

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND

VOLUME I

From the Earliest Times to the Reformation

G. M. TREVELYAN

BLEDAY ANCHOR BOOK



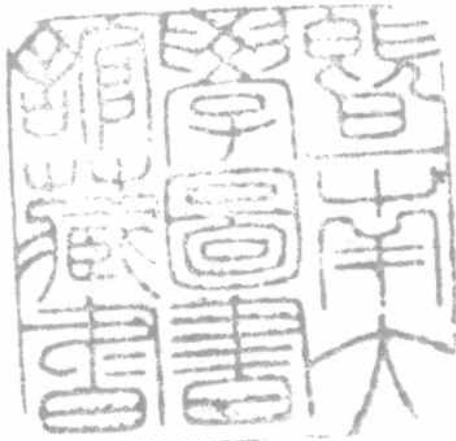


9091055

0326

HISTORY OF ENGLAND  
VOLUME ONE

For paper P, 195-  
P. 242.



6207011

GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN was born in 1876 and educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge from 1927 to 1940 and Master of Trinity College from 1940 to 1951. He is the author of *England under the Stuarts*, *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, *Six Centuries of Social History*, *England under Queen Anne*, and *A HISTORY OF ENGLAND*, which was first published in 1926.



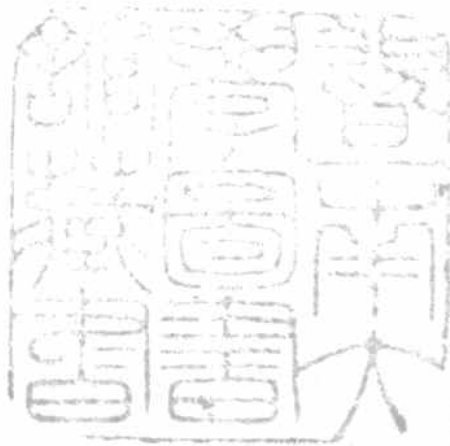
9091055

八文书库

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND

*Volume One: From the Earliest Times to the Reformation*  
by G. M. TREVELYAN, O.M.

*Master of Trinity College, 1940-1951. Formerly Regius  
Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge*



*Doubleday Anchor Books*

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC., GARDEN CITY, N.Y.

赠送书

To President Lowell of Harvard

*History of England* was originally published by Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd. in 1926. The Anchor Books edition is published by arrangement with Longmans, Green and Co. Inc., New York.

Anchor Books edition: 1953

First Edition, June 1926

Second Edition, July 1937

Second Edition revised, April 1942

Third Edition, October 1945

Reissue (with minor corrections), 1952

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DESIGNED BY DIANA KLEMIN

## NOTE TO THE REISSUE (1952)

The only substantial addition appears in Volume III, page 231, which records the final settlement with India and Pakistan. Minor corrections and deletions have been made from Volume III, page 225, to the end of the book.

## PREFACE TO LATER EDITIONS

In 1945 and again in 1952 a few alterations and additions have been made to the text of this work, and some recent publications have been added to the lists of 'Books for Further Reading.'

G. M. Trevelyan

## PREFACE

A book that traverses so vast a field as the whole of English history in the course of seven hundred pages is apt to be either a text-book or an essay. It can in no case be a full narrative of events. This work is an essay in so far as it attempts to analyze the social development of the nation in relation to economic conditions, political institutions, and overseas activities. It is a text-book in so far as it preserves the narrative form in brief, deals in dates, and gives prominence to leading events and persons.

Scottish, Irish, Welsh, and overseas Imperial history are treated, I trust not in all cases from too English a point of view. But what unity the book has, especially in its earlier parts, is necessarily derived from England as the centre. Not to arouse expectations which I may not fulfil, I have called the book merely a History of England.

The original nucleus out of which the work has grown was the Lowell Lectures which I had the honour of delivering in Boston, Mass., in the spring of 1924. I therefore dedicate the book in its present form to President Lowell of Harvard and my other kind hosts on that occasion.

I am greatly indebted to two friends at the older Cambridge, Dr. Clapham of King's, and Mr. Claude Elliott of Jesus: to the former for allowing me to see the early part of his *Economic History of Modern Britain* before it went to press, a privilege of which I have made extensive use; and to Mr. Elliott for reading the earlier half of my work and giving me valuable advice on numerous points.

BERKHAMSTED, April 1926.

G. M. Trevelyan

# CONTENTS

## BOOK ONE

*The Mingling of the Races. From the Earliest Times to the Norman Conquest*

INTRODUCTION 13

CHAPTER ONE The island and its early invaders. Geography governs history. Iberian civilization. Tracks and trade routes. Downland and fenland centres. The Celtic conquest and civilization 14

CHAPTER TWO Julius Cæsar. Celtic and Roman London. The Claudian Conquest. The North-west frontier and the Roman Wall. Limits of Latinization in Roman Britain. Villas and cities. Religion 29

CHAPTER THREE Beginning of the Nordic invasions. Anglo-Saxons and Jutes. Character and methods of the invaders. Weakness of late Roman Britain. Chaos and reconstruction. Slower conquest of the West. Questions of Celtic survival. Roman roads. Welsh Christianity 47

CHAPTER FOUR Mediterranean influence again. Return of Christianity. Nordic paganism. St. Patrick and St. Columba. Augustine and Theodore of Tarsus. Northumbria and Mercia. Church and State. Mediterranean and Nordic ideals 72

CHAPTER FIVE The Second Nordic invasion. Weakness of Saxon England. The Vikings at home and overseas. Alfred and Guthrum. The Danelaw and its conquest by Wessex. Anglo-Danish law, town life and civilization 99

CHAPTER SIX Life in later Saxon England. Pioneers in the forest. Thegn and serf. The Earldoms. Feudal justice encroaching. Second coming of the Vikings. The Danegeld. Canute's maritime Empire 120

CHAPTER SEVEN The Norman Conquest up to Hastings,

1042-66. Normandy and Norman institutions. Edward the Confessor and Godwin. William and Harold. Tactics at Hastings 141

CHAPTER EIGHT The Norman Kings. Submission and rebellions of the English. The harrying of the North. The new feudalism and the new monarchy. The King's *Curia*. Domesday. Forest law. Anglo-Norman Church and State. The English language 161

## BOOK TWO

*The Making of the Nation. From the Conquest to the Reformation*

INTRODUCTION 182

CHAPTER ONE The Anarchy under Stephen and the Restoration of Royal Power. Henry of Anjou. Knights and villeins at the Manor. The Manor Court and the methods of open-field agriculture 189

CHAPTER TWO Henry II continued. The Cistercians and sheep-farming. Becket. Benefit of clergy. The King's Courts. Common Law. The Jury 207

CHAPTER THREE The Crusades. Richard I. Hubert Walter and the Middle Classes. Coroners and Mayors. Constitutionalism grows out of feudalism. John and Magna Carta. Henry III and Simon de Montfort 218

CHAPTER FOUR The corporate sense of the Middle Ages. The Universities. The Friars. The Jews. Edward I, the Common Law and Lawyers. Parliament under the Edwards. The House of Commons. Reign of Edward II. Justices of the Peace 239

CHAPTER FIVE Celt and Saxon. Attempts to complete the island Empire. Causes of failure in the Middle Ages. Ireland. Wales. Scotland. Different character of the three stories. The Llewelyns, Wallace and Bruce 267

CHAPTER SIX The Hundred Years' War. Its causes and effects. The birth of nationalism. Archery and Yeo-



manry. French and English tactics and their social origins.  
English language and patriotic feeling 294

CHAPTER SEVEN The Black Death. The emancipation of the villeins and the fluidity of labour. The rising of 1381 and after. The Church and the laity. Nation, Pope and King. Wycliffe and Lollardry 311

CHAPTER EIGHT Parliamentary development from Edward III to Henry VI. Formal importance and real weakness of the Commons House. Aristocratic Anarchy. Some aspects of English life in the later Middle Ages. Wars of the Roses. The Yorkist Kings 330

INDEX 351

## MAPS

- 1 Iberian Britain 22
- 2 The Roman Empire 40
- 3 Mediæval Christendom 41
- 4 England of the Heptarchy 64
- 5 Scotland and Northumbria in the Dark Ages 83
- 6 Viking routes 106
- 7 England, Scotland and Ireland, time of the Viking invasions 109
- 8 England in Earldoms: Eve of the Norman Conquest 152
- 9 The Angevin Empire 194
- 10 Cowstead: an imaginary English village under the Manorial system 205
- 11 Ireland towards the close of the Middle Ages 274
- 12 Mediæval Wales 278
- 13 Mediæval Scotland and North England 285
- 14 France: First part of the Hundred Years' War. Height of Edward III's power 298
- 15 France: Second part of the Hundred Years' War. Height of Henry VI's power 306
- 16 England in the Fifteenth Century 340

## GENEALOGICAL TREES

- Claimants for the throne, 1066 155  
William the Conqueror's descendants:  
the Angevin claim 189

## INTRODUCTION

The history of civilized man in our country is very old; it begins long before the reign of Alfred. But the history of Britain as a leader in the world's affairs is of much shorter date; it begins with the reign of Elizabeth. The reason can be read upon the map. Map-makers, whether in ancient Alexandria or in mediæval monasteries, placed our island on the north-west edge of all things. But, after the discovery of America and the ocean routes to Africa and the East, Britain lay in the centre of the new maritime movement. This change in her geographic outlook was employed to good purpose by her inhabitants, who in the era of the Stuarts made her the chief seat of the new trans-oceanic commerce and of the finance and industry that sustained it. Next, with the aid of modern science, the land of Newton applied machinery to manufacture and began the world-wide Industrial Revolution. Meanwhile, Britain was peopling and giving laws to North America; and after she had lost the Thirteen Colonies, she built up a second Empire, more widely scattered and more vast.

These latter centuries of material growth and leadership correspond with the period of greatest intellectual achievement. In spite of Bede, Roger Bacon, Chaucer and Wycliffe, Britain's contribution to mediæval science and literature is slight when compared to the world of her intellectual creation from the time of Shakespeare onward. The era when London awoke to find herself the maritime centre of the suddenly expanded globe, was also the era of the Renaissance and the Reformation—movements of intellectual growth and individual self-assertion which proved more congenial to the British than to many other races, and seemed to emancipate the island genius.

In the sphere of pure politics Britain is famous as the mother of Parliaments. In answer to the instincts and temperament of her people, she evolved in the course of centuries a system which reconciled three things that other nations have often found incompatible—executive efficiency, popular control, and personal freedom.

It is indeed in the Middle Ages that we must seek the origin of Parliament, and of the English Common Law

which the ultimate victory of Parliament over the Royal power has made supreme in all English-speaking lands. The political merit of the Mediæval period lay in its dislike of absolutism in the Temporal sphere, its elaborate distribution of power, its sense of corporate life, and its consultation of the various corporate interests through their representatives. But, although Parliament was a characteristic product of the Middle Ages, the development of its powers in Tudor, Stuart and Hanoverian days, its resistance to the political theories of the Roman law received in contemporary Europe, and its transplantation to America and the Antipodes, are the great events which raised the political history of Britain into a sphere apart from the political life of the continent. For, although France and Spain had a number of mediæval Estates and Parliaments, they failed to adapt them to modern conditions. On the passing of feudalism, the Latin peoples read despotic monarchy as the political message of the new era. Against Machiavelli's princely interpretation of the new nationalism, Britain alone of the great national States successfully held out, turned back the tide of despotism, and elaborated a system by which a debating club of elected persons could successfully govern an Empire in peace and in war. During the commercial and military struggles with foreign rivals which followed between 1689 and 1815, our goods, our ships, and our armies proved that Parliamentary freedom might be more efficient than despotism as a means of giving force to the national will. Nor, in the new era of man's life introduced by the Industrial Revolution, has this verdict yet been reversed.

In the Nineteenth Century the same Parliamentary institutions, while undergoing democratic transformation, were put to the severe test of coping with the new and bewildering conditions of social life created by the Industrial Revolution. At the same time the vast and ever-increasing Empire, of white, brown, and black communities, presented diverse and complicated problems, each one recurring in new guise every few years under the stimulus that modern economic conditions give to social and political change. Parliamentary government for the white races, and the desire to govern justly societies not yet prepared for self-government, have so far preserved this astonishing association of peoples.

Whatever, then, be our chief interest in the past—whether material progress and racial expansion, the growth of political and social institutions, or pure intellect and letters—it is the last four hundred years in British History which stand out. Yet I have not hesitated to devote a third of this work to a survey of the pre-Tudor epochs. The mingling of the armed races poured into Britain from the earliest times until 1066, and the national temper and customs which they developed in the shelter of the island guarded by the Norman and Plantagenet Kings, alone rendered it possible for five millions of people, ruled by Elizabeth, to lay hold on the splendid future offered to themselves and their descendants by the maritime discoveries and intellectual movements of that age. If the hour then came, the men, too, were ready.

Britain has always owed her fortunes to the sea, and to the havens and rivers that from the earliest times opened her inland regions to what the sea might bring. Long before she aspired to rule the waves she was herself their subject, for her destiny was continually being decided by the boat-crews which they floated to her shore. From Iberian and Celtic to Saxon and Danish settlers, from pre-historic and Phœnician traders to Roman and Norman overlords, successive tides of warlike colonists, the most energetic seamen, farmers and merchants of Europe came by the wave-path to inhabit her, or to instil their knowledge and spirit into the older inhabitants. Her east coast lay obvious and open to Teuton and Scandinavian immigrants; her south coast to cultural influences from the Mediterranean by way of France. From Teuton and Scandinavian she acquired the more important part of her population and character and the root of her language; from the South she received the rest of her language, the chief forms of her culture, and much of her organizing power.

The Norman Conquest severed her ties with Scandinavia, which Canute had drawn very close. For several hundred years the Nordic islanders were governed by a French-speaking aristocracy and a Latin-speaking clergy. By a significant paradox it was under this foreign leadership that the English began to develop their intense national feeling and their peculiar institutions, so different



in spirit from those of Italy and France. Already among the fellow-countrymen of Chaucer and Wycliffe, even when engaged in the disastrous adventure of the Hundred Years' War, we see the beginnings of a distinct English nationality, far richer than the old Saxon, composed of many different elements of race, character and culture which the tides of ages had brought to our coasts and the island climate had tempered and mellowed into harmony. At the Reformation the English, grown to manhood, dismissed their Latin tutors, without reacting into close contact with the Scandinavian and Teuton world. Britain had become a world by itself.

It was at this crisis in England's cultural and political growth, when she was weakening her ties with Europe, that the union with Scotland came about, and at the same time the ocean offered the islanders a pathway to every corner of the newly discovered globe. The universality of the Englishman's experience and outlook—quite as marked a characteristic as his insularity—is due to his command of the ocean which has for more than three centuries past carried him as explorer, trader, and colonist to every shore in the two hemispheres.

Thus, in early times, the relation of Britain to the sea was passive and receptive; in modern times, active and acquisitive. In both it is the key to her story.

## BOOK ONE

# The Mingling of the Races. From the Earliest Times to the Norman Conquest

## INTRODUCTION

It is a commonplace to say that the British are a people of mixed blood. I hope, in this First Book, to indicate a little how, when and why this mingling of races occurred.

It may be as well to say, at the outset, that the entrance into our island of the races who people it to-day was completed in main outline at the time of the Norman Conquest. With that event, which itself made less racial than social and cultural change, we come to an end of migratory invasions and of forced entry behind the point of the sword. Since Hastings there has been nothing more catastrophic than a slow, peaceful infiltration of alien craftsmen and labourers,—Flemings, Huguenots, Irish and others,—with the acquiescence of the existing inhabitants of the island.

To invade Britain was singularly easy before the Norman Conquest, singularly difficult afterwards. The reason is clear. A well-organized State, with a united people on land and a naval force at sea, could make itself safe behind the Channel even against such military odds as Philip of Spain, Louis XIV, or Napoleon could assemble on the opposite shore. In recent centuries these conditions have been fulfilled, and although an invading force has sometimes been welcomed, as when Henry Tudor or William of Orange came over, no invasion hostile to the community as a whole has met with even partial success owing to the barrier of the sea. But, before the Norman Conquest, there had been long ages when neither the island State

*Sea power*

nor the island navy was formidable; even in the days of Alfred and Harold they were inadequate to their task, and in earlier times they did not exist. Except when protected by the Roman galleys and legions, ancient Britain was peculiarly liable to invasion for geographic and other reasons.

The story of the Mingling of the Races in Britain, ending with the advent of the Normans, covers a thousand years of history very dimly descried, succeeding to many thousand more of archæological twilight. The era of Celt, Saxon and Dane is like Macbeth's battle on the blasted heath. Prophecy hovers around. Horns are heard blowing in the mist, and a confused uproar of savage tumult and outrage. We catch glimpses of giant figures—mostly warriors at strife. But there are ploughmen, too, it seems, breaking the primeval clod, and we hear the sound of forests crashing to the axe. Around all is the lap of waves and the cry of seamen beaching their ships.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Early Man. Iberian and Celt

It is not my purpose to describe pre-insular Britain and the great geologic changes, the volcanoes, the rise and fall of mountains, the tropical swamps in which the coal forests grew, or the industrious building of the chalk downs under the sea. Nor shall I attempt to distinguish the various races of primitive hunters, from 'Piltown man' onwards, who may have wandered over the land during the inter-glacial periods. It was probably at the great spring-time of Northern Europe, after the glacial epoch, that the soil of the future Britain was first trodden by 'Homo Sapiens,' unequivocal man. These early immigrants came over by the land-bridge from Europe as they followed northwards the last retreat of the ice; with them, or just before them, came the commonest of the wild animals, birds, flowers and trees. These hunters of the mammoth,

the horse and the reindeer, have probably mixed their blood with some of the later races who are certainly among our ancestors. At the time of their coming overland, the chalk downs of Dover and Calais were still united in a continuous range; the majestic Thames flowed into the lower Rhine; and the Rhine itself meandered towards the Arctic Ocean through the marshy plain now submerged beneath the waves of the North Sea, where the bones of mammoth and reindeer are dredged off the Dogger Bank.

Since the flora and fauna which we call native to Britain came northward at this period to replenish a land swept bare by the snow cap of the last ice age, they are, therefore, closely identified with the flora and fauna of Northern Europe—except for the red grouse peculiar to the British Isles. Ireland was ~~out adrift from England before the piercing of the Dover Straits by the sea, and is, for that reason, poorer in mammals, plants and reptiles.~~ *gullies*

For many centuries after Britain became an island the untamed forest was king. Its moist and mossy floor was hidden from heaven's eye by a close-drawn curtain woven of innumerable tree-tops, which shivered in the breezes of summer dawn and broke into wild music of millions upon millions of wakening birds; the concert was prolonged from bough to bough with scarcely a break for hundreds of miles over hill and plain and mountain, unheard by man save where, at rarest intervals, a troop of skin-clad hunters, stone-axe in hand, moved furtively over the ground beneath, ignorant that they lived upon an island, not dreaming that there could be other parts of the world besides this damp green woodland with its meres and marshes, wherein they hunted, a terror to its four-footed inhabitants and themselves afraid.

A glance at any physical map will show how Britain has always thrust out towards the continent of Europe a low coast with an undulating plain behind, easy of access through many havens and navigable rivers. It was only



westward and northward, against the Atlantic, that the island presented a mountainous and iron-bound coast—though even there the mouths of Severn, Dee, Mersey, Clyde and other lesser inlets held the makings of future history. But, from the earliest ages the flat south and east coastlines with the plains and low ridges behind them presented, so long as they were unguarded by a fleet, a standing temptation to the migratory tribes, pirates, plunderers and traders roaming along the continental shores.

*climate*  
The temptation to invade the island lay not only in the pearls, the gold and the tin for which it seems to have been noted among certain Mediterranean merchants long before the foundation of Rome; temptation lay also in its fertile soil, the rich carpet of perennial green that covered the downs and every clearing in the forest, the absence of long interludes of frost that must have seemed miraculous in a land so far to the North before men knew the secret of the Gulf Stream.<sup>1</sup>

[SEE MAP 1.] The forest of Britain swarmed with big and small game, and early man was a hunter. Whole districts, long since drained, were then shallow meres filled with fowl and fish; the greatest of these fen lands stretched from future Cambridge to future Lincoln; countless generations of early fowlers and fishermen dropped their tools and weapons of chipped flint in its waters, or on the sandy heaths round its margin, for the better instruction of archæologists. In the age of the shepherd the open chalk downs of the South were his wealth and his delight, while the more daring swineherd followed the hunter into the dark forest below.

<sup>1</sup> Both Cæsar and Tacitus remark on the absence of severe cold in Britain, though Tacitus adds: 'the sky is overcast with continual rain and cloud.' The rapid changes of weather and temperature in Britain, a source of bitter merriment to its inhabitants in every age, stimulate the physical and mental energies, and 'make us Englishmen.' It is, in fact, one of the higher values of the land, but it can hardly have been one of the temptations to would-be invaders!