providing for the recovery of debts. The ruins of the castle bring strongly before the mind the memory of the leading features of the age, when commerce was rising into importance, when a great king was striving to bring under one law all the lands that were girt by the same sea.

Wales, though conquered, was not absorbed into England. The

Principality was united to the English Crown, and the eldest son of the king was invested with the dignity of Prince of Wales; but the Lords Marchers still exercised their independent jurisdictions. The Principality was not pacified, in spite of the castles wherewith Edward I. kept it in subjection. There were frequent risings which, added to the wild disorder which prevailed amongst the Lordship Marches, kept the western part of Shropshire in perpetual alarm, and prevented it from settling down to regular industry. In the fourteenth century things gradually improved, till in 1400 Welsh national feeling again awoke under Owen Glendower, and was powerful. Glendower, who owned lands in Merioneth, was aggrieved by his neighbour Lord Grey de Ruthin, and took up arms. Claiming descent from Llewelyn, he rallied the Welsh around him, took the title of Prince of Wales, destroyed Oswestry, and overthrew many castles. In vain Henry IV., insecurely seated on his throne, led his troops against him. The capture of Sir Edmund Mortimer, and Henry's refusal to ransom him, only gave Glendower an ally amongst the English, who opened up negotiations with the discontented Percys of the North. This dangerous combination was checked by the promptitude of Henry IV., who succeeded in overtaking the Northumbrian forces of Percy and the Scots under Douglas at Hatley Field, near Shrewsbury, before Glendower had time to join his troops with theirs. There, on July 4, 1403, was fought a stubborn battle which was only ended in Henry's favour by the death of Percy; it was so hardly fought that half the combatants on either side were left dead upon the field. Again Shrewsbury saw the execution of traitors, who were treated with all the barbarity which was the fate of the last of the Welsh princes. But though Henry IV. had overcome his English rebels he could not succeed in vanquishing Glendower, who, till his death in 1415, continued to hold his own and devastate the lands of the Lordship Marches.

His death was followed by the reconquest of Wales and the enactment of severe laws against the Welsh, which only had the result of driving them to form organised bands of robbers, whose raids disturbed the law. To stop these disorders, in 1478 a special Court was erected, the Court of the President and Council of the Marches of Wales, with summary jurisdiction

over the disturbers of the public peace. The headquarters of this Council were fixed at Ludlow Castle by Edward IV., who had himself been brought up there in his youth. This measure was in some degree successful; but the descent of Henry VII. from Owen Tudor was still more successful in gratifying the national sentiment of the Welsh, and making them loyal to



SHREWSBURY MARKET HALL.

the English Crown. To humour this national feeling, Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII., took up his abode at Ludlow, after his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, with a view of residing there as ruler of the Principality. He died at Ludlow three months after his settlement there, but from that time onward Ludlow Castle was the seat of the President of the Council of Wales. Henry VIII. made this office of less importance in 1536, when Wales was incorporated with England, and the lands of the



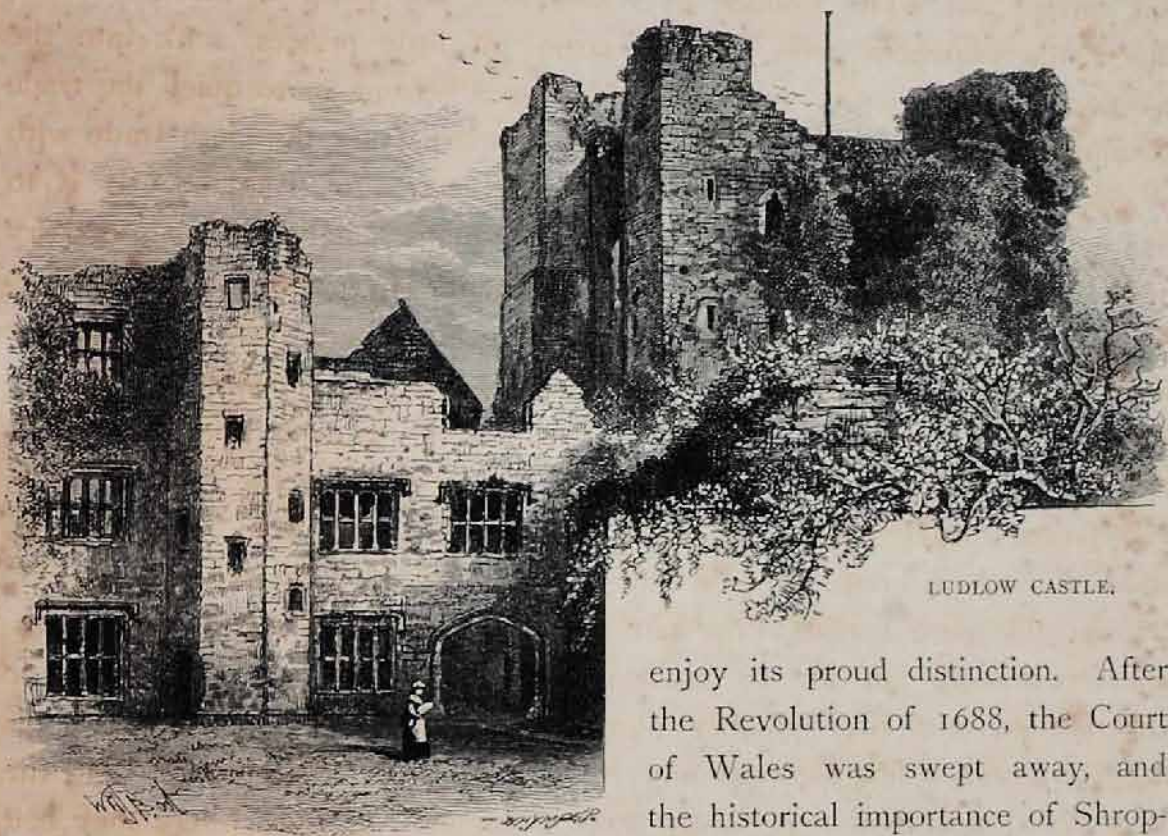
Lords Marchers were formed into shires, with English principles of self-government and representation in the English Parliament. It was at this time that the boundaries of Shropshire were definitely fixed.

From this time onwards the prosperity of Shropshire steadily increased, as it was freed from its former causes of disquiet. On the dissolution of the monasteries there was a proposal for a Bishop of Shrewsbury, but it was not carried out. The Council of Wales took the place of the Council of the Lords Marchers, who, from a crowd of little princes, sank into the position of quiet country gentlemen. As times became more quiet the trade of Shrewsbury flourished; it was the great market for the cloth trade with Wales, and was one of the chief commercial centres of England. It is to the sudden growth of its commerce in the Tudor reigns that Shrewsbury owes much of its picturesqueness at the present day. Substantial dwelling-houses were built by substantial merchants, and there has been in later times no sufficient expansion of trade or increase of population to sweep away these memorials of the past. The school founded by Edward VI. erected its buildings, and counted amongst its early pupils Sir Philip Sidney. His father, Sir Henry Sidney, was President of Wales from 1559 to 1586, and did much to bring the land into order and develop its industry.

A still more famous President was the Earl of Bridgewater, famous, not for himself, but for an accident which has given to Ludlow Castle imperishable memories. Shortly after Lord Bridgewater's arrival there, his daughter, Lady Alice Egerton, and her two brothers, were benighted in the Hay Wood, near Richard's Castle, some three miles distant, where they had gone for a ramble. This incident gave Milton the motive for his masque of *Comus*, which was set to music, and was played in Ludlow Castle, by those whose adventure had called it forth, in 1634.

In the great Civil War, Shropshire, like most of the West of England, held for the king. It was not, however, the scene of great engagements, though it was often visited by the king, and its castles were besieged by the Parliamentary generals after the Battle of Naseby. Bridgnorth Castle was entirely destroyed and most of the town was burnt; Shrewsbury and Ludlow both suffered sieges; most of the Shropshire castles were dismantled

and swept away. But after the Restoration Ludlow Castle was repaired, and again became the seat of the President of Wales. There, in a chamber over the gateway, Samuel Butler, steward of the Earl of Carbery, wrote his *Hudibras*, the work which expresses most clearly in imaginative form the powerful reaction against Puritanism which caused the Restoration. But Ludlow, which had been the home of two great poets, was not long to



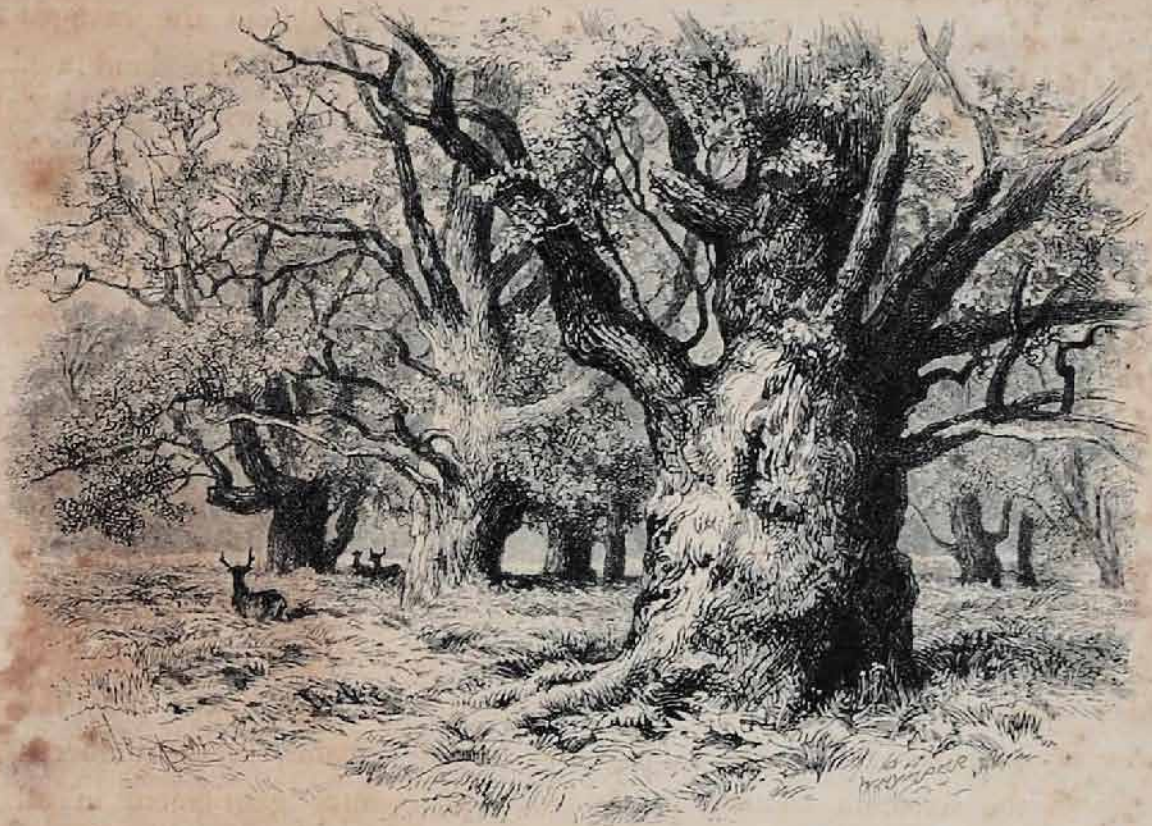
LUDLOW CASTLE.

enjoy its proud distinction. After the Revolution of 1688, the Court of Wales was swept away, and the historical importance of Shropshire as an independent seat of government finally disappeared. The castle of Ludlow fell into decay, and survives only as a stately ruin; but the ruin tells a tale of the continuous history of England. The massive walls of the Norman keep, and the lovely round chapel, with its Norman doorway, are attached to buildings which were constantly being changed in accordance with the changes of English social life. We can see how the military fortress of an early age grew into the stately house of an Elizabethan gentleman, for whom convenience of daily life was more important than safety from

invasion. In the ruins of Ludlow Castle we can find traces of the domestic architecture of almost every period between 1100 and 1700. It is an epitome of the social history of England.

In fact, Shropshire altogether is full of records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the time when the shire recovered from the ravages of the Welsh wars, and enjoyed an exceptional prosperity. The land was fertile, and Shrewsbury was the natural market for Wales, whose produce, particularly cloths, was carried on the backs of mountain ponies to Shrewsbury market, which was a great centre of commercial activity. Moreover, Shrewsbury was a provincial capital in the days before increased rapidity and ease of travelling destroyed all local sentiment, and made London the capital of England in a way which had been impossible in early days. It is this quiet period of England's prosperity, before the changes wrought by steam and machinery, which Shropshire specially illustrates. The county is not particularly rich in minerals, and no great manufactures have sprung up save at Coalbrook-Dale, on its south-eastern border. It still is mainly a pastoral country, with rich pasture-lands and flocks of sheep. It is prosperous; but its prosperity is of the same kind as that which it enjoyed in former days, and has taken no new development which has swept away the traces of its past. It is still a land rich in old remains, in the timbered houses of the sixteenth century, in the seats of country gentlemen, in all that tells of life well cared for, and prosperity which has not overshot its limits or grown suddenly beyond the capacities of men to keep pace with its demands. Shropshire, with its neighbours north and south, has many interesting characteristics. It shows the growth of agricultural prosperity in a fertile district, which became prosperous as soon as it was freed from disorder. It shows how the baronial civilisation of early times gave way before the changed conditions of country which began in the reigns of the Tudor kings. It still bears on its surface the traces of the gradual progress of English society in a region where local life was strong, and where its course has been but slightly affected by the development of modern industry, which in other counties has nearly obliterated the records of the past.

## STAFFORD.



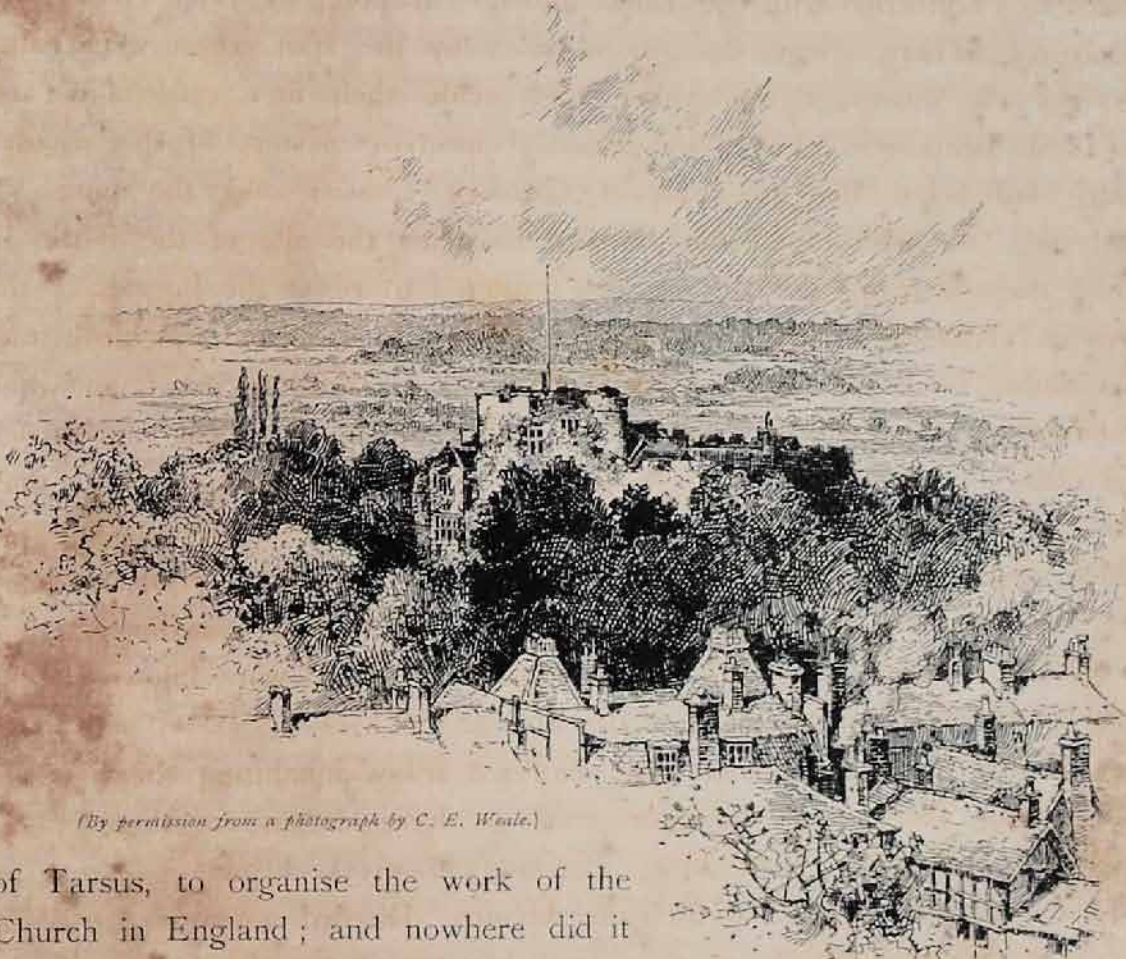
IN NEEDWOOD FOREST.

THE district contained within the county of Stafford, like that which forms the neighbouring counties of Warwick and Worcester, was, in old times, little known and scantily peopled. On the north, the moorlands of the Peak made way for a fringe of woodland, which broadened into the Forest of Needwood, reaching to the valley of the Trent. Westward of this rose a bleak upland, known later as Cannock Chase, which stretched almost to the Forest of Arden. There was little in such a district to attract the Roman colonists, though the Roman road from Leicester to Chester skirted the Forest of Needwood, and was held by a station at Uttoxeter; while another Roman road made its way between Cannock Chase and the Forest

of Arden. It is not here, however, that we need stop to gather together traces of the Roman occupation of Britain. The real history of the district begins with the coming of the English, who followed the basin of the Trent, and made their settlements along its course. One band of adventurers penetrated to its junction with the Tame, and spread along the open country by its banks. There, where the ground rises by the spot where the Tame receives the waters of the Anker, they made their first settlement, and called it Tamworth. They next made themselves masters of the country which lay below the moorland of Cannock Chase; and the name of Lichfield, 'the field of corpses,' is said to mark the site of the battle in which they overcame the Britons who gathered to resist the inroads of the invader. After this battle those English of the West skirted the bleak tract of Cannock Chase by following the Roman road of Watling Street, and then passing the valley of the Penk; while others went northwards and struck the valley of the Sow. Near the junction of the Penk and the Sow they made another settlement at Stafford, or the ford over the broadening stream, which could be crossed by the help of a staff. Further northwards they did not penetrate for two centuries, but were content with guarding against the Welsh the territory which they had gained, and so were known by the name of the Mercians, or Men of the March.

At first these Marchmen were scattered tribes inhabiting the basin of the Trent. They seem, however, soon to have drawn together into a kingdom, and under their king, Penda (526—655), began a career of conquest at the expense of their neighbours. Discord amongst the West Saxon tribes enabled Penda to extend his sway over the Hwiccas, who dwelt in the modern shires of Worcester and Gloucester, and the Hecanas of Herefordshire. Then he attacked the Eastern English and the English of Northumberland, and for a time was successful. Penda was a heathen, stern and savage, who wrought much havoc wherever he went on his plundering raids; but at the last he fell in battle against the Northumbrians, and on his fall the Mercian power was broken. Penda's son, Peada, became a Christian, and was in subjection to the Northumbrian king. This subjection did not last long; for, under Wulfhere in 659, Mercia again was free,

and began a new career of conquest. We need not follow the ups and downs of its successes as the great military power in England. Its people were still fierce and rugged, for Christianity had made little progress amongst them. It was left for the archbishop, who was sent from Rome, Theodore



(By permission from a photograph by C. E. Waale.)

TAMWORTH.

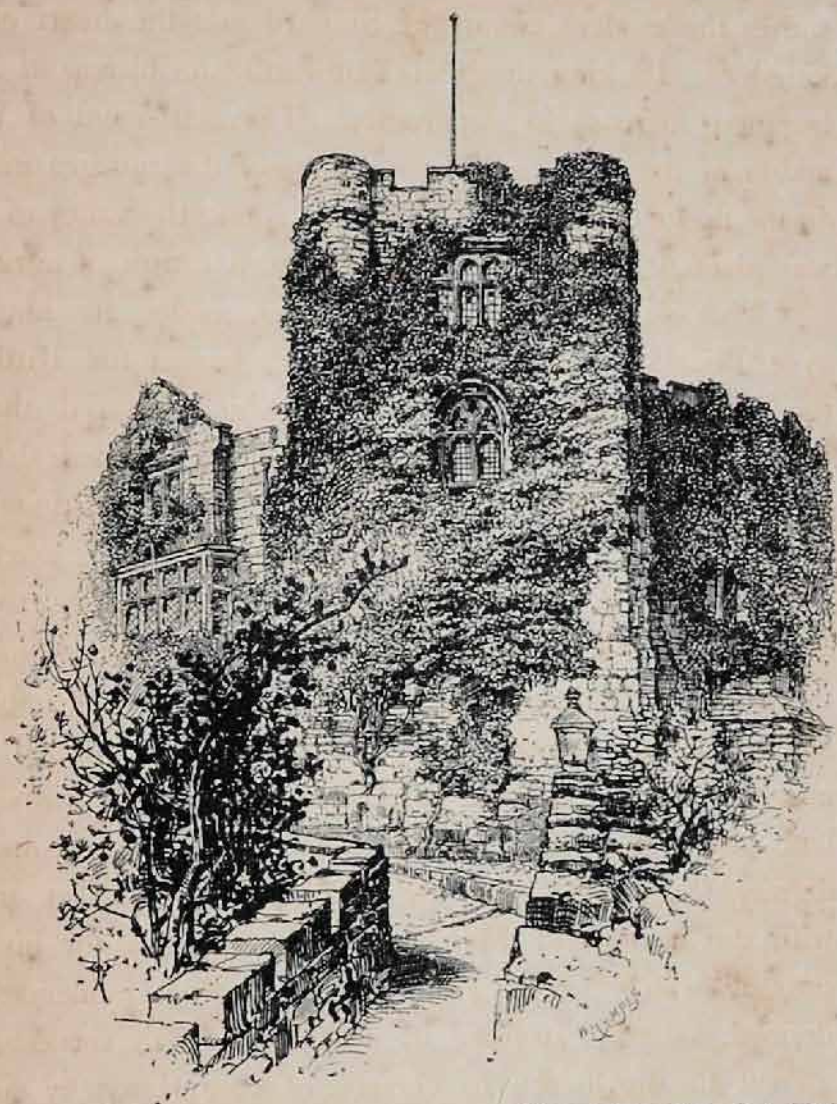
of Tarsus, to organise the work of the Church in England; and nowhere did it need more organisation than in Mercia. There, in 669, Theodore set up a bishop at Lichfield, and chose for that office Ceadda or Chad, a monk of Lastingham, who, in Wilfrid's long absence on the Continent, had been made Bishop of York in his stead. Chad's simple piety so impressed those that saw him that they held him in great honour, and after his death, in 672, men took him for a saint, so that the Church of St. Chad still marks the spot where he lived and laboured. Soon after his death Archbishop Theodore carried further the organisation of the Mercian Church by setting

up bishops at Worcester, Hereford, and Leicester; so that the see of Lichfield contained the district of the Mercians proper, and their annexations by conquest received the recognition of ecclesiastical independence. The district contained within the modern county of Stafford was the heart of the original Mercian kingdom. Its king dwelt at Tamworth; its bishop at Lichfield. The district began to increase in importance. The settlement of Wolverhampton, in the middle of the forest, tells by its name of the ravages made by the wild wolves on the flocks of its first inhabitants. Along the valley of the Trent a monastery was planted at Burton, which became a centre of agricultural life.

The eighth century saw Mercia, under its king, Ethelbald, supreme over Britain south of the Humber; but at the battle of Burford, in 754, the West Saxons won a victory which secured their independence, and they never lost it again. For a time it seemed that England was to be permanently divided into three kingdoms—Northumberland, Mercia, and Wessex. The Mercian king, Offa, sought to extend his dominions by warring against the Welsh, and carried his arms to the Wye, where he fixed his frontier by the earthwork, Offa's Dyke, which joined the Wye and the Dee. Offa designed to make his kingdom as important as were Northumberland and Wessex, and for this purpose obtained the Pope's permission, in 786, to raise the see of Lichfield to an archbishopric. Northumberland had raised the see of York to an archbishopric, and Offa desired a like dignity for Mercia. So for a time there was an archbishop of Lichfield, with the bishops of Mercia and East Anglia for his suffragans. But this project, which would have had a strong influence in keeping England divided, scarcely survived its designer. Offa's successor, beset by difficulties, gained an ally in the Archbishop of Canterbury, by suppressing the Mercian archbishopric in 803. Soon after that Mercia was distracted by civil war. Its glory passed rapidly away, and in 828 it submitted to the West Saxon Egbert. Indeed, the power of Mercia rested solely on the sword, and depended upon the character of its kings. It had no organisation, and no great centre of national life. Tamworth was only the residence of its king, and Lichfield of its bishop. It showed no intellectual activity, and had no strongly marked characteristics. It was a loose confederacy rather

than a regulated kingdom. When once it had fallen, there was no point round which patriotism could gather.

When the Danes invaded Mercia in 874, they met with little resistance. It was left to the West Saxon King Alfred to check their ravages, and when he made peace with them, in 878, Mercia was divided, and the western part only was left in English hands. Thus it came about that there is a strong Danish element in the neighbouring counties of Derby and Leicester, while Staffordshire shows little trace of their presence. This division completed the destruction of the national feeling of Mercia. Over the part that remained English



*By permission.*

*[From a photograph by C. E. Weale.*

TAMWORTH CASTLE.

Alfred set a Mercian ruler, Ethelred, and gave him his sister Ethelfleda to wife. Ethelred died in 912, and Ethelfleda, 'the lady of the Mercians,' as she was called, began a work for the protection of her frontier which was of great importance in the future. She fortified the line of the Roman road of Watling Street, and erected a mound crowned by a

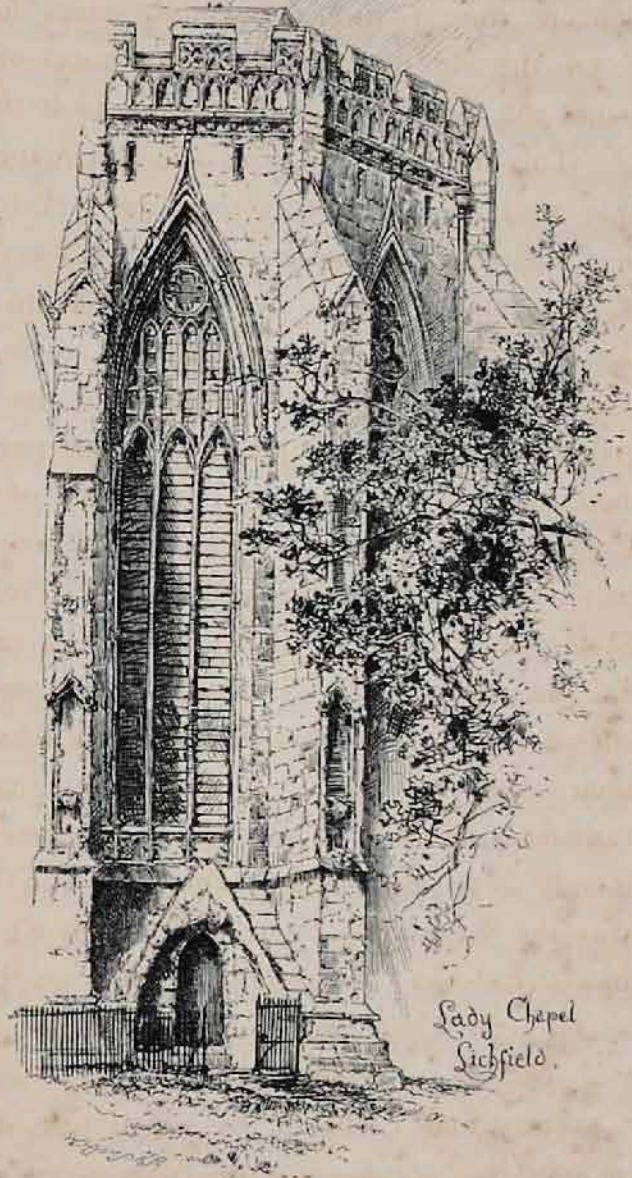


fortress at Tamworth, and another at Stafford. By this means she occupied the strongest positions in Central England, and was able in a few years to drive out the Danes from the entire valley of the Trent. King Athelstan often held his court at Tamworth; and before 930 the power of the Danes had been broken, and England was united under the West Saxon king. The old kingdom of Mercia had entirely passed away, and its domains were portioned out into shires for the convenience of government. Even the central part kept no trace of its old name, but was grouped round the fortress of Stafford, and took the name of Staffordshire.

This union of England was premature, and the central power was not able to hold the country together. A separate ruler for Mercia was soon needed, and in the years before the Norman Conquest the Mercian earl was an important person. But when William the Norman claimed to sit upon the English throne, those who had done nothing to prevent his conquest were foremost to rebel against him. In 1069 Staffordshire rose in revolt, and was visited by William with the punishment which he never failed to mete out to resistance. The lands of the shire were laid waste; the English owners were driven out; Normans were set in their stead, and a castle was built at Stafford to keep rebellious spirits in awe. Further, Staffordshire seemed likely to lose its ecclesiastical position; for Lichfield did not seem to the Norman love of organisation a fit place for a bishop's church. The English sees had been founded for tribes, and sometimes had their seats in villages. The Normans were accustomed to the sight of a cathedral rising in stately grandeur over a populous town. Lichfield was merely a village which gathered round a church; so William I. ordered that the see should be transferred to Chester. The next Norman bishop, however, looked with longing eyes on the minster of Coventry, and took that as the chief church of his diocese. But the fame of St. Chad could not be entirely forgotten, and the see was known as the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, by which title it existed till the dissolution of the monasteries swept away the monastery of Coventry, and restored Lichfield to its original dignity.

The county of Stafford was not a very attractive place of residence, and

William the Conqueror granted much of its western part to Hugh of Montgomery, Earl of Arundel, whose main possessions lay elsewhere. The rest was chiefly held by the lords of the castles of Stafford, Tamworth, and Tutbury. The only important monastery was Burton, though there were collegiate churches at Stafford and Tamworth. Other castles were built and monasteries were founded as time went on. But the mediæval history of Staffordshire is not important. Its bishop, elected by the monks of Lichfield and Coventry together, passed from one place to another, and the disputes concerning his election between the rival bodies of electors fill a large part of the annals of the see. We do not even know from any records the history of the building of the graceful cathedral, whose three fair spires, rising behind the Minster Pool, are now the chief architectural glory of the county. We can only say that the church was built gradually between the years 1200 and 1350, and that the elegant disposition of the west front shows that it was the work of men who had no niggard spirit. History has most to say of wars and tumults; and we have

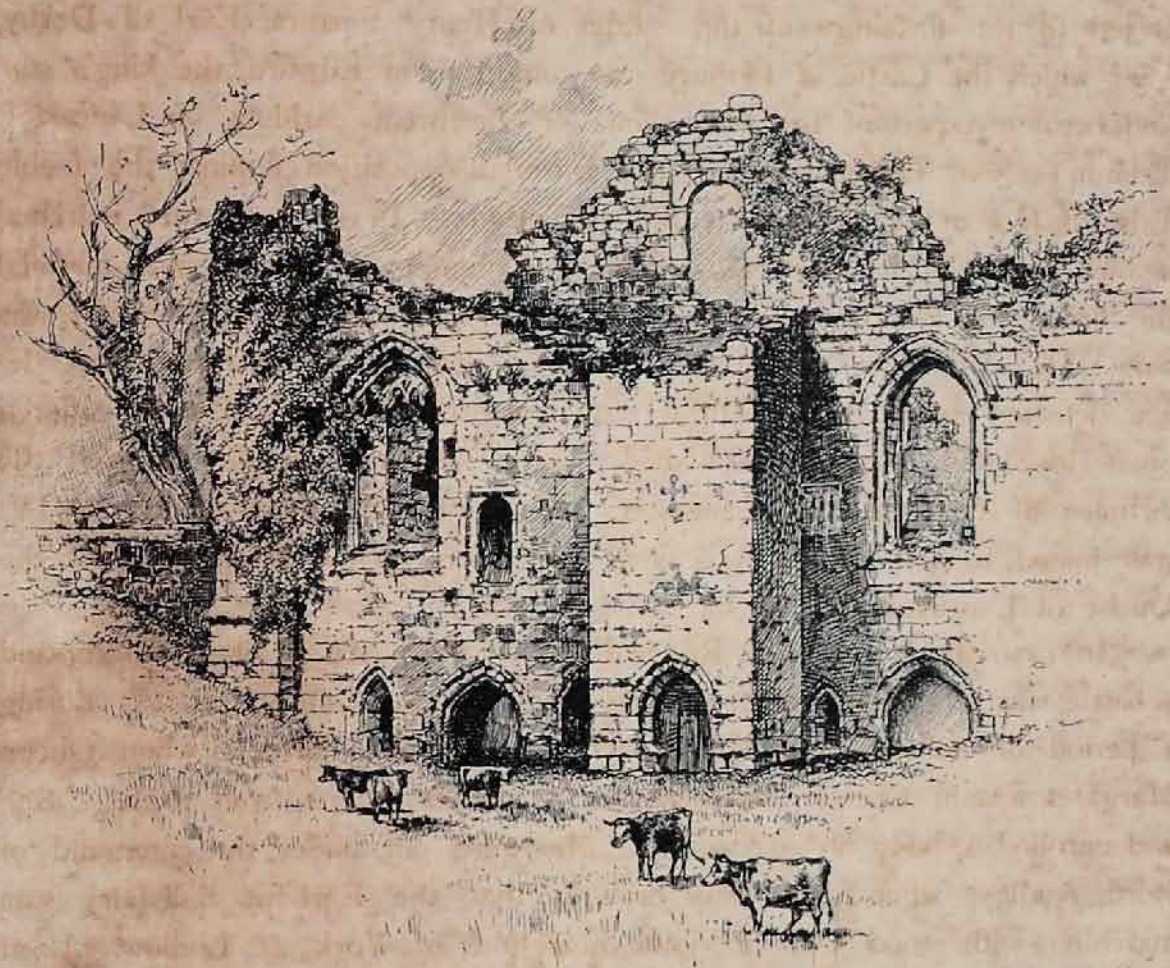


no written trace of the gradual process by which the limits of the forest were gradually diminished and the plough of the husbandman pressed on into the waste. For the most part Staffordshire was left in tolerable peace. Its castles were not in very strong positions, and their lords either held other castles elsewhere or were not men of great importance. Even the barons' war against Henry III. did not much affect Staffordshire, though it led to the forfeiture of the estates of Henry Ferrars, Earl of Derby, after which the Castle of Tutbury was conferred on Edward, the king's son, and became a part of the possessions of the great earldom of Lancaster. Edmund's son, Thomas, headed the baronial opposition against the feeble Edward II., and fortified his castle of Tutbury. In 1322 Edward marched against him, and gathered his forces at Lichfield. Earl Thomas manned the bridge of Burton to prevent the king's passage, but his attempt was vain. He dared not defend Tutbury, but fled into Yorkshire, where he was defeated and put to death. In this war the abbey of Burton suffered great loss, and the town was laid waste. Tutbury Castle followed the fortunes of the house of Lancaster, and on the accession of Henry IV. was joined to the Crown, and now forms part of the possessions of the Duchy of Lancaster.

In 1459 the wars of the Roses disturbed the peace of Staffordshire, and a battle was fought upon the western border of the county. It was during a period of hollow reconciliation between the two parties, when Queen Margaret was in Chester endeavouring to gather troops from Wales. She had enrolled a body of 10,000 men, who were put under the command of Lord Audley, when news was brought that the Earl of Salisbury was marching with 5000 men to join the Duke of York at Ludlow. Lord Audley was sent to cut him off, and the two forces met on Bloreheath. Salisbury took up a position on the bank of a little stream, which was not broad but deep, and with steep banks. When the evening advanced he pretended to be struck with panic, and withdrew. This encouraged the royalists to press on into the stream, abandoning their military order. As soon as they were confused by scrambling up the bank, Salisbury returned and fell upon them. A desperate fight ensued, in which Salisbury was

victor, despite the disadvantage of numbers. Audley was slain, and 2400 of his soldiers were left corpses on the field. Queen Margaret fled to Eccles-hall Castle, and Salisbury joined the Duke of York at Ludlow, where he was soon afterwards defeated by Henry VI., and driven to flee to Calais.

There is not much to tell that is especially characteristic of the history



*By permission.*

TUTBURY CASTLE.

*[From a photograph by R. Keene, Derby.]*

of Staffordshire in the period that followed. Its monasteries disappeared, and have left few traces. Its towns were not important, and its manufactories were insignificant. The chief industry carried on was the making of woollen caps, and even that began to fail in the middle of the sixteenth century, when greater habits of luxury began to prevail. The trade of England passed to the east and south, and the western and midland shires

declined in importance. In 1575 Queen Elizabeth paid a visit to Stafford, which tried to do honour to its royal visitor. 'Each man's house was new painted, and the streets were gravelled.' The mayor presented the Queen with a gold cup; but Elizabeth saw at a glance the signs of unmistakable poverty. 'Alas, poor souls,' she said, 'other towns give us of their plenty, but you give us of your want.' She attempted to revive the decaying industry of the West by an Act of Parliament, which imposed a fine on any one under a certain rank who presumed to wear a felt hat instead of the old-fashioned woollen cap—an Act which was no more successful than other like attempts to stem the tide of fashion.

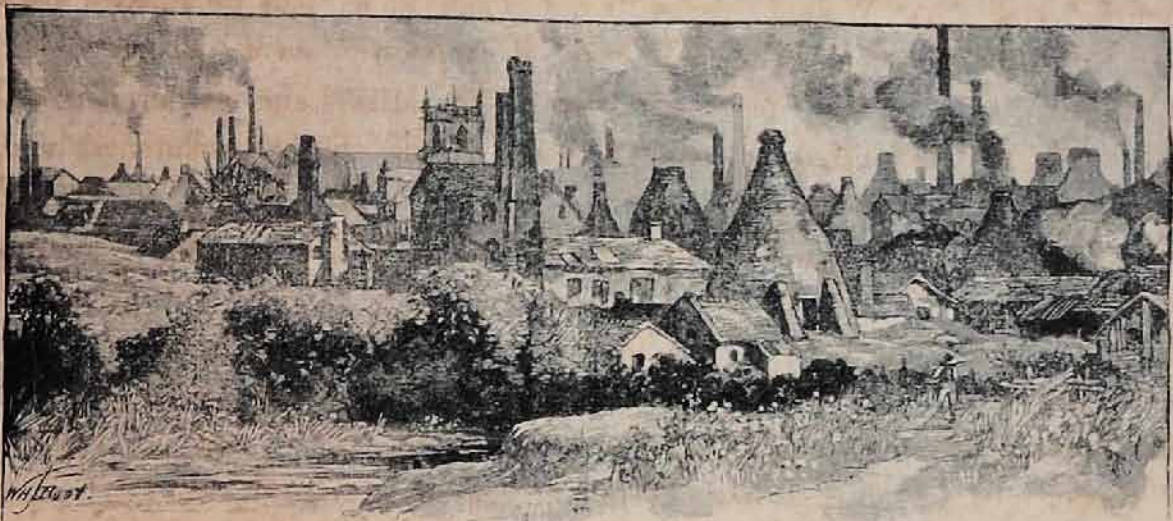
During the reign of Elizabeth the Castle of Tutbury was a place of some importance as the prison, at several periods of her captivity, of the luckless Mary Queen of Scots. Elizabeth knew how to make her nobles useful, and she saddled the Earl of Shrewsbury with the duty of acting as gaoler to the Scottish Queen. Shrewsbury was chosen for this purpose because his houses were many, and all were situated in secure and unfrequented parts of the middle of England, so as to be safe from all attempts at a surprise. The dilapidated Castle of Tutbury was held by Shrewsbury on lease from the Crown, and was the strongest but the most uncomfortable of his dwellings. It was damp, gloomy, and difficult of access; more like a prison than a house. Thither Mary was taken for security from the rising of the North in 1569-1570; thither again she was removed in 1584, and thence was transferred to the neighbouring manor house of Chartley, which belonged to the Earl of Essex, in order that evidence of her plots might more easily be obtained. Already the ale of Burton was celebrated, and a brewer of Burton, who supplied Mary with ale, devised a means of carrying out her letters in the empty casks. This brewer, however, was a spy of Walsingham's, and Mary's letters were all copied before they were delivered. The correspondence was allowed to go on till enough evidence was obtained to justify a charge against Mary of plotting against Elizabeth's life. Then Chartley Manor had served its purpose of a trap, and Mary was removed to Tixhall, while her rooms at Chartley were diligently searched.

When the great Civil War broke out the gentry of Staffordshire ranged themselves on the king's side, and Tamworth, Lichfield, and Stafford were garrisoned by the royal troops. In 1643, Lord Brook, the owner of Warwick Castle, was sent by Parliament to break up this line of fortresses, which secured to Charles I. free communications with the North. He marched against Lichfield, a place of not more than a thousand inhabitants, where the Royalists turned the cathedral and the close into a fortress. Standing on high ground, surrounded by water, it was a strong position, and Lord Brook gave orders to open fire against the cathedral buildings. As he stood in the street watching the gunner who was aiming his cannon, a shot was fired from the cathedral battlements which entered his eye and penetrated his brain, so that he fell dead. The siege, however, was continued, and the garrison of the close were soon compelled to surrender on March 4. The Parliamentary forces were in some measure excusable for treating the cathedral as a captured fortress; they manned the close, plundered the cathedral, and wrought great havoc of its monuments and ornaments; but on April 10, Prince Rupert appeared before Lichfield, and, after another siege which lasted ten days, the cathedral was recovered by the Loyalists, who held it till 1646. It is probable that the soldiers of both sides had a share in the havoc which was made of the sacred building. After the Restoration, when Bishop Hacket went to take possession of the See of Lichfield, he found his cathedral encumbered with rubbish, battered by cannon balls, its western tower in ruins. On the morning after his arrival he roused his servants at daybreak, and set them to work with all his horses to begin the restoration, which he assiduously continued for eight years. The great architect, Christopher Wren, repaired the fallen spires, and in 1669 Bishop Hacket could celebrate its restoration for public worship. Nor was Lichfield the only place that was the seat of war in Staffordshire. On March 19, 1642, the Earl of Northampton, who was marching to the recovery of Lichfield, was met at Hopton Heath, near Stafford, by the Parliamentary forces, and fell in an indecisive battle. At the end of 1643 Parliament ordered the Castle of Stafford to be demolished; and before the war was ended all the strongholds in the county had been destroyed.

Staffordshire was the scene of the beginning of Charles II.'s romantic adventures after the battle of Worcester in 1651. He fled from Worcester in company with the Earl of Derby, who advised him to seek refuge in the house of Boscobel, on the borders of Staffordshire, which had been adopted as a hiding-place for Roman priests. In the woods between Boscobel and Whiteladies, Charles, disguised as a woodcutter, was concealed by the devotion of four labourers of the name of Pendrell. There, when the pursuit was hottest, Charles was hidden in an old oak, whose top had been polled and sent forth a dense covert of young branches. Thence he escaped by night to the house of another friend at Morley, and thence to Burtley Hall, near Walsall. Its owner, Colonel Lane, had obtained a pass for his sister and a servant to go to Bristol on a visit to a relative. Charles took the servant's place, and rode before Miss Lane on her journey. The story is one which gives a high sense of the sturdy resoluteness and uprightness of the Staffordshire folk.

The end of the seventeenth century saw Staffordshire a poor county, with a diminished population, and scanty resources. Its revival came not from its old historic centres, but from the cold and clayey district which lay almost neglected in the north of the shire. There from early times a small manufacture of pottery had been carried on, but it was not till the beginning of the eighteenth century that it became of any importance. Then the growth of comfort created a demand for something better than wooden or pewter trenchers, and the importation of pottery from Holland and from the East gave a model for native workmen. Two Germans, of the name of Elers, settled near Burslem about 1690, because they found that the red clay of the neighbourhood was well suited to produce imitations of the red-ware of Japan. They introduced the process of glazing with salt, and kept their methods a profound secret, till a clever mechanic, John Astbury, by feigning himself an idiot, contrived to get admission to their works and discover their operations. The accidental observation of an ostler's remedy for sore eyes in a horse, by burning a flint and blowing its powdered ashes into the eye, led Astbury to discover the use of calcined flint as a material for mixing with clay in the manufacture of pottery. When inventiveness

was once stimulated, it rapidly progressed, and little by little the material was made harder and finer, its colour was improved, and, above all, new methods of glazing were discovered. It was reserved for Josiah Wedgwood, sprung from a family of Staffordshire potters, to give an artistic value to the products of English pottery. By a series of laborious experiments he succeeded in carrying the manufacture to a pitch of perfection in which it could compete with the produce of any other country. The Potteries rapidly became one of the busiest parts of England, and all that was needed for its growth was better means of conveying the ware to the great markets. The success of Brindley's canal between Manchester and Liverpool suggested



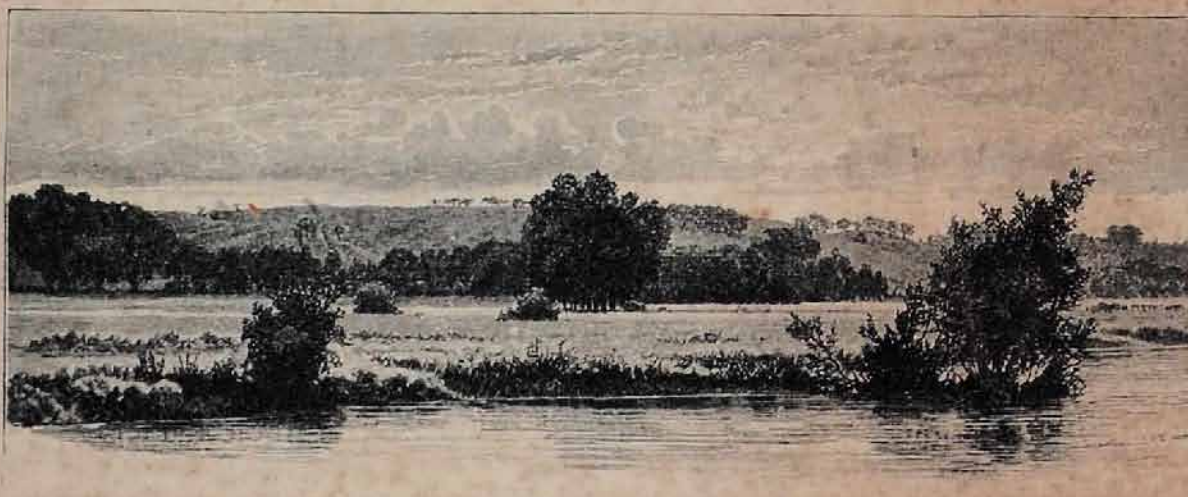
THE POTTERIES.

the extension of a system of water carriage to Staffordshire, and a canal which should join the Mersey with the Trent was projected in 1765. This Grand Trunk Canal was a great work, and the tunnel through which it entered Staffordshire at Harecastle was a memorable step in English engineering. It was 2880 yards long, but was made so low and narrow that barges had to be propelled through it by men pushing with their legs against the roof. The traffic was so great that this had to be amended, and a second tunnel, broad enough for horses, was afterwards constructed by Telford.

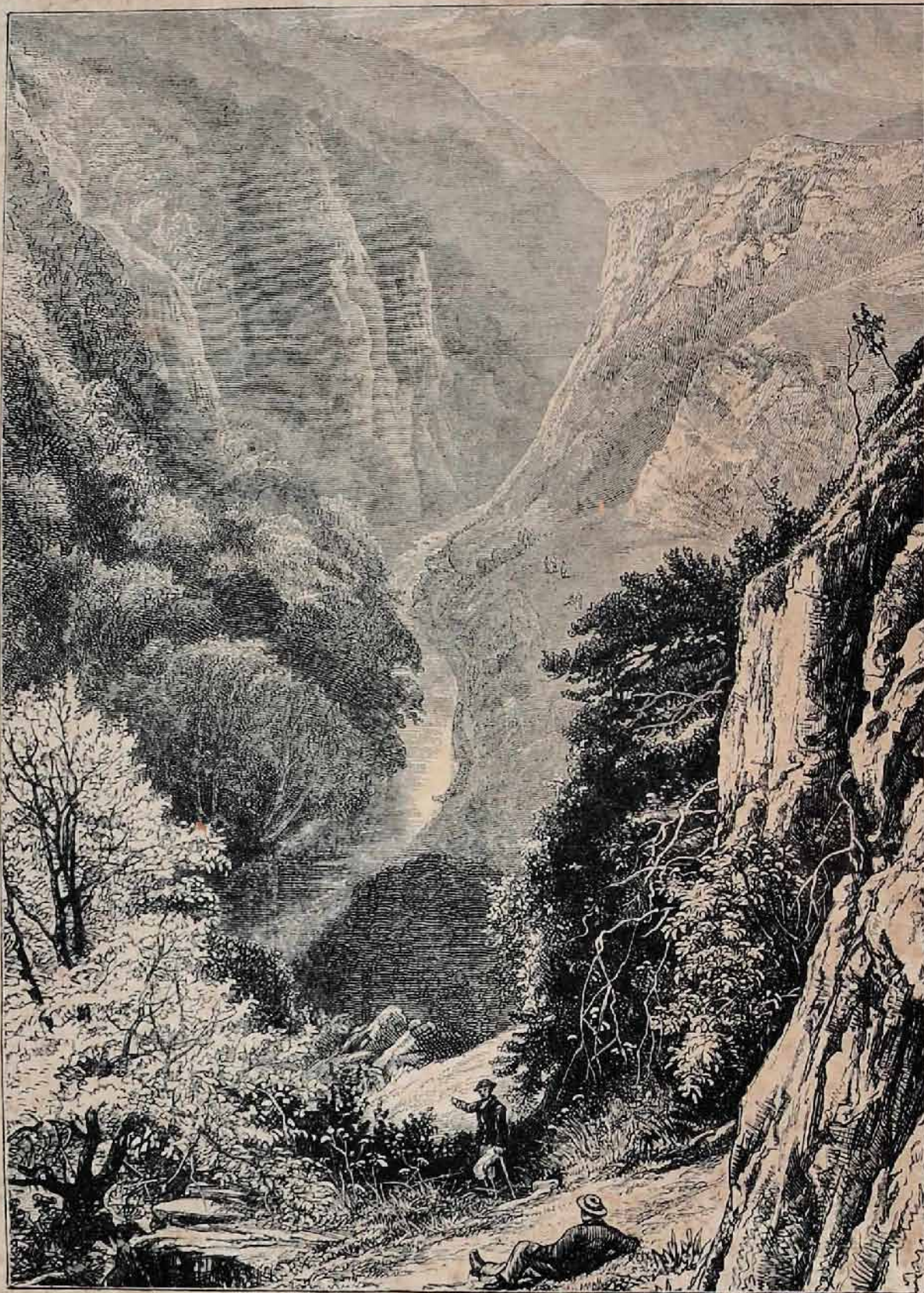
While the north of the county was thus progressing in industry, the southern part was sharing in the activity which centred in Birmingham.



The district which contains Walsall, Wednesbury, Dudley, and Wolverhampton forms part of the 'Black Country,' and is now busied with manufactories of many kinds. But between the Potteries and the 'Black Country' lies the moorland and forest region of Central Staffordshire, which still pursues purely agricultural pursuits. Nowhere in England is greater peace than on the uplands of Needwood Forest or of Cannock Chase. If Staffordshire in early days was neglected by its landowners, who preferred more cultivated spots, modern times have redressed the grievance, and few parts of England are more attractive for the enjoyment of country life. The great houses of Trentham, Alton Towers, and Beaudesert are only foremost in the list of mansions which are scattered through the woodland; while the trim villages which gather in their neighbourhood possess the charm which English villages alone can claim.

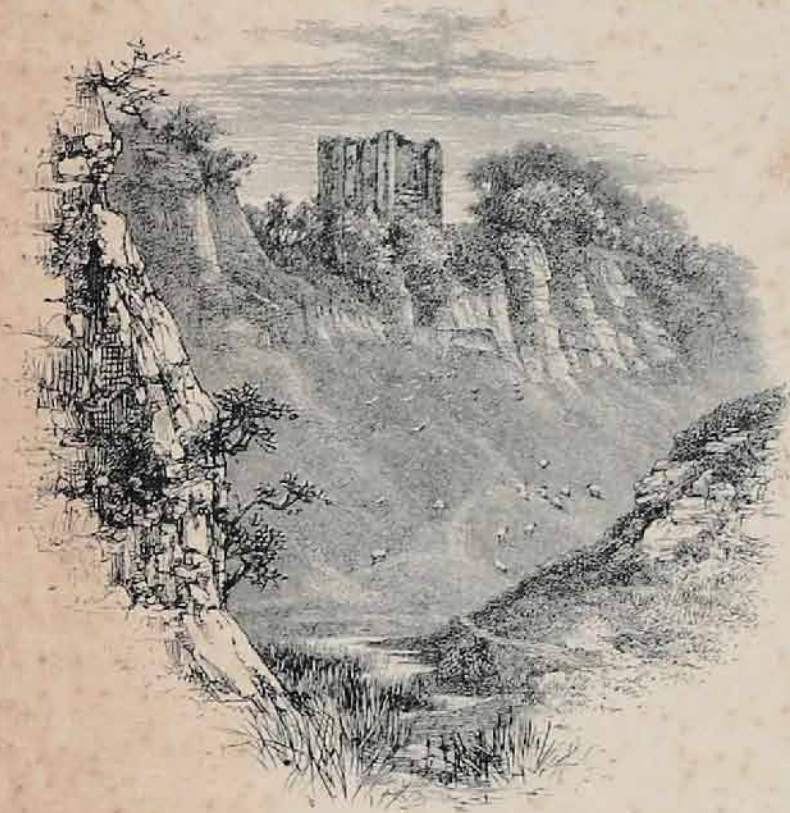


CANNOCK CHASE.



DOVEDALE.

## DERBY.



PEVERIL CASTLE.

**I**F the district contained in the county of Stafford was wild and uninhabitable in early days, still wilder was the land which lies within the Derbyshire of to-day. It was, indeed, isolated on every side. On the north lay the bleak uplands of the Peak; on the west, the Forest of Needwood and Cannock Chase; on the south, the great Forest of Arden; and on the east stretched the Forest of Sherwood, closely followed by that of Charnwood. Only along the valley of the Trent was access possible, and it would seem that a tribe of English settlers in quest of a home rambled northwards from the Trent Valley, following the Derwent and the Dove, till they were stopped by the moorlands of the Peak. They stayed by

themselves in their inhospitable home, and went by the name of the Pec-setan, or dwellers by the Peak. Their chief settlement lay in the valley of the Derwent, and they called it by the name of Northweorthig.

The Pec-setan did not long enjoy the doubtful boon of isolation, but were soon absorbed by their kindred of the West, and formed part of the great kingdom of Middle England, which was brought together by the Mercian Penda in 626. In fact, Staffordshire and Derbyshire together may be considered as the original seat of this kingdom, which afterwards was widely extended. However much its boundaries changed, the lands which make up these two shires were never severed from one another. Ecclesiastical divisions are more permanent than civil divisions, and the modern district of Derbyshire always in old times formed part of the Mercian see of Lichfield.

We need not trace again the fortunes of the Mercian kingdom. It is enough to say that the invasion of the Danes completed its overthrow, and rendered its revival impossible. In 877 an army of the Danes entered Mercia, and took possession of the eastern part of the old kingdom. It was their conquest which drew the line of separation between Staffordshire and Derbyshire; and it was their settlement which gave the name of Derby, or Deoraby, to the old English village of Northweorthig. The name they gave, meaning 'the place of the deer,' shows that the village lay in the midst of a waste land, where the chase of wild animals provided the chief means of subsistence. Under the Danish rule Derby became a place of greater importance, chiefly as a military centre. The Danish territory in Middle England was known as the district of the Five Boroughs, because it centred round the towns of Derby, Leicester, Stamford, Nottingham, and Lincoln. The Danes did not, however, find the district round Derby very favourable for their settlements, and the traces left of their presence by the suffix *by* to the names of places are not so numerous as they are further east.

Still, Derby became a place of importance, and when the English power began to revive under the West Saxon King Alfred, his daughter Ethelfled, 'the Lady of the Mercians,' undertook the conquest of the Five

Boroughs. Derby was the first to fall in 917, and it was not long before the Danish supremacy over Middle England had disappeared. In the re-organisation that followed upon this conquest the Mercian kingdom was divided into shires, and the district round Derby represented the northern part of the original settlement of the Mercians.

The Danish invasion destroyed such signs of civilisation as the district had possessed. In the days of the Mercian kingdom Repton had shared with Tamworth the dignity of being the residence of the king, and was the seat of a great monastery, which the Danes swept away. The old renown of Repton led to the building of a church in the tenth century, of which the crypt remains, and its spiral pillars are still among the most noticeable relics of Saxon architecture. Other traces of old churches scattered along the river valleys show that in the tenth century population was steadily increasing in Derbyshire, and that the amalgamation of the Danes made the district of greater importance than before. Still, Derbyshire remained somewhat isolated amidst its forests, and after the Norman Conquest required no special measures for its reduction. The greater part of its lands was given by William the Conqueror to Henry de Ferrers, whose grandson was created Earl of Derby. But Henry built his chief castle at Tutbury, just beyond the limits of the shire. The earliest of the castle-builders in Derbyshire was William Peveril, a natural son of the king, who built a castle on a tongue of land projecting from the hill of the Peak, at a place which took the name of Castleton; and further south he guarded his domains by another castle on the hill of Bolsover. The only monastic landowner in Derbyshire at the time of the Domesday Survey was the Abbot of Burton, and the old monastic orders did not choose this district for their seat. The order of the Austin canons, who came to England in the reign of Henry I., were the first who made settlements in Derbyshire. They built their houses at Derby and Dale, also at Calle, whence they transferred themselves to Repton, which was founded anew by their efforts. But the monastic houses of Derbyshire were not of great importance, and were not of a kind to contribute much to the development of the uncleared country or the improvement of agriculture.

Derbyshire remained throughout the Middle Ages scantily peopled, save in the south. It was a land of forests; the Peak was kept well stocked with deer for the royal hunting, and fifty-four smaller forests could be counted in the rest of the shire. Its men were a race of sturdy warriors, who went forth at times to war against the Scots. Indeed, it would seem that the barrier of the Peak was considered to be the only safeguard against the Scottish raids; for the Bishop of Carlisle, who received the church of Melbourn from Henry I. as part of the endowment of his see, built himself a palace there, and used to hold ordinations in the church when the Scottish invasions rendered his Border city an unsafe place of abode.

Sometimes the military prowess of the men of Derbyshire was revived in behalf of the rebellious schemes of their chief lord, the Earl of Derby. In the reign of Henry II., Robert de Ferrers was one of those who rose against the king, and a century later his descendant took advantage of the general discontent against the weak government of Henry III. to try and gain something for himself. He was regarded as faithful neither to the king nor to the barons, and only strove to get royal castles into his own hands. For this he was imprisoned by Simon de Montfort in 1264, and after Simon's fall was called to account by the king. He put himself at the head of the men of Derbyshire, who gathered round their leader with the personal loyalty which comes from a secluded life; but his levies were defeated at Chesterfield. He fled into the church for refuge, and would have escaped the notice of his pursuers had not a girl, whose lover he had forced to join his troops, given a sign of his hiding-place. He was dragged forth, was taken prisoner to London, was made to pay a fine of seven years' income and surrender his castles, and finally was deprived of his earldom, which was conferred on the king's second son, Edmund, who became Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby. Thenceforth the possessions of the earldom of Derby followed the fortunes of those of Lancaster, and with the accession of Henry IV. passed to the Crown.

Derbyshire did not play an important part in English history, and was not the scene of important events. Its growth came from the slow progress of agriculture, the clearing of the forests, and the steady industry of its

people. Like other parts of England, its main commerce was in wool, and Derby in the thirteenth century did a little trade in dyeing woollen cloth. The district of the Peak was known in early times to possess lead mines,



IN SHERWOOD FOREST.

which had been worked by the Romans, and a rude race of miners formed there a class of themselves. As early as 1287 they were empowered to empanel a jury which should declare their customs and draw up a rough code of laws for a settlement of their disputes. But in those days of bad roads there was little means for the development of mineral wealth, owing

to the difficulty of carriage. The gradual growth of a body of country gentry during the fourteenth century, owing to the division of large estates, seems to have afforded the chief inducement to bring the land into cultivation and foster agriculture. Still, in 1377, the population of the county is only estimated at a little more than twenty-four thousand.

The great changes of the sixteenth century did not materially affect Derbyshire. The fall of the monasteries made perhaps less difference than in any other part of England, and did not much change the habits of the people. But new ideas did not rapidly penetrate into Derbyshire. Many of the old families remained firm in their allegiance to the old form of religion. The wild district of the Peak afforded a natural refuge to those who, in the reign of Elizabeth, fled from the penal laws directed against the Roman Catholics. From time to time raids were made upon the recusants, and Derby Gaol was frequently full of prisoners whose only crime was that they remained true to the opinions of their fathers.

The sixteenth century was a time of the growth of new families, who added field to field and gained in wealth and position. The old nobility passed away, and a new nobility took their place. Those of the old nobles who still remained were obliged to fit themselves into the new state of things. There is no more conspicuous instance of the change which came over England than is the history of George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury. His possessions lay in Derbyshire and the neighbouring shires. His chief seat was at Sheffield; but he held on lease from the Crown the Manor of Wingfield and the Hall of Buxton in Derbyshire, the Manor of Worksop and the Abbey of Rufford in Nottinghamshire, and the Castle of Tutbury in Staffordshire. All those outlying possessions were on the borders of Derbyshire, which was thus the centre of his greatness. He further increased his estates by marrying for his second wife a great Derbyshire heiress, who had increased her fortunes by a series of marriages. Elizabeth Hardwick, heiress of Hardwick Hall, near Chesterfield, belonged to the class of the smaller gentry, and raised herself to a high position by her numerous marriages. At the age of twelve she married a neighbouring squire, and was a widow at thirteen—having inherited from her husband. She was then

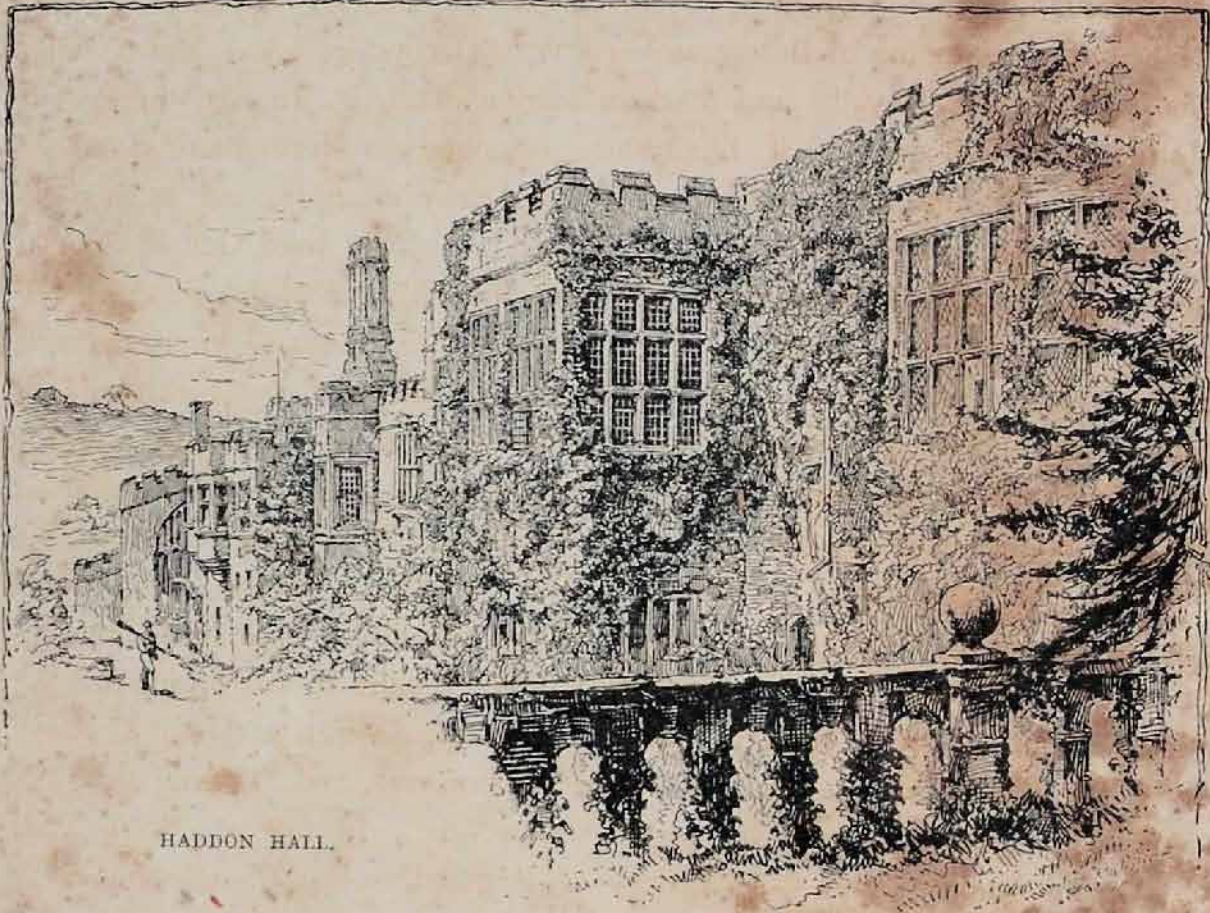


an eligible match, and married a Suffolk knight, Sir William Cavendish, by whom she had a large family. At the age of thirty-seven she was again a widow, and married a still wealthier knight, who left her his sole heir. At the age of forty-eight she could add rank to her wealth by marrying the Earl of Shrewsbury, to whom she brought two other houses in Derbyshire, Hardwick and Chatsworth. As a condition of her marriage she demanded that her eldest son, Henry Cavendish, should marry one of the Earl of Shrewsbury's daughters. He, however, died without issue, and her second son, William, succeeded to her possessions and those of his elder brother. He was very wealthy, and in 1618 bought the title of Earl of Devonshire from James I. for £10,000, and was the founder of the great family which has its seat at Chatsworth—a house on which Elizabeth Hardwick is said to have spent £80,000.

Though this worthy lady's schemes prospered in the long run, they did not add to her happiness or to that of her husband in the immediate present. Queen Elizabeth was a far-sighted ruler, and knew how to make her nobles useful. The very fact that the Earl of Shrewsbury was possessed of so many houses in the middle of England suggested a way in which he might be employed. When Mary Queen of Scots took refuge in England she caused great embarrassment to Elizabeth. It was not safe to let her go, and it was not decent to make her a prisoner. It was hard to find a place where she would be in safe custody, out of the way of her adherents and difficult to be reached by foreigners landing on the coast. The Earl of Shrewsbury, with his many houses, all in sure places which could be easily guarded against surprise, was obviously the man for Elizabeth's purpose. Mary Queen of Scots was committed to his charge, and for fifteen years one of the greatest nobles in England was saddled against his will with the duties of a gaoler. Tutbury, Wingfield, Chatsworth, Sheffield Castle, and Sheffield Lodge were in turns the prisons in which Mary was confined. The Earl of Shrewsbury was carefully watched by the suspicious Queen Elizabeth, and if he absented himself for a day without permission was sharply reprimanded. His wife alternately interfered in behalf of Mary and was jealous of her. Shrewsbury, heartily striving to do his duty to Elizabeth,

was exposed to continual annoyance from these suspicious women, and experienced no gratitude. He was at last one of the commissioners appointed to try Queen Mary, and was further sent to superintend her execution. He died in 1590, worn out before his time by the troubles which he had undergone.

The Cavendish family, however, prospered, and its members became the



HADDON HALL.

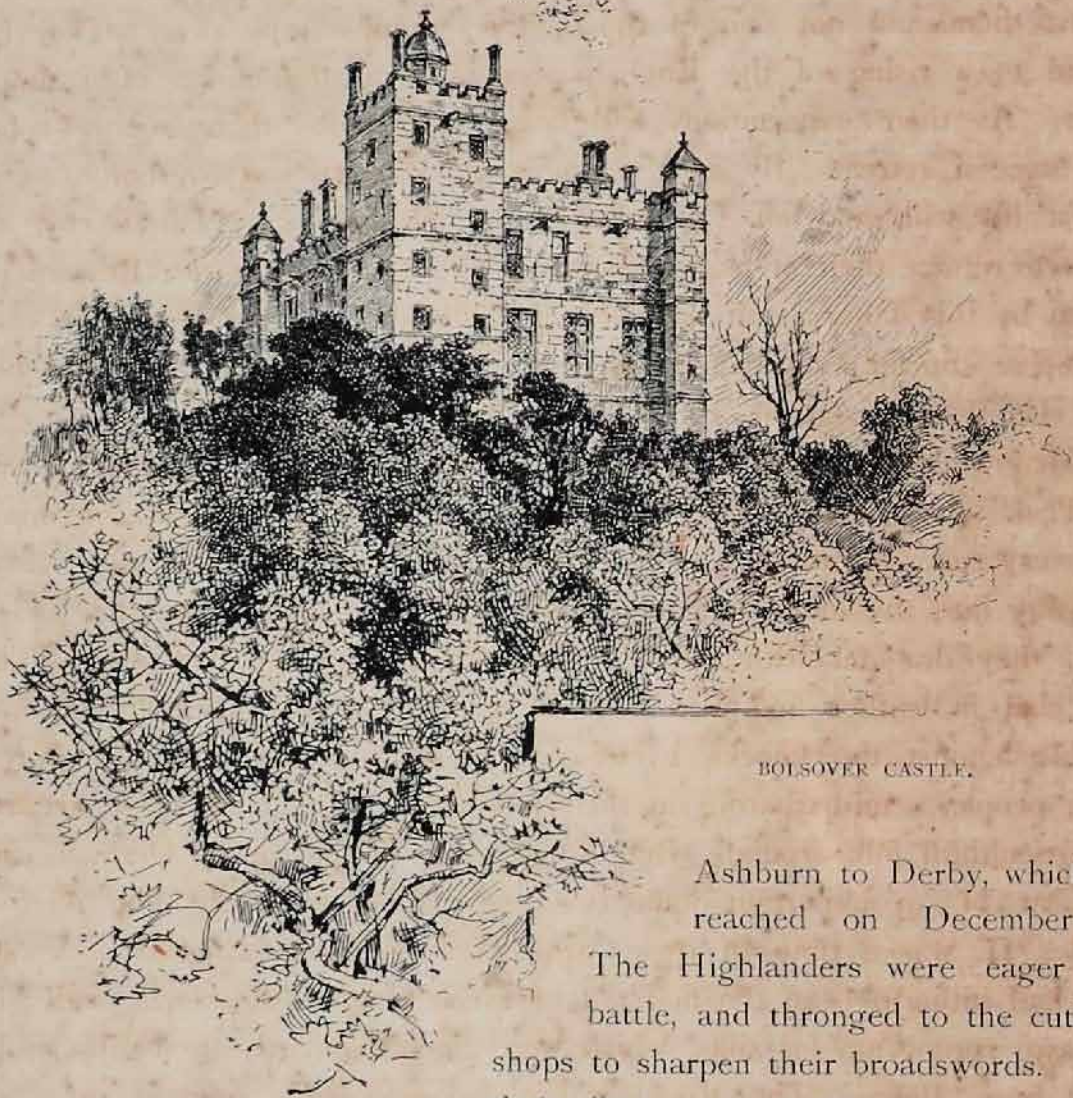
natural chiefs of Derbyshire. The charms of the country as a place of residence were discovered, and its delightful dales were gradually filled with interesting houses. The Hall of Hardwick was enlarged, and remains as an excellent sample of an Elizabethan house. Haddon Hall, which was begun in 1420, when the castle was giving way to the manor house, received its present shape in the middle of the next century, and still tells us of the new spirit of mingled dignity and comfort which marked the sixteenth century.

Men felt that country life was an enjoyable thing. They lived on their estates; they interested themselves in local government; they were keen to develop the full value of their lands. Derbyshire, which had been behind the rest of England in the civilisation which sprung from monks and feudal lords, rapidly rose under the influence of the gentry. It is true that the Peakland was left for some time in its isolation, but the rest of the county prospered.

At the beginning of the great Civil War Derbyshire lay on the dividing line between the Royalist and Parliamentary districts. In fact, throughout its history it was doubtful if Derbyshire belonged to Northern or Southern England. At first Charles I. marched to Derby in 1642, and seemed to claim the allegiance of the county for himself. But Sir John Gell challenged this claim on the Parliamentary side, and though Derbyshire was not the scene of any great battle, it was disturbed by perpetual skirmishes and sieges. For a time the two parties were equally balanced, but Sir John Gell slowly won his way. Many of the fortified houses in the county were at this time reduced to ruins. Chief amongst them in picturesque interest at present is the manor house of South Wingfield, one of the houses of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and one of the prisons of Queen Mary. First it was garrisoned by Gell, then it was taken by the Royalists; again Gell attacked it, and its governor was killed in the storm. Finally it was dismantled by order of Parliament in 1646, and fell into the ruins which may still be seen. The fortunes of the castles of Welbeck, Bolsover, and Tickhill were all similar, and many other strong places disappeared. In fact, the Civil War was as important in the social history of England as was the dissolution of the monasteries. The one swept away the houses of the monks, which had grown out of all proportion to the needs of the country; the other swept away the strongholds which were likely to give the country gentry an undue power in the State. It destroyed the last semblance of military rule and left England frankly an agricultural and industrial country.

Only once again was Derbyshire disturbed by the din of arms. In 1745 Prince Charles Edward Stuart undertook his ill-fated expedition into England, and marched with his Highland supporters towards London. He

reached Manchester at the end of November, and by a pretence of marching upon Lichfield drew the Duke of Cumberland, who was guarding the road to London, to leave his position at Newcastle-under-Lyne. Then the Prince suddenly altered his march and passed through Leek and



BOLSOVER CASTLE.

Ashburn to Derby, which he reached on December 5. The Highlanders were eager for battle, and thronged to the cutlers' shops to sharpen their broadswords. But their leaders were disappointed at the small signs of popular enthusiasm which were awakened by their presence. The people were interested and curious; they thronged to look at the Highlanders, and talked with them in a friendly way, but they did not join in their enterprise. Only three recruits were gained in Derby. The Prince was anxious to push on towards London, but his generals were doubtful. The

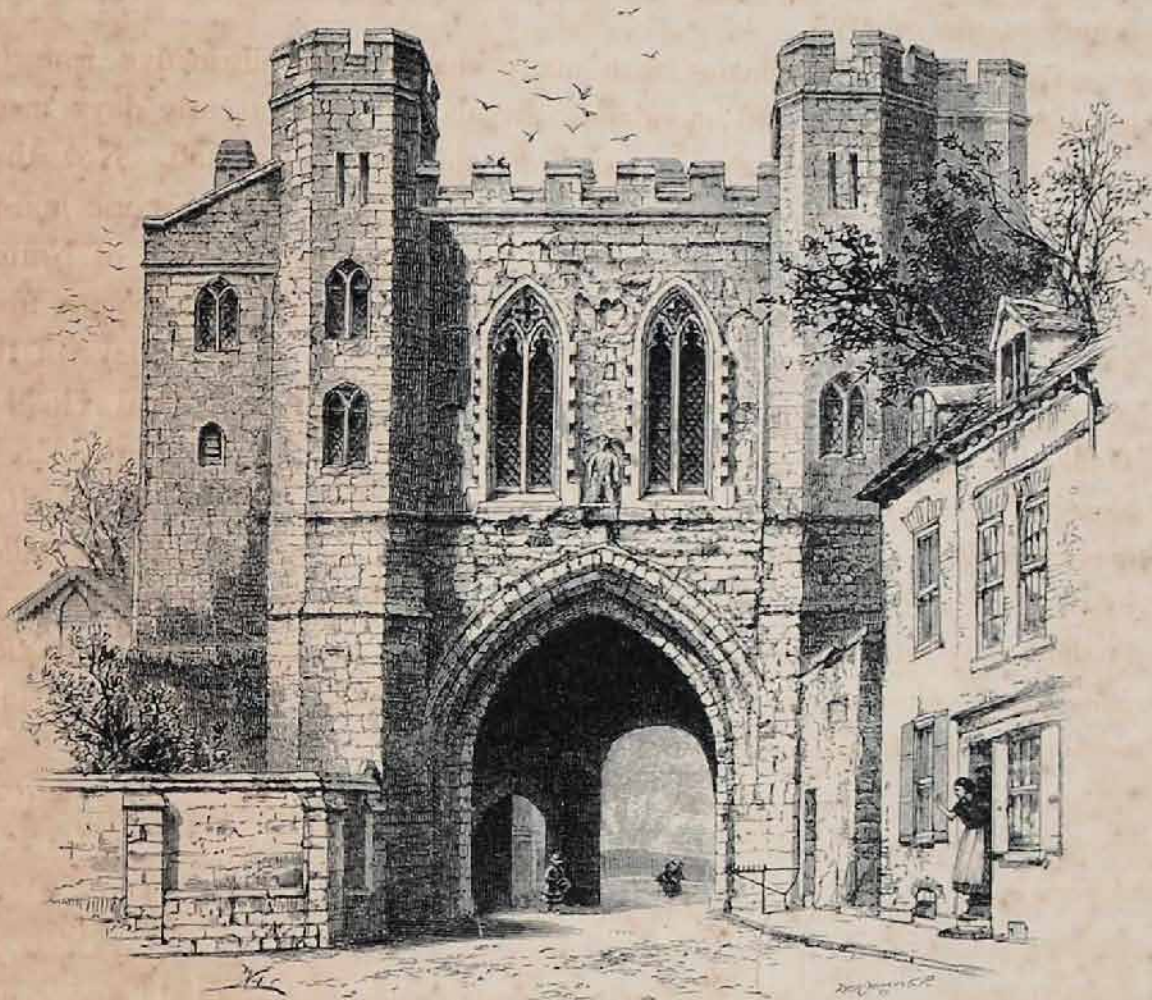
Duke of Cumberland, they argued, would make his way southward, and could meet them before they could reach London. Supposing they conquered in the fight, they would find another army on Finchley Common, drawn up for the defence of London, and they feared to fight a second battle with diminished numbers. If they were overcome, the country people would at once rise against them, and not one of the fugitives would escape alive. They had trusted to a rising of the English people, or to the effects of a sudden panic. As their expectations had been disappointed there was no course open save a retreat. By such reasoning the Prince was overborne, sorely against his will, and on December 6 the Scottish army left Derby, and began to retrace their steps homewards. The spirit of Charles Edward was broken by this failure, and the field of Culloden saw the overthrow of all his hopes. So far as England was concerned, his march to Derby had been little else than a pageant.

Meanwhile, Derbyshire was advancing in industry. The lead mines of the Peak were worked with better effect, though the methods of mining were very rude, before the discovery of the steam-engine. The miners made their way into the mine by narrow openings, down which they slid, and up which they dragged with difficulty the ore which they had won. They were clad in leather and wore leathern caps to protect them as much as possible against the knocks to which they were exposed. They were a rough people, semi-barbarous in their manner of life, and living apart from the agricultural folk around. But in the south of the county Derby became the seat of an important industry—the weaving of silk. The reign of Charles II. was a time of great growth of luxury in England. Woollen cloth had hitherto been the material of which English dress was made; but the taste sprung up for silks, which were imported partly from France and partly from India. The weaving trade consequently suffered great depression, till an attempt was made to weave silken fabrics in England. The most successful of these endeavours was that of Thomas Lombe, who in 1717 erected a silk mill at Derby, which rapidly prospered, and round it grew up a trade of weaving silk stockings. When machinery was invented, the water-power supplied by the rapid streams of the Derbyshire

valleys made them favourable places for industry. Thus, when Arkwright had finished the invention of the spinning-frame, he went into partnership with Strutt, of Derby, and they set up their works at Cromford, in a valley near the Derwent, where was a spring of warm water, which prevented the neighbouring stream from freezing, even in the severest winter. The industrial growth of Derbyshire has steadily progressed, without, however, reaching such a height as to interfere with the natural beauty of the county.

Thus Derbyshire remains with many charms. Its distinctive features, its dales, and streams, and moorlands, are those which in early days made it savage and wild, and kept it apart from the rest of England. Now they attract the tourist, who is further taught to see in the great historic houses for which Derby is famous the means whereby the niggard gifts of Nature were developed into a source of wealth; and the charm which comes from the sense of human care adds a grace of its own. It is the valleys of the central part of the county, the great houses of Chatsworth and Haddon Hall, and the natural curiosities of the Peak, which make Derbyshire a place of resort to the dwellers in the manufacturing districts by which it is surrounded. The varied industries of the rest of the county are allied to those of the neighbouring shires. Derbyshire is exceptionally fortunate in the happy mixture which it presents of natural beauty, historic memories, and varied industrial activity. Within a short distance it is possible to turn to almost all the sources of England's greatness.

## WORCESTER.



EDGAR'S GATEWAY, WORCESTER.

THE county of Worcester cannot claim equal importance with its neighbours Shropshire, Hereford, or Gloucester in the earliest period of its history. The Romans, when they held Britain, did not regard this district

as one from which much was to be gained. A great part of its surface was covered with forests, through which ran the Severn, draining sluggishly the low-lying marsh land along its course. Neglecting this useless territory, the Romans sought the high plain of the Cotswolds and the fertile valley of Gloucester. Their great military roads ran between Gloucester and Chester, so as to guard against the tribes of Wales. The Britons, who were thus cut off from their allies, took refuge on the hills of Malvern, which are rich in their camps. The Romans do not seem to have pursued them there, but contented themselves with taking precautions to prevent them from crossing the Severn. The British town of Cair Guoragon, situated on a little eminence above the Severn and protected by hills behind, was occupied by the Romans as a military station on a small scale. When they had gone, the name of the place was gradually shortened from Gorangonceastre to Wigorncester till it reached our modern form of Worcester.

After the departure of the Romans, the Britons along the Severn were for some time independent, till the West Saxons spread their conquering arms northwards, and in 577 took Bath and Gloucester from the Britons. Soon after this Worcester also fell before them, and the land from Bath to Bewdley was known as the land of the Hwiccas, and was a province of the West Saxon kingdom. But the English settlers on the Welsh March grew strong and warred against Wessex. The first conquest that they made was the Severn valley, so that Worcester passed from Wessex to Mercia, and was ruled by the Mercian king, whose chief residence was at Tamworth.

After the Northumbrian King Oswy slew Penda at Winwed in the plains of Yorkshire, in 655, and Penda's son became a Christian, Mercia became the seat of a bishop, who built his church at Lichfield. When the great kingdom of Mercia felt the need of more bishops besides the Bishop of Lichfield, a new ecclesiastical division followed the lines of the existing political divisions. The land of the Hwiccas was ruled by an under-king, who had his abode at Worcester. In 679 there was set by his side a bishop of the Hwiccas, who took up his abode in Worcester likewise. With the foundation of the Hwiccian see we have the beginning of a civilised life in what was then the most secluded part of England.



Under the protection of the bishops monasteries sprang up in desolate places and became centres of activity. How they rose we see in the case of Evesham. One day a herdsman of the bishop, named Eoves, came to his master with a tale that as he was tending his swine in the forest by the banks of the Avon, a beautiful lady had appeared to him, brighter than the sun, singing heavenly songs. It was easy to identify this lady with the Virgin; and in 709 a monastery arose on the spot, which was known as Eovesholm, or Evesham. The example soon spread, and it was not long before the banks of the Avon were dotted with monasteries at Fladbury, Pershore, and Bredon, whose inmates set an example of useful work or no less useful study. Much of the land was given to the bishops and the monks by the Mercian kings, who saw that by their means this wild district could best be ruled.

The Mercian power fell in its turn before the advance of Wessex; but scarcely had Egbert entered upon his rule before England was invaded by the Danes, whose boats passed up the Severn and the Avon, while their savage crews ravaged and burnt the monasteries. The heathen Danes especially wreaked their rage on priests, and the monasteries were tempting prizes to their greed. The trembling inhabitants could offer little resistance; though the door of the cathedral of Worcester was long adorned with a piece of the skin of a Dane who stayed behind his departing comrades to pilfer in the church, and fell a victim to the popular wrath. In those dark days everything fell into confusion, till Alfred, when the Danes had been converted to Christianity and civilisation, sought to repair the havoc which the Danes had wrought. His sister, Ethelfled, was married to Ethelred, the Ealdoman of Mercia, who rebuilt the ruined walls of Worcester.

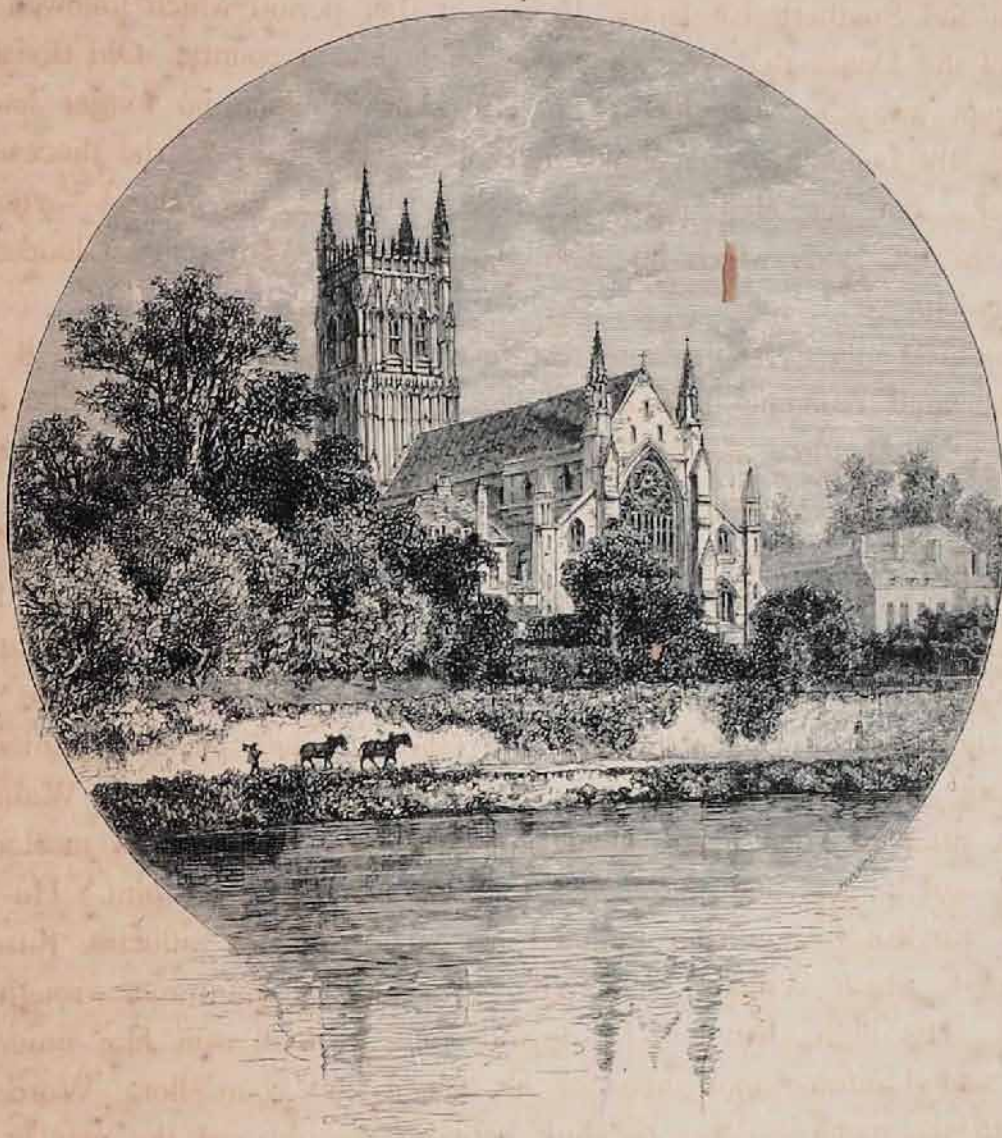
One form of this restoration of order was the introduction of a stricter rule of monasticism than had prevailed before, and an extension of the monastic system. Oswald, who became Bishop of Worcester in 961, introduced monks into his cathedral, and carried on the reforms inaugurated by Dunstan. But, in spite of all attempts at closer organisation, the power of Wessex grew feebler, and England could with difficulty be held together. We have a sign of this in the fact that the bishopric of Worcester was, by

four bishops in succession, held together with the archbishopric of York. The English kings endeavoured, by joining together these two ecclesiastical offices, to have one official interested in preserving the connection between Northern and Southern England. It was in this period which followed the repulse of the Danes that Worcester was made into a county. Old divisions were swept away by disorder. The Hwiccian province no longer had a meaning. Its boundaries remained, indeed, ecclesiastically in the diocese of Worcester; but for civil purposes it was divided into shires—artificial divisions of the lands which lay near the towns of Worcester, Gloucester, and Warwick.

In spite of all efforts made to restore the English national spirit, it had suffered beyond redemption from the devastations of the Danes. The time was lawless, and force alone prevailed. In 1041 the men of Worcester refused to pay the tax imposed by King Harthacnut, and slew two of his officers who attempted to collect it. The king sent an army to punish this revolt. Worcester was plundered and burnt to the ground; its people fled, its church was destroyed. Again a bishop undertook the work of restoration, and Wulfstan, the saint of Worcester, revived the ruined town. He was beloved by Edward the Confessor and by Harold, whom he accompanied in his campaign in the North before the landing of the Normans. But Wulfstan saw that after the death of Harold William the Norman was master of England, and he was one of the first to make submission to him. He was the only English bishop who retained his office and his influence through the changes which William I. and his great adviser, Lanfranc, wrought in England. His high character, his loyalty and wisdom, won him universal esteem, and Lanfranc took him for his friend and counsellor. Worcester sent forth the man who was the link between the old and the new in the greatest crisis that England ever passed through.

Two monuments remain of Bishop Wulfstan's activity; one was the foundation of Malvern Priory, the other the foundation of the existing cathedral of Worcester. Both were characteristic of the time. The side of the Malvern hills was naturally the seat of hermitages; but Wulfstan had the sagacity to see that an organised monastery would do more useful work.

One of these hermits, Aldwin, came to him and asked permission to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre; but Wulfstan sent him back, saying, 'God will do great things at Malvern.' It was not long before thirty



WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.

brethren gathered round Aldwin, and the priory of Malvern began to grow into being. In the building of the cathedral of Worcester Wulfstan shows the aptness of the English to learn all that was best in the superior civilisation of the Normans. Englishman as he was, he adopted the

Norman style of architecture, and devised a building which in scale and magnificence might vie with other efforts of the time. The under-croft of Wulfstan's church alone remains, but the fame of Wulfstan went on through the Middle Ages as that of no other of the older stock of Englishmen, save Cuthbert of Lindisfarne.

The loyalty and wisdom of Wulfstan rendered it needless for William I. to take any measures for the military occupation of Worcester. There was a castle held by the sheriff, to which office a Norman, Urso d'Abitot, seems to have been appointed by Edward the Confessor. The castle was enlarged, and, being near the site of the cathedral, encroached upon the ground of the monks. But William I. was content to be represented by a sheriff, and appointed no Earl of Worcester, but left the chief power in the hands of the bishop. The civilisation of the shire was ecclesiastical, and not baronial. Monasteries were abundant in the south and east, though the north-west was singularly destitute, and seems to have been left as unpromising. The manors of the bishop at Alvechurch, Blockley, Hampton, Kempsey, and Droitwich, and his castle at Hartlebury, were the other main centres of activity.

The weakness of the reign of Stephen was seen in his willingness to increase the power of the barons, and in Worcester he set up an earl, Waleran de Beaumont, in the hopes that he might resist Robert, Earl of Gloucester, half-brother of Stephen's rival, Matilda. All England suffered in this civil war, from the licence which it gave to baronial oppression; but no part suffered more than Worcestershire, which was the scene of perpetual fighting, in which Earl Waleran gave the rein to his barbarity. Worcester was twice besieged, and once was set on fire. Doubtless it was weary of its earl, and was glad to be rid of him when Henry II. on his accession deprived of their offices all those who had risen to power in the evil days of Stephen.

So Worcestershire continued to be mainly under the protection of the Church. It had no great lords resident within its borders, though the neighbouring Earls of Gloucester and the Beauchamps of Warwick held lands within it. Still, the greater part of the cultivated lands belonged to

the bishop, or to the abbots of the great monasteries. For Worcestershire in early times was mainly composed of the four great forests of Feckenham, Ombersley, Horewell, and Malvern, over which the Crown had the rights of chase. These forests were under officials of their own, and the lands within them were subject to many complicated customs. The only industry which existed within the shire was the working of salt at Droitwich. The shire was not so situated as to be of great importance in the general history of England. It owed its dignity chiefly to the sanctity of its church, hallowed by the memories of Oswald and Wulfstan, who rose in popular esteem throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In Worcester Cathedral, in 1157, Henry II. and his queen laid their royal crowns as an offering on the high altar, and vowed never to wear them more. It was not, perhaps, so much religious enthusiasm as a dislike for ceremony which led Henry II. to take this step; but he thought it well to throw a religious pretext over his breach of the old custom of wearing the crown on three solemn occasions every year, a custom which had come down from the days of the Conqueror. Worcester was also a favourite resort of King John, who believed in the power of the Worcester saints so firmly that when he died at Newark he asked that his body should be buried in the church of Worcester, between the shrines of Oswald and Wulfstan. Time has swept away the tombs of the saints, but the monument of the wickedest and worst of English kings still stands before the high altar. The monks of Worcester, thus royally favoured, obtained a settlement of their long dispute with the governors of the royal castle. Its outer ward was granted to them in 1217, and from this time Worcester Castle was merely a fortress, and not a residence fit for any powerful noble.

Though Worcestershire had not taken any prominent part in English affairs, its strongly ecclesiastical character had made it eminently national and patriotic. The monastery of Worcester was the home of the traditions of English life, and preserved the *English Chronicle*, which recorded in the national tongue the doings of the English folk. But the history of England needed to be told to an audience which could not read the English tongue; and, in the beginning of the twelfth century, Florence, a monk of

Worcester, turned the *English Chronicle* into Latin, and edited it afresh with a spirit of true though narrow patriotism. His example was followed by others of greater literary power and wider judgment; but Worcester may claim to be the source of that great line of Latin chroniclers to whom we owe our knowledge of England of the Middle Ages. Moreover, it was a man of the shire of Worcester who, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, revived the old English tongue, and marked the beginning of a new epoch in the annals of England, when England, no longer part of the scattered dominions of its kings, but a nation self-contained and conscious of its future, was to advance to the settlement of its own difficulties. A monk, Layamon, who dwelt at Arley, 'a noble church by Severn's banks,' read books, 'till it came into his mind that he would tell the noble deeds of Englishmen.' So he wrote in the English tongue in 1206 a poem of some thirty thousand lines, called the *Brut*, which was the literary expression of that national spirit which ten years later compelled King John to sign the Great Charter.

It was, however, easier to compel the king to sign the Great Charter than to make him keep it; and the reign of Henry III. saw the increasing determination of the English people that it should be kept. Amongst the patriotic leaders who strove against the king, one of the wisest was the Bishop of Worcester, Walter de Cantilupe. He tried to mediate, so long as there was any hope of peace; when hope was useless, he joined Simon de Montfort, and aided him by his wisdom. Earl Simon was successful in the field of Lewes, and Henry III., in 1264, was a helpless prisoner in his hands. But the office of a dictator was not one which Englishmen could endure, and soon became impossible. Edward, the king's eldest son, escaped as Earl Simon was warring on the Welsh Marches. Simon retired into the safe quarters provided by the bishopric of Worcester, and at Evesham awaited reinforcements, which were surprised on the way. On August 4, 1265, Edward's forces came upon the unsuspecting earl, who thought that they were the forces of his son, defiling down the hill above the peninsula of Evesham girt by the waters of the Avon. When he learned the truth, he saw that he was lost. 'God have mercy

on our souls,' he said, 'our bodies are our foes!' Bishop Cantilupe prayed with his host. Then Simon advanced to meet his enemies, and fought desperately till he was outdone by superior numbers. Some of his mangled remains were buried at Evesham, and people flocked to his shrine. He became an uncanonised saint, and miracles were wrought by the relics of 'Simon the Righteous.'

Bishop Cantilupe was almost the last of the patriotic bishops who won England's liberties. When Edward I. recognised Parliament as the king's adviser, the need of great ecclesiastical statesmen was practically at an end. The State began to train its own officials, and the people had a means of obtaining some sort of redress for their wrongs. The Church was no longer so powerful politically, and the best work of monasteries had been done. Worcester obtained a charter from Henry III., and the citizens began to manage their own affairs. The bishop was still a benefactor to the town, and in 1281 Bishop Giffard laid the first stone of a pavement for the streets at a time when few towns in England could boast of such a luxury. Bridges were built across the Severn and the Teme. There was greater prosperity, and the lines of packhorses moved more throngly along the 'salt ways' which passed through Droitwich towards north and south. Droitwich and Worcester were the only places which could boast any trade; Droitwich in its salt, and Worcester as a fruit market for the neighbourhood, and the centre of an industry in woollen goods.

Curiously enough, one of the earliest utterances of the popular discontent which heralded the break-up of mediæval society was connected with Worcestershire. The poem of Langland, *The Vision of Piers the Plowman*, chooses for its scene the hills of Malvern, where, 'In a sumer season, when softe was the sonne,' the singer fell asleep; but save this mention there is nothing in the poem which brings it home to any special place. It tells of the miseries of the common folk, and laments the decay of morals, the want of spirituality in religion. It shows us an ecclesiastical system estranged from the life of the people, and forgetful, amongst its secular business, that the Church is for the people, and not the people for the Church. What energy was shown by bishops and abbots was mostly

shown in outward matters; they founded hospitals, made roads, repaired bridges, and did much to improve the good condition of the country. But men felt that these things could be done as well by others. The power, the riches, and the pomp of ecclesiastics seemed excessive to men who were beginning to be more self-dependent and industrious. Worcestershire was a home of Lollardism, and although the Lollard movement died away it left its traces behind. The men of Worcester had sufficient grounds for seeing that the unwieldy Church of the Middle Ages was no longer identified with the life of the people. From 1497 till 1535 the bishopric of Worcester was held in succession by four Italian priests, who rarely visited their diocese, but were paid by its revenue for the political services which they rendered to the king at the Roman Court. The bishops had ceased to be leaders of the people, and sunk to be royal officials; so entirely was this the case that it mattered not if they were foreigners.

The monks in like manner lived the lives of country gentlemen. They dispensed hospitality, built splendid buildings, and were kindly to the poor. Their lives were probably no worse than those of their neighbours; but they were regarded with an envious eye by the smaller gentry, whom the growing quiet and order of the country had turned from soldiers into landlords. The dissolution of the monasteries was as much the result of the social change as of the religious change which passed over England in the sixteenth century. The Church had not so many social and political duties to perform as in the past, and her tenure of land was excessive. It was because every one, even the monks themselves, recognised this fact, that so many monasteries quietly surrendered their possessions into the king's hands. Few, however, expected that Henry VIII. would work the wholesale devastation which he did, or that the revenues of the monasteries, instead of being devoted to some useful purposes, would pass into the pockets of the king and his favourites.

Needful as the dissolution of the monasteries might be, it was carried out with entire recklessness, and caused much misery. At Evesham Abbot Lichfield had just finished his beautiful gateway-tower, when he was called upon to surrender, and died of a broken heart. The abbey buildings were



almost entirely swept away, but the men of Evesham bought the tower from the spoilers, and it still remains as a memorial of what had been. So, too, at Pershore, the monastery disappeared; but, as the inhabitants had the right of using the nave of the monastic church as their parish church, the nave was spared, whilst the choir was ordered to be pulled down. The parishioners managed to exchange the nave for the choir; but the western half of the splendid church has entirely vanished. The Bishop of Worcester at the time (Hugh Latimer) was a pronounced Reformer, but he shrank before Cromwell's measures, and wrote to plead that the priory of Great Malvern should be spared for the good of the poor. He writes: 'The prior is old, a good housekeeper, feedeth many, and that daily, for the country is poor and full of penury. And, alas! my good lord, shall we not see two or three in every shire charged to such remedy?'

Malvern was not spared, in spite of Latimer's entreaties. Everything was swept away by degrees; even the guilds, or benefit societies, of Worcester suffered, because part of their revenues were devoted to religious purposes. The only amends which Henry VIII. made was the division of the diocese of Worcester by the foundation of a see of Gloucester. In Edward VI.'s reign this was found to be too expensive, and the two sees were united in Hooper, who was an honest and upright man, and suffered death under the cruel persecution of Mary.

It was long before Worcestershire recovered from the shock of the dissolution of the monasteries. Gradually the number of resident gentry increased, country houses were built, agriculture improved, and the growth of trade in Bristol found more occupation for the people. The Severn had always been a highway for carrying trade, and the settlement of Wales by Henry VIII. gradually made it more important. Bewdley, the capital of the Forest of Wyre, was at that time made part of Worcestershire, and added to the industries of the county a considerable trade in clothing for the seamen of Bristol. Worcestershire was slowly restoring its prosperity when Elizabeth visited it in 1575, and received those signs of loyalty which Worcester was always proud to show. Under James I. Evesham was incorporated as a borough, and Kidderminster under Charles I.

The loyalty of Worcester brought on it many sufferings in the course of the Great Rebellion. Worcester held for the king, and was besieged in 1642, when Prince Rupert advanced into a meadow outside the walls and defied the Parliamentary army. The battle was engaged, but Rupert was obliged to flee before reinforcements which arrived under the Earl of Essex, and Worcester was taken and pillaged. However, the spirit of the men of Worcester was not broken, and in 1646 they again hoisted the royal standard and endured another siege, only surrendering when they heard that Charles's fortunes were hopeless.

When, in 1651, Charles II. attempted to win back his father's crown, he made for Worcester, as a gathering place of his adherents. Cromwell marched from London against him, and, in spite of the attempts of the Royalists to prevent him, succeeded in gaining a position on both sides of the Severn, and besieged the city. Charles, thinking that Cromwell's forces were weakened by the withdrawal of a detachment across the river, marched out to attack the main besieging force, which was posted on the hill above the city. The battle was keenly contested, till fresh supplies were sent from the other side of the Severn, and the Royalists were driven in disorder down the hill into the city. The gates were stormed, and Charles II. was driven to begin his romantic flight, in which he turned the spit in a village kitchen and hid in the oak-tree of Boscobel Woods.

Worcestershire suffered severely during this time of war, and was long in recovering its national or moral well-being. Its moral restoration was begun by Richard Baxter, Vicar of Kidderminster, whose ministry was unhappily cut short by his refusal to conform in 1662. It was at Kidderminster that he wrote *The Saint's Everlasting Rest*, a book which still holds a high place in our devotional literature. The material prosperity of Worcestershire was to some extent affected by the want of honesty and intelligence among its people. The chief industry was the manufacture of cloth; but Worcestershire broadcloth lost the market owing to the dishonesty of the merchants, who did not give fair measure, and the obstinacy of the workmen, who would persist in weaving a thicker and heavier cloth than was in request. However, it would seem that the lesson once learned

was of abiding use, as the craftsmen of Worcestershire have since then been famous for their versatility. Kidderminster replaced its woollen manufactures by that of carpet, which it still retains. Worcester turned to gloves, and afterwards porcelain, manufactures which have made it famous.



THE WORCESTERSHIRE BEACON, MALVERN.

The fact that the district possessed no natural advantages for trade, having neither coal nor iron, made it dependent upon its skill. The waterway of the Severn was also an advantage, and the development of the canal system called Stourport into existence, and seemed likely to make Worcester an important place.

The rapid growth of railways has since almost equalised the routes of commerce.

Compared with such a commercial centre as Birmingham, Worcestershire must rank as an agricultural county. Bewdley has sunk into a quiet country

town, but Worcester still holds a remarkable position as a centre of many industries which are independent of any special locality and only need skilled workmen. Thus the porcelain of Worcester has long been famous, but everything needed for the manufacture has to be brought from elsewhere. Kidderminster, in like manner, keeps its old reputation for carpet making, and Redditch, on the western border, is renowned for needles.

Worcestershire perhaps combines within itself more of the elements of English life than any other county. On the west the hills roll down to the Severn valley, whence the rich plain extends till it is checked by the decided form of the volcanic range which rises behind Malvern. The fertile valley of the Avon broadens into the rich meadows which skirt the banks of the Severn and the Teme. Worcestershire has long been known as 'the garden of England,' and so long back as the twelfth century was famous for its fruit. It is studded with country houses, many of them old manor-houses, which tell of the continuous growth of ease and comfort. Every feature in the landscape tells of the care and attention which past generations have given to the work which was necessary to create the smiling England of to-day.

## GLOUCESTER.



TEWKESBURY ABBEY.

**F**EW parts of England are more full of interest to one who searches for relics of the past than is the lower valley of the Severn and the downs of the Cotswold range, which make up the county which has Gloucester for its capital. In the earliest times that we can trace, the folks who lived in Britain saw the advantages of this reach of high-lying country, which looked on one side to the valley where flowed the Severn, fast broadening into the sea, and on the other side looked over the rich valley in which the Thames was beginning its course. There the Britons made their settlements, and thither the Romans followed them. This region, moreover, the Romans learned to look on as the most enjoyable in Britain; and no towns, save London, York, and Colchester, were so important as

was Corinium (Cirencester), the capital of the Cotswolds. The present town does not cover one-third of the space which was occupied by the Roman town; and the remains of Roman work which are collected in its Museum show that its Roman inhabitants were rich and cultivated. Nowhere can the traces of Roman life be more clearly seen than in Cirencester and its neighbourhood. Four great roads centred in it, and connected it with Glevum (Gloucester), on one side, and with Aquæ Solis (Bath), already a fashionable watering-place, on the other. Along these roads were country houses and farms, of which Woodchester can still give us some idea. There, in a little village, south of Stroud, can be traced the ground-plan of a mansion which covered nearly four hundred square feet. Its buildings were arranged round two courts, and remains of its rich tessellated pavements bear witness to the completeness of its adornment.

When the Romans withdrew, the dwellers in their towns enjoyed greater peace than fell to the lot of the rest of the Britons. But the West Saxons came and conquered in the south till they pressed upward from Wiltshire, in 577, and on the little hill of Deorham (Dyrham) fought the battle in which the Britons were defeated, and the Severn valley was opened to the new-comers. There they settled and took the name of Hwiccas, so that the old Hwiccian land contained the modern shires of Gloucester, Worcester, and the southern part of Warwick.

The Hwiccas, however, rose against their king, Ceawlin, when he was defeated by the Britons at Faddiley, in his attempt to carry his conquering arms as far as Chester. After this rising, the power of the West Saxons was for a time broken, and the Hwiccas were separated from the rest of their kinsfolk. They were too few to remain, and fell before the rising power of the Mercians on the north, and before 650 the land of the Hwiccas formed part of the Mercian kingdom. When Archbishop Theodore was engaged in ordering the affairs of the Church, he saw that Mercia was too large for one bishop to superintend. So, in 673, he set over the Hwiccas a bishop who built his church at Worcester, and until the Reformation Gloucester formed part of the diocese of Worcester. The land of the Hwiccas long held together in its ecclesiastical organisation, though for its

civil organisation the land which gathered round the town of Gloucester was divided from that which gathered round the town of Worcester.

The reason of this was the fall of the Mercian power before Wessex, under Egbert, which was rapidly followed by the invasion of the Danes, who settled in the eastern part of Mercia, but only pillaged its western part. The result of their ravages, however, was the weakening of old local sentiment and the wiping out of old distinctions. The Mercian kingdom, as a whole, was dismembered; even the Hwiccas were divided into two parts.

During this period, however, the town of Gloucester was slowly recovering some of the importance which it had in Roman times. The fisheries of the Severn were valuable, and population gathered in the town, where was established in time a Benedictine monastery. Still Gloucester could not rank with Worcester in early times, though its importance rapidly increased; and in the reign of Edward the Confessor we find it a place whither the king summoned his wise men to counsel. Moreover, in many parts of the shire rose monasteries, as at Tewkesbury and Winchcombe; while the church of Deerhurst near Tewkesbury still shows some of the most important remains of Saxon architecture which have come down to us. Further, it was natural that the estuary of the Severn should have a port, and a spot was chosen on the Avon, which grew into the great city of Bristol. It was not, however, till the times of the Danes that Bristol came into being; for it was the settlement of the Danes in Ireland which first caused commercial intercourse between the two islands. In its beginnings the Irish trade was of an evil sort, for the Bristol ships carried to Ireland cargoes of slaves, who were sold by the Danes in different parts of Europe. These slaves were prisoners taken in war against the Welsh, or men whose freedom had been forfeited to the law, or sometimes we cannot doubt that they were kidnapped. It was in vain that the Church forbade this infamous traffic. The holy Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester took up his abode in Bristol, and employed all the influence of Christian teaching to check it. While he remained, men listened and were ashamed; after he was gone, they fell back into their evil ways.

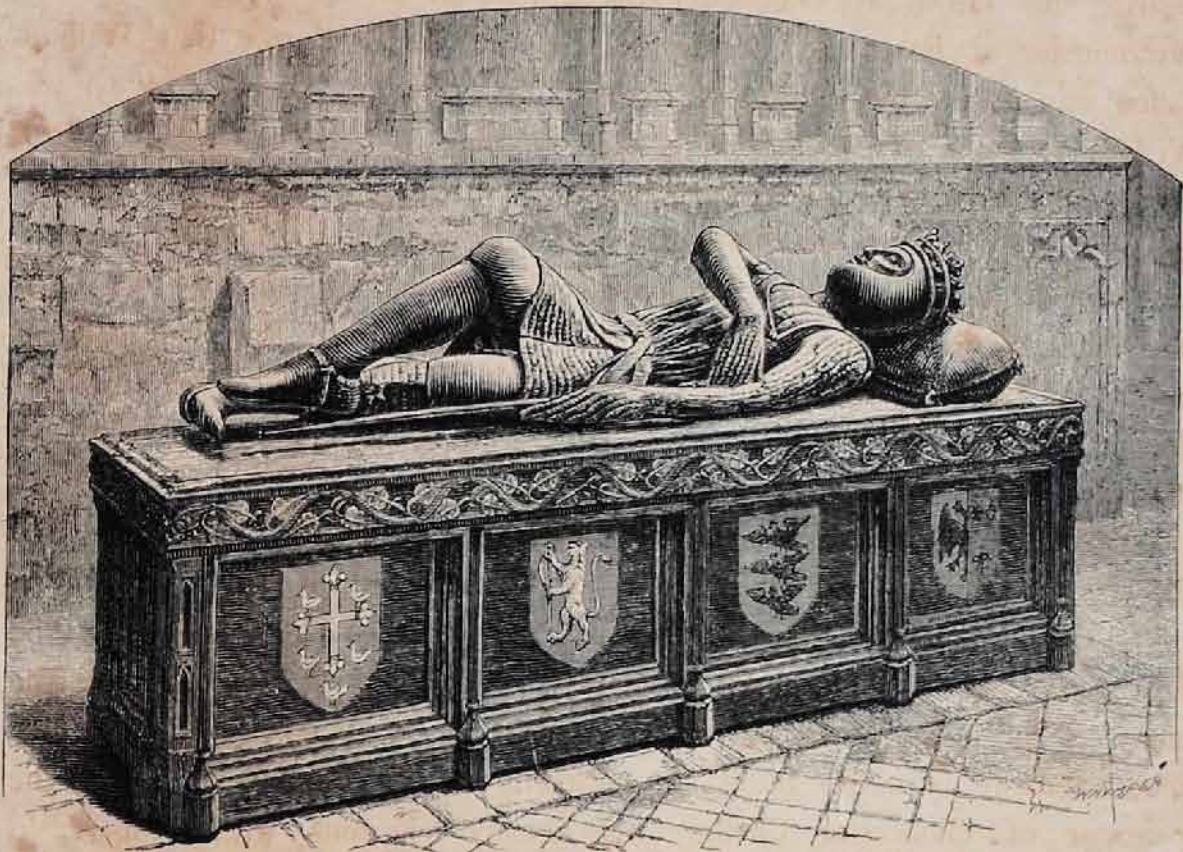
Gloucestershire seems to have submitted willingly to William the Conqueror, and Gloucester grew in importance under him and his sons. Its position, commanding the Severn valley, made it a centre for the Norman barons who were engaged in making settlements in South Wales. A castle was built, and Gloucester counted as one of the three places in England where the king held royal state on the great festivals of the Church, wearing his crown at Gloucester on Christmas, and at Winchester and Westminster at Easter and Pentecost. It was at Gloucester that William Rufus was seized with sickness in 1093, and lay at the point of death. Wishing to make amends before he died for his evil deed in keeping vacant the Archbishopric of Canterbury and seizing its revenues, he sent for Anselm, abbot of the Norman monastery of Bec, who was in England on a visit, and named him archbishop. Anselm vainly refused the office. The lords who stood by seized the old man, forced a pastoral staff into his reluctant hands, and with shouts of joy bore him off, with tears streaming down his cheeks, to the abbey church, that they might give thanks for having an archbishop.

Gloucestershire was so closely associated with the political life of England that Henry I. conferred upon his natural son, Robert, the earldom of Gloucester. Robert rebuilt the castle of Bristol, and was one of the most powerful of English lords. On Henry I.'s death Robert espoused the cause of his sister Matilda against Stephen; and, as a consequence, Gloucestershire bore the brunt of the civil war that followed. Milo, the governor of Gloucester Castle, was equally vigorous with Robert in upholding Matilda's cause; and to Gloucester Matilda fled for refuge when all seemed to go against her in 1141. Gloucester and Bristol alike suffered siege; though it may be doubted if, after all, Gloucestershire had more misery to record than the rest of England. It was a time of anarchy, in which those who were inactive had as much to endure as those who were foremost in the struggle.

The civilisation of Gloucestershire was chiefly baronial. The county was dependent on its earl, and on the Earl of Hereford, who held much land within its bounds. Next to these in importance were the lords of Berkeley,



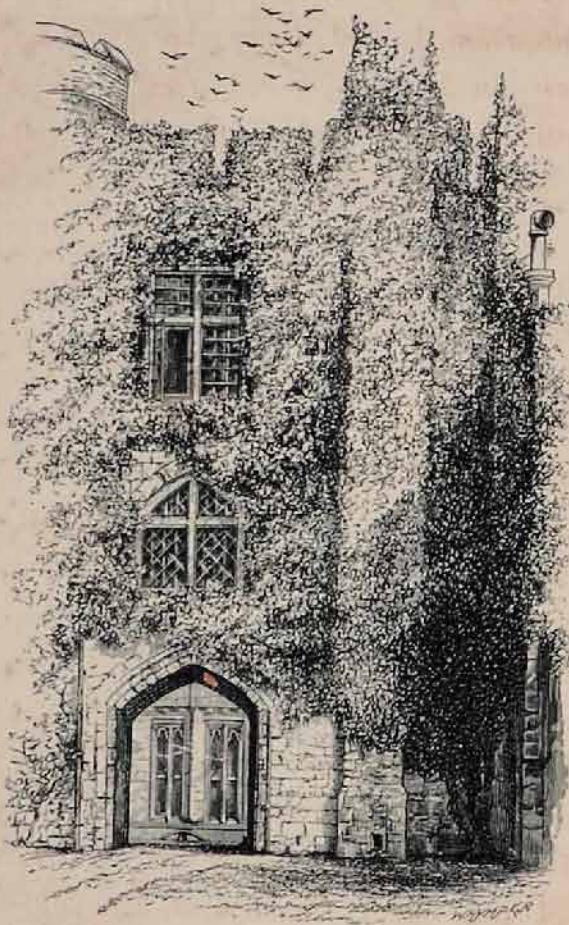
whose castle, dating in part from the twelfth century, still stands as a rare instance of a baronial fortress which has been adapted to the needs of modern life, and is still inhabited. But, besides the barons, the monks were also busy. It was from the monasteries on the borders of the counties of Worcester and Gloucester that the first signs of the monastic revival of the eleventh century had gone forth. From Evesham and Winchcombe



TOMB OF ROBERT DUKE OF NORMANDY, IN GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

went the three brethren who did so much for monasticism in Northern England. As they read the pages of Bede's history they grieved that the places where he had lived and taught should lie in the ruins to which the heathen Dane had reduced them. So, putting all their worldly goods on the back of a donkey, they went forth on a pilgrimage which had for its object the rebuilding of the monasteries of Jarrow and Wearmouth. What was thus given was also received. The abbeys of Gloucestershire flourished and

waxed great, especially that of Gloucester, which grew with the importance of the town till the Abbot of Gloucester ranked as one of the chief political personages in England. King Henry I. founded a house of Austin canons at Cirencester; and Roger, Earl of Hereford, set up the Cistercians at Flaxley, on the spot where his father had been killed by an arrow



BERKELEY CASTLE.

while hunting. Curious also is the history of the priory of New Llanthony, which stands on what is now a suburb of Gloucester. Its site was given by Milo, Earl of Hereford, as a place of refuge to the monks of Llanthony, in the vale of Ewais, at a time when the lawless peasantry were constantly plundering their possessions, so that it was difficult to be sure of food. The place of refuge proved more attractive than the original settlement, and the greater part of the brethren moved away from their old home till, in the fifteenth century, the priory of New Llanthony was united to the abbey of Gloucester, which undertook to maintain a prior and four others in the old seat of the order in Wales.

Gloucestershire took part in the renewal of prosperity which came with the accession of Henry II., and Bristol in particular received an accession to its commerce. Already it was famous for its trade in soap; but the marriage of Henry II. with Eleanor of Guienne brought England into closer connection with Gascony, and introduced a taste for Gascon wines, which increased Bristol's carrying trade. Bristol showed all the signs of commercial growth, chief amongst which was the presence of a colony of Jews, who

were the objects of popular hatred in a time when usury was regarded as making profit out of the misfortunes of another, but who were protected by the king, as a source of revenue to the Crown. The Jews of Bristol were among the wealthiest in England, and when King John was in need of money he applied to them for a loan. His application took the form of demands from individuals, and the chief of the Jews resisted the demands as excessive. By John's orders he was imprisoned, and every day that he refused to pay had one of his teeth torn out of his jaw. For eight days the unhappy man held out; on the ninth he could endure no longer, and paid what the king asked. His fellows, terrified by this example, submitted in their turn.

John's death left England plunged in civil war; and those of the barons who were in favour of preserving the existing dynasty assembled hastily at Gloucester for the coronation of the young king, Henry III. He was but a child of nine years, and the royal crown could not be brought from Westminster for the ceremony. A plain circlet of gold was prepared, and the Bishop of Worcester set it on the boy's head. The cause of Henry III. prevailed, owing to the wisdom and prudence of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who acted as his representative. When he grew up and governed for himself, Henry III. loved Gloucester, and often took up his abode there. For some years it was his necessary headquarters in a war against the son of his early friend, William Marshall, who rebelled against the feeble king, and gave him much trouble on the Welsh Marches. But there were worse troubles in store for a king who promised, and was too feeble to keep his word; who swore to the provisions of the Great Charter of England's liberties, and then held not to his oath. His barons long endured his doings, for they had no leader till a man of alien birth, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, set an example of constitutional resistance. In this he was followed by Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who shared with Earl Simon the leadership of the baronial party, which strove to mend the misgovernment of Henry III. But Earl Richard withdrew from the task before it was finished, and Earl Simon left England till Richard's death, in 1262. The young Earl of Gloucester joined Simon heart and

soul, and fought at Lewes; but he, too, like his father, quarrelled with Simon, and by his quarrel broke up the baronial party. Gloucester, which was garrisoned for Earl Simon, was taken by Edward, the king's son, who, by the help of the Earl of Gloucester, escaped from his captivity. The loss of Gloucester made it impossible for Simon to put down the rising against him, and led to his fall in the battle of Evesham.

The dealings of Edward I. with Gloucestershire mark the progress of those reforms by which he slowly accepted the principles of the English Constitution, and expressed them in his administrative work. At Gloucester he held a parliament in 1278, which passed a statute for inquiring into the powers exercised by the great lords within their lands. Moreover, he increased the importance of Bristol by committing to its ships the care of the Irish Channel. Bristol had grown to be a considerable place, with a vigorous civil life. It passed through all the phases which mark the growth of municipal government, and was engaged in disputes about its rights of toll with the lords of Berkeley. Its government had become oligarchical, and was in the hands of fourteen of the chief merchants, who had engrossed all the power. A toll imposed on fish led to a dispute, and royal commissioners were sent, in 1314, to decide the quarrel. Their conduct did not give satisfaction, and the townsfolk rose against them. Such an affront could not be overlooked. Bristol was besieged by the royal forces, and on its capture was reduced to order.

Edward II. was more given to his amusements than to the business of state, and his reign was a long series of disasters. Deserted at last by all, he was taken prisoner and brought to Berkeley Castle, where he was put to death with horrible cruelty. Then his corpse was exposed to the view of the burghers of Bristol, that all men might be sure that the deposed king was really dead.

The fifteenth century saw Gloucestershire generally in a very prosperous condition, owing to the natural advantages of its soil. The high-lying land of the Cotswolds was well fitted for pasturing, and no trade in England was more profitable than the wool trade, which went on developing throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Trade in the modern sense has now

left the once thriving towns which nestle on the edge of the Cotswolds, but the traces of ancient prosperity still lend them a singular interest. At Fairford is a fine Perpendicular Church, rebuilt in 1500 by a wealthy merchant, John Tame, that it might contain the stained glass which he had brought back from his trading voyages to the Netherlands. The twenty-eight windows which he then set up remain amongst the finest examples of stained glass in England. In like manner the little town of Chipping Camden contains in its splendid church the brasses which mark the tombs of its great merchants of the fifteenth century. It is strange to read in that quiet spot of William Grevel, who died in 1407, and was 'flos mercatorum lanarum totius Angliæ' (the flower of wool merchants in all England).

Scarcely less prosperous, though in another way, was the region which lay on the other bank of the Severn, the Forest of Dean. There the Romans had worked iron, and their work was resumed as times became more settled. The Forest district was under laws of its own, and depended directly on the king, who maintained a whole army of officials to guard the royal rights. The Steward of the Forest had his castle at St. Briavel, overlooking the windings of the Wye. Grants were made of the right to erect a forge, sometimes stationary, sometimes movable, and the dues to be paid to the king were regulated. A mining population sprang up, with manners and customs of its own, who were known as the Free-miners of the Forest. They dug the iron, and smelted it with fires of the wood of forest-trees; then they carried the produce of their toil to the Severn, whence it went by water to the port of Bristol.

The central part of Gloucestershire, the valley of the Severn, was famous for its corn and its fruit, its cheese and its cider. The shire was renowned through England for its fertility, and was envied for its facilities of transport. The merchants of Bristol flourished. Chiefest among them stood William Canynges, who had nine merchantmen afloat at once, and employed 800 seamen. He gave his townsmen a share of all he gained by building the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, which is still the chief ornament of Bristol. As he grew old he withdrew from business, and retired to the collegiate church at Westbury-on-Trym, which had been founded by his

friend, Bishop Carpenter, of Worcester. There he donned the frock of a priest, and died in 1474, at the age of seventy-six.

Men engaged in commerce wish for order and strong government. So



CIRENCESTER.

it was that in the Wars of the Roses the burghers of Bristol favoured the House of York, and helped to bring about the accession of Edward IV. When an attempt was made to renew the war, it was the attachment of Gloucester to the Yorkist cause which barred the passage of the Severn

and cut off Queen Margaret from her friends in Wales. So it was that Edward IV. came upon the queen's forces at Tewkesbury, and there, in the meadow between the abbey and the river, was fought the bloodiest battle that was ever fought on English soil, the battle that decided the fortunes of the House of Lancaster. The young son of Henry VI. was taken in the fray, and when Edward asked him what brought him to England, answered, 'To preserve my father's crown and my own inheritance.' Edward brutally struck the defenceless lad in the face with his gauntlet, and the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester despatched him with their swords. It was a barbarous ending of the male line of the Lancastrian House.

The great change which passed over England in the sixteenth century caused less discontent in Gloucester than in most parts of England; for Gloucestershire was a centre of the prosperous middle class who were the chief gainers by the spoiling of the Church. Its abbeys were mostly swept away; Winchcombe, for instance, has entirely disappeared, because a new church had been built for the parishioners shortly before the dissolution, and no one had an interest in preserving the magnificent church of the monastery. At Tewkesbury the burghers bought the abbey church for their parish, and Tewkesbury abbey church remains as a rare example of the continuous labours of a great monastery in perfecting its buildings. Gloucestershire, moreover, affords an example of the original intentions of Henry VIII. when the dissolution of the monasteries was begun. The great abbey church of Gloucester was made the seat of a bishop, and a new diocese was framed for the shire, which was severed from the see of Worcester. Further, the church of the house of Augustinian canons at Bristol was made the seat of another bishopric, which took in the counties of Bristol and Dorset. It is a striking testimony to the importance of this part of England in that age, that two of the six sees which were then erected should have fallen to its share. Its promise of increasing importance was not fulfilled. Trade has migrated to the northern counties, and in 1836 the dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol were united under one bishop.

In the period of religious strife, Gloucestershire, as the home of the middle class, was strongly Protestant; and in the reign of Mary, Bishop

Hooper was sent to Gloucester to be burned, that his death might be a warning to the stubborn folk. But the persecutions of Mary's reign were speedily at an end. In the growth of English seamanship, which marked the reign of Elizabeth, Bristol bore its share. Already Sebastian Cabot had sailed from Bristol on his famous voyage to the West, in which he discovered Newfoundland; and Bristol long kept its connection with the Newfoundland fishing trade. Further, the trade with the West Indies at first passed exclusively through Bristol, which so became the centre of the manufactures connected with sugar and tobacco.

It was the mercantile classes whom Charles I. especially offended, and in the Great Rebellion Gloucestershire, unlike its neighbour Worcestershire, held for the Parliament. Bristol was aggrieved by the imposition of ship-money, and by a royal grant of a monopoly to a London society of soap-makers. It was a stronghold of Puritans, and in this was followed by Gloucester, where Laud began his career as dean, and irritated the citizens by his high-handed way of working reforms in the services of the cathedral. The loss of the command of the Severn meant the severing of the king's communication with the West, so, in 1643, Bristol was besieged by Prince Rupert, and was taken after assault, with great slaughter on both sides. Its loss was a great blow to the Parliament, and when Charles I. besieged Gloucester also, it was felt that a desperate effort must be made for its relief. The Earl of Essex marched westwards with troops drawn largely from the apprentices of London, and by forced marches reached Gloucester in time to save it from surrender, and the Royalist army was compelled to withdraw. After this the garrisons of Bristol and Gloucester were left to watch one another till, in 1645, Prince Rupert was driven to surrender Bristol to Fairfax and Cromwell. Though this surrender was inevitable, it was a deadly blow to the hopes of Charles, who showed his resentment by dismissing Rupert from his service.

Gloucestershire suffered severely in the Civil War. Bristol was fired in three places before it was surrendered, and all the suburbs of Gloucester were burned down during the siege.

After the Restoration, Charles II. ordered Gloucester to be dismantled



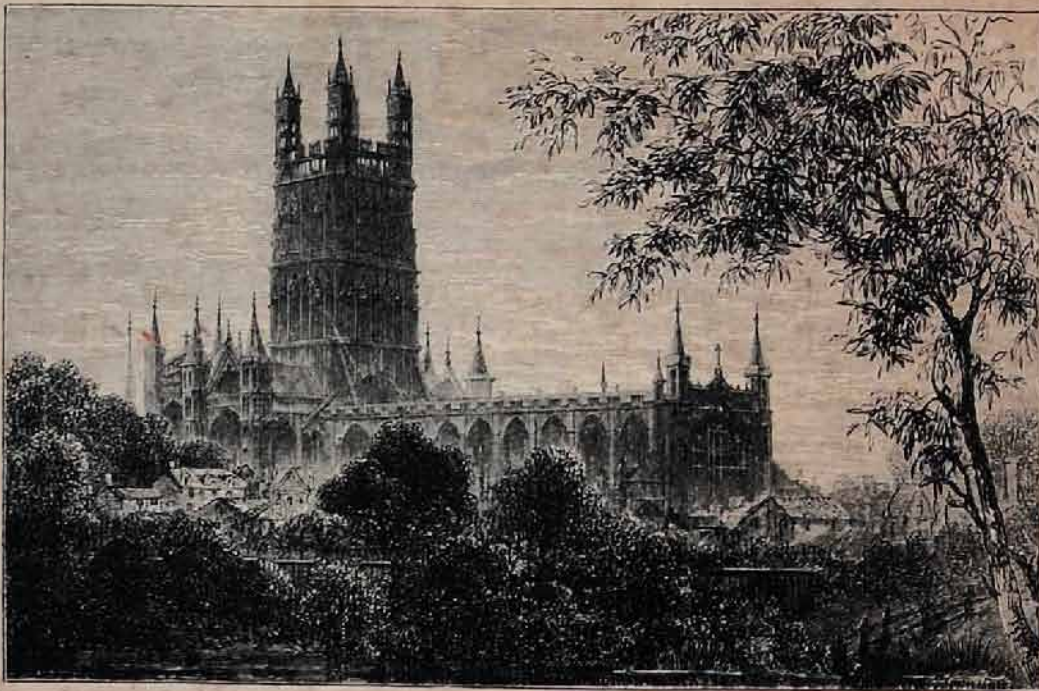
and its castle destroyed. But to the chief port of England, as Bristol was, prosperity rapidly returned. At the end of the seventeenth century Pepys was surprised by its size and its splendour. He measured its size by the fact that when he looked about him he saw nothing but houses. Its splendour was confined to its churches, for its streets were so narrow that they were scarcely accessible to coaches or waggons, and all the traffic was carried on trucks drawn by dogs. The merchants of Bristol, in their eagerness to grow rich, did not much heed the source from which their wealth came; and trade with the West Indies revived the old habit of kidnapping men and sending them away to slavery. This was so notorious that the cruel Judge Jeffreys, in his 'Bloody Assize' of 1685, did one act that was creditable. He ordered the Mayor of Bristol to leave the bench where he was sitting and take his place in the dock; there he poured forth upon the astonished magistrate a torrent of coarse eloquence, in which he denounced the iniquity of the Bristol traffic in the bodies of men. It is noticeable how the old associations lingered; when the movement for the abolition of the slave trade was set afloat, Bristol was the centre of the most determined opposition to that act of national morality.

The end of the eighteenth century saw the comparative decline in the greatness of Gloucestershire as the centre of English commerce and industry. The woollen manufacture migrated northward to Yorkshire. The Forest of Dean lost its monopoly of iron working; indeed, by the middle of the seventeenth century, the trees of the forest had almost all been cut down and used for fuel to the smelting furnaces. The discovery that iron could be better smelted by coal caused a complete change in the conditions of the iron trade, and the Bristol coalfield was small compared with those of Wales. The general direction of trade shifted northwards, and the old towns of Gloucestershire, which once resounded with the click of the shuttles of the handloom—towns of which Stroud may stand as an example—have now sunk into insignificance before the great collection of factories which form the towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire.

Bristol is no longer the chief seaport for English commerce; yet its population is ten times what it was in its most palmy days, and the size

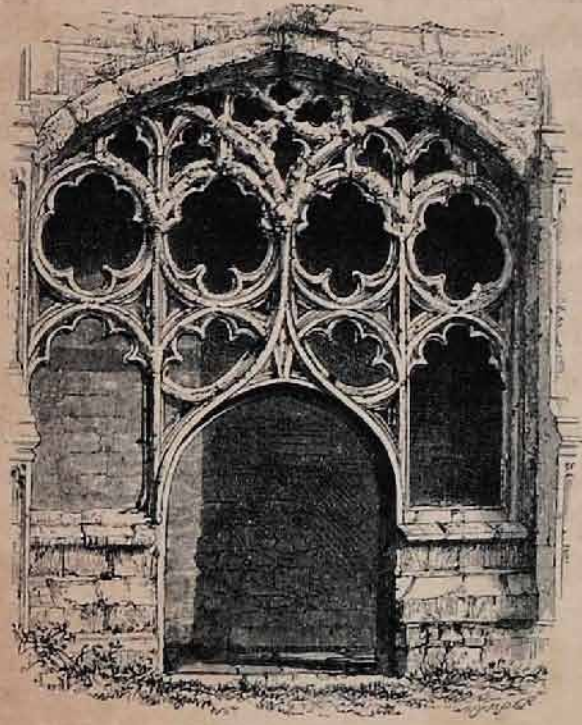
of its docks, and the number of vessels which enter them, far exceed the measure of what was necessary for the trade of all England at the end of the seventeenth century. Gloucestershire has actually increased in all its trade and manufactures during the last century and a half; it has only comparatively declined. This fact gives it its special interest among the shires of England. None tells so well the history of the continuous growth and progress of England's industries. Gloucestershire keeps the records of England's normal growth, and enables us to judge what England would have been without the great invention of machinery and means of transport which have given a new turn to modern industrial and social life.

There are those who nowadays, as they ramble along the Cotswold Hills and drop down upon the stately old towns that fringe their base, linger over the memories of the lesser England of the past, and wonder if things are always great in proportion to their size, or if life is always useful in proportion to its bustle.



GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

## HEREFORD.



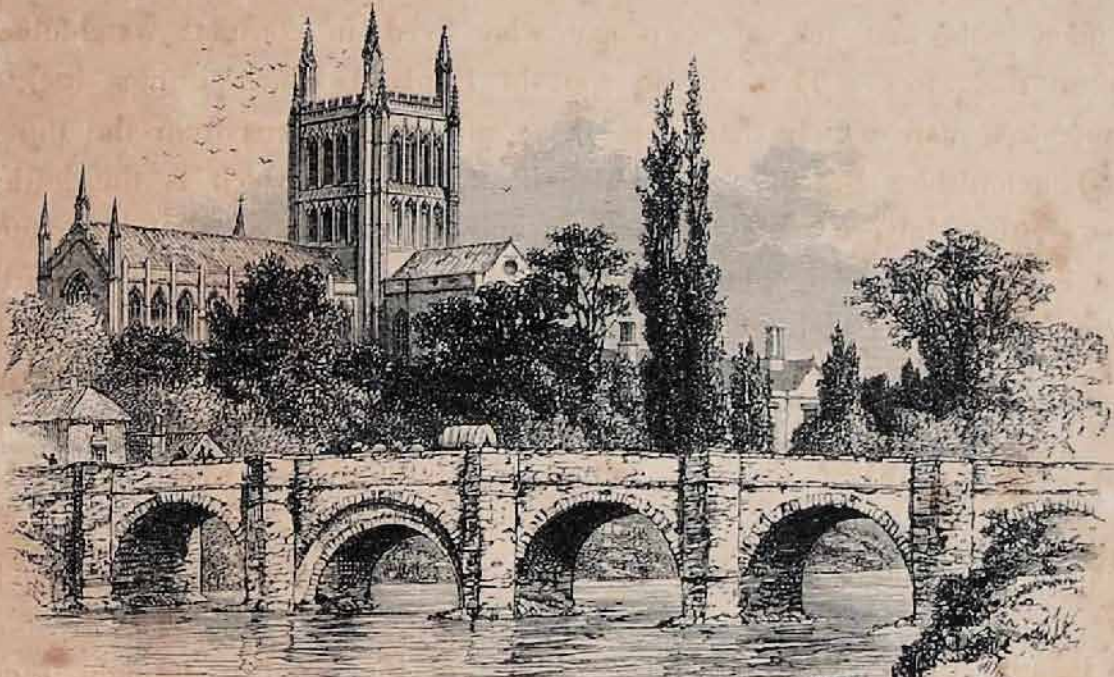
CLOISTER AT HEREFORD.

THE fertile land that makes up the Herefordshire of to-day was in old times wild and desolate enough. Pent in between the Forests of Dean and Wyre on the one side, and the Welsh mountains on the other, the Wye worked its way through brushwood and forest down to the estuary of the Severn, and only here and there along its course attracted settlers. The Romans advanced as far as Gloucester, where a strong station of soldiers commanded the Severn; and not until the river opened out into the plain by Wroxeter did they again form settlements along its banks. From Wroxeter, however, they penetrated westward and made military roads, commanded by a few stations, which might suffice to keep the Britons in awe. There was a British town on the site where Hereford now stands, with the name of Caerfawdd, the town in the beech-wood.

Hard by it the village of Kenchester still tells of the existence of a Roman station on the road that ran between Wroxeter and the mouth of the Usk. The Romans, however, seem to have left the country between the Usk and the Severn to the hardy tribes of the Silurians, taking care only that they should not leave these limits, but remain within their thickets. Hence it comes that Herefordshire is rich in British camps, which crown the tops of many hills, and tell of a people who lived in constant watchfulness against their foes. There is no spot in England which brings back a remote past more vividly than does the scene which opens from the top of the Herefordshire Beacon. The summit of the hill, which is the loftiest point of the Malvern range, is terraced and entrenched, so that its natural form is lost, and a large level enclosure, safe behind its fortress of earth, has converted the steep hilltop into an abode of men. The next summit westward has been treated in like manner, and most of the hilltops which are in view bear the marks of human habitation. The scene carries us back to a time when the rich valleys of Herefordshire were impassable jungles, and the hills were inhabited by warlike tribes, whose settlements occupied the highest ground, which their spades transformed according to their needs.

So the Britons lived until the coming of the English brought them foes more dangerous than the Romans. Doubtless the dwellers on the Malvern Hills heard rumours of the advance of these strangers from the coast; but it was long before they themselves were troubled in their fortresses, nor can we clearly trace the steps of the English conquest of this district. The conquest, however, was the work of a definite tribe; and the boundaries of Herefordshire were determined by the fact that it contained the people of the Hecanas, who, under a ruler of their own, formed part of the Mercian kingdom. No doubt their settlements were sparse, and they mingled with the British people. But they had an importance, remote as they were; and this importance was first recognised in the sphere of ecclesiastical organisation. The bishoprics at first followed the kingdoms, and the vast Mercian kingdom was under the supervision of the Bishop of Lichfield, till the great Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore,

somewhere about 680, broke up the unwieldy diocese, and set a bishop at Hereford over the Hecanas. This is the first established fact in the history of Herefordshire. It shows us a definite people established within certain boundaries, sufficiently important to need special supervision; and it tells us that the old British town of Caerfydd had changed its name into Hereford,



HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

which perhaps may mean the ford of the army, but which, anyhow, was the centre of the district and was an outpost against the Britons.

The western boundary of the Hecanas can only have been dimly defined, and they probably spent their time in border warfare, till the great Mercian ruler, Offa, led his army across the Severn in 779, pushed back the Welsh, and raised his dyke, a huge earthwork which runs from the mouth of the Wye to the Dee, which was to form the boundary between the Mercians and the Welsh. This was the last great deed of the Mercian kingdom. From that time it fell back, until the ravages of the Danes completed its

downfall. When the Danes were finally driven back by the West Saxon kings, the older divisions of the Mercian kingdoms reappear in the shape of shires, and Herefordshire, the old sub-kingdom of the Hecanas and the seat of a bishopric, came definitely into existence as a recognised part of the English kingdom.

During the Danish invasion the Welsh had been pressing hard on their English neighbours, and the West Saxon Ethelstan in 925 had to make an agreement with them. He summoned to Hereford the chiefs of the North Welsh, and compelled them to accept the Wye once more as the boundary of the English kingdom. There was no longer any further idea of English conquest; the only desire was that the two peoples should live side by side in peace. But Hereford was of importance for the maintenance of peace; and we find that under Edward the Confessor it was committed to the care of earls of its own.

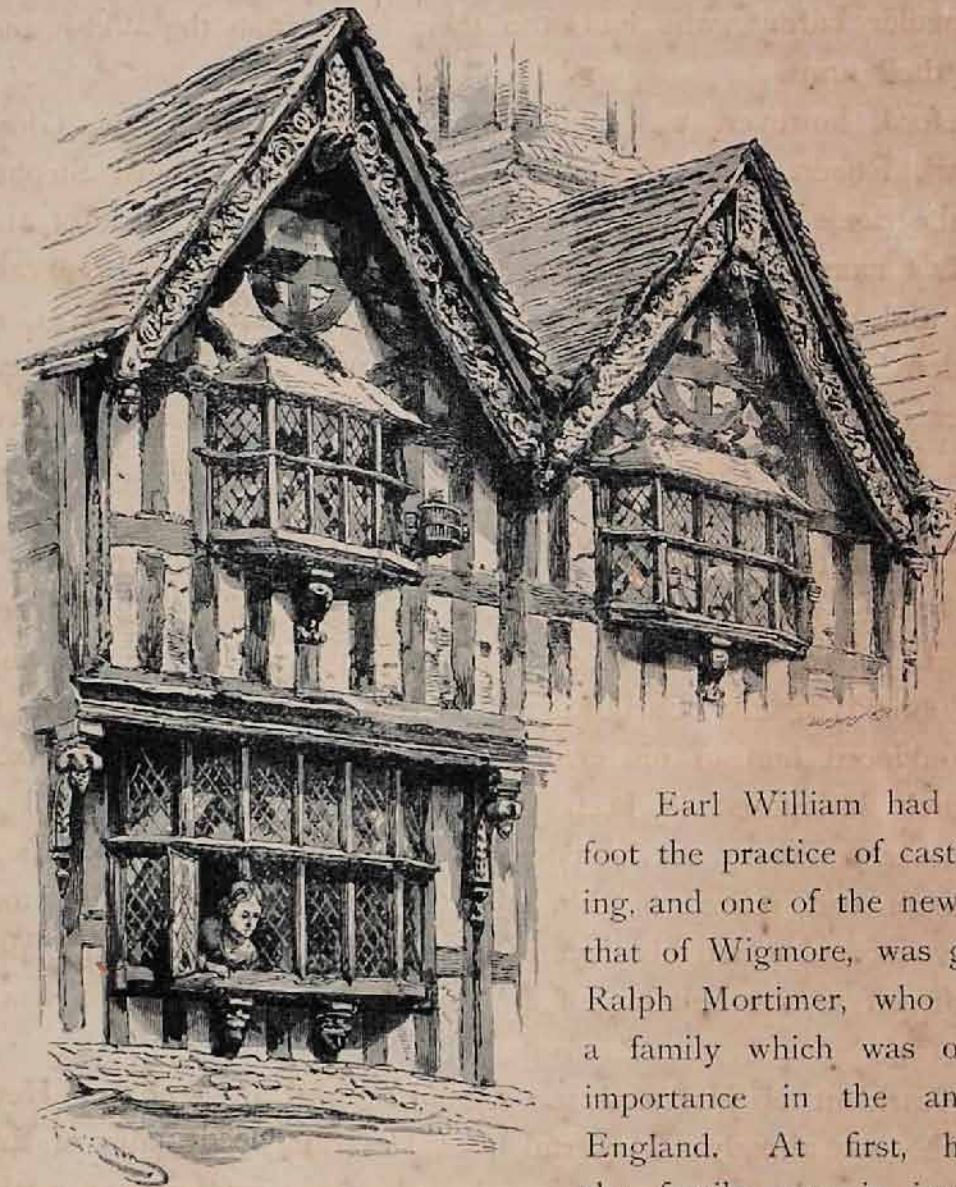
Moreover, the reign of Edward the Confessor gives us a glimpse into the condition of Herefordshire, a condition which throughout the Middle Ages continued to be its chief characteristic. Edward had spent his youth in Normandy, and on his accession to the English throne many Norman adventurers flocked to England as to a land of promise. It was natural for the king to provide for them upon the Welsh frontier, an unsettled district, where Welsh and English dwelt side by side, and where the rights of landowners were ill-defined. Amongst these Norman adventurers was one, Richard, the son of Scrob, who took possession of lands which the king granted him, and showed that he was determined to hold them against all comers. He built a castle, which has long since disappeared; but Richard's Castle still survives as the name of a quiet country town. The name bears witness to the terror which Richard's proceedings inspired in men's minds. They could understand the fortification of a town, or the erection of a fortress to defend the abodes of men; but Richard built a castle for himself, that he might overawe his neighbours, and support his own claims to whatever he chose to demand. It is the earliest instance of these 'adulterine castles,' which were centres of violence and oppression in Stephen's reign, and filled Englishmen with the deepest dread. They called

them 'adulterine,' because they saw no legitimate connection of them either with national or local defence; they represented nothing save the self-will and arbitrary power of a domineering landowner.

The lands of Herefordshire needed constant defence, and special local customs for that purpose prevailed in many districts. But they were powerless to save the land from an invasion of the Welsh King Griffith in 1055. He ravaged the border land and advanced to Hereford, where he routed Earl Ralph and reduced the city to ruins. Its church was burned, its citizens were slain or led into captivity, and for a time the land lay waste. But King Edward sent Earl Harold with an army, before which the Welsh king retreated; then Harold rebuilt the ruined town, and may be regarded as the second founder of Hereford. Before his time it seems to have been unfortified; Harold surrounded it with a wall, and safe under his care the church and houses of the citizens rose again. However, Harold's protection was not long enjoyed. His downfall and the accession of the Norman William roused the spirits of the untamed dwellers on the border. The most powerful Englishman in those parts, Edric the Wild, refused to submit to William, despite the fact that Richard's Castle, under its Norman lord, warmly upheld the cause of the Conqueror. But Edric found ready allies in the Welsh kings, and in 1067 their combined forces ravaged Herefordshire, and again laid it waste. The walls and castle of Hereford saved it from being burned a second time, but the land as far as the River Lugg was reduced to desolation.

Perhaps this onslaught was a protest against William I.'s government. He had made Hereford a county palatine, and had conferred the earldom on his most trusted friend, William Fitz-Osborn, whom the English looked upon as their great oppressor. Earl William was indeed a stern man, whose first object was to carry out the conquest of England and reduce the land to submission. He warred against the Welsh and overcame their chief king, but his early death in 1071 prevented him from bringing Edric to entire submission. His earldom went to his son Roger, who, strangely unlike his father, rose in rebellion against William I. He was prevented from crossing the Severn by Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester, was made

prisoner, and was kept in prison till his death. After this treachery of a powerful lord, William I. did not think it wise to set another earl over Hereford, which was guarded by officers dependent directly on the king.



OLD HOUSES IN HEREFORD.

Earl William had set on foot the practice of castle-building, and one of the new castles, that of Wigmore, was given to Ralph Mortimer, who founded a family which was of great importance in the annals of England. At first, however, the family rose in importance by steadily acquiring the castles

on the Welsh border, and it was the reign of William Rufus which introduced the policy of subduing South Wales by constantly building castles as outposts against the foe, and so continually pushing forward the line of the English border and pushing back the Welsh. It was the pursuance



of this system that made Herefordshire, like its neighbour Shropshire, a district of great lords and strong castles. It represented the inner circle of English defences, and its lords were the natural leaders of confederacies of the smaller barons, who had won their lands from the Welsh and held them by their arms.

Hereford, however, was not of so much importance as Gloucester, whose earl, Robert, led the western shires to declare against Stephen and espouse the cause of Matilda. Geoffrey Talbot seized the castle of Hereford in Matilda's name, whereupon Stephen besieged and reduced the castles of Hereford and Weobley. Matilda, when she came to power in 1141, revived the earldom of Hereford and bestowed it upon Milo, the Constable of Gloucester. A second time the earldom of Hereford was short-lived, for the same reason as before. Milo's son Roger joined with his neighbour, Hugh of Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, to resist the measures which Henry II. took that he might reduce the overweening power of the castle-building barons whom the weakness of Stephen's reign had fostered and encouraged. Henry II. marched against the rebels, but he did not need to draw sword against Earl Roger, for the Bishop of Hereford, Gilbert Foliot, convinced him of his error, and he made submission to the king. The Church interposed to keep the peace, and the end of Earl Robert gives another testimony to the power of the Church to sway men's minds. The penitent earl retired to the abbey of Gloucester, where he took the monastic vows, and ended his days in 1154. In like manner Hugh Mortimer betook himself to the building of an abbey at Wigmore, and died a canon of it in 1185.

The earldom of Hereford was again revived in 1199 for Henry de Bohun, who was already a powerful man, Hereditary Constable of England. The castle was not, however, entrusted to his keeping, but was retained as a royal castle, having a governor of its own, generally the sheriff of the county. In the struggle against John and Henry III. the barons of the West were generally on the side of liberty and withstood the king. Nowhere did the weakness of Henry III. produce more disastrous results than on the Welsh borders. The Princes of Gwynedd (North Wales) began to meddle

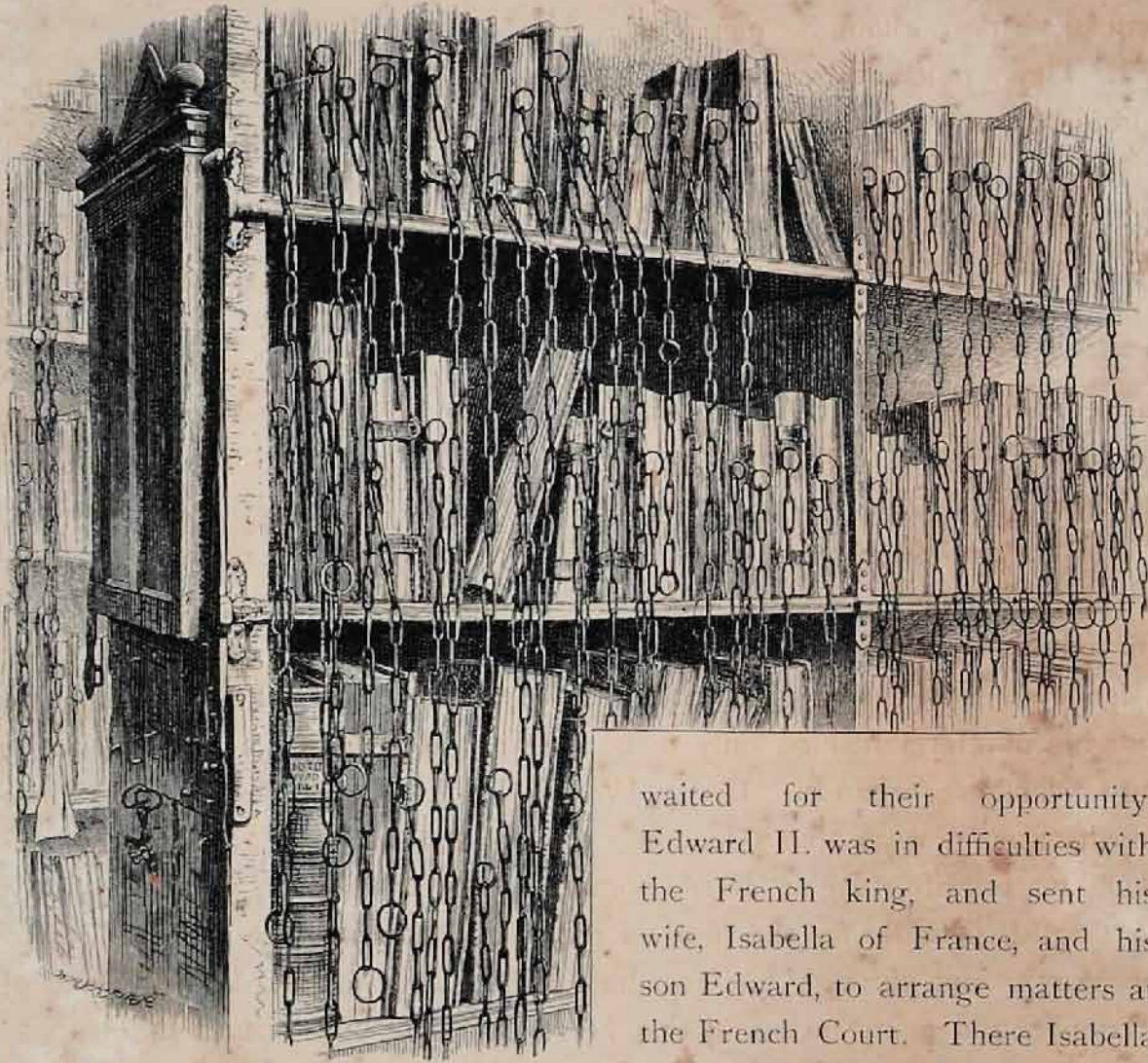
in English politics, and took advantage of the discontent felt by the barons against the Crown. There was a great Celtic revival, which Henry III. was unable to cope with, though he often made Hereford his headquarters, and built up the castle so that it became a considerable fortress. Moreover, Henry III. set up as Bishop of Hereford one of the numerous tribe of Savoyards whom he delighted to favour, Peter of Aigueblanche, an unscrupulous and tricky man, who was universally detested. There was great disquiet among the Lords Marchers all along the Welsh borders, and when war broke out between the reforming barons and the king, party quarrels caused great dissension among them. Simon de Montfort, the leader of the baronial party, aggrieved the Earl of Gloucester, and was suspected of being on too friendly terms with the Welsh. The Earl of Hereford withdrew from the baronial party, and there was civil war in Herefordshire. Peter de Montfort, Simon's brother, was the commander on the barons' side; he captured Hereford in 1263, and drove out its hated bishop. In 1264 Simon was victorious in the battle of Lewes, and the king and his son were prisoners in his hand. But the Lords Marchers refused to submit to this usurpation, and their loyalty waxed stronger as their king's fortunes declined. Earl Simon found that he must go in person to deal with the disturbed state of affairs in the West. He made his headquarters at Hereford, where he took with him the captive king and the young Edward. But the royalist reaction grew stronger and Simon's difficulties increased, till at Hereford occurred an event which wrought his ruin. Edward, though a prisoner, was treated with the honour due to his rank, and went out riding every day, with a few guardians, in Widemarsh, as the meadow was called which stretches below the walks of Hereford Castle. The loyalist Marchers found means of communicating with him, and laid their plan for his escape. They had contrived to provide him with a horse of great swiftness, and one evening (May 28, 1265) Edward proposed to his unconscious guards that they should make trial of their horses. When they had tired out their horses in the contest, a rider was seen on the distant hill to wave his hat. At this signal Edward leapt upon his horse, which was yet untried, and saluting his guard with sarcastic politeness, rode off with one or two of his

friends who were in the secret and disappeared in the forest. Pursuit was vain, and Edward was soon among his friends, a centre of enthusiastic loyalty, in the castle of the loyalist, Roger Mortimer, at Wigmore. Earl Simon felt that the county was rising against him, and made an alliance with Llewellyn, the Prince of Gwynedd, which was regarded as monstrous by those who looked on the Welsh as their hereditary foes. He waited at Hereford for succours, which never came, till at last he was forced to cross the Severn, and withdrew to Worcestershire, where, on August 4, he fell in the battle of Evesham.

These events secured the power of the family of Mortimer. Roger and his son Edmund were the chief leaders of the troops who, under Edward I., conquered North Wales. This conquest was the result of Edward's early experiences at Hereford, where he learned that the West of England would never be free from disorder till the disturbing element of the Welsh Principality was removed. After Edward I.'s conquest of North Wales, the importance of Hereford as a military post declined, and the county became more prosperous. It had long been famous as the best grazing land in England, and Herefordshire wool had a reputation throughout Europe. Leominster grew in importance as the centre of the western wool trade, and the market to which was brought the produce of the district. Ledbury and Kington were inhabited by clothiers. In the beginning of the fourteenth century Herefordshire was one of the most favoured counties of England, having a well-to-do population, and being filled with small gentry, whose houses studded the plains.

Amongst these the family of Mortimer held the chief place, and it was Roger Mortimer who, in the reign of Edward II., roused the western barons against the king. He had little difficulty in so doing, for their jealousy was stirred by the rise of the Despencers in the royal favour. Hugh Despencer married the heiress of the Earl of Gloucester, and thereby became lord of almost the whole county of Glamorgan. He claimed some lands to which both Mortimer and Mowbray thought they had a better right, and personal motives led them to oppose the royal favourite. At first the king was successful, and reduced Hereford and the Marches in

1322. Mortimer fled to France; his friend, Adam Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, was only saved from being tried for high treason by the intervention of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But Mortimer and Bishop Orleton



CHAINED BOOKS, HEREFORD.

waited for their opportunity. Edward II. was in difficulties with the French king, and sent his wife, Isabella of France, and his son Edward, to arrange matters at the French Court. There Isabella was captivated by Mortimer, and loudly complained of her husband's

ill-treatment. A plot was quickly formed against the English king, and Bishop Orleton managed, with much dexterity, to organise a party in England. When Isabella landed in England no one was left to stand by the unhappy king. Isabella and Mortimer advanced in triumph to Hereford, where they made their headquarters; and Bishop Orleton carried through

Parliament the deposition of Edward II. and the accession of Edward III. Mortimer was practically ruler of England, and repaid himself for his villainies by the Earldom of March. But men soon grew weary of his shameful rule, and Edward III., after three years, handed him over to his enemies, from whom he met with a felon's death.

The French wars of Edward III. were so far advantageous that they provided an occupation for many of the adventurous gentry of the Welsh Marches, and thereby promoted peace and order at home. But at the same time Edward III. sowed the seeds of future dissension by the marriage of his sons to great heiresses, whereby the blood royal entered into many of the chief families of England, and encouraged ambitious schemes which were fatal to the peace of England. John of Gaunt married Blanche, heiress of the House of Lancaster; their son Henry married Mary Bohun, and added to his other dignities the title of Earl of Hereford. Before him Richard II. fell, as Edward II. had fallen before the intrigues of Mortimer; but Henry of Bolingbroke could furbish up a title to the Crown and reigned in his own name. Still, as Henry IV., he was weak upon the throne, and his weakness coincided with a period of revival of Welsh patriotism. Owen Glendower rose in arms, and Sir Edward Mortimer led against him the knights of Herefordshire, only to be defeated at Kington, and fall a captive into Glendower's hands. Henry IV. delayed to ransom the prisoner, whose loyalty was so weak that Glendower won him to his side, and gave him his daughter to wife. Again the importance of great English families was felt in English politics; for the head of the House of Mortimer, the young Earl of March, was, through his grandmother, descended from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and many men said that he ought to be king instead of Henry.

The battle of Shrewsbury put an end to the hopes of the confederacy against Henry IV., but did not restore quiet in Herefordshire. The young Earl of March was kept in prison, and there were perpetual plots for his delivery. Under Henry V. he was released, and served in the French wars as a loyal subject of the king; but the untimely death of Henry V. was rapidly followed by the untimely death of the Earl of March in 1424. He died childless, and the dignities of the House of Mortimer passed to

the son of his sister Anne, who had married Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York.

It was owing to this accession of importance that the House of York became so formidable a rival of the reigning House of Lancaster, and through its connection with the Mortimer family, Herefordshire was involved in the struggle of the Rose Wars. Wigmore was often the headquarters of Richard, Duke of York, and thither his son Edward fled for refuge when he heard the news of his father's death in the battle of Wakefield. He was pursued by Owen Tudor, who, by his marriage with the widow of Henry V., had carried the sentiment of the Welsh to the Lancastrian side. There it was that the young Edward began his career of arms which bore him to the English throne. Gathering his vassals, he met his pursuers at a spot not far from his castle, where the piety of his ancestors had reared a cross which bore their name. In the battle of Mortimer's Cross four thousand men were slain, and the victorious Edward of York sent his prisoners, amongst them Owen Tudor, to Hereford, for execution in retaliation for his father's death.

When Edward IV. ascended the throne, he carried the castle of Wigmore into the possession of the Crown, and it gradually ceased to be a baronial fortress. The accession of the Tudors brought peace to England generally, and especially into the Welsh Marches. Under Henry VIII. in 1536 Wales was finally incorporated with England, and the lands of the Lords Marchers were formed into shires, and received the ordinary organisation of English counties. At this time Hereford received its present form, as thirteen townships were added to it, and its boundaries on the west were finally settled.

With the pacification of Wales the stirring times of the history of Herefordshire came to an end. It throve, owing to its natural fertility and mild climate, so that the proverb ran—

‘Blessed is the eye  
Between Severn and Wye.’

The taste for cider made its way in England during the sixteenth century, and Herefordshire was well adapted for apple-trees. In all matters

that concerned agriculture it showed great activity, and was the home of a well-to-do class of county gentlefolk, who lived amongst their tenants.

The great baronial families passed away in the Wars of the Roses, and a new nobility began to take their place. This new nobility was, in many cases, formed out of families which had long been overshadowed by the greater lords. We may trace the process in the fortunes of the castles of Herefordshire. First, Hereford Castle ceased to be the seat of an earl and fell into the hands of the Crown, which slowly allowed it to fall out of repair. Its place was taken by the Castle of Wigmore, till the lords of Wigmore were absorbed into a royal house, which rose to the throne and abandoned Wigmore to ruin. No sooner was this done than the lords of Weobley began a career of official life, which raised them to a commanding position in the annals of England. Walter Devereux, of Weobley Castle, fell fighting for Richard III. on Bosworth Field. His descendant, another Walter Devereux, was made Earl of Essex by Elizabeth, and was sent to reduce Ireland to order. He died of a broken heart because he was so ill supported at home; and his brilliant son, Robert, after shining as the chief ornament of Elizabeth's Court, found in Ireland the ruin of his reputation. Not less significant is it of the change that came over England's nobility that his son, Robert, was general of the Parliament in the Civil War, and prepared the way for Cromwell, the representative of the smaller gentry, who had again become the mainstay of English life.

In the Civil War Herefordshire was on the Royalist side, and suffered accordingly. Hereford underwent three sieges; its castle was finally dismantled, and now has almost entirely disappeared. The other castles in Herefordshire were at this time reduced to ruins, to which Time has given picturesqueness. Chief amongst them for beauty of situation and architectural interest is the Castle of Goodrich, which crowns the summit of a red sandstone cliff that rises abruptly above the Wye, where, after manifold windings through the cliffs, which may be seen from Symond's Yat, the river broadens in the plain that opens towards Ross. Its massive Norman keep tells of its origin as a stronghold; its noble dining-hall opening into a graceful drawing-room tells of the growth of the fortress into a mansion.

Castle and mansion, alike in ruins, are dominated by a comfortable country house, which rises on the wooded heights behind. In front the Wye makes its way through rich meadows, where the drowsy cattle are peacefully feeding, and cottages rise along the high road, no longer needing the protection of the fortress. The whole scene is instinct with the country life of England in the past and in the present alike.

A short walk only has to be taken from Goodrich Castle to Ross, and we are reminded of the growth of that motive, which we must hope is destined to replace in the future the manifold activities of the past as a principle of human progress. We need not stop to consider whether it was more than a lucky accident that has made the name of 'the Man of Ross' a symbol of the quiet and unobtrusive philanthropy on which must depend our social well-being in the future. We may be content to take him as the type of the duty which modern society lays upon all its thoughtful members, of the work which is no longer left to baron or monk, but which he who can must do. John Kyrle was a man of small means, which he devoted to charity and the promotion of works of general usefulness. No doubt there were many others who laboured like himself; but Pope, when on a visit to Holm Lacey, was struck by Kyrle's beneficence, and immortalised him in his verse:

'Whose causeway parts the vale with shady rows?  
Whose seats the weary traveller repose?  
Who taught that heaven-directed spire to rise?  
"The Man of Ross," each lisping babe replies.  
Him portioned maids, apprenticed orphans blest,  
The young who labour, and the old who rest.'





WARWICK CASTLE.

## WARWICK.



SHAKESPEARE'S BIRTHPLACE.

**W**ARWICKSHIRE has many claims to be considered as the most typically English of the English shires. In position it lies almost in the middle of England, and so was unaffected by the special conditions which gave a peculiar character to the shires which lay along the Scottish and the Welsh marches, or those along the coast, which were exposed to foreign influences. Moreover, amongst the inland shires it always held a foremost place, and was connected with almost all the great movements in English history. The tongue which its people spoke is that which became

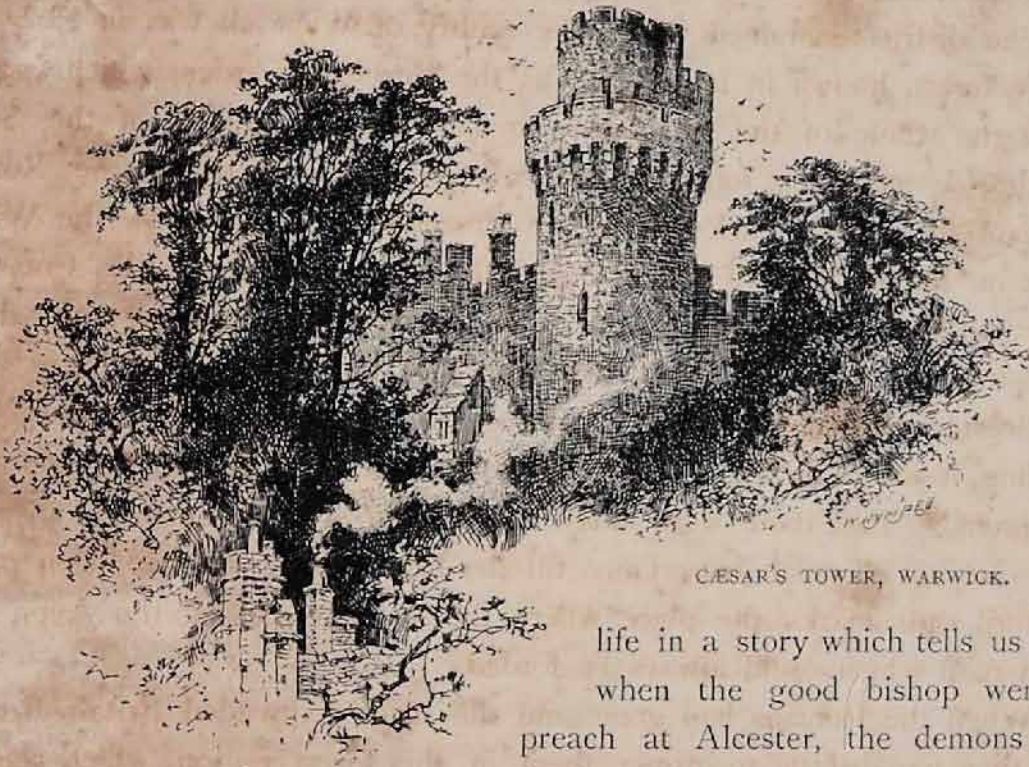
the literary language of England, and the shire which produced Shakespeare can claim a commanding position in the history of the civilised world. Further, the district was favourably situated alike for the pursuits of agriculture and of industry. All the influences to which English civilisation is due are conspicuously represented in Warwickshire. Its three great towns—Warwick, Coventry, and Birmingham—are monuments of the work of the barons, the Church, and the manufacturer, and tell in an unmistakable way of the achievements alike of the past and of the present.

The district contained within the county of Warwick was in early days a huge forest, known in later times as the Forest of Arden, which occupied almost the whole of the triangle lying between the valleys of the Severn and the Avon. This forest district was left untouched by the Romans. Three of their roads enclosed it—the Fosse Way on the east, the Watling Street on the north, and the Ikenild Street, which, skirting the Cotswolds, penetrated a portion of the forest on the west, and ran through the district where now stands Birmingham. On this last road was the military station of Alcester, which seems to have been established for the purpose of guarding it where it had to traverse the forest. East of the Avon valley it is probable that there were a few settlements of the Roman colonists, but they were not of much importance till the line of Edgehill had been passed. Stratford still marks the place where the Romans passed the Avon on a paved road which could always be forded.

When the Romans had gone, and the English invaded Britain from the east, they found little to attract them in this forest region, which seems to have formed a barrier preventing the English from pressing farther west. It was the West Saxons who, after the battle of Deorham in 577, left to the tribe of the Hwiccas the Severn valley, whence the Hwiccas slowly penetrated to the Avon, and thence extended their settlements. It was natural for them to occupy the ruined walls of the Roman Alcester; but it was the western plain which chiefly attracted them. There the tribe of the Wearingas took up their abode on the spot to which they gave their name of Warwick, and they had neighbours at Leamington and Kenilworth.

The outlying tribe of the Hwiccas did not long remain united to their

West Saxon brethren, but were conquered by the men of the great middle kingdom of Mercia, and fell back into heathenism; till in 660 the Mercian king became a Christian, and a bishop was set up in Lichfield. Soon afterwards it was found necessary to divide the great see of Mercia, and Worcester was chosen as the seat of a bishop of the Hwiccas. Bishop Egwin tried to carry the message of the Gospel to the scattered dwellers along the outskirts of the Forest of Arden; and we catch a glimpse of their



CÆSAR'S TOWER, WARWICK.

life in a story which tells us how, when the good bishop went to preach at Alcester, the demons who dwelt in the forest tried to drown his voice with the din of their hammers. But soon the monastery of Evesham rose on the bank of the Avon, and spread its influence northwards, bringing the forest dwellers into connection with civilised life.

We know little about the fortunes of this rude people till the resistance of Alfred to the Danes made their district of importance as a frontier. By the Peace of Wedmore, in 878, the Danes agreed to leave to Alfred all the lands that lay westward of the line of Watling Street. The Mercian kingdom had come to an end in the Danish invasion, and Mercia was treated by Alfred as a dependent state. It still kept its own ealdoman,

Ethelred, to whom Alfred gave his sister, Ethelfled, to wife. Ethelred died in 912, and Ethelfled 'the Lady of the Mercians,' to protect the centre of Mercia, erected a fortress to guard the Fosse Way, and chose as its site the place where the Wearingas had made their settlement on the Avon. There she raised a mound where the ground rose from the river, and on the spot which she then chose stands the stately castle of Warwick. Ethelfled lived almost long enough to succeed in driving out the Danes from Mercia. When Mercia was divided into shires one of them received its name as the district which gathered round Ethelfled's fortress of Warwick.

Such is what history has to tell us ; but legend has been exceptionally busy with Warwickshire, and speaks of a fabulous hero—Guy Earl of Warwick, who went to the Holy Land on a pilgrimage, and signalled himself after his return by slaying in single combat a gigantic champion of the Danes. Then he returned to his castle, not as its lord, for he had laid all earthly vanity aside, but that he might have the satisfaction of beholding his wife, whom he dearly loved. On the bank of the Avon he scooped out in the rock an hermitage at a place which bears the name of Guy's Cliff. Thence he came in hermit's attire to receive a daily dole of bread from his wife's hands at the door of his own castle. Not till he was on his death-bed did he make himself known to his wife, whom he had so long contemplated from afar. So runs the legend ; but later times converted Guy himself into a giant, and romantically-minded visitors to Warwick Castle may still see the mighty weapons and huge vessels which belong to Guy, though the sceptical may wonder how a man of such prodigious size could manage to conceal himself so effectually as to escape the suspicion even of his wife.

Legend has been equally busy with the rise of another of the towns of Warwickshire. The facts are that the attempt to centralise the Government of England was premature, and that the end of the tenth century saw the rise of earldoms which corresponded in some respects to the old divisions of the kingdom. The Mercian earl, Leofric, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, under the influence of his pious wife, Godiva, was a great

benefactor of the Church. Amongst other monasteries which he endowed in his dominions he set up a home for monks on the waters of the Anker, at a place which took its name of Coventry from the convent round which it gathered. At this favourite foundation of his bounty Leofric was buried, and his widow, who long survived her husband, bestowed upon it many marks of her affection for her husband's memory. On this basis of fact local tradition built up the story of Godiva's compassion for the townsmen, who groaned under the oppressive taxation of their lord. To her entreaties on their behalf Leofric answered that he would free them from all exactions if she was ready to put her interest in their welfare to the rude test of riding naked through the streets. Godiva did so; and the citizens made her sacrifice an easy one, by having the streets deserted during her ride—all the citizens save one, who, peeping through his window-shutter, paid the penalty of his bad faith by the instant loss of sight. Unfortunately for the legend, Coventry in Leofric's day had scarcely begun to be a town; it was only a monastery rising from the waste, and the growth of the town came in later days.

The Norman Conquest increased the importance of Warwickshire. When William I., in 1068, began his conquest of the North he marched first to Warwick, where the English sheriff and his son Thurkill were on his side. Many of the smaller landowners had fought against the Conqueror, and their lands passed into the hands of the submissive Thurkill. The fortress of Warwick was surrendered to the king, who resolved to use it as a means of holding the Mercian earldom by a strong castle built after the Norman fashion. So on the mighty mound which Ethelfled had reared he raised a massive keep, which has long since been swept away to make room for more modern buildings. Over this castle he set one of his Norman followers, Henry, son of Roger of Beaumont, and he gave large lands in the shire to Henry's elder brother, Robert, Count of Melent. Thus Warwickshire was left with its English sheriff, a great English landowner, side by side with a Norman, and a Norman garrison to secure its fidelity, that the old and the new elements in England might work towards a settlement.

Further, many smaller men made Warwickshire their home. In the



LEICESTER HOSPITAL, WARWICK.

north of the county, Robert Marmion built a castle on Ethelfled's mound at

Tamworth, and in the reign of Henry I., Geoffrey de Clinton occupied a similar site at Kenilworth. He was one of the class of officials of mean extraction whom Henry I. raised up as a counterpoise to the great barons, and the castle of Kenilworth, perhaps, was meant to act as a check upon the lord of Warwick. Thus it came about that the central part of the county took the lead under its barons, and in the steps of the barons followed the establishments of the monks. At Coventry the town which gathered round Leofric's priory flourished under the protection of the Earl of Chester. The Cistercians made their settlements at Combe on the Sow, at Stoneleigh on the Avon, and Merivale in the north of the shire. Many religious houses were gradually dotted over the county, though it was some time before they penetrated into the present district of Arden, where, however, the Benedictine monastery of Wroxall was founded in 1141. Along the fertile valley of the Avon and the pleasant pastoral lands that lay east of it, rural life waxed strong and vigorous, and we can trace the spread of population by the large number of churches which still retain the traces of the work of architects in the Norman style. We see the growing importance of this part of England in the discontent with which the Norman bishops viewed the seat of the old Mercian bishopric at Lichfield. First Lichfield was abandoned for Chester, then the Church of the Abbey of Coventry was chosen in 1124, as a more convenient place to be associated with Lichfield as the second head of a diocese which covered a large part of Middle England. In things ecclesiastical as well as civil, the life of the Midlands began to centre in Warwickshire.

The monks of Coventry, however, did not appreciate the advantage of their bishop's presence. There were many disputes, which were at last ended in 1190 by the forcible expulsion of the monks and the substitution in their stead of secular priests. But this measure was felt to be too severe, and the monks, on appealing to the pope, were restored in 1198. The event is worth noticing, for it was by quarrels such as these, and the constant reference of disputes to the pope, that the papal jurisdiction was extended.

It is not, however, in the church so much as in the baronage that the

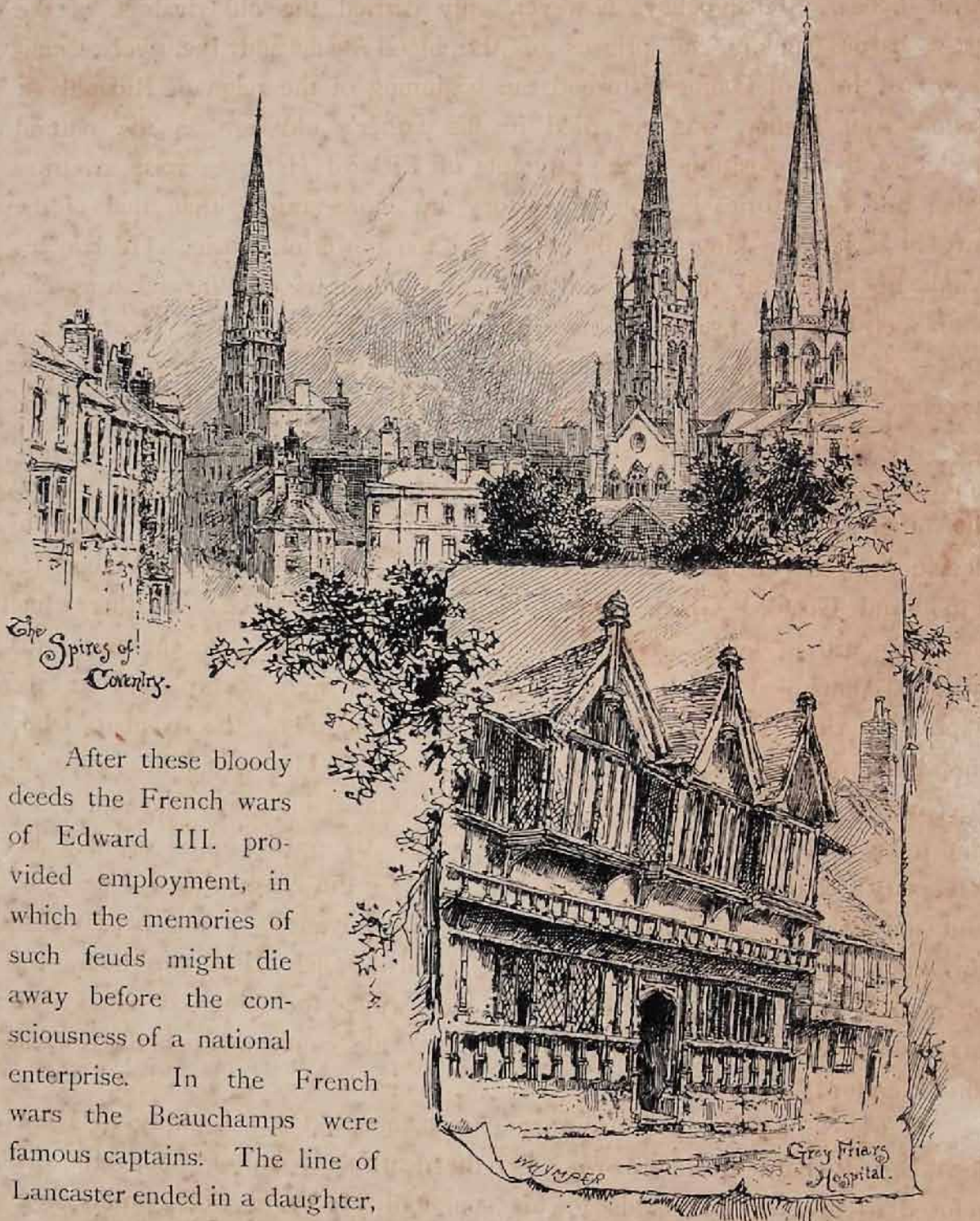


interest of the history of Warwickshire lies. The line of the lords of Kenilworth came to an end in the twelfth century, and the castle passed into the hands of the Crown. In the reign of Henry III. it became an important place; for after the marriage of Simon de Montfort to the king's sister, he was made Constable of Kenilworth Castle, where he did much to strengthen the defences, and made it into one of the strongest castles in England. When the barons rose against Henry III.'s misgovernment, Kenilworth was one of their chief strongholds. After the battle of Lewes in 1264, Simon de Montfort was practically master of England, as the king and his son Edward were both prisoners in his hands. But Edward succeeded in escaping from Hereford Castle, and Earl Simon had some difficulty in crossing the Severn in pursuit. He looked to his son Simon to come to his help, so that they might shut in the royalist army in the neighbourhood of Worcester. But Edward saw the necessity of preventing the junction of his foes, and marched against the younger Simon, who was loitering at Kenilworth. Despite the knowledge that Edward was not far distant, young Simon took no precautions. His troops were scattered about the village, and he himself preferred to sleep outside the safe defence of the castle walls. Early in the morning of August 1, 1265, Edward marched upon the village and aroused the sleepers with the cry of 'Get up! get up! ye traitors, or ye are all undone!' No resistance could be offered, and the chiefs of the baronial army were made prisoners. Young Simon managed to escape into the castle, which was too strong to be taken. But the victorious Edward marched to Evesham, where he caught Earl Simon in a trap from which there was no escape, and the great earl fell fighting on the field. Though the hopes of the baronial party were now destroyed, Kenilworth Castle, with a garrison of a thousand men, still held out, and proved too strong for its assailants. Before the castle would surrender, terms of a general pacification were agreed upon, and the Dictum (agreement) of Kenilworth was the ending of a long period of civil strife. After this the castle of Kenilworth was given to Edmund, Earl of Leicester, the king's second son; and the next thing we hear of it is that it was the scene of a splendid tournament in 1279, where a hundred knights

jousted against one another in the presence of a hundred ladies, and feasted at a round table, so as to avoid any difficulties of precedence.

While this was the fate of Kenilworth, the neighbouring castle of Warwick had changed hands likewise, and by the failure of the male line of its first earls had passed, in 1268, to the family of Beauchamp of Elmley in Worcestershire. The first Beauchamp lord had to repair his castle, which the rebels from Kenilworth had attacked and dismantled, that it might not be a support to their assailants. This was soon done, and William Beauchamp was a faithful follower of Edward I. in his expedition against Wales, while his son Guy was a great captain in the Scottish wars. The misgovernment of Edward II. was a sore trial to the English nobles, and none were more resolute in opposing it than were the lords of Warwick and Kenilworth. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, headed the baronial opposition to his unworthy cousin, stung, it is said, by the insolence of the royal favourite, Piers Gaveston, who laughed at the old nobles, and nicknamed the Earl of Warwick 'the Black Dog of Arden.' The barons demanded Gaveston's banishment, but he was soon recalled, and was as offensive as before. In 1312 the barons rose in arms, besieged Gaveston in Scarborough Castle, and took him prisoner, under promise to spare his life. But the Earl of Warwick was determined to wreak his vengeance; he carried off Gaveston from his captors and hurried him away to Warwick Castle. There he summoned the Earl of Lancaster and others of his friends to hold a council. As they deliberated, some one exclaimed, 'You have now caught the fox; if you let him go, you will have to hunt him again.' Gaveston in terror flung himself at the feet of Lancaster, who spurned him away. He was carried to Blacklow Hill, close to Guy's Cliff, where he was beheaded—'in life and death a memorable instance of misrule,' as the inscription which marks the spot records. His enemies paid the penalty of their lawless deed; for Thomas of Lancaster was beheaded at Pontefract, and after the death of Guy of Warwick in 1315 Edward II. razed Warwick Castle to the ground during the minority of its infant heir. Nor was this the end of the sad story of retribution. In 1327 Edward II. was seized by Henry, Earl of Lancaster (brother of the slaughtered Thomas), and kept prisoner in

Kenilworth Castle, where he was forced to sign his abdication of the Crown before he was carried off to meet his death at Berkeley.



The Spires of  
Coventry.

After these bloody deeds the French wars of Edward III. provided employment, in which the memories of such feuds might die away before the consciousness of a national enterprise. In the French wars the Beauchamps were famous captains. The line of Lancaster ended in a daughter,

WILMPTON

Gray Friars  
Hospital.

whom Edward III. gave in marriage to his fourth son, John of Gaunt, in pursuance of his scheme of absorbing the great baronial possessions into the royal house. This policy, however, only carried the old rivalries of the great barons among the princes of the blood-royal, and the overweening power of John of Gaunt disturbed the beginning of the reign of Richard II. John's son, Henry, was regarded in his father's old age as the natural leader of the opposition to the attempts of Richard II. to exercise arbitrary rule; and few stories in English history are more strange than that of the way in which the king rid himself of his too powerful cousin. He laid his hands upon several discontented lords, and the Earl of Warwick was one who was kept in prison. There was general mistrust; and Henry, then Duke of Hereford, and Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, felt that they were insecure. In a chance meeting on the high road they talked about the state of affairs, and some one told the king of their meeting. He examined them each separately as to what had occurred, and each accused the other of counselling treason, and appealed to the wager of battle to decide between them. The day was fixed for the duel, September 16, 1398, and Gosford Green, near Coventry, was the place. Thither came the king with a large armed force to keep the peace, while the two lords were accompanied by their friends. The lists were ready, and at the appointed time the king took his seat as judge of the combat, while thousands of eager spectators thronged around. The formalities were all concluded; the herald summoned the combatants, and gave the signal for the fight. Norfolk exclaimed, 'God defend the right!' and awaited his adversary's charge. Hereford made the sign of the cross, raised his shield, and set his lance for a charge, but had only advanced a few paces when the king threw down his warder and cried 'Stop!' For two hours the champions were left opposite one another while the king consulted with his counsellors. Then a proclamation was made condemning both Norfolk and Hereford to go into exile.

It was a strange and arbitrary proceeding, and his hostility to Hereford cost Richard II. his crown. On the death of John of Gaunt Richard refused to give up his lands to his son, and Henry of Bolingbroke came

back from exile to claim his heritage, but used that claim as a means of ousting Richard from his throne. With Henry IV.'s accession, Kenilworth Castle, which had been built up by its Lancastrian lords, passed to the Crown, and lost its importance for a time.

We have been following the fortunes of the barons, but all this time there had been going on a growth of civic life at Coventry, which, on the failure of the line of the Earls of Chester, fell to the Crown, and received many marks of favour from Edward III. It was a populous place because it was a convenient centre for weaving woollen cloths, and its ecclesiastical character marked it out as a place of peace. Its trade guilds of cappers, tailors, smiths, cardmakers, and the like, show the manifold activity of its townsmen; and it is computed that in 1377 only London, York, and Bristol, and Norwich, had a larger population. It still maintained, however, its ecclesiastical character, and welcomed within its walls the Carthusians, the Carmelites, and the Franciscans. Moreover, the men of Coventry resolved to make their town famous for its buildings, and in the middle of the fourteenth century the two great churches, which are the distinguishing features of Coventry of to-day, were begun and rapidly completed. Its civic life showed itself in the festivals wherewith our forefathers delighted to relieve the monotony of life. Probably the Grey Friars set the example by instituting a Mystery Play as a means of teaching the people. The guild brethren followed, and Coventry was renowned for its pageants, wherein the guilds, after a long procession through the town, assembled in the market-place and witnessed a play which was performed on a raised platform. Each guild kept a store of appliances and costumes for this purpose, and some of the 'Coventry Mysteries' still survive to tell us of the way in which popular education was conducted in the past.

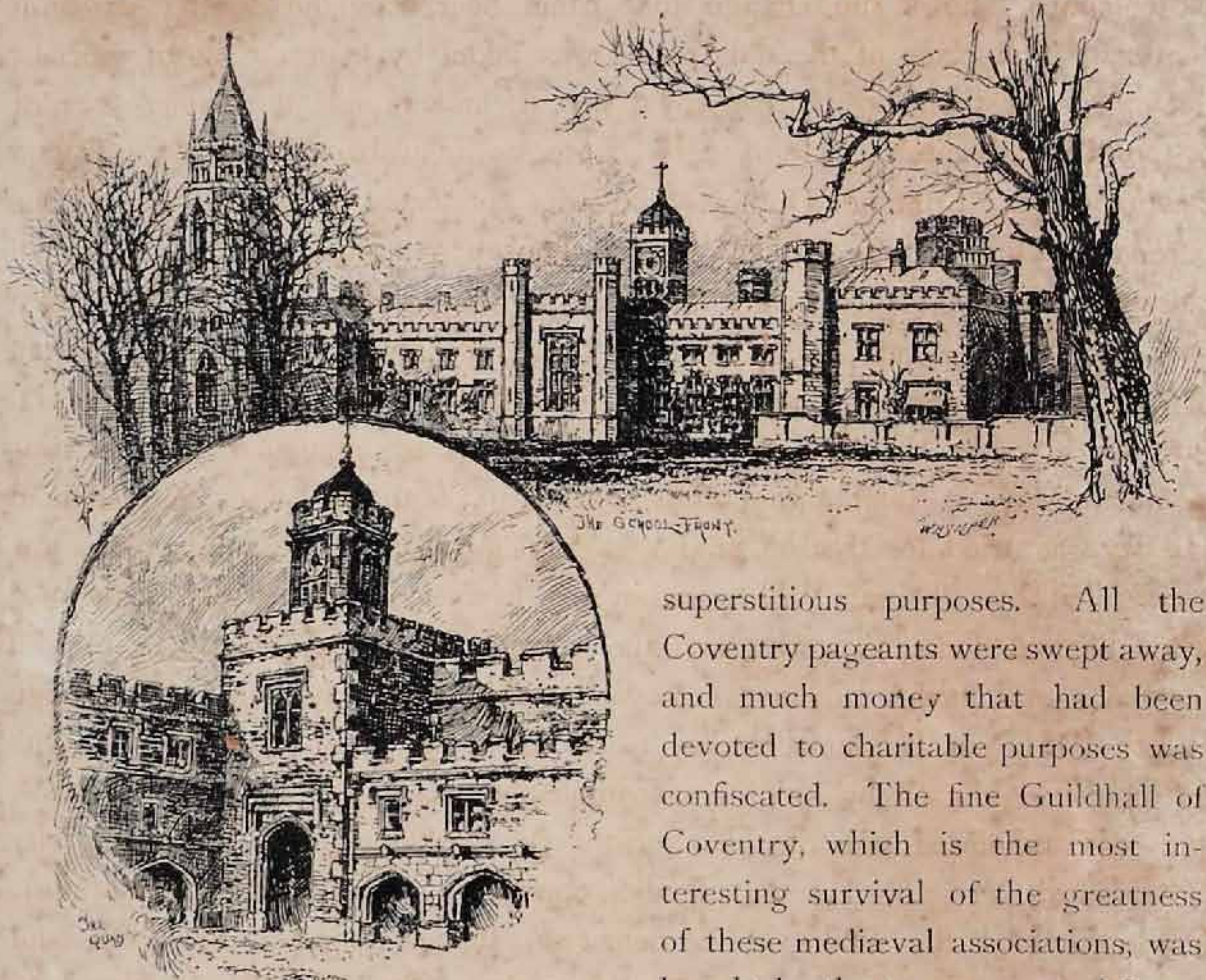
It is not remarkable that in 1454 Henry IV. summoned Parliament to meet at Coventry, to grant him supplies for putting down the Welsh rebellion. This Parliament is known as 'the Illiterate Parliament,' because lawyers were excluded from it, and distinguished itself by an attack upon the excessive lands held by the Church. But Henry IV. was not in a position to quarrel with the Church, and Archbishop Arundel won an easy

victory over the discontented Commons. The troubled times which rapidly followed put all questions of reform into the background, and the Wars of the Roses profoundly affected the fortunes of Warwickshire. The last of the Beauchamp earls of Warwick died in 1446, and his sister and heiress married Richard Neville, son of the Earl of Salisbury. The Beauchamps, however, left their traces in Warwick in the two great towers of the castle, in the beautiful choir of St. Mary's Church, and still more in the Beauchamp Chapel, which was founded in 1439 to be a burial-place. The tomb of Thomas Beauchamp (d. 1369) in the choir of St. Mary's, and of Richard Beauchamp (d. 1439) in the chapel, rank amongst the finest examples of English sculpture and decorative art in the Middle Ages.

The doings of Richard, Earl of Warwick—'the Kingmaker,' as he was called—form too great a part of English history to need telling again. When he fell at Barnet in 1471 he carried with him to his grave not only the fortunes of the great earldom of Warwick, but those of the English baronage. The Wars of the Roses left the great families exhausted; their chiefs were slain; they had lost their hold upon the people; they were regarded as the selfish authors of a century of disturbance. Of the two daughters whom Richard Neville left behind him, one was married to the Duke of Clarence; the other was the wife of Richard III. The hapless son of Clarence perished in the Tower, and all traces of the old greatness of the Beauchamps and Nevilles alike were swept away when England, under the Tudor kings, entered upon a new career. But this new career was only possible because the forces which had moulded the past were so far weakened that they were practically useless. The baronage was all but destroyed; the Church had ceased to represent the people. When the sixteenth century dawned the king and the middle classes were the only powers in the English State.

The dissolution of the monasteries must have produced a great effect in the rural parts of Warwickshire, though the prevalence of commercial interests in the towns seems to have been sufficiently vigorous to check popular discontent. In Coventry, the Benedictine monastery, with its cathedral church, was swept away, and the houses of the friars were

reduced to ruins; but the reforming party was strong among the trading class of the town, and the townsmen felt themselves freer when the monasteries fell. Perhaps they were reminded that there was another side to the question when, under Edward VI., guilds were also abolished as being for



RUGBY.

superstitious purposes. All the Coventry pageants were swept away, and much money that had been devoted to charitable purposes was confiscated. The fine Guildhall of Coventry, which is the most interesting survival of the greatness of these mediæval associations, was bought by the townsmen, and forms part of the civic buildings. There, and in other remains scattered

through the town, it is still possible to recall the splendour of common, as apart from private, life which characterised the civilisation of the Middle Ages. In the same way, Warwick contains an interesting example of the activity of the guild brethren. Their possessions were given to Robert Dudley, who showed an unwonted conscientiousness in devoting part of his spoils to the establishment of an hospital for old soldiers. His foundation

still remains, and Leicester's Hospital, as it is called, has preserved the hall of the guild brethren, and also a chapel, which abutted on one of the gates of the town.

The rise of the Dudley family into the place once occupied by the Beauchamps, shows the change that came over England in the sixteenth century. The place of the old barons was taken by a new class of officials, dependent for their position on royal favour, and rapidly developing a spirit of political adventure. Henry VII. chose, as an instrument of his policy, a clever lawyer, Edmund Dudley, who was connected with the line of the barons of Dudley, and Dudley showed himself a master of the art of legal chicane. He filled the royal coffers by pursuing every form of royal right and establishing every royal claim, so that on Henry VII.'s death a storm of popular indignation broke upon his head. The young Henry VIII. grasped at once the fact that the sacrifice of an unpopular minister was a cheap way of maintaining the popularity of the Crown. So Edmund Dudley was tried for treason, and was condemned to death. His place was soon filled by Thomas Wolsey, who was even more heartlessly abandoned when he had done his work; and the subsequent fate of Thomas Cromwell showed a still further advance in royal ingratitude and tyranny. But though Henry VIII. put Edmund Dudley to death, he favoured his son John, who distinguished himself by knightly accomplishments, was made Viscount Lisle, and was appointed one of the executors of the king's will. The minority of Edward VI. afforded a splendid opportunity for political adventurers. Dudley helped the Duke of Somerset to the position of Protector, and received in return the earldom of Warwick. How Warwick managed to overthrow Somerset and make himself ruler of England; how he schemed to retain his power by transferring the succession to the Lady Jane Grey, whom he married to his son; how his attempt failed, and he paid the penalty of his audacity on the scaffold—these things are told in all histories. But in spite of his downfall the fortunes of his family did not decline. His eldest son, Ambrose, became Earl of Warwick, and under Elizabeth was general of the English forces in France. He was a man of fervent piety, beloved by the Puritans, and was known as 'the good Earl of Warwick.'



His tomb in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick may serve to show the change in artistic taste which came over England in the sixteenth century.

The greatness, however, of the Dudley family was shown in the case of Lord Robert of Dudley, the fifth son of John, who reveals another form of political adventure which was possible in Elizabeth's reign. Robert Dudley had nothing to recommend him save his agreeable manners and his handsome person; but these were enough to secure him the first place in Elizabeth's affections. For a time she thought of marrying him; but when the unwisdom of this course became clear on reflection, she contented herself with heaping on him honours and wealth. He was made Earl of Leicester, and received, amongst many other gifts, the Manor and Castle of Kenilworth. Leicester rebuilt the ruined parts of the castle, and added a spacious wing, to convert what was originally a fortress into the residence of a great nobleman. It is said that he spent £60,000 over his works, a sum which represents at least £500,000 of our money to-day. Kenilworth was the most magnificent house in England, and the account of the splendid entertainment of Elizabeth when she came on a visit in 1575 gives a most vivid picture of the life of the times. The castle stood in an enclosure of seven acres, surrounded by a wall; on two sides was a moat, which on the other two sides broadened into a lake, mostly artificial, which has now been drained away; beyond the lake was a large park full of deer and game for the purposes of the chase. Elizabeth entered by a bridge specially raised over the lake, that she might traverse a way hitherto untrodden by the foot of man, and all along the bridge were trophies and pageants, nymphs and monsters, who recited verses in her praise, so that the journey must have been long and tedious. For seventeen days Elizabeth stayed in the castle, and every day a new entertainment was provided. When she went hunting, 'wild men of the woods' emerged from the covert and did homage to their lady; when she rowed upon the lake the 'Lady of the Lake' appeared on a floating island with her tribute of poetry ready made; nay Arion himself drew nigh on a huge dolphin, which carried an orchestra concealed in its belly. The country-folks came to amuse the queen, and showed her the festivities of a rustic wedding, and exhibited their skill in running at the

quintain. The men of Coventry, whose taste for pageants survived the suppression of their 'mysteries,' represented a mock fight, in which they commemorated the defence of their city against the Danes in olden times. Elizabeth, with Leicester by her side, entered with zest into all these amusements, and won the heart of her subjects by her quick sympathy with all their pursuits.

It may be that a boy of eleven years, William Shakespeare went with his father from the neighbouring town of Stratford to see the grand doings at Kenilworth. That boy grew up to give a splendour to Elizabeth's reign which far surpassed all that statesmen or soldiers could confer. Warwickshire is known all the world over as Shakespeare's Country, and is visited for that reason by thousands to whom the Beauchamps and Dudleys are names without a meaning. The main objects of a pilgrimage to Warwickshire are the house of the burgher of Stratford, where William Shakespeare first saw the light, the old school-house where he first learned to read, and the stately church by the side of the Avon where his bones were laid. More memorable than the Beauchamp tombs at Warwick is the simple bust of the great poet. The sure verdict of Time proclaims that thought is greater than action, and that he who can reveal the workings of the human heart, and can express the aspirations of the human soul, is the real enricher of the ages, whose work survives when that of the statesman and the warrior has passed away into oblivion.

It was not accidental that Warwickshire produced the greatest of Englishmen. 'The heart of England,' as the county has been called, summed up all that was most purely English in its scenery and its associations. The quiet beauty of the winding Avon is still the same as when Shakespeare wandered along its banks. The neighbouring country had, in a still greater degree than now, the charm of English woodland; for the region of Arden, which Shakespeare has immortalised, had not been enclosed, though the clearings were frequent enough to rob it of its old wildness, and make it a conspicuous example of all that is most charming in rural life. The one fact that stands out clearly in the scanty records of Shakespeare's doings is that he loved his native place. The attractions of

London could not hold him there ; he saved his money and bought land in Stratford, where he came to spend in quietness the last years of his life. Shakespeare's genius, in true English fashion, was combined with homely common-sense.

Much might be said of the changes which came over Warwickshire in the sixteenth century. One noticeable feature is the decay of the cloth manufactures of Coventry ; for the course of trade migrated eastward, and Coventry did not recover its ancient importance. But with this decay of town life went a great increase of country life. The aspect of rural England ceased to be military, and the castles of barons made way for the comfortable houses of squires. This process was greatly helped by the dissolution of the monasteries ; and Combe, Stoneleigh, Merivale, and many other abbeys, became the seats of country gentlemen. One of the most interesting houses in England is Compton Winyates, dating from the time of Henry VIII. Its architecture shows how the fortress passed into the dwelling-house. It is built in a quadrangle, and one wing was adapted to hold soldiers ; but this part of the house is cut off from the rest, having a separate entrance, so that the military retainers led a life apart from the family and the household. The Comptons were an old Warwickshire family, who had been steadily rising in importance and gaining lands by marriage with heiresses. The final step in their advance was made by Lord Compton, who in 1600 succeeded in marrying the heiress of the wealthiest of the merchants in London, Sir John Spenser, a great clothworker, who lived at Islington. Spenser had an only daughter, Elizabeth, whom he destined for a substantial merchant like himself ; but Lord Compton managed to enter the house disguised as a baker's boy, and carried away his lady-love hidden in a basket. The father threatened to disinherit his disobedient daughter, but Queen Elizabeth reconciled him to the young couple, and the wealth of Elizabeth Spenser raised Lord Compton to the dignity of Earl of Northampton. We see how the wealthy traders passed into the ranks of the nobility, and how the old ranks of English society were established upon a new basis.

With the end of the reign of Elizabeth many of the old glories of

Warwickshire passed away, the line of the Dudley Earls of Warwick came to an end, and Warwick Castle, which had fallen into entire disrepair, was granted to Sir Fulke Greville, afterwards Lord Brooke, who spent a large sum of money upon it, and brought it substantially into the condition in which it now is. The title was bestowed on Lord Rich, and did not come back to the owner of the castle till 1759. Kenilworth Castle fared still worse; it was claimed by a son of Leicester who was of doubtful legitimacy, and ultimately reverted to the Crown in 1617, after which time it fell gradually into ruins.

Elizabeth had held England together while she lived, but many questions arose for settlement in the next reign. The Roman Catholics looked for some favour from the new king, and when their hopes were disappointed betook themselves to desperate plots. One of their leaders, Robert Catesby, was a Warwickshire squire, and the intrigues which led to the Gunpowder Plot had their centre in Warwickshire. Those who were in the secret of Guy Fawkes's attempt assembled, under pretence of a hunt, at Dunchurch. Their object was to head a rising of the Romanists in the Midlands; seize the king's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, who was being educated at Combe Abbey under the care of Lady Harrington, and march upon London. The news, however, which reached them on their meeting was that of Fawkes's failure, and they dispersed in terror. Their complicity was soon known, and they were captured at Holbeach in Staffordshire. They were executed, their estates were confiscated, and passed into the hands of new landlords, who began to enclose lands which had hitherto been pastured in common. This led, in 1607, to a series of riots, in which bodies of Levellers, as they called themselves, tore down the hedges. Their rioting was put down by calling out soldiers, and the poor rustics were punished with merciless severity. This was one of the last protests raised against the new system of landholding, which had more and more prevailed since the dissolution of the monasteries—a system which swept away old customary rights, and made farming on a small scale more and more impossible.

On the outbreak of the great Civil War Warwickshire was more

divided than most counties, for it lay just along the line that separated the Royalist West from the Parliamentary East. On the whole it was on the Parliamentary side, for the Puritan spirit was strong in its towns; and in Warwick Lord Brooke was well known as a zealous Puritan. When war broke out he headed the Parliamentary forces, and Lord Northampton was general of the Royalists. Charles I.'s plan was to gather forces in the West



Old House  
In Castle Street Warwick.

and march as quickly as possible upon London, and it was in Warwickshire that the Parliamentary army, under the Earl of Essex, met him to check his advance. Charles occupied the summit of the steep hill which rises over the plain of Warwickshire at Edgehill, and thence descended into the plain between Kington and Rodway to meet Essex. The battle that followed was not decided in favour of either side. The Royalist horse under Prince Rupert routed the forces opposed to them and followed in pursuit; the

Parliamentary foot who remained pressed hard upon the Royalists, who were deserted by their cavalry, till night fell upon the weary soldiers, and neither side renewed the battle. After the battle the king's prospects in Warwickshire were at an end. It is said that the phrase of 'sending a man to Coventry' took its rise from the imprisonment of straggling Royalists in that great centre of Parliamentary influence. When the war was over Kenilworth Castle was dismantled by Cromwell's orders; its moat and lake were drained, the timber in its park was felled, and it was rapidly reduced to the ruin which now remains to tell of its former glories.

Warwickshire does not only tell us of the decay of the Middle Ages, but also shows us the growth of the modern spirit. If its monasteries were turned into dwelling-houses and its guilds swept away, other institutions began to take their place. None was more characteristic, or has been more successful than the school which Lawrence Sheriff, a grocer, of London, founded in 1569, near his native place, at Rugby, for the education of poor children. It was nearly a hundred years before the school entered fully upon its endowment, and not till the present century did it become famous as one of the great schools of England. But its foundation showed the way in which men's minds were turning, and testified to a belief in England's capacity to enter upon a new course with a new conception of national progress.

Moreover, while feudal society had been running its course at Warwick and Kenilworth, a small community was gradually growing up in the north-west corner of the shire, whose little settlement, all unheeded in the Middle Ages, was to become the centre of the commercial life of the Midlands. The township of the sons of Beorn, by the side of a little brook, was insignificant in early times; and after the Norman Conquest the lords of the manor of Birmingham played little part in English affairs. In the beginning of the sixteenth century their small domain excited the cupidity of a powerful neighbour, and in 1537 John Dudley formed a villainous plot for adding it to his own possessions. Sir Edward de Birmingham, riding along the road one day, was joined by another traveller, and the two rode on together. Suddenly a body of armed men sprang

upon them, robbed the unknown traveller of a large sum of money, and made away. The men were all in Dudley's employ, and Sir Edward de Birmingham was accused of having lured the unsuspecting traveller into an ambush, and of having organised the robbery. To escape from this charge he resigned his estates to the Crown, whereupon they were presently granted to Dudley, who did not long enjoy his ill-gotten gains. After his execution they were granted to another small holder, and the old family of the Birminghams passed away for ever.

The first mention that we have of the beginnings of industrial life in Birmingham is the description given by the antiquary Leland in the reign of Henry VIII. He says: 'I found Birmingham a good market town of one street going up along almost the left bank of the brook, up a mean hill, by the length of a quarter of a mile. I saw but one parish church in the town. There be many smiths that make knives and all manner of cutting tools, and many loriners that make bits, and a great many nailors; so that a great part of the town is maintained by smiths, who have their iron and sea coal out of Staffordshire.' The causes which Leland noticed have operated with increasing force ever since his days. Birmingham, standing in the verge of the iron and coal district, has been the great centre of the many industries which were thus made possible to its inhabitants. Moreover, Birmingham was greatly helped in its growth by the very fact of its early insignificance. It was under the power of no great lord; it had no corporation and no guilds, but was open to all comers to settle in, and had no officials more dignified than the bailiff, the constables, and tasters appointed in the manorial court. Thus its industrial activity was free from the restrictions which crippled older towns. At the time of the Civil War Birmingham sided zealously with Parliament, whose forces it supplied with 15,000 sword blades. It suffered for this in 1643, when it was taken and plundered by Prince Rupert; and in 1665 it was almost depopulated by a plague. But after the Restoration increasing luxury among the gentry produced a demand for elegant trifles in gilt metal, which Birmingham hastened to supply, and in the reign of William III. gun-making was established as another industry.

From this time onwards the prosperity of Birmingham steadily increased. Its freedom from municipal restrictions made it attractive to artisans of every kind, and almost every kind of ingenious manufacture found there a home. Before the middle of the eighteenth century John Taylor commenced the japanning of snuff-boxes, and John Baskerville, a poor schoolmaster, carried the art to larger articles. Baskerville, however, is best known as a typefounder and a printer, though his business was maintained only by his own enthusiasm, and came to an end on his death. More important was Matthew Boulton, who, in 1762, opened the famous works at Soho, and set himself to improve the artistic quality of his goods. A canal was cut in 1772 to the Severn, and by it coals could easily be brought and goods exported. The factory at Soho occupied a thousand workmen in 1778, and need was felt of some motive power more abundant than that supplied by water. Then it was that Boulton invited James Watt to enter into partnership and work out the application of the steam-engine which Watt was trying to perfect. This partnership was in the long run successful, for Boulton supplied the energy while Watt brought his mechanical skill. In 1787 the steam-engine became profitable, but not until the expenses attending its first construction had brought Boulton to the verge of bankruptcy.

From this time forward the manufactures of Birmingham increased with bewildering rapidity. Burke called it 'the toy-shop of Europe,' meaning by *toys* all the ingenious trifles which add to the elegance of life. Perhaps no place has been the home of so much inventiveness and industrial enterprise. The qualities so formed have expressed themselves in civic life, and Birmingham has been famous as the headquarters of movements for social and political reform. It can, indeed, claim more than any other English town, to have made itself, and to owe its prosperity to the energy of its citizens.

Warwickshire, 'the heart of England,' is in a special sense an epitome of the characteristics which have made England what she is. The Roman roads which traverse the county tell of the beginning of civilisation. The castles of Warwick and Kenilworth rank as the greatest memorials of the



achievements of the barons, while Coventry bears testimony to the influence of the Church in furthering civic life. The banks of the Avon and the glades of Arden inspired the greatest poet of all time. The factories of Soho and Handsworth, and the busy streets of Birmingham, are instinct with the qualities which are most prized in England of to-day. Times have changed; but Warwickshire has showed a power of changing with them, and has always been in the forefront of English endeavour.



AVENUE TO STRATFORD-ON-AVON CHURCH DOOR.



LEICESTER ABBEY.

*After Joseph M. W. Turner.*

## LEICESTER.



EUTTERWORTH.

THE position of the district which forms the modern county of Leicester gave it importance in early days. The moorlands of the Peak joined the forests of Cannock Chase, Needwood, and Arden. This impenetrable barrier stretched in an almost unbroken line across the centre of Britain, and offered few temptations to the Roman settlers. Eastward, the last spur of the high land was clothed with the trees of Charnwood Forest; and then along the banks of the Soar lay a tract of fertile uplands. Along the outskirts of the inhospitable region the Romans carried one of their great lines of communication. The Fosse Way, which traversed Britain from south-west to north-east, went almost in a straight line from Cirencester on the Cotswolds to the station on the Soar, which the Romans called *Ratae*,

but was afterwards named Leg-ceaster, or Leicester. Ratae still shows, as few other towns in England can show, the signs of its early greatness. A piece of its Roman masonry still remains standing; and the pavement of a Roman house, carefully preserved by the zeal of local antiquaries, gives fuller meaning to the many remnants of Roman civilisation which have been found in the neighbourhood. The Roman Ratae was the chief town of Central Britain more decidedly than its successor of to-day. Four great roads met at its gates, and the bustle of civil and military life never ceased within its walls.

But the time came when Ratae was deserted by its Roman lords, and in the hands of the Britons kept only a vague memory of its former life. Nor were its walls sufficient to protect their inhabitants from the sword of the conquering English. Following the lines of the Fosse Way from the north, a band of invaders laid Ratae in ruins, and scattered their settlements over the adjacent lands. This little tribe of the Middle English did not long retain political independence, but was absorbed into the Mercian kingdom, and shared its fortunes. It is a sign of growing life that the ruins of the Roman Ratae were again inhabited, and received a name which recognised the traces of past greatness—Legoracester, Legecester, or Leicester. A mound was raised by the banks of the Soar to strengthen the defences of the new town. In later times this mound was reinforced by a castle; but the old earthwork has proved more lasting than the stone walls which girt it round, and is still a noticeable feature in the Leicester of to-day.

When the Mercian kingdom was, after some difficulty, converted to Christianity, we can trace the importance of the district of the Middle English by the place assigned to it in ecclesiastical organisation. At first one bishop sufficed for the whole of Mercia; but in 679 an attempt was made to divide this unwieldy diocese. Leicester became the seat of a bishop of the Middle English, though the succession of its bishops was not clearly established till 737. Nor did the see of Leicester long continue; for the time soon came when the great Mercian kingdom was dismembered, and its old divisions were in a great measure swept away. In no part of England did the Danish invasion work greater changes. At first the

Mercian king drove back the invaders; but in 874 he quailed before the stories of their prowess in other parts of England and fled over the sea, leaving his people at their mercy. It was the energy of the West Saxon Alfred that prevented England from becoming a Scandinavian province. In 878 he compelled the Danes to agree to a partition, and the Peace of Wedmore divided England into two parts. The line of division ran through the Mercian kingdom, and severed it so that it was never again united. The part of Mercia which passed under the rule of the Danes received the name of 'the district of the five boroughs,' because it gathered round the towns of Leicester, Derby, Lincoln, Stamford, and Nottingham. This Danish conquest of the Middle English led to the transference of the bishop's seat to Dorchester, where it remained till William the Norman removed it from that obscure village to the important town of Lincoln. Leicester never recovered its ecclesiastical greatness. It is true that Henry VIII., in his first outburst of generosity with the spoils of the Church, contemplated erecting a diocese of Leicester, for Leicestershire and Rutland; but the money slipped through his fingers before his good intentions were executed. The Abbot of Peterborough proved himself a more useful man than did the Abbot of Leicester; so a bishopric was founded at Peterborough, and Leicestershire was joined with Northamptonshire for ecclesiastical purposes.

Of the Danish settlement and its influence we have but scanty records. The testimony, however, of the survival of Danish names of places, especially the termination *by*, enables us in some degree to determine the area which the Danes occupied; and the names of villages show that they loved the North and East more than the Midlands. In Lincolnshire their settlements were thickest; and thence they spread downwards into Leicestershire, where a hundred place-names bear record to their presence.

The English, however, soon began the work of reconquest. Alfred's sister Ethelfled, 'the Lady of Mercians,' in a series of well-planned campaigns slowly drove back the border of the Danelaw. In 918 she won Leicester, and when the work of conquest was done that of organisation succeeded. The Mercian kingdom was divided into shires, and Leicestershire probably represents the land occupied by its original settlers, the tribe of the Middle

English. Henceforth the Mercian kingdom disappeared, though it was soon found necessary to set up an ealdorman of Mercia, who gave a dangerous vitality to the traditions of past independence. The union of England under the West Saxon kings was premature, and weakness led to a new Danish conquest. The Mercian dominions were gradually broken up, and new officers, with the new title of earls, were set over various portions. It is noticeable that the old divisions were still followed; and Leicester in the reign of Edward the Confessor was the seat of an earldom of the Middle English.

It was the Norman Conquest, however, which united England under the stern pressure of misfortune, and Leicester seems to have felt the heaviness of the Conqueror's hand. It had been fortified by Ethelfled, and doubtless was a place of considerable strength. We do not know how it ventured to oppose the Norman Conqueror; but the record of Domesday shows that the lands of the shire had passed by confiscation into the hands of foreigners, and no English freeholders were left in Leicester itself. For some reason or another William made sure of the loyalty of this part of England in his own effective manner. A castle was built, by the king's orders, with a strong square keep of stone such as the Normans loved; and its custody was given to a trusty man, Hugh of Grantmesnil, who as sheriff collected the royal dues. Under these conditions Leicestershire remained peaceful, and reaped the advantages of a stronger government. But the old difficulty soon made itself felt; the king might rule, but it was hard for him to govern all parts of his dominions. Offices passed from father to son; and sons were not always as trustworthy as their fathers. The son of Hugh of Grantmesnil gave William II. a great deal of trouble, but at last found it better to give way. He sold his rights over Leicester to Robert of Beaumont, who succeeded in getting into his hands the rights of the Bishop of Lincoln, and the Earl of Northampton as well. Then he was created Earl of Leicester in 1107. Earl Robert showed his care of his new possession by founding inside his castle a college of canons, for whom he built a church, which still remains as the kernel of the more imposing fabric which rose around it as time passed on. Few churches in England afford a

better example than does St. Mary's, Leicester, of the process by which small buildings were gradually enlarged, and of the boldness and freedom with which mediæval builders dealt with the work of their predecessors.

It would seem that monasticism had not made much impression on Leicestershire in early times; but the great movement of the twelfth century soon made its influence felt. The abbey of Leicester was founded by its earl for Augustinian canons in 1137; the abbeys of Osulveston and Launde and several priories soon followed. The Cistercians had an abbey at Garendon, and an Augustinian nunnery was founded at Grace Dieu. But, upon the whole, monasticism did not much affect the development of the county, which owed more to its lay lords than to its monks. Even so, its earls were by no means always fortunate in their interference in politics, and the people had to pay for the mistakes of their superiors. Thus in 1175 Earl Robert of Beaumont was so ill-advised as to rise against Henry II. He was defeated and imprisoned; his castles of Leicester and Groby were laid in ruins, and the rising prosperity of the town of Leicester was destroyed. Its citizens, however, made haste to repair their desolate houses; and in 1201 Leicester was sufficiently flourishing to receive a charter at the hands of King John.

In the thirteenth century the name of Leicester was made famous in history in the persons of its two earls. A poor Norman lord, Simon de Montfort, was lucky enough to marry the sister of the last of the Beaumont Earls of Leicester; and the two Montfort earls who sprang from this alliance were men who left their mark upon the world. The first Earl Simon was the ruthless leader of the crusade against the heretics of Provence. The second Earl Simon came to England as a needy adventurer, secretly married the sister of King Henry III., and seemed likely to join the ranks of foreign favourites who grew fat at the expense of native Englishmen. But Earl Simon learned to love the land of his adoption, and to understand the meaning of her ancient liberties. Little by little he put himself at the head of the barons who opposed the king's misgovernment. The town of Leicester in 1264 again suffered for the political activity of its earl, and was besieged and taken by Henry III. But this was the king's last triumph.

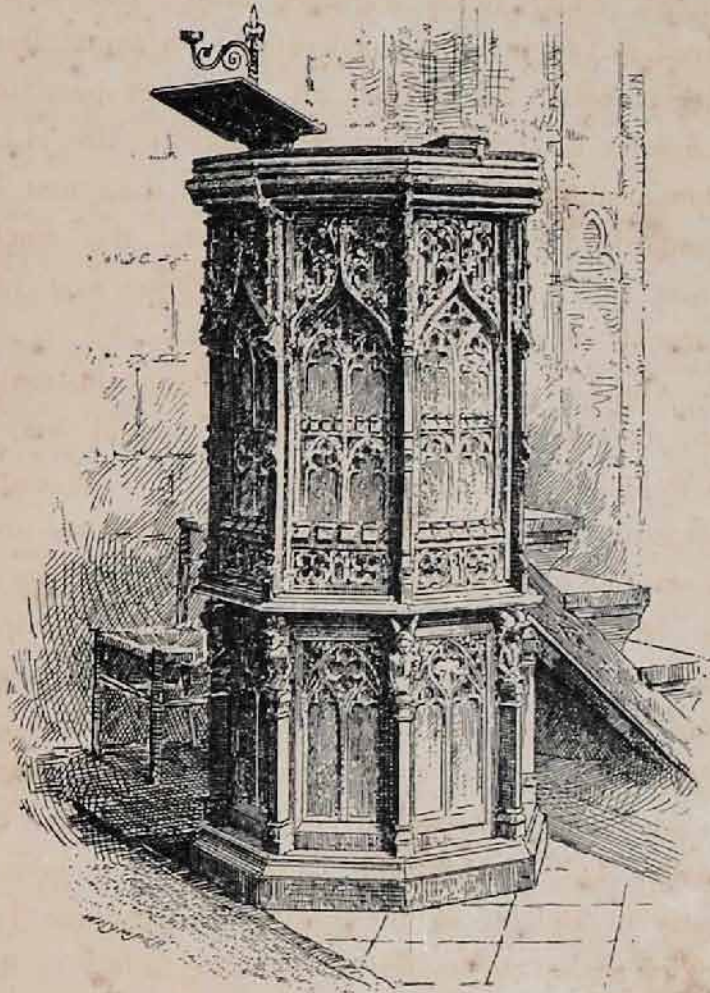
In the battle of Lewes he fell into the hands of the barons, and Simon became virtually governor of England. His position was so anomalous that we cannot regret his fall at Evesham before the king's son Edward, who learned from the experience of adversity all the lessons which Simon's success could teach a future king. But 'Simon the Righteous,' as men loved to call him, was venerated as a saint after his death, and his memory was powerful to quicken all that was best in England's aspirations. In Leicester itself he did much to favour the rising settlements of the friars, Dominicans and Franciscans, who in their first enthusiasm brought a higher standard of life and knowledge, and did much to relieve human misery. From this time onwards Leicester was well supplied with all the existing materials of civilisation.

On Earl Simon's fall at Evesham the earldom of Leicester was given into the safe keeping of the king's second son, Edward, who soon received as well the earldom of Lancaster. It is as Earls of Lancaster, and not of Leicester, that Edward and his descendants are known in English history. It was no bad thing for the prosperity of the shire that it was relieved of the habitual presence of a great lord. It was enough that his officers collected their master's rents and his soldiers garrisoned the castle. Free from undue interference, the burghers pursued a quiet course of civic prosperity; the farmers cleared the forest which covered the banks of the Soar, and gradually encroached upon the boundaries of Charnwood Forest. The smaller lords within the shire were not men of great importance. The castle of Belvoir in the north, whose name bears witness to its Norman origin, passed by marriage from the family of its founder, the Albini, to the barons Ros of Hamlake, in Yorkshire. The castle of Mountsorrel had been demolished in 1217 by the citizens of Leicester, and was not rebuilt. Groby was severed from the earldom, and was in the hands of the barons Ferrers. The Norman family which gave its appendage to the old Danish settlement of Ashby, the Zouches, did not rise to great estate. Leicestershire was not the seat of a powerful baronage, and was left to develop its own resources. Its lands were fertile, and well fitted for grazing sheep; so Leicester became the centre of a considerable trade in wool; and the other towns in the



shire, Loughborough, Ashby, Market Bosworth, Lutterworth, and Melton Mowbray, were centres of prosperous districts.

The last half of the fourteenth century found Leicester again connected with English politics in the person of its earl; and the contrast between Simon of Montfort and John of Gaunt shows the difference between a time of lofty aspiration and a time of national uncertainty. Simon understood the great ideas of his age and strove to give them practical expression. John of Gaunt allied himself with the uncertain efforts for reform, which took an intellectual shape in the teaching of an Oxford student, John Wycliffe, and tried to use them for the purposes of his own ambition. So long as Wycliffe's learning supplied Edward III. with weapons for resisting the Papal claims for money, Wycliffe enjoyed the royal favour. He was presented to the living of Lutterworth, where he strove



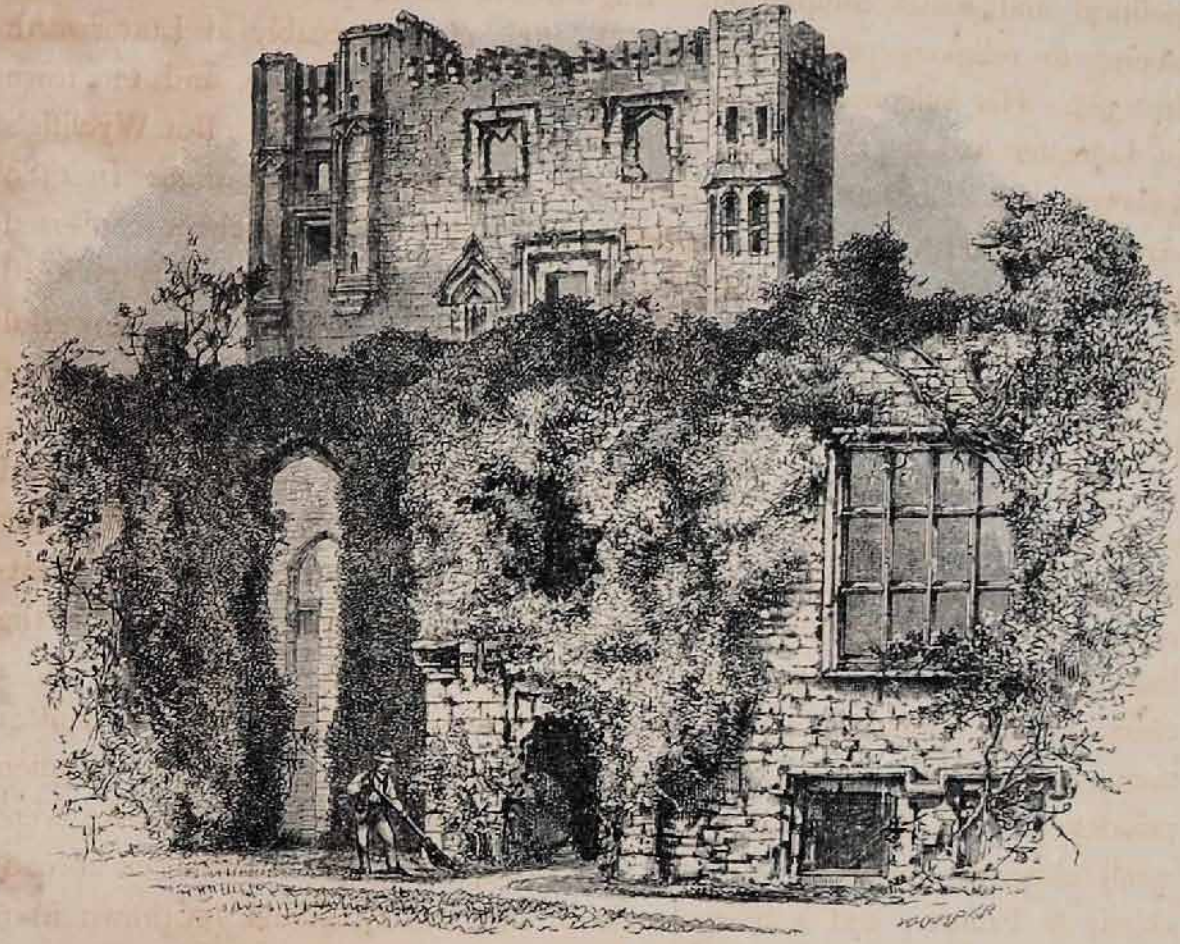
WYCLIFFE'S PULPIT AT LUTTERWORTH.

to revive the office of preaching, and undertook his great work of translating the Bible into English. His zeal led him to attack the secular lives of the wealthy ecclesiastics, and to call in question their right to endowments which they did not administer for the good of the Church. It was Wycliffe's misfortune that John of Gaunt saw in him an instrument for raising an anti-clerical party; and Wycliffe's teaching suffered from being brought into connection

with current politics and social discontent. Wycliffe was accused of heresy, and John of Gaunt appeared as his protector. Resistance to the shifty politics of the one was confused with the objection to the teaching of the other; and the Lollard movement suffered almost at its beginning from its political and social complexion. Englishmen, however, were in that age averse to religious persecution, and Wycliffe died peaceably at Lutterworth in 1384. His influence in Leicestershire was naturally strong, and the town of Leicester had the reputation of being a centre of Lollardy. But Wycliffe's followers had not clear enough opinions to stand against repression. In 1389 Archbishop Courtenay visited Leicester, and the Lollard teachers confessed their errors, and were absolved. Lollardy was put down, as being a political movement. Wycliffe's teaching, carried to Bohemia, became more powerful there in the mouth of John Hus than it was in the land which had given it birth.

The accession of John of Gaunt's son to the throne united the earldom of Leicester to the Crown; and in consequence of this Leicester became the seat of Parliament, when it was not expedient that it should sit at Westminster. In 1414, 1426, and 1450, Parliamentary sessions were held in the hall of the Grey Friars at Leicester. In 1414 London was disturbed by a rising of the Lollards, and Parliament passed repressive statutes against them, while at the same time it gave Henry V. the possessions of alien priories to help him in his war against France. The alien priories were small monastic houses in England which depended on monasteries abroad, chiefly in France; and it seemed unwise that money should be drawn from England to go into the pockets of the king's enemies. But though the motives of the suppression of the alien priories were purely political, the act itself was significant of the decay of monastic institutions. They were too numerous, and had lost their original meaning. Much of their usefulness had passed away, and the Leicester Parliament of 1414 created a precedent for future use. The Leicester Parliament of 1426 marks the beginning of civil strife in England. London was disturbed by the quarrels of the two uncles of the young Henry VI. (the Dukes of Gloucester and of Bedford), and Parliament was summoned to Leicester that it might make peace in a quiet

place. The hopes of peace, however, were doomed to disappointment; and this Parliament is known as the 'Parliament of Bats,' because its members came with 'bats, or bludgeons,' in their hands. The next Parliament—of 1450—met at Leicester, when Henry VI.'s helplessness was most pro-



ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCHE CASTLE.

[From a Photograph by Mr. R. Keene.]

nounced, when Jack Cade's rebellion had broken out in Kent, and all was in confusion.

In the Wars of the Roses Leicestershire does not seem to have shown much loyalty to the Lancastrian house. After the death of John of Gaunt the castle of Leicester was suffered to fall into ruins, and Leicester was not a place of arms. The leading man in the shire, Sir William Hastings, was a staunch partisan of the Yorkists, and had his reward from Edward IV. in

1461, when he was created Baron Hastings of Ashby, where he built a castle. There was a similar revival of another Leicestershire family. The estates of the Ferrers of Groby passed to the Greys, who were at first faithful to the Lancastrian cause. Sir John Grey of Bradgate fell in the battle of St. Albans, and his widow and children were dispossessed of his lands in the sweeping forfeiture which followed the accession of Edward IV. Elizabeth Grey, a young and beautiful woman, found an occasion of pleading her cause before the king while he was on a country visit, and Edward was so melted by her pleas that he married her in 1465. In the troubled state of England this marriage with a Yorkist of no great position was sure to create many heartburnings; and Edward's liberality towards his wife's kinsfolk aroused general discontent, and was the principal cause of Edward's discomfiture by the Earl of Warwick in 1470. Edward fled over the sea, but returned next year, and on his way from Ravenspur stayed at Leicester, where Lord Hastings joined him with four thousand men of the shire, who fought in the bloody battle of Barnet.

Edward's victory led to further favours for the queen's relatives. Her son, Thomas Grey of Groby, was created Marquis of Dorset. But on Edward's death, in 1483, his brother Richard took advantage of the ill-will towards the queen's kindred, and accused them of conspiring to seize the government for themselves. The Marquis of Dorset managed to escape from England. Lord Hastings, who had helped Richard against the queen's party, showed an unwillingness to help him to set aside the youthful king. Richard gave him short time for hesitation, for he suddenly accused him of high treason in the council chamber, and before noon on the same day Hastings was executed on Tower Green. The chiefs of Leicestershire were thus suddenly swept away, and Richard III. won the crown by violence and bloodshed.

In the events which led to the downfall of Richard III. the Marquis of Dorset played rather an ignoble part. At first in his exile he was a warm adherent of Henry of Richmond; but just as Henry was starting for England, Dorset fell a victim to Richard's blandishments, and prepared to desert. His plan, however, was discovered, and he was left in safe custody

in Paris when Richmond sailed for Milford Haven. Richard III. was at Nottingham when he heard the news of Richmond's advance across the Severn to Lichfield, and he prepared at once to intercept him on his way towards London. On August 19 he entered Leicester, 'with a stern countenance,' in martial pomp. He slept at the Blue Boar Inn, and brought with him his own bedstead, which he never returned to claim. A century later it was discovered that in a false bottom of the bedstead was hidden a hoard of £300—a sum which in those days was worth fifteen times as much as it is now. Neither side wished to delay the decisive battle, and on August 21 Richard marched out of Leicester to meet his foe, who had advanced close to Market Bosworth. The battle next day was decided by the desertion of Lord Stanley; and Richard, seeing himself betrayed, rode desperately against his rival, who was with difficulty saved from his furious attack. Though urged to flee, Richard exclaimed, 'I will die King of England!' and he fought with his crown upon his head until he fell, covered with wounds. His body, stripped naked, with a halter round the neck, was thrown across a horse and taken to Leicester, where it was carelessly buried in the church of the Grey Friars.

It was no long time before Leicester received the bones of a still more illustrious man, whose death was the prelude of the greatest change which England ever experienced. On November 26, 1530, the dying Wolsey was brought as a prisoner on his last journey to repose in Leicester Abbey. 'Father abbot,' he said, 'I am come to leave my bones among you;' and he spoke the truth. Three days afterwards he died, saying, 'If I had served my God as I have served my king, He would not have deserted me in my grey hairs.' Wolsey's fall was a signal instance of royal ingratitude, and Wolsey's death released Henry VIII. from the last restraint upon his imperious temper. The great cardinal was buried unlamented in the Lady Chapel of Leicester Abbey; and Henry VIII. entered upon a course of action which did not stop till all the abbeys of England were swept away, and the tombs of the mighty dead shared in the general destruction.

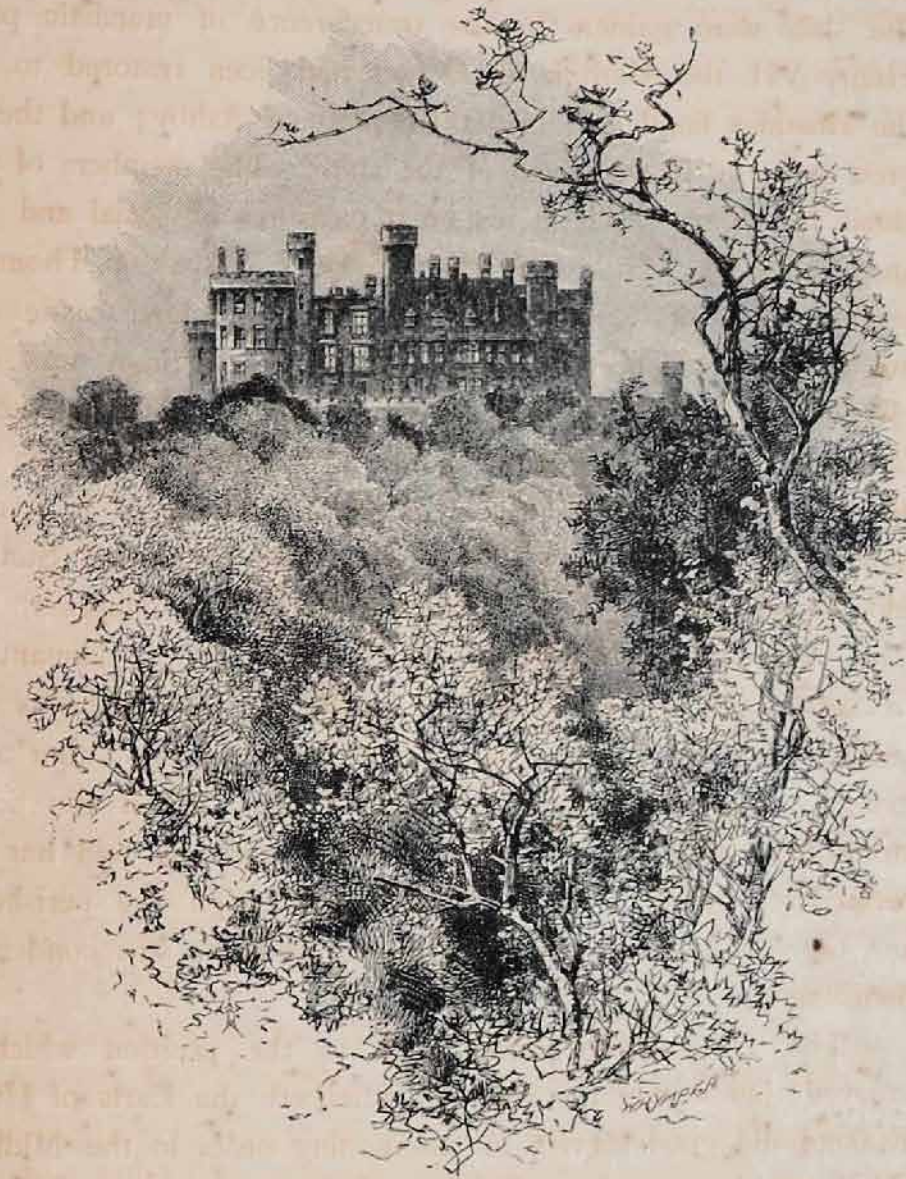
It does not seem that Leicestershire was much affected by the dissolution of the monasteries. Perhaps the burghers of Leicester were not sorry

to be rid of a body of men who, to the growing spirit of commerce and industrial life, seemed drones in a busy hive. Moreover, Leicestershire was carefully watched and guarded during the time of this great social revolution. Under the Tudor kings its new nobility had thriven, and the chief men of the shire were gainers by the transference of monastic property. Under Henry VII. the Marquis of Dorset had been restored to his possessions; the Hastings family resumed their place at Ashby; and the Manners family grew powerful in the north of the shire. The members of these families all stood by Henry VIII. in his great measures of social and religious change, and reaped the rewards of their loyalty. In 1525 Thomas Manners was created Earl of Rutland, and rebuilt the ruined castle of Belvoir as a magnificent residence. In 1529, George Hastings was created Earl of Huntingdon and kept great state at Ashby. Henry, second Marquis of Dorset, was the chief general of the early part of the reign of Henry VIII.; his son married Henry VIII.'s niece, and succeeded to her father's title of Duke of Suffolk in 1551. His royal connection led Suffolk to his ruin; and he sacrificed to his ambition his luckless daughter, the Lady Jane Grey, who was used by unscrupulous men as a claimant to the throne. In early youth she had consoled herself for the harshness of her father by reading Plato in the park of Bradgate. When her father announced to her that she was queen, she burst into tears. When the scheme failed her father tore down the ensign above her seat, and told her that it no more befitted her estate. For her nine days' reign she perished on the block, and little pity was felt for her father when he was condemned to the like punishment.

The Grey family never rose to the position which it had before enjoyed; but during the reign of Elizabeth the Earls of Huntingdon and of Rutland did good service in maintaining order in the Midlands. Leicestershire steadily grew in prosperity, which was broken by the great Civil War. Leicestershire was almost unanimously on the side of Parliament, and in 1645 Leicester underwent a siege from the Royalist army, commanded by the King. It was taken and sacked, and suffered so severely that it was long before it recovered from its losses. In Leicestershire, as elsewhere,

the result of the Civil War was to sweep away the fortified houses. The castle of Ashby was dismantled, and the Earls of Huntingdon did not repair it, but fixed their new abode at Castle Donnington, hard by.

After the Restoration, Leicestershire rapidly developed its industry, and began to assume the appearance which it wears to-day. Its rich grassland had always been favourable for sheep; and the long hair of the Leicestershire sheep was found to be excellent for the finer woollen goods. In early times wool was only woven into cloth, and stockings were made of cloth stitched together. In the sixteenth century



BELVOIR CASTLE.

woollen stockings were articles of luxury, but the taste for them soon spread. Hand-knitting was, however, a laborious process, and the invention of the 'stocking-frame' gave a great impetus to the manufacture of hosiery. This

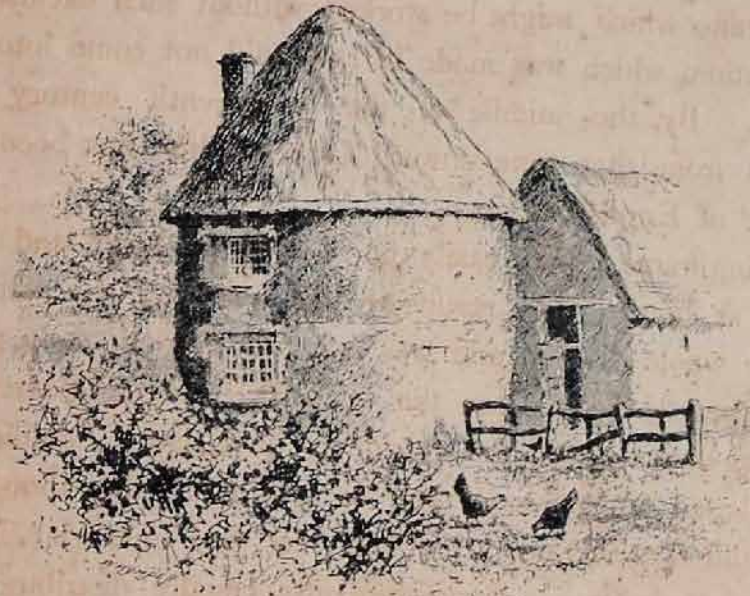
invention was due to a Northamptonshire clergyman, William Lea. The story goes that he found himself hindered in his bashful courtship by the excessive industry of his mistress, whose eyes were always bent upon her knitting. The inventiveness of a lover, it is said, at last succeeded in devising a machine which might be worked without such exclusive attention. But Lea's invention, which was made in 1589, did not come into general use for some time. By the middle of the seventeenth century it was well established, and from that time onward Leicestershire has been the seat of the manufacture of English hosiery.

The stocking-frame could easily be worked by hand, and the industry was carried on at home. The result of this was that the manufacture was spread over the whole district, and was not only carried on in great centres. The wool merchant bought from the farmers; and middlemen distributed the raw material and supplied the machinery at a rent. Families of artisans lived in the villages, and pursued their occupation as they thought fit. The factory system did not prevail in Leicestershire, and industrial life was mixed with the life of agriculture. Population was equally distributed, and there was a happy blending of the old and the new, which is still a conspicuous feature of Leicestershire. For a long time the invention of steam did not alter these conditions, and handicraft could compete with more elaborate machinery on fairly equal terms. But machinery has slowly encroached on hand labour, and large factories are on the increase. Leicester has grown into a large manufacturing town, and the other towns have not grown in proportion. It has become more difficult for work to be carried on at home, and the economic conditions of Leicestershire are slowly changing.

The county, however, still keeps as its characteristic this mixture of agricultural and industrial life. Its natural features do not give it any conspicuous interest; but the rich meadows which are spread on every side tell the tale of England's prosperity in the past; while nearly everywhere may be seen in the distance the tall chimney sending forth its smoke, a sign of the new activity which has created modern England.



## NORTHAMPTON.



OLD HOUSE AT NASEBY.

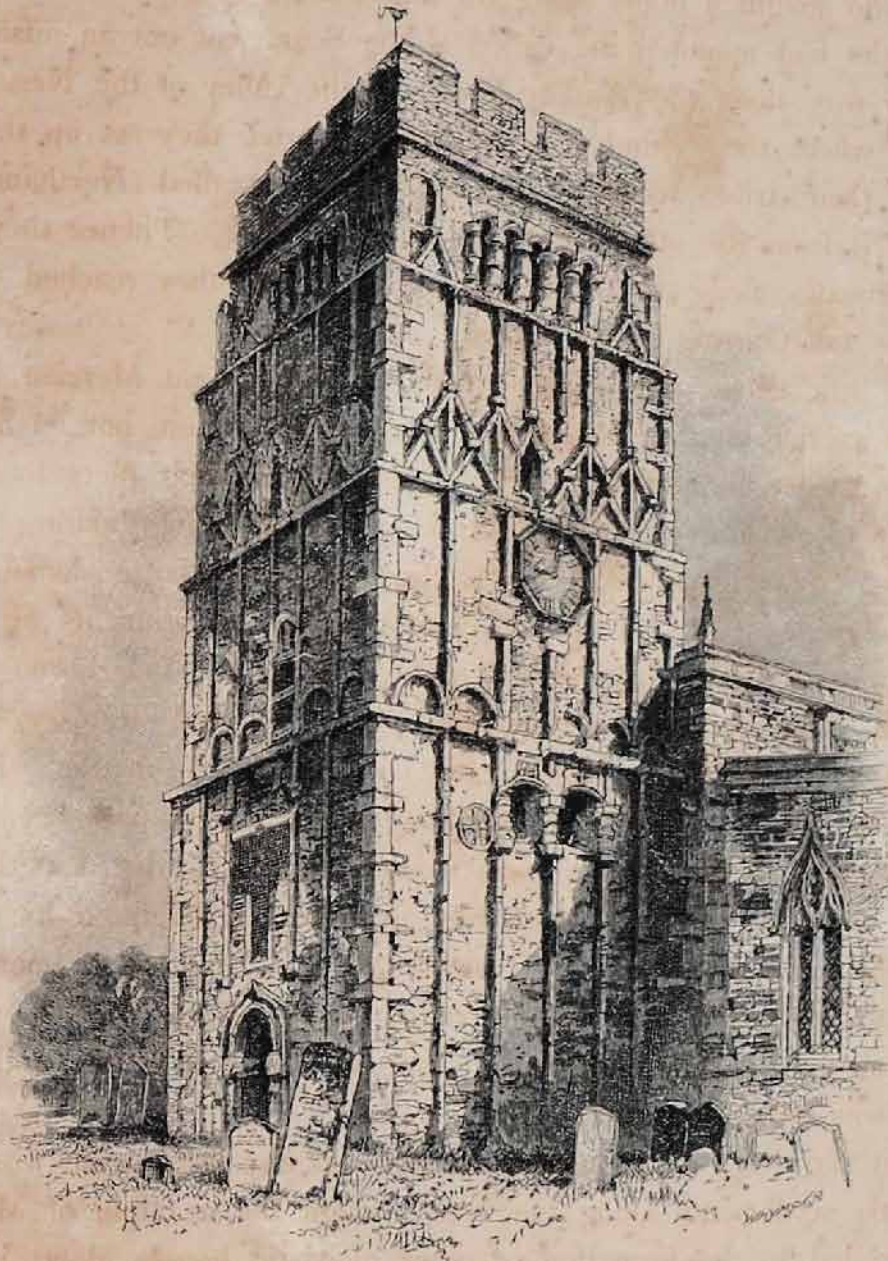
**I**N early times the rich meadows of Northamptonshire were covered with brushwood, and the whole district was a tract of inaccessible upland rising above the sluggish waters of the Wash. Its two extremities were traversed by roads of communication which the Romans raised. On the eastern side, the Ermine Street coasted by the side of the Wash, and crossed the narrow strip between the valleys of the Nen and the Welland. In the Nen valley, the experienced eye of the Roman found clay which was suited for making pottery, and the station of Castor became the seat of an industry whence blue and grey earthenware were exported to various parts of Britain. Similarly, on the western side, the Roman road of Watling Street traversed the district on its way to Chester, and the Romans left the marks of their presence in the name of their station on the river Tow, now called Towcester. Between these lines of communication lay the forests of Holdenby, Rockingham, and Yardley Chase.

When the English invaders began to make their settlements, the upland that rose above the Wash was exposed to the invasion of the Gyrwas, who sought a home along its inhospitable shore. Another body of English, who had mounted the valley of the Soar, sent out an offshoot who made their way along the Watling Street to the valley of the Nen. There, on a spot where the ground was somewhat cleared, they set up the 'home town' of their tribe, which in later days was called Northampton, to distinguish it from the other Hampton on the Solent. Thence they pushed their settlements along the valley of the Nen till they reached the land occupied by the Gyrwas on the coast.

These little tribes were soon absorbed into the great Mercian kingdom. The great warrior king of Mercia, Penda, was a heathen, but on his death, in 655, his sons embraced Christianity, and showed their piety by founding on a tract of meadow-land, which rose above the neighbouring fen, the abbey of Medeshamstead, on which they conferred large domains. The abbey, which was dedicated to St. Peter, was known from its size as the Borough, whence came the modern name of the city, Peterborough. This abbey with its neighbours of Crowland, Thorney, and Ramsey, was the great means of introducing agriculture into this waste district. Hard by, at Barnack, was a quarry of excellent stone, which had been worked by the Romans. This the monks soon learned to use for their own buildings; and it is this fact which has given to Northampton its chief distinction amongst English shires. Nowhere in England are so many stately churches to be found as along the valley of the Nen. The monks gave the impulse to church building; the stone was near at hand; and carriage by water was comparatively easy.

But it was long before church building on any large scale was possible to the little settlements along the Nen, though the example of Medeshamstead soon led to the formation of other monastic houses along its banks. Bishop Wilfrid founded a monastery at Oundle, where, in 709, he finished his adventurous career. Round the monasteries there was a slow growth of agricultural life and prosperity, which in the ninth century was checked by the horrors of the Danish invasion. Then it was the wealth of the

monasteries which marked them out as the prey of the heathen plunderers. At the end of 869, a Danish army marched from York, burned down



EARLS BARTON TOWER.

Medeshamstead and slew all the monks. The eastern district was again reduced to a waste, but on the western side the Danes occupied Northampton, and planted settlements in the lands which lay around it.

When the West Saxon King Edward undertook the recovery of Central England from the Danes, he began a series of campaigns in which he slowly drove them northwards. In 919 he was master of the valley of the Ouse. He next seized and fortified the site of the old Roman station at Towcester. The Danes of Northampton summoned their brethren to drive



PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

*[From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson & Co., Aberdeen.]*

out the invader, but they were beaten back from the palisade which protected it, till Edward secured his new town by building a wall of stone. Then he advanced against Northampton, which surrendered in 921. It was after this recovery that the Mercian kingdom disappeared, and its lands were divided into shires. The country round Northampton, corresponding to the old settlements along the Nen, was made into a shire by itself, and strove to bring back its old life as it was before the Danish invasion overthrew it.

The sign of this restoration was the revival of the abbey of Medes-

hamstead after it had lain desolate for a hundred years. Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, was a great promoter of monasticism, and begged of King Edgar that he would give him all the minsters which the heathen had destroyed. At Medeshamstead he found only ruined walls and wild woods, but he obtained from the king a grant of lands 'to Christ and to St. Peter,' and the revived abbey took the name of Peterborough. We can still see the influence of this revival in the architecture of the churches of Brixworth, Brigstock, Earls Barton, Barnack and Whittering, which can all show work that dates before the Norman Conquest.

In the days of Edward the Confessor Northamptonshire, together with the neighbouring county of Huntingdon, were given to the earldom of Northumberland, but were soon separated and conferred on Waltheof, the last great Englishman under William the Conqueror. Waltheof died on the scaffold, and his Norman successor, Simon of Senlis, built a castle at Northampton, and founded the convent of St. Andrew in the town.

This shows one way in which the Norman occupation of England was carried out. The fortunes of the abbey of Peterborough show no less clearly how William the Conqueror employed the power of the Church to secure his hold of England. In 1069 he set a new abbot in Peterborough, Tuold, a Frenchman, chosen for his military skill. The rebellious English of the east, aided by the Danes, hearing of Tuold's coming, attacked Peterborough under the leadership of Hereward. They sacked and burned the monastery, and dispersed the monks, so that Abbot Tuold, when he arrived with his troops, found only one man left sick in the infirmary. Tuold fortified his monastery by building a castle, and led a life of much quarrelling with his monks. Other misfortunes soon befel the abbey. The church, the monastery, and all the town caught fire and were burned down in 1116, and to the rebuilding, which was then undertaken, is due the massive Norman architecture which distinguishes the cathedral church.

In the northern part of the shire was built the royal castle of Rockingham, on the brow of the hill which rises above the valley of the Welland; behind it stretched the dense woodland of the great forest which sloped towards the Nen. In the reign of William Rufus Rocking-

ham Castle was the scene of one of the most notable events of English history.

William II. carried to its furthest point the royal power, and used it to gather money from every source. He disdained restraint, especially that of religion and morality, and on the death of Archbishop Lanfranc refused to nominate another archbishop in his place. For five years the English Church was without a primate, and William took to himself the revenues of the vacant sees. At length a serious illness brought him to death's door, and he was urged to make reparation for his ill-doings by making an archbishop. Anselm, Abbot of Bec in Normandy, famous alike for learning and piety, was then in England, and the nobles urged him upon the king. Sorely against Anselm's will the office was thrust upon him, for he was a quiet man who did not wish to struggle against the violence of the king. When William recovered from his illness he wished to be rid of Anselm, and sought every means of annoying him. At last he charged him with disloyalty, and summoned a Council at Rockingham. Anselm was deserted by the other bishops through fear of the king, and at last appealed to the Pope, as the only power which could place a check upon the tyrannous use of the royal power. It was in this way that the custom of appealing to the Pope grew up. In an age of lawlessness and violence it was thought necessary that there should be some appeal to the public opinion of Europe, which only the Pope could express. There was no other way to curb a king who threatened to crush men's liberties by force. Anselm was fighting single-handed for the cause of righteousness and order.

But the appeal to Rome against royal decisions was a custom which might work well or ill, and was by no means to be trusted. Its dangers were shown when Archbishop Thomas Becket upheld against Henry II.'s wise legislation the exclusive privileges of the clergy to be tried only in ecclesiastical courts. If the Council of Rockingham showed the power of the Church to oppose tyranny, the Council of Northampton showed how it might interfere to prevent useful reforms. There Archbishop Thomas appeared, carrying his own cross, in sign that he expected a personal attack to be made upon him. 'A fool he always was, and always will be,' was

the remark of the Bishop of London, on seeing this needless striving after dramatic effect. The archbishop appealed from the king to the Pope, and solaced himself under the disapproval of his peers by the acclamations of the people gathered outside the castle. He made his bed in the church of St. Andrew, but in the night fled away, and escaped abroad, where he spent six years in exile, and only returned to England to meet a violent death.

These were episodes in the history of the shire, which continued to prosper. In 1184, the line of its earls of the family of Senlis came to an end, and the earldom was not renewed. The position of Northampton made it important; and it still keeps a memorial of its importance in the cross which Edward I. erected over the resting-place of the body of his queen, Eleanor, when it was borne from Lincoln to London for burial. It was this central position that gave Northampton its trade of shoemaking, which is of very long standing. The town was well situated as a centre for distribution of an article which was universally needed, and hides could easily be obtained from the rich grazing meadows which surrounded the town on every side. It was an old saying that 'Northampton stood on other men's legs.'

The same cause seemed likely for a time to give Northampton another claim to fame. In 1260, there was a quarrel between the University of Oxford and the town, which led to a secession of the students, many of whom fixed on Northampton as their new abode. But it was not thought well in those days that seats of learning should be multiplied. The king interposed to heal the quarrel at Oxford, and the students were bidden to return thither. The infant university of Northampton was rudely crushed. There were political motives also in this suppression, for in the stormy days of Henry III. the students of Oxford were eager for reform, and sided with the barons in opposing the king. Northampton Castle was held by Simon de Montfort, and was attacked and taken, in 1264, by Henry III. The king gained entrance into the town by the help of the Prior of St. Andrew's, whose convent garden joined the town walls, which the monks secretly undermined, supporting it by wooden props.

Like other midland counties Northampton did not take a conspicuous

part in the history of England during the Middle Ages. Its people were mainly employed in agriculture, and in the gradual clearing of the ground which spread northwards from the valley of the Nen, a process which can



ELEANOR CROSS, NORTHAMPTON.

be gradually traced by the dates revealed by a study of the architecture of the parish churches. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, founded a collegiate church at Fotheringhay, where he rebuilt the castle. His grandson, Richard, claimed the crown of England



against Henry VI., and so caused the Wars of the Roses, which laid England waste and destroyed the old nobility. In 1460, Henry VI. was defeated and made prisoner by the Earl of Warwick in a bloody battle fought just outside the walls of Northampton, and the capture of the king led to the assertion of the Duke of York's right to the English crown. York's triumph was short, for next year he fell at Wakefield. Fotheringhay was made the burial-place of the Yorkist line, and Edward IV. there celebrated the obsequies of his ancestors, and made the castle his headquarters against his northern foes.

The restoration of peace by the Tudors was the beginning of the making of a new England. Few counties show more traces of this process than does Northampton. The grave of the luckless Katharine of Aragon in Peterborough Cathedral tells how Henry VIII. condemned his discarded wife to lead a life of solitude and neglect at Kimbolton, whence she was carried for burial to the nearest abbey. The bones of Katharine were the last relics which the monks of Peterborough were to receive. The great abbey was dissolved, its treasures went to the king's coffers, its buildings were handed over to the destroyer. Yet Peterborough was lucky above most of its neighbours; and Northamptonshire was one of the few counties which could boast that at least a portion of the monastic plunder had been converted to the public good. The abbey church was spared that it might become a cathedral, and the two shires of Leicester and Northampton were cut off from the unwieldy diocese of Lincoln, and received a bishop of their own. It is, however, worth noticing that the last abbot was made the first bishop, apparently without much consideration of fitness, that the king might be spared the expense of granting him a pension.

Still more important was it for the prosperity of the shire that its fair meadows attracted the men who were replacing the old order of the feudal nobles which had been almost swept away in the Wars of the Roses. The new nobility sprang from the class of gentry who served the Crown as officials, and used the opportunities offered by the social changes which were passing over England to pick up eligible manors and add field to field. The great revolution of the sixteenth century was largely founded on

economic causes. The central government had grown powerful enough to rule England without being dependent for help on local magnates. The days of the barons, who were strong through the castles they possessed and the number of retainers whom they could lead into the field, had passed away. The day had come for a new order of nobles, who were important through their large estates and long rent-rolls. The feudal lord made way for the landholder, the fortified castle for the stately mansion. So the fertile meadows of Northamptonshire largely passed into the hands of four families which steadily rose in wealth and importance. The Spencers settled at Althorp; the Comptons at Castle Ashby; the Hattons built the splendid piles of Holdenby and Kirby; and Elizabeth's great minister, William Cecil, erected in the east of the shire the mighty pile of Burghley House, which is still the greatest architectural memorial of the great aspirations of the Elizabethan age. Perhaps few incidents bring before us more clearly the change which passed over England in the sixteenth century than does a quarrel which broke out in the reign of James I. between the Earl of Arundel, who represented faintly the old traditions, and Lord Spencer, who did not shrink from making himself spokesman of the new order. In the House of Lords Spencer appealed to the memories of the past as a motive for present action: 'My lord,' cried Arundel, 'when these things were doing your ancestors were keeping sheep.' Spencer's reply was quick: 'When my ancestors, as you say, were keeping sheep, your ancestors were plotting treason.'

However, Northampton was not left so peaceably under the care of her new landlords as not to be reminded of the dangers through which England passed before she could ensure her new prosperity. Fotheringhay Castle, lying as it did among the lands of men bound by their own interest to support Elizabeth's throne, was chosen as a secure place for Mary Stuart's trial and execution. Burleigh drew out with his own hand a plan of the arrangements of the hall for that memorable trial. By the fireplace in the hall the scaffold was erected on which Mary met her doom, and her body was buried in Peterborough Cathedral by the side of that other ill-fated queen, Katharine of Aragon. There it reposed till James I. transferred his

mother's remains to the royal burying-place at Westminster. Fotheringhay Castle was allowed to fall into ruins, and nothing save the mound, below which flow the waters of the Nen amid its peaceful meadows, is left as a memorial of the saddest tragedy in England's history.

In the Great Civil War Northamptonshire was the scene of the memorable battle of Naseby, which at once overthrew the cause of Charles I. and established the military greatness of Cromwell. Charles, who had taken Leicester in 1645, was marching thence westward, when news was brought that the Roundheads under Fairfax were advancing to meet him. He took up a strong position near Market Harborough, while Fairfax occupied the rising ground near Naseby. The impetuosity of the Cavaliers moved Charles to leave his vantage ground and attack. The same impetuosity led Prince Rupert to neglect military prudence and pursue the enemy whom he routed, while Cromwell used the opportunity to fall upon the rear of the body commanded by the king. The Royalist losses were great, and Cromwell's victory was complete. Charles took refuge with the Scots only to be sold to the Parliament, by whom he was permitted to live in peace in his house at Holdenby, a little north of Northampton, a house which had been built by Elizabeth's favourite, Sir Christopher Hatton. However, Parliament was no longer supreme in England, and the management of affairs had passed into the hands of the army.

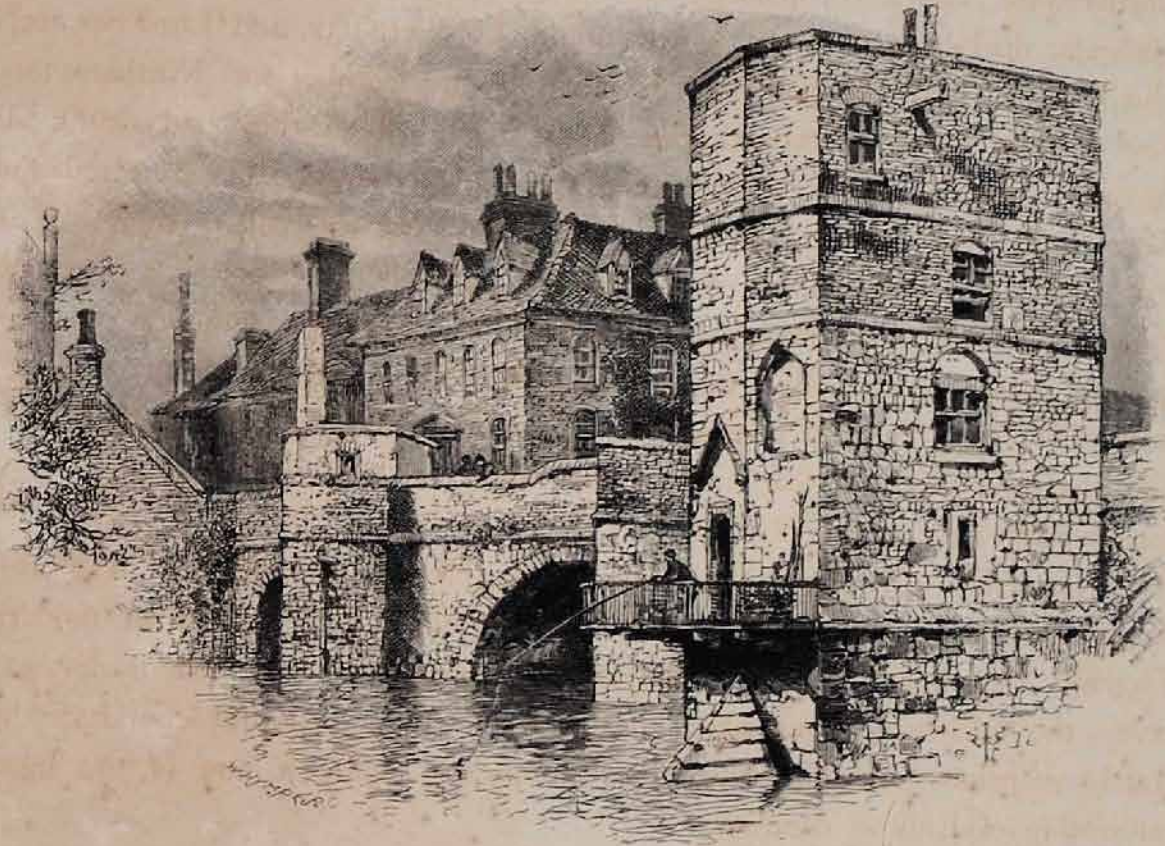
One day at Holdenby Cornet Joyce, with his hat on his head and a pistol in hand, broke into Charles's bedroom and ordered him to prepare for a journey. 'Whither?' asked the king, and was answered, 'To the army.' 'By what authority do you come?' Joyce pointed to his pistol and answered, 'By this! Make haste.' Charles could not hide from himself that it was the beginning of the end.

This is the last picturesque episode which the annals of Northamptonshire have to record. We need not regret the quiet days which followed, when daily toil and steady industry took the place of battles and executions. The growth of agriculture and the development of industry is a gradual process wrought out with as much heroism as are the exploits of a soldier in the battlefield; but the heroism which it demands is daily and constant,

and rarely admits of relation. We may be content that in the eighteenth century political questions were settled by elections rather than by civil wars, and that great families fought for political influence by the less heroic means of bribing constituencies. Of this warfare of the eighteenth century, Northampton was a conspicuous instance. In 1768 especially there was a triangular duel between Lord Northampton, Lord Halifax, and Lord Spencer, which should have the honour of nominating the member for Northampton. The electors were entertained free of expense. When they had drunk all the champagne at Althorp and were served with claret, they rejected the 'sour stuff,' and removed to Castle Ashby to try the cellars there. The poll showed the remarkable result that, though there were only 930 electors, 1149 votes had been recorded. A petition naturally followed, and the struggle was renewed on a larger scale before a Parliamentary committee, with the result that the question was finally decided by tossing up. It is said that the election cost each of the noblemen who were engaged in it considerably over £100,000.

Those days also have passed away. At present the traveller in Northamptonshire is chiefly reminded of the continuous care by which modern England has been created. The smiling meadows with their flocks and herds, the ancient villages which nestle round their beautiful churches, the stately mansions of which the shire is proud, make it one of the most interesting of English counties.

## HUNTINGDON.



ST. IVES' BRIDGE.

IT seems strange to look upon Huntingdonshire of to-day as a seaside county; but such almost was the original position of its eastern border. The Ouse ran sluggishly into a huge tract of fenland which faded imperceptibly into the waters of the sea; and what we now call the Wash reached, with scattered islands here and there, in a shallow flood, to the rising ground on which stands the town of Huntingdon. The Roman road, the Ermine Street, which ran from London to Lincoln, skirted the border of the Fenland; and what was in early times the mouth of the Ouse was guarded by the Roman station of Durolipons. Southwards, the Cam was

guarded in like manner by a station at Camboritum, the modern Cambridge; and between Camboritum and Durolipons ran another road, the Via Devana. These roads and stations were erected for the defence of the eastern coast, which was an object of great care to the Romans; for the long-boats of the Saxon pirates penetrated the shallow waters, and the marauders could choose their own landing-place. They came at first as man-hunters, carrying off men, women, and children, whom they sold as slaves. It was the duty of a special officer, 'the Count of the Saxon Shore,' to provide for the safety of the eastern and southern coast of Britain. Moreover, the Romans saw the need of protecting the Fenland from the damage wrought by floods, and set the example of those great drainage works by which the lands and the Wash have been reclaimed. At Ramsey there are still traces of a Roman drain, to catch the rainfall and so protect the higher ground from the encroachment of the water.

When the Romans withdrew from Britain their works were abandoned; and the pirates gradually began to come as settlers, first taking possession of the islands in the Fens. The body of English who chose this district for their prey were called the Gyrwas. One division of them, the North Gyrwas, directed their efforts against the valley of the Witham; another division, the South Gyrwas, were at work along the line of the Ouse and the Cam. For some time the Britons successfully withstood them, and they were confined to the islands of the Fenland. Gradually they succeeded in occupying the lines of the Roman road, and destroyed its stations, reducing Durolipons to a heap of ruins. Then they formed a kingdom of the South Gyrwas, which embraced the district of Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire. The kingdom was short-lived, but it left its traces on subsequent history, for till the seventeenth century there was but one sheriff for the two counties, and he was chosen in alternate years from Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely. We need not follow the struggles for supremacy among the English kingdoms. It is enough to say that early in the seventh century the lands of the Gyrwas formed part of the Mercian kingdom which extended over the whole of Mid-Britain.

The district in itself was not of great value for settlers, as the rising

ground around the Wash was covered with a dense forest; and as soon as Christianity prevailed in the Mercian kingdom, it was natural that the country should be handed over to the care of missionary monks, whose houses were established in the seventh century at Medesham, which afterwards took the name of Peterborough, at Ely, and soon afterwards at Crowland. The story of the activity of these early monks is told elsewhere, for none of their houses lay within the boundary of Huntingdonshire. But we see traces of their influence in the name of Godmanchester, which was given to the town which rose upon the ruins of the Roman station of Durolipons; while we recognise the ordinary pursuits of the inhabitants in the name given to the settlement on the opposite bank of the Ouse, the Hunter's Down, or Huntingdon.

But monks and people were alike overwhelmed in a common calamity when in 870 the heathen Danes bore downwards from the north. The monks were slain, and their monasteries were reduced to ashes. The whole of Eastern England passed under the Danish yoke. Still, the country south of the Nen did not attract the conquerors to make many settlements, and probably their rule did not much affect the dwellers in the southern part of their dominion. For military purposes they raised a mound at Huntingdon, and set in it soldiers to guard the line of the Ouse. But the English power slowly reasserted itself under Edward, son of Alfred the Great, who made his way along the valley of the Ouse, and in 921 succeeded in capturing Huntingdon and wresting the Fenland from the Danes. Edward still further strengthened the defences of Huntingdon, and the earthwork which still rises above the river was his work. In the reorganisation which followed upon the reconquest of the Mercian kingdom, the district which lay around the royal castle of Huntingdon was made into a shire, and took its name from its chief town.

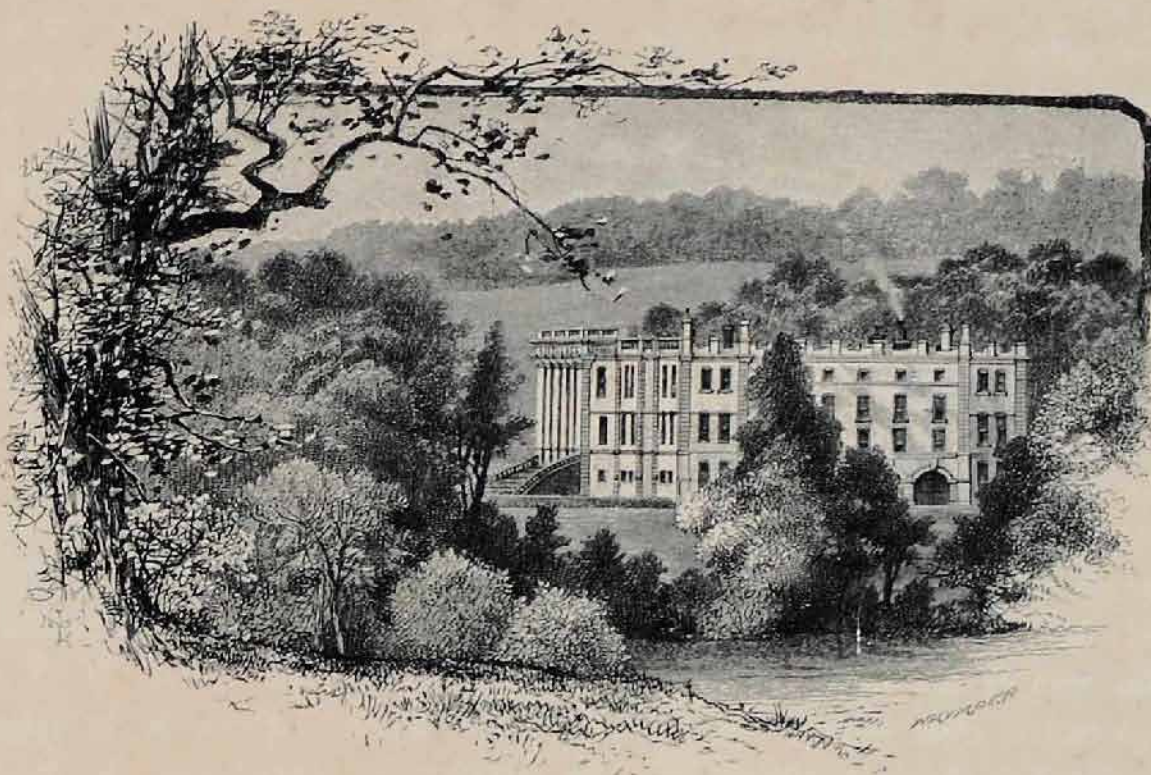
Side by side with this reorganisation went the restoration of old institutions. The monasteries of Peterborough, Ely, and Crowland were rebuilt, and again filled with monks. The tenth century was a time of monastic revival in England, and Huntingdonshire for the first time received a monastery of its own. At the suggestion of Oswald, Bishop of Worcester,

a lord named Ethelwin founded in 967 a religious house on an island which lay just on the verge of the Fenland. It was called Ramsey, or 'the Ram's Island,' from a solitary ram which was found there. The island, about two miles long, and not quite so wide, was covered by a mass of tangled brushwood, amidst which rose the monastic buildings and the church. The monks soon cleared their little domain, and set an example of useful industry in agriculture. Benefactions soon flowed in upon them, and they found means to attract popular attention. On one of their manors, at a place called Slepe, a few miles below Huntingdon on the Ouse, one of their villeins while ploughing turned up a skeleton. The monks of Ramsey identified it as the body of Ivo, a Persian bishop, who in the early part of the seventh century had come as a missionary to England. The relics were carried to Ramsey, and a priory was built upon the spot where they had been discovered. The growing town which clustered round the priory changed its old name of Slepe into St. Ives. Nor was this the only change of name which showed the force of the influence of the Church in the shire. Higher up the Ouse the town which bore the name of Enolfsbury in remembrance of its original settler, received the bones of a Cornish hermit, and changed its old name into St. Neots. The treasure, however, was regarded as too precious for so small a church, and the relics were translated to Crowland.

But though it was the mission of the Church to civilise, it remained for the State to govern; and the difficulties which were experienced in this task, when national unity was imperfect, led to the setting up of ealdormen over different portions. At the end of the tenth century Huntingdonshire was part of the ealdormanry of East Anglia, and its history is interesting as showing the growth of territorial lordships. The new office of earl was introduced under Canute, and in the reign of Edward the Confessor the earldom of Huntingdon was given to Siward, Earl of Northumberland, for the purpose of maintaining an equal balance between the northern earls and the house of Godwin. Siward's son, Waltheof, was the one great Englishman who kept his lands and office after the Norman Conquest, and to make sure of his loyalty William gave him the hand of his niece Judith.



But Waltheof listened to the talk of some of the Norman barons who wished to rid themselves of William's strong hand over them; and though Waltheof repented, William did not forgive him. The last great English earl was beheaded in 1076, and the earldom of Huntingdon passed to his wife Judith. William ordered her to marry one of his trusty followers, Simon of Senlis; but he was lame, and she refused. But William would not alter his plans to suit a woman's whim, so he gave Judith's daughter



KIMBOLTON CASTLE, FROM THE WARREN SPINNEY.

Matilda to Simon, who became Earl of Huntingdon by right of his wife. Moreover, after Simon's death, his widow married David of Scotland, son of the Scottish king; and through this marriage the earldom of Huntingdon passed to the royal house of Scotland. It would be a long matter to trace in detail the various incidents of this connexion. It is enough to say that the Scottish king thereby became an English baron, and drew a considerable revenue from his English estates; while the English king was not sorry to count him amongst his vassals, and have a hold over lands situated in

the middle of England which he could regard as a pledge of the Scottish king's good behaviour. Thus Stephen confiscated the earldom, and bestowed it on the son of Simon of Senlis. It was again restored and again taken away, till it finally reverted to the Crown on the death of its last Scottish holder without issue, in 1237. However, one result of this policy was that the castle of Huntingdon was alternately held in the name of the Senlis family and in the name of the Scottish king. The adherents of the dispossessed party were constantly on the alert, and the condition of Huntingdon and its neighbourhood cannot have been very peaceful. The English king did not wish that the Scots should hold a fortress in the heart of his kingdom, and the castle was destroyed in the reign of Henry II. Its stones rapidly disappeared, and nothing remains but the original earthwork of the days of Edward the Elder.

The earldom of Huntingdon was long kept in abeyance, and when it was revived in the middle of the fourteenth century, it did not bring a resident noble into the shire. The county was not connected with any stirring events in English history, and profited by its lack of notoriety. The Abbot of Ramsey was the most influential personage, and had to maintain the rights of his house against the aggressions both of his lay and his monastic neighbours. Dykes and causeways were erected across the fens; but no regular scheme of drainage was carried out, and Huntingdonshire was at the mercy of those who dwelt nearer the Wash. If they neglected to clear their drains, the county was flooded. However, in spite of difficulties the county flourished. Its forests were cleared, and the need for timber in the Fenland provided a ready market for the wood, which could easily be carried by water. The cleared land was soon converted into excellent pasturage, and the sheep of Huntingdonshire were almost as famous as those of Leicestershire.

This peaceful state of things came to an end with the dissolution of the monasteries; and the monks of Ramsey seem to have felt that they had done their work, and their presence was no longer needed. They were good, quiet men, of whom no one had much harm to say; and the report of the commissioner sent to examine into their doings was that 'they live as

uprightly as any other, after the best sort of living that hath been among religious folk this many years; that is to say, more given to ceremonies than is necessary.' That was precisely the objection felt against the existence of the monasteries. In early days they had discharged many useful offices, and had fostered civilisation in many ways. Their religious life was the background to a life of practical beneficence. They had set the example of peaceful industry, and had afforded a refuge to the folk who dwelt around them. But times had changed, and the monks of Ramsey were no longer pioneers. Their lands were tilled for them, and they were a body of kindly landlords who lived a harmless but not a very elevated life. The Abbot of Ramsey saw no good reason why his monastery should continue to exist, but declared himself 'conformable to everything that shall be at this time put in use.' He took care, however, to make a good bargain for himself, for he was pensioned off with £230 a year, worth at least ten times as much in our money, besides a house for his use, a hundred loads of wood, and a mark of swans every year. A 'mark of swans' meant the right of pasturing swans on the fens; as they fed in common, each owner distinguished his flock by a mark which was cut upon the bill of the bird.

The fall of the monasteries was closely connected with the fate of Henry VIII.'s unhappy queen, Katharine, who ended her days in Huntingdonshire. At first, upon her exclusion from Court, she was sent to a manor-house of the Bishop of Lincoln at Buckden, and thence to the royal manor of Kimbolton, which formed part of her jointure, where she died, greatly to her husband's relief, early in 1536. Kimbolton was granted by the king, after her death, to an official who had done him good service, Sir Richard Wingfield, from whose family it passed by sale to Henry Montagu, who in 1603 was created Earl of Manchester. The fall of the monasteries led more directly to the rise of another family, whose connexion with Huntingdonshire must always form the chief feature in the county's history. Morgan Williams, a Welshman from Glamorganshire, married a sister of Thomas Cromwell, who was Henry VIII.'s great agent in carrying out the business of the monastic suppression. Morgan's son, Richard, rose in fortunes by Cromwell's protection, and was rewarded for his services to the

king by some of the monastic lands in Huntingdonshire, amongst others the sites of Ramsey Abbey, and of Hinchinbrook Priory, a Benedictine nunnery which rose on a slight eminence outside the town of Huntingdon. His eldest son, Henry, built a noble mansion at Hinchinbrook, where he enter-



HINCHINBROOK HOUSE, HUNTINGDON.

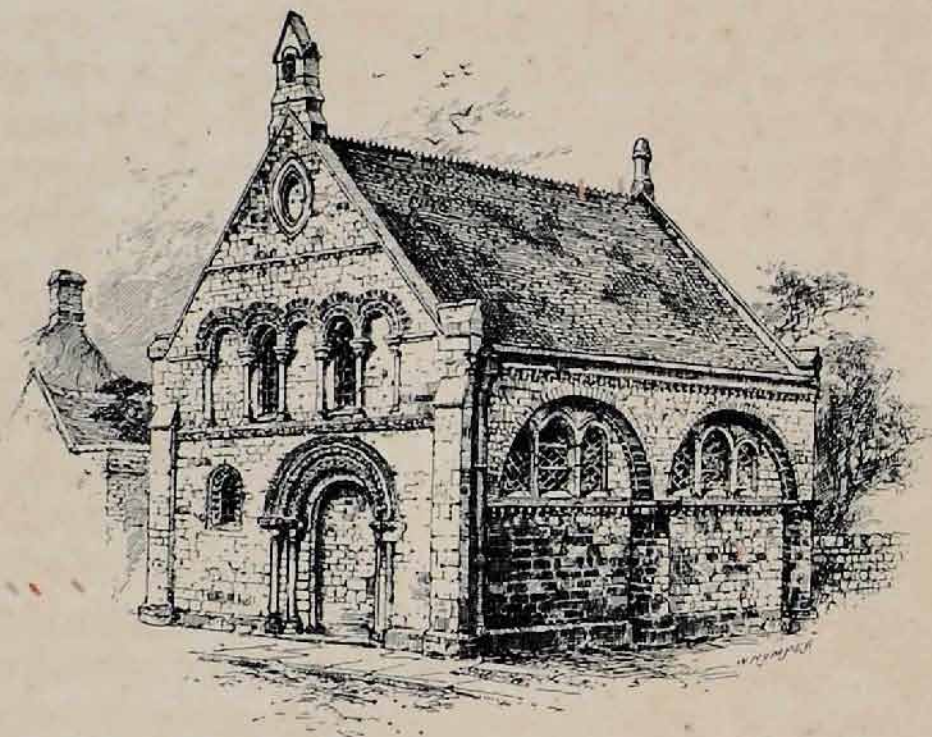
tained Queen Elizabeth in 1564, and became one of the chief men of the shire, where, from his liberality, he was known as 'The Golden Knight.' This taste for lavish expenditure was inherited by his son, Sir Oliver, who distinguished himself by a magnificent entertainment given to James I. in 1603. But he pursued his taste for magnificence till he sorely crippled his resources, and in 1627 sold Hinchinbrook to a younger brother of the Earl

of Manchester; and thus the chief place in the shire passed to the Montagus.

However, the Cromwell stock was sturdy, and many of the younger sons lived in the Eastern counties farming their estates. A brother of Sir Oliver, Robert Cromwell, inherited a small estate near Huntingdon, where he lived. There was born his son, Oliver, who was to play so large a part in English history; and there he was educated in the little grammar school, held in the buildings which had once belonged to the Hospital of St. John. In 1628 Oliver Cromwell first entered upon public life as Member for the borough of Huntingdon. In 1631 he sold his estate at Huntingdon and removed to St. Ives, where he farmed as a tenant farmer. Thus it was the Protestant associations, the Puritan education, and the quiet life of Huntingdonshire which formed the resolute character of him who, at a crisis of his country's fate, showed that he possessed the seeing eye and the strong grasp of principle which enabled him to act with decision.

But if the quiet of Huntingdonshire was favourable to the development of a strong man, it equally afforded a retreat to another who sought to withdraw from the perplexities of active life. Few episodes in the life of England during the seventeenth century are more interesting than is the settlement of Nicolas Ferrar at Little Gidding. Ferrar was a man of cultivated mind, the son of a wealthy London merchant, who had at his command a distinguished career both in commerce and in politics. But his fastidious nature shrank from the antagonisms which he saw on every side. He withdrew from politics, wound up his business, and bought the manor of Little Gidding as a fit place for retirement to one who wished to spend his life in meditation and the practices of devotion. He found there in 1624 a ruined manor-house, a shepherd's hut, and a church used as a barn. Before he would repair his house he rescued the church from desecration, and was ordained deacon, that he might officiate. His mother, his brother, his brother-in-law and their families accompanied him; and a family life was organised on the basis of simple piety and devotion. The children were carefully educated, and neighbouring children were welcome to share in their education. Daily services were said in the church, and a strict rule of

useful occupation and devotional observances was established. Men thought that the old days of monasticism were being revived, and mocked at this 'Protestant nunnery,' but Ferrar had no design of founding an order, and did not aim at being a leader of men. Ferrar died in 1637, but the family community still continued, and in 1642 Charles I. solaced himself by a hurried visit. The storm of the Civil War swept it away in 1647, and not till



GRAMMAR SCHOOL AT HUNTINGDON.

our own times did the memories of Ferrar again begin to cluster round the church which he had so carefully restored.

When the Civil War broke out Huntingdonshire joined the Association of the Eastern Counties, which was formed for the purpose of keeping the war outside their borders, and of raising troops for Parliament. Oliver Cromwell was the heart and soul of this organisation, which he converted into the mainstay of the Parliamentary cause. But Oliver had much to do before he could reduce to obedience many of his old friends and kinsfolk. He visited his uncle Sir Oliver at Ramsey, and begged his blessing, but he took the precaution of carrying off the arms and plate of the old man, who

remained a Royalist till the end. But with both Cromwell and the Earl of Manchester on the side of Parliament, the allegiance of Huntingdonshire was secure, and the county was not disturbed by warfare within its borders.

The family of Cromwell was not perpetuated in Huntingdonshire; but the Montagus, both those of Kimbolton and those of Hinchinbrook, took a great part in forwarding the Restoration. Sir Edward Montagu of Hinchinbrook was created Earl of Sandwich in 1660, and was a famous admiral, dying at sea in an engagement with the Dutch. The Montagus played a considerable part in English history, and in Huntingdonshire did much to further agriculture. For from this period onward the records of the county have little to tell save a steady progress in good farming. The drainage of the Fenland, which was seriously undertaken in the end of the seventeenth century, greatly changed the whole aspect of the shire. In the first place, it meant that the Wash retreated; and consequently Huntingdon lost its communication with the sea, and ceased to be a place for the import and distribution of commodities. This led to a gradual decline in the importance of the town; and Huntingdon, which in old times had fifteen parish churches, now only possesses three. At the same time the lands of the county did not gain so much advantage from the drainage as did those which were newly reclaimed. For the new works were calculated for the benefit of the low-lying tract round the Wash, and it was some time before the connecting drains from the more inland districts were adjusted to the new conditions. When this was done Huntingdonshire could claim to be the best grazing land in England. Early in the eighteenth century Defoe wrote of it, 'Here are the most beautiful meadows on the banks of the River Ouse that I think are to be seen in England: which, in the summer season, are covered with innumerable herds of cattle and flocks of sheep.'

Defoe's description is still characteristic of the great charm of Huntingdonshire. It is a county wholly given over to pastoral life. There are no great towns and few traces of industrial occupations. Huntingdon, St. Ives, and St. Neots are simply centres of the agriculture of the neighbourhood, and breathe an air of quietness and peace. Population is distributed over many villages, which nestle among the trees and

break the monotony of the rich meadows which surround them on every side. The causeways on which many of the high roads still run remind us of the days, not very far distant, when the land was still exposed to floods; and the bridges at Huntingdon and St. Ives rank high as examples of the architecture of the past. The bridge at St. Ives still retains the old bridge-chapel, now converted into a house, which testifies to the sense of our ancestors of the perils of a journey. Everywhere there are traces of old-world life. The traveller feels that he is in Cromwell's country, in the land where a sober discharge of daily duties taught one of England's greatest heroes to understand the spirit of the nation's past, and form a clear conception of its future mission.



HUNTINGDON BRIDGE.

[From a Photograph by Mr. A. Hendrey, Godmanchester.]