South Valley University
Faculty of Education in Hurghada
English Department

Civilization and Language History (2)

History of Great Britain

As land and climate affect social and economic life, population and even politics in every country,[110] so "[t]he earliest history of Britain is marked by its physical separation from the European continent."[111] The history of the island and its cultural and political division have been influenced by various external invasions. "Great Britain has been divided into three political and cultural units: England in the south; Wales, a peninsula to the west of England; and Scotland in the north."[112] As for the brief history of origin of these country-names and their union, the "term England comes from the Germanic tribes known as Anglo- Saxons and does not apply to the southern area of Great Britain before the first Anglo-Saxon invasions in the fifth century. Even then the Anglo-Saxons, or 'English,' were not politically united, and the Kingdom of England was not formed until the 10th century."[113]

"Wales is a term applied by the English, meaning 'strangers' or 'foreigners.' Unlike England and Scotland, Wales never became a united kingdom. Its poverty and mountainous terrain made it impossible to establish a centralized government ... England conquered the country in the late 13th century, adopting the title Prince of Wales for the English king or queen's eldest son and heir. Wales was legally united with England, forming the Kingdom of England and Wales, in the 16th century, though the kingdom was usually referred to simply as 'England,' emphasizing Wales's subject position."[114]

"Scotland remained a separate state through the Middle Ages and into the dawn of the 18th century…The conjunction of good harbors and fertile lowland with relative ease of transportation has made England (and Ireland) much more vulnerable to invasion by sea than Wales and Scotland, which were usually invaded from England.[115]

110 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Britain*, 3.
111 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* 1.
112 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* xviii.
113 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* xviii.
114 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* xx.
115 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* xx.

3.1. Early settlements, Celts, and Romans (Prehistory to ca. 450 BC)

The first evidence of human life, that is a few stone tools, dating dates back to the Ice Age, about 250,000 BC. Around 10,000 BC, as the Ice Age was nearing to an end, Britain was inhabited by small groups of hunters, fishers and gatherers. Afterwards, about 3000 BC Neolithic (or New Stone Age) people, who crossed the sea from Europe, settled down, kept animals, grew corn crops and made pottery.[116]

The most significant physical remnants of these Britons are the great stone or megalithic circles ("henges") laid out across South and East Britain. More than 900 Stone Age circles are known in the British Isles, but the most famous ones are firstly, the 2.8 km long and 128 m wide Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain, which dates to about 3000 BC and was built in separate stages over a period of more than a thousand years; secondly, Avebury, which was built around the same time or a little earlier about 32 kilometres to the north. These *henges* were centres of religious, political and economic power. However, the exact purpose of Stonehenge is unknown.[117] Its alignment to the midsummer sunrise and midwinter sunset has led many to suggest a religious or astro-calendrical function."[118] Other theory is that the stone circle was used to store terrestrial energy, which was then generated across the country, possibly through 'ley lines.' 'Ley lines' is the name given to straight alignments drawn between historic structures and landmarks. They were thought to be tracks by which prehistoric man travelled about the country, but now many people believe that they are mysterious channels for a special kind of power. Ley lines are international: in Ireland, they are known as 'fairy roads,' in Australia, the Aborigines make ceremonial journeys for hundreds of miles along these secret tracks.

"Contrary to popular belief, there was no original connection between Stonehenge and the Druids, who came along much later."[119] This suggestion might have occurred because the greatest festivals of Druidism (the Iron Age British religion) likewise took place at the midsummer sunrise and midwinter sunset.[120] People built

116 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Britain*, 3-4.
117 Dyer, James. *Ancient Britain.* Routledge, 1990, 50. Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain*, 2,
118 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Britain*, 5.
119 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain*, 3.
120 Dargie, Richard. *A History of Britain. The Key Events that Have Shaped Britain from Neolithic Times to the 21st century*, Arcturus, 2007, 41.

copies of the great Stonehenge in Orkney and Cornwall.[121]

The society continued to be centred on a number of henges across the countryside until the 1300 BC, but then a new form of society appeared in southern England: a farming society developed in order to feed the people at the henges.[122]

Celtic invasion

"In the Iron Age, Britain came to be dominated by a group of people known in modern times as the Celts, who are a difficult group to define. The term *Celt* was originally associated with peoples on the European continent, but there is little evidence of a common Celtic identity straddling the English Channel."[123]

Figure 13 - Iron Age Celtic Tribes of Britain

Around 700 BC, the Celts arrived probably from central Europe or southern Russia with peace or with the intention of invasion. They were able to work with iron and had relatively more advanced ploughing methods. It is possible that they drove many of the older inhabitants westwards into Wales, Scotland and Ireland. The Celts began to control the lowland areas of Britain. They continued to arrive in one wave after another over the next seven hundred years. The Celts are the ancestors of many of the people in Highland Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and Cornwall today.[124]

As for their economic influence and legacy, the present-day capitals of England and Scotland stand on or near the two ancient trade centres where the Celts traded. Much trade, both inside and beyond Britain, was conducted by river and

121 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Britain*, 5.
122 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Britain*, 6.
123 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* 4.
124 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Britain*, 6–7; source of the map: Dyer, J. *Ancient Britain,* 167.

sea. They exported corn and animals, hunting dogs and slaves. As for their society, the Celtic tribes were led by the chieftain or king. There was an equality between the sexes among the richer Celts, so women could become rulers as well, as in the case of Boudica of the Iceni and Cartimandua of the Brigantes. The powerful nobles were bound to the king as military leaders. To a similar class belonged the priests (druids), who memorised all the religious teachings, the tribal laws, history, medicine and other knowledge, and the bards, who were singers and poets who learnt by heart the history and folklore of the tribe and transmitted it orally at times of celebration. Amongst the commoners were the highly skilled craftsmen such as the potters, carpenters, and metalsmiths who were held in the greatest regards.[125]

As far as Druidism, is concerned, it is "fragmentary due to the lack of written sources. The British were polytheists, worshipping a variety of local goddesses… They venerated animals associated with the gods, particularly horses and pigs, and plants, particularly oak and mistletoe. They sacrificed animals, and sometimes humans, to their gods and goddesses."[126]

Roman invasion

JULIUS CAESAR ON BRITAIN

In his Commentaries on the Gallic War, the Roman politician and general Julius Caesar was the first writer to give a full description of Britain and the British, although his perspective is that of a would-be conqueror rather than a historian:

The interior portion of Britain is inhabited by those of whom they say that it is handed down by tradition that they were born in the island itself; the maritime portion by those who had passed over from the country of the Belgae for the purpose of plunder and making war; almost all of whom are called by the names of those states from which being sprung they went thither, and having waged war, continued there and began to cultivate the lands. The number of the people is countless, and their buildings exceedingly numerous, for the most part very like those of the Gauls: the number of cattle is great. They use either brass or iron rings, determined at a certain weight, as their money. Tin is produced in the midland regions; in the maritime, iron; but the quantity of it is small: they employ brass, which is imported. There, as in Gaul, is timber of every description, except beech and fir. They do not regard it lawful to eat the hare, and the cock, and the goose; they, however, breed them for amusement and pleasure. The climate is more temperate than in Gaul, the cold being less severe.

Source: Julius Caesar, Caesar's Commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars. Translated by W.A. McDevitte and W. S. Bohn (New York: Harper and Row, 1870), 111–112.

Figure 14 - Julius Caesar about Britain

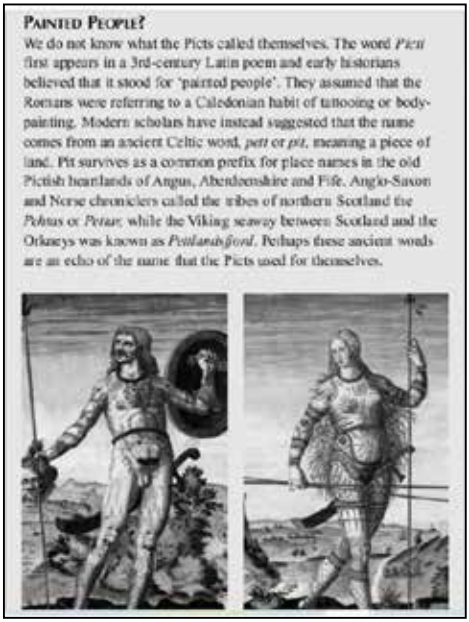
The Romans invaded Celtic Britain for two reasons. On the one hand, because "the Celts of Britain were working with the Celts of Gaul against them" by ensuring the latter with food and shelter, and, on the other hand, due to the "richer, heavier land" of Britain.[127] It was Julius Caesar who first came to Britain in 55 BC, but only later in AD 43 could Claudius formally annex Britain to his Empire.[128] "The brutality of Roman rule led to the largest revolt in the history of Britannia shortly after

125 Dyer, J. *Ancient Britain*, 165.
126 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* 6.
127 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Britain*, 8.
128 Shotter, David. *Roman Britain*. Routledge, 2004, 6, 15.

the initial conquest,"[129] namely to Boudica's Revolt (AD 60–61): the British Celtic Iceni tribe occupied the land of modern East Anglia. Although, 70 000 inhabitants died at the hands of the Iceni, finally, they were trapped and killed. Boudicca, the leader, was fogged, and her daughters were violated. Sources differ regarding her death: she either poisoned herself or died of illness. Consequently, East Anglia was pacified, and southern Britain got under Roman control.[130]

Roman Britannia (c. 150 AD)
Iceni Brythonic tribe
Roman city
stationed legion
Roads
Stane street
Dere street
Ermine street
Akeman street
Portway
Fosse Way
Watling street
other roads
Antonine Wall
Hadrian's Wall
Mare Hibernicum
Mare Germanicum
Mare Britannicum
Brigantes
Cornovii
Silures
Dumnonii
Durotrigi
Cantii
Trinovantes
Iceni
Coritani
Parisii
Deceangli
Ordovices
Votadini
Selgovae
Novantae
Caledonii
Venicones
Carlisle
Corbridge
Ribchester
Manchester
Chester
Leicester
Lincoln
York
Dunbrittonis
Dunbar
Dunfermline
Carmelodunum
Colchester
Camulodunum
Colchester
Verulamium
St Albans
Cirencester
Corinium
Gloucester
Caerwent
Venta
Winchester
Calleva
Silchester
Dorchester
Dumnonia
Exeter
Isca Dumnoniorum
Exeter
Servodunum
Dinas Powys
Caerleon
Isca
Caerwent
Venta
Caerwent
Caerleon
Carmarthen
Maridunum
Carmarthen
Isca
Caerleon
Bath
Aquae Sulis
Bath
Cirencester
Corinium
Gloucester
Leicester
Lindum
Lincoln
Chester
Deva
Chester
Manchester
Mamucium
Manchester
Ribchester
Bremetennacum
Ribchester
Carlisle
Luguvalium
Carlisle
Corbridge
Corbridge
Arbeia
Hadrian's Wall
Antonine Wall
Caledonia
Venicones
Selgovae
Novantae
Dunbrittonis
Dunbar
Dunfermline
Dunbar
Dunfermline
Dunbar
Dunfermline

The Romanization of Britain (AD 43–409)



Painted People?

We do not know what the Picts called themselves. The word *Pict* first appears in a 3rd-century Latin poem and early historians believed that it stood for 'painted people'. They assumed that the Romans were referring to a Caledonian habit of tattooing or body-painting. Modern scholars have instead suggested that the name comes from an ancient Celtic word, *pett* or *pit*, meaning a piece of land. Pit survives as a common prefix for place names in the old Pictish heartlands of Angus, Aberdeenshire and Fife. Anglo-Saxon and Norse chroniclers called the tribes of northern Scotland the *Pehtas* or *Petar*, while the Viking seaway between Scotland and the Orkneys was known as *Pettlandsfjord*. Perhaps these ancient words are an echo of the name that the Picts used for themselves.

Figure 16 - Picts

The Romans have influenced Britain economically, politically and culturally. Firstly, they "brought the skills of reading and writing to Britain…While the Celtic peasantry remained illiterate and only Celtic speaking, a number of town dwellers spoke Latin and Greek, and the richer landowners in the country almost certainly used Latin... Latin disappeared when the Anglo-Saxons invaded Britain in the fifth century AD."[134] Some English words with Latin origin are: genius, incredible, legal, prosecute, solar.[135]

Secondly, the Romans introduced much of the infrastructure of civilization. For example, the first British cities were Roman foundations – London (*Londinium*) was made the capital of Britannia.[136] "Many of these towns were at first army camps, and the Latin word for camp, castra, has remained part of many town names to this day (with the ending *chester*, *caster* or *cesrer*): Gloucester, Leicester, Doncaster, Winchester, Chester, Lancaster and many others besides."[137]

Thirdly, in the countryside, the biggest change during the Romanization was the growth of large cottage farms, called *villas*, which belonged to the richer Britons who were, like the townspeople, more Roman than Celt in their manner or by soldiers discharged from the Roman army.[138]

Finally, the Romans influenced fashion and popular culture with introducing

134 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Britain*, 8.
135 Kurtán, Zsuzsa. *Linguistics and the English Language*. Pannon Egyetemi Kiadó, 2007, 114.
136 Hingley, Richard. *Londinium. A Biography*. *Roman London from its Origins to the Fifth Century*. Bloomsbury, 2018, 9.
137 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Britain,* 9.
138 Shotter, D. *Roman Britain*, 76, 102.

chariot-racing, bathing as a social activity; toga, the Roman cloak, also came into fashion.[139]

Roman control of Britain came to an end as the empire began to collapse and experienced attacks from various directions: from the Picts in AD 367 and Germanic groups, such as Angles, Saxons and Franks.

3.2. Anglo-Saxons, Scots and Vikings (ca. 450–ca. 850)

"We owe our knowledge of this period mainly to an English monk named Beda, who lived three hundred years later. His story of events in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* has been proved generally correct by archaeological evidence."[140]

The Germanic tribes, the Saxons, Angles and Jutes, occupied Britain because if its wealth and mild climate. More specifically, the *Jutes* settled in Kent and along the south coast. The *Angles* settled in the east, and in the north Midlands, while the *Saxons* settled between the Jutes and the Angles in a band of land from the Thames Estuary westwards. The Anglo-Saxon migrations gave the larger part of Britain its new name, England, "the land of the Angles." Thus, the British Celts were driven into the mountains in the far west, which the Saxons called "Weallas", or "Wales", meaning "the land of the foreigners" whereas the Welsh called themselves cymry, "fellow countrymen". In the north, other Celts were driven into the lowlands of the country which became known as Scotland. The strength of Anglo-Saxon culture is obvious even today. The ending –ing meant *folk* or *family*, thus "Reading" is the place of the family of Rada, "Hastings" of the family of Hasta. *Ham* means farm, *ton* means settlement – hence the place names: Birmingham, Nottingham or Southampton. [141]

In the sixth and seventh century, the Anglo-Saxons established a number of kingdoms, some of which still exist in county or regional names to this day: Kent, Essex (East Saxons), Sussex (South Saxons), Wessex (West Saxons), East Anglia (East Angles), Mercia, Northumbria. Wales and Scotland were also divided. By the

139 Dargie, R. *A History of Britain*, 33; McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Britain,* 8.
140 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Britain*, 11.
141 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Britain*, 11–12.

middle of the seventh century, Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex were the most powerful. It was not until a century later that one of these kings, *King Offa of Mercia* (757–96), made himself King of the English (*Rex Anglorum*) and claimed "kingship of the English" which resulted in the unity of these kingdoms.[142]

Administration: The Saxons created institutions which made the English state strong for the next 500 years. One of these institutions was the *King's Council* (*Witan*) consisting of senior warriors and churchmen, whose responsibility were to choose kings and to agree the use of the king's laws. Even today, the king or queen has a Privy Council, a group of advisers on the affairs of state. By the end of the tenth century, the Saxons divided the land into new administrative areas, based on *shires* (Saxon word) or *counties* (Norman word). Over each shire was appointed, the king's local administrator the *sheriff* (shire reeve).

Agriculture, trade: the following Anglo-Saxon pattern was the basis of English agriculture for a thousand years until the eighteenth century: one of the fields was used for planting spring crops, and another for autumn crops. The third area was left to rest for a year and with the other areas after harvest was used as common land for animals to feed on. Anglo-Saxon England became well known in Europe for its exports of woolen goods, cheese, hunting dogs, pottery and metal goods. It imported wine, fish, pepper, jewelry and wheel-made pottery.[143]

A Short History of the Spread of Christianity on the British Isles

Christianity appeared on the Isles in the second century and spread among the Celts and the Romans. In the end of the fourth century, pagan Celts attacked the Romanised areas, which pushed back the practice of Christianity for a while. When, in the fifth century, the Romans left and the Anglo-Saxons arrived, the Christian Celts began to fight the pagan barbarians, which is partly commemorated in the Arthurian tradition.[144]

From 597, Benedictine monks shared the Word, and in 664 in the Synod of Whitby the English Church accepted the leading role of Rome as well as Latin as the language of liturgy. It is in the sixth century when St Patrick, the present patron saint of Ireland, and St Columba placed an important role in spreading Christi-

142 Herber, Attila, et al. *Történelem 2*, Reáltanoda Alapítvány, 2005, 316. Source of the map of Germanic tribes (figure 18): Dargie, R. A History of Britain, 48.

143 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Britain,* 12–13.

144 Herber A. *Történelem 2*, 314; source of King Arthur: Burnes, W.E. *Brief History Great Britain,* 32.

anity on the Isles. Thus, by 680 the whole Britain converted to Christianity. The English Church established *monasteries*, or *minsters* (e.g., Westminster) which were places of learning and education.[145] This process gave power into the hands of those who could read and write, and in this way class divisions were increased. The power of landlords, who had been given land by the king, increased because their names were written down. Peasants, who could neither read nor write, could lose their traditional rights to their land because their rights were not registered. The Anglo-Saxon kings also preferred the Roman Church to the Celtic Church for economic reasons. Villages and towns grew around the monasteries and increased local trade. Many bishops and monks in England were from the Frankish lands (present France and Germany) and elsewhere. In the eighth century, the mission flourished again with St Boniface and, as mentioned before, Beda Venerabilis who recorded the history of the Church in Latin and thus laid the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon historiography.[146]

The Christian conversion and pilgrimages contributed to the opening of England – which was until then a rather isolated culture – to a variety of foreign influences. During this period, called the **Northumbrian Renaissance**, the region cultivated a prominent Christian art, incorporating influences

KING ARTHUR?

One of the most mysterious figures in British history is the legendary king named Arthur. Most historians agree that if there actually was a King Arthur, he was a leader of the British resistance to the Anglo-Saxons, which is how he appears in the earliest legends. The legend of Arthur may be based on someone for whom we have a little more evidence—an Ambrosius Aurelianus who was a successful leader against the Saxons in the fifth century and a man of Roman descent—but it is not even certain that Ambrosius existed. The earliest mention of Arthur is in passing in a Welsh poem, "Y Goddodin," supposedly dating from around 600, but the earliest surviving manuscript version is in a collection, the *Book of Aneirin*, dating from the 13th century, when the legend of Arthur was already firmly established. Merlin, the wizard, is also a legendary figure from the post-Roman period, although the stories associating the two come from later periods. Another legendary figure, Old King Cole, that "merry old soul" of the nursery rhyme, also seems to have been a post-Roman British king.

Figure 17 - About King Arthur

Figure 18 - Germanic tribes of Britain

145 Herber. *Történelem*, 315.
146 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Britain,* 13-14.

from Anglo-Saxon and Celtic art as well as from foreign countries such as the Byzantine Empire. The greatest classic of Anglo-Saxon literature is the epic poem *Beowulf,* which was probably composed in Northumbria in the first half of the eighth century. It sets its story of a heroic monster killing among the Germanic Danes. Finally, the Anglo-Saxons dominance also marked "the beginning of the establishment of a unique culture in England and lowland Scotland differentiating itself from the speakers of Celtic languages in other parts of the British archipelago"[147]

As for Wales, thanks to the bonds of language, localized Christian traditions (that owed more to Celtic tradition than Roman administrative pattern), and a feeling of separateness from their neighbours, the Welsh developed a sense of unique identity. Welsh began to replace Latin as the language of business and law.

As far as the northern inhabitants of the island are concerned, the Scots, Picts, Angles, Britons all wanted the lands that would become Scotland. By the mid-eight century, the Picts ruled most of Scotland, but in **843** a union of the Picts and Scots was proclaimed under *Kenneth MacAlpin* and the kingdom Alba/Scotia was born, where the dominant language became Gaelic.

Viking Invasion

"The term Viking denotes a profession or activity rather than an ethnic group; it essentially means "sea raider." The Scandinavians initially came in search of loot and slaves, both for personal exploitation and for sale in the active Mediterranean slave markets. The Scandinavians were divided into three main groups: Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians. Danes and Norwegians were the most prominent in Britain. Danes led the invasion of England, while Norwegians led the invasions of Ireland and Scotland"[148]

They burnt churches and monasteries, e.g., Lindisfarne in 793 and Iona in 802, 806 – the remaining monks fled to Kells, Ireland with a gospel-book ('Book of Kells').[149] From cc. 860 onwards, the Vikings stayed, settled and prospered in Britain and even gradually converted to Christianity. Their legacy is found in the language. For example, the days of the week were named after Norse gods: Tig/Tiw

147 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* 27, 31, 36, 37.
148 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* 41.
149 James, Edward. "Overview: The Vikings, 800 to 1066," http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ancient/vikings/overview_vikings_01.shtml

(Tuesday), Woden/Odin in (Wednesday), Thor (Thursday), Frei (Friday). Many other words have also become part of English, for example egg, steak, law, die, bread, down, fog, muck, lump and scrawny.[150]

In 866, the Vikings captured modern York and made it their capital. They continued to press south and west. The kings of Mercia and Wessex resisted as best they could, but with little success until the time of *Alfred* of Wessex, the only king of England to be called 'the *Great'*. The same year Alfred took London from the Vikings and fortified it. The same year they signed a treaty, which divided England between Vikings and English. The Viking territory became known as the *Danelaw,* the areas where the law of the Danes ruled. It comprised the north-west, the north-east and east of England. Here, people would be subject to Danish laws. Alfred became king of the rest, and built walled settlements to secure his territory. "These were called *burghs*. They became prosperous market towns, and the word, now usually spelt *borough* is one of the commonest endings to place names, as well as the name of the unit of municipal

Figure 19 - Viking invasions

Figure 20 - British Isles at the time of the Danish conquest

150 "The Vikings in Britain: a brief history" https://www.history.org.uk/primary/resource/3867/the-vikings-in-britain-a-brief-history

or administration today." Five boroughs of Danelaw were the most important towns existing under Danish law and customs, located in the territory of Danish Mercia: Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Stamford and Lincoln, which by the ninth century were under the control of the Vikings.[151]

By 950 England seemed to be rich and peaceful again after the troubles of the Viking invasion. But soon afterwards the Danish Vikings started raiding westwards. As a consequence, finally, the English king fled to Normandy from the Viking attacks. England had four Viking kings between 1013 and 1042. For example, the Danish *King Cnut* became the English king and the king of Denmark and Norway, who anyway recognised Anglo-Saxon law and customs, and later, in 1040, the Norman *Edward the Confessor* was crowned. As he was interested in the Church, by the time Edward died there was a church in almost every village. The pattern of the English village, with its manor house and church, dates back to this time.[152] Finally, in 1066, William of Normandy had landed in Kent with another invading army. The English army fought the Normans[153] at the **Battle of Hastings** on 14th October, **1066**. The Normans had won, King Harold died, and William was crowned the new king of England.[154]

The Norman Invasion[155]

William I the Conqueror, and the Normanization (1066–1087)

As the rest of the Anglo-Saxon society had been decapitated or killed in the battle, William the Conqueror, "brought a new aristocracy to England from Normandy and some other areas of France. He also strengthened aristocratic lordship and moved towards reform of the church."[156] Also, whereas Latin and Norman

151 Brain, Jessica. "The Five Boroughs Of Danelaw" https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofEngland/The-Five-Boroughs-Of-Danelaw/ It is also the source of the map.

152 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain*, 15–17; https://www.history.org.uk/primary/resource/3867/the-vikings-in-britain-a-brief-history

153 The Normans (from Nortmanni: "Northmen") were originally pagan barbarian pirates from Denmark, Norway, and Iceland. They settled in northern France (or the Frankish kingdom). The Normans founded the duchy of Normandy and sent out expeditions of conquest and colonization to southern Italy and Sicily and to England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Norman". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 4 Sep. 2015, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Norman-people. Accessed 7 July 2021.

154 https://www.history.org.uk/primary/resource/3867/the-vikings-in-britain-a-brief-history

155 On the succeeding pages, only the most significant kings and historical events will be introduced in chronological order.

156 https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/normans/overview_normans_01.shtml

French became the languages of government and the Church, the ordinary people spoke (but no more wrote in) English (the old Anglo-Saxon language). As for the literature and culture, the growth of literacy in England was closely connected with the twelfth-century Renaissance, a cultural movement which had first started in Italy. Schools of learning were established such as Oxford and Cambridge University. Furthermore, there was no real capital of the kingdom; the kings were crowned in Westminster, but their treasury stayed in the old Wessex capital, Winchester.[157]

Within his policy of Normanization, William I gave the lands of the disloyal Saxons to his Norman nobles. At the same time, he kept enough land for himself to make sure he was much stronger than his nobles. His army included Norman and other French land seekers. William organised his English kingdom according to the feudal system which had already begun to develop in England before his arrival. The word **feudalism** comes from the French word *feu*, which the Normans used to refer to land held in return for duty or service to a lord. The central idea was that all land was owned by the king but it was held by others called "vassals," in return for services and goods. In effect, the king gave large estates to his main nobles in return for a promise to serve him in war for up to forty days. The greater nobles gave part of their lands to lesser nobles, knights and other "freemen". The noble kept "serfs" to work on his own land. At each level, a man had to promise loyalty and service to his lord in exchange for land and protection (this was called *homage*).[158] This "feudal system rested on a new military technology of castles and mounted knights. The Normans put up hundreds of castles all over England, and these became the new nobility's military strongholds."[159] When the king wanted to know about the worth of his lands and the name of the owners, the **Domesday Book** (or Winchester Roll/King's Roll) was written in **1086.** The "earliest surviving public record" is a "highly detailed survey and valuation of land holding and resources in late 11th century England."[160] "The title is a metaphor for the day of judgement, because its decisions, like those of the last judgement, were unalterable. For many centuries Domesday was regarded as the authoritative register of ancient landholding and was used mainly for that purpose."[161]

157 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain,* 41, 34.
158 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain,* 24.
159 Dargie, R. *A History of Britain*, 57-58.
160 https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/domesday/discover-domesday/
161 https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/domesday/discover-domesday/

Henry I (1100–1135)

Henry I 'Beauclerc' (well-learned), William I's son, was the first Norman king to be born in England. Henry wanted to earn the nobility's support, so he signed the Coronation Charter of Liberty (a 'forerunner' of the Magna Charta), which limited his rights.[162] He also "centralised the administration of England and Normandy."[163]

Henry II (1154–1189)

He acquired Normandy and French lands (Touraine, Gascony, Maine, Poitou).[164] Henry II's empire stretched from the Scottish border to the Pyrenees. His name is closely related to the Becket affair. **Thomas Becket** was his friend and the Archbishop of Canterbury. "Henry wanted to transfer jurisdiction over criminal clergy to secular courts, as church courts were often reluctant to convict guilty clergymen. Becket refused, and the long struggle involving the pope and the king of France ended with Becket's murder in Canterbury Cathedral in 1170. The murderers were knights carrying out what they thought was the king's will, although Henry never gave a formal order. Becket was widely recognized as a saint and martyr across Europe, and Henry did penance for his part in the murder in 1174, being publicly flogged by monks at Canterbury."[165]

Richard I the Lionheart (1189–1199)

Henry II's son "has always been one of England's most popular kings, although he spent hardly any time in England."[166] "He spent the first half of his reign on crusade and the second half struggling to regain lands appropriated by the French king in his absence" – he lost Normandy and Anjou.[167]

John I (1199–1216)

Richard's brother, while losing Normandy, taxed all at a higher level than ever before. As a result, he was forced to sign a new agreement: **Magna Carta Libertatum/Great Charter of Freedoms** in **1215**. It was a symbol of political freedom

162 Dargie, R. *A History of Britain*, 70.
163 https://www.royal.uk/henry-i
164 Source of the map: McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain*, 26.
165 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain*, 61.
166 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain*, 27.
167 Dargie, R. *A History of Britain*, 72.

because by signing the charter the king promised all "freemen" protection from his officers, and the right to a fair and legal trial;[168] the king was also forced to pay soldiers to fight for him ("paid fighters"/*solidarius*, a Latin word from which the word 'soldier"' comes).[169]

Edward I (1272–1307)

Although Edward I's main aim was to resolve the problem of Scottish and Welsh independence, the Scottish William Wallace defeated the English at Bannockburn in 1314. Edward I brought together the first real parliament (*parliament*, or *parlement* is a French word meaning a "discussion meeting"). Edward I was the first to establish a "representative institution" which could provide the money he needed. This institution later became the House of Commons. It contained a mixture of gentry (knights and other wealthy freemen from the shires) and merchants from the towns. Meanwhile, in Wales a new class grew up, a mixture of the Norman and Welsh rulers, who spoke Norman French and Welsh but not English. They all became vassals of the English king. In **1284** Edward united west Wales with England. From that time the eldest son of the ruling king or queen has usually been made **Prince of Wales**.[170]

Figure 21 - Robin Hood

The legend of Robin Hood grew out of Saxon hatred for Norman rule. According to the tradition, Robin Hood lived in Sherwood Forest near Nottingham as a criminal or „outlaw", outside feudal society and the protection of the law. He stole from the rich and gave to the poor, and he stood up for the weak against the powerful. His weapon was the longbow, the weapon of the common man.[171] "In fact, most of the story is legend. The only thing we know is that a man called Robert or 'Robin' Hood was a wanted criminal in Yorkshire in 1230."[172]

168 Chater, Andrew. "Magna Carta." Timelines.tv https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mDZBNwpYmfQ

169 "Magna Carta and the decline of feudalism," 1 October 2015, https://www.worldhistory.biz/sundries/42489-magna-carta-and-the-decline-of-feudalism.html

170 Katus, László. *A középkor története*. Pannonica–Rubicon, 2001, 270-271; McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain*, 30–33.

171 https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/history-magazine/article/origins-of-england-folklore-robin-hood – also the source of the picture

172 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain*, 37.

3.3. Great Britain in the Late Middle Ages (1272–1529)

Edward III (1327-1377)

During the time of his reign, Parliament had finally become organised in two parts: the Lords (upper class), and the Commons (middle class). The working class had no voice of their own in Parliament until the middle of the nineteenth century.[173] Edward III and his son, Edward, the Black Prince, who did not become a king due to his early death, were greatly admired in England for their courage on the battlefield and for their courtly manners (although the latter at the same time was feared in France for his cruelty). They became symbols of the "code of chivalry", the way in which a perfect knight should behave. According to the code of chivalry, the perfect knight fought for his good name if insulted, served God and the king, and defended any lady in need. His order of chivalry, the Order of the Garter was founded in 1348. Chivalry was also useful way of persuading men to fight by creating the idea that war was a noble and glorious thing.[2]

Hundred Years' War (1337-1453)

Opposed to its name, the war lasted for 116 years – not with continuous fighting but also with long periods of peace included. The causes of the war were:

→ the French king's growing authority in France

→ The seizure of English-held Gascony (Aquitaine, south-west France) by France.

→ Burgundy, England's major trading partner, refused to recognise the French king's overlordship.

→ Edward III claimed the right to the French crown

Several English (Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI) and French (Philip VI, John II, Charles V, Charles VI, Charles VII) kings fought one after another in the war. At first, the English won great victories at the battles of Crécy (1346), Poitiers (1356) and Agincourt (1415), but with help of such figures as **Joan of Arc**,[174] the French won crucial battles at Formigny (1450) and Castillon

173 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain,* 61.

174 Joan of Arc (Jeanne D'Arc) was a medieval peasant who, claiming to receive visions from God, turned the tide of the Hundred Years' War in favor of a French victory. She was captured and the Church in Rouen burnt her as a witch in 1431. Later she was canonized and has been a saint since 1920. Mark, Joshua J. "Joan of Arc." https://www.worldhistory.org/Joan_of_Arc/

(1453), which brought final victory. The English lost all of his possessions in France except Calais, a northern French port. [175]

Scotland in the 100 Years' War: Since it supported France during war, the English repeatedly invaded the Scottish Lowlands and Edward IV's army occupied Edinburgh in 1482. The connection with France helped develop education in Scotland: universities were established at St Andrews in 1412, in Glasgow in 1451 and at Aberdeen in 1495.[176]

The Black Death (1348–1351)

"Swedish and Danish chronicles of the 16th century described the events as 'black' for the first time, likely to refer to black as glum or dreadful denoting the terror of the events." The Bubonic Plague spread from Gascony by trade; more specifically, with the rats from the ship. Best estimates now are that at least 25 million people died in Europe from 1347 to 1352. This was almost 40% of the population (some estimates indicate 60%).[177] As for Britain, it first reached England in June 1348. On average, between 30-45% of the general populace died in the Black Death. But in some villages, 80% or 90% of the population died. A death-rate of 30% was higher than the total British losses in WWI.[178]

'The Rootless Phantom'

The Welsh poet Jeuan Gethin, who himself died suddenly in 1349, left a chilling record of the fear that swept across Britain in the year of the plague:

'We see death coming into our midst like black smoke, a plague which cuts off the young, a rootless phantom which has no mercy for fair countenance. Woe is me of the shilling in the armpit...the burden carried under the arms...a white lump...a small boil that spares no one... a burning cinder...an ugly eruption that comes with unseemly haste.'

Figure 22 - Black Death

Lolardism

Lolardism (Latin, means "to say prayers") was a Proto-Protestant Christian religious movement from the mid-14th to the 16th century led by ***John Wycliffe***, an

175 Cartwright, Mark. "Hundred Years' War," 17 March 2020, https://www.worldhistory.org/Hundred_Years'_War/

176 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain*, 56.

177 http://hosted.lib.uiowa.edu/histmed/plague/index.html

178 Ibeji, Mike. "Black Death."3 October 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/middle_ages/black_01.shtml

Oxford professor. By the spread of writing and reading, the private religious experience and the increase of knowledge encouraged people to challenge the Church's authority. In this sense, Wycliffe believed that everyone should be able to read the Bible in English, and to be guided by it in order to save his soul. So, he translated the Bible from Latin, which is why Wycliffe was banished from Oxford. If the Lollards had been supported by the king, the English Church might have become independent from the papacy in the early fifteenth century, but **Henry IV (1399–1413)** was deeply loyal to the Church.[179]

The Wars of the Roses (1455–1485)

In the nineteenth century, the novelist Walter Scott refers to these wars as the "Wars of the Roses" in his historical novel *Anne of Geierstein* as the House of Lancaster was represented by red rose and the House of York, by a white.[180] Both were descendants of the House of Plantagenet[181] (Henry IV, V, VI from House of Lancaster; Richard, Edward IV, V, Richard III from the House of York). It stemmed from the murder of Richard II in 1399 and the usurpation of the crown by his cousin Henry IV. The first battle took place at St Alban in 1455 and the war ended at Bosworth in 1855. **Henry Tudor**, duke of Richmond, became king, and the war ended.[182]

Language and culture in the late Middle Ages

French had been used less and less by the Norman rulers during the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century Edward III had actually forbidden the speaking of French in his army to make the whole army aware of its Englishness. By the end of the fourteenth century, English was once again a written language because it was being used instead of French by the ruling, literate class. Two writers, above all others, helped in the rebirth of English literature:

1. William Langland, a mid-fourteenth century priest, whose poem "Piers

179 Stacey, John. "John Wycliffe". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 13 March 2021, https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Wycliffe. Accessed 24 July 2021.

180 Matthews, Rupert. "Wars of the Roses" https://www.historyextra.com/period/tudor/wars-of-the-roses/

181 A royal house which originated from the lands of Anjou in France.

182 Wars of Roses 1455–1487 – English Civil Wars Documentary. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Do7XBxUVJsE

Plowman" gives a powerful description of the times in which he lived.[183]

2. Geoffrey Chaucer: **The Canterbury Tales**. It tells the story of a group of 31 pilgrims travelling from London to St Thomas Becket's shrine at Canterbury Cathedral. During the journey each character tells a story. "This literary device gives Chaucer the opportunity to paint a series of vivid word portraits of a cross-section of his society, from a knight and prioress, to a carpenter and cook; a much-married wife of Bath, to a bawdy miller – an occupation regarded in Chaucer's day as shifty and dishonest."[184] The first English printing press, **William Caxton's press**, was set up in **1476**. Among its first printed books were *The Canterbury Tales* and Thomas Malory's **Le Morte d' Arthur**, a prose work from 1845, which describes the adventures of King Arthur, including Arthur's last battle, his death, and the death of other knights of the Round Table. Books suddenly became cheaper and more plentiful as the quicker printing process replaced slow and expensive copywriting by hand. Also, printing began to standardise spelling and grammar.[185]

Population and economy in the Middle Ages

Migration to towns was strong in the Middle Ages. According to the records of Doomsday Book, by the end of the thirteenth century, 4 million people lived in England (in the fourteenth century, 70 000 lived only in London), 500 000 in Wales and 3-400 000 in Scotland. Until the setback of famine and epidemics, the towns, cathedral centres such as Lincoln, Canterbury, St Andrew were growing rapidly in the twelfth and thirteenth century. The countryside was changing too between the twelfth and the fifteenth century including technical development in farming (windmills), substitution of horses for oxen (faster job) and the end to serfdom.[186]

183 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain,* 64.
184 https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-canterbury-tales-by-geoffrey-chaucer
185 https://www.bl.uk/people/william-caxton
186 Dargie, R. *A History of Britain*, 87.

3.4. The Birth of the Nation State: the Tudors (1485–1603)

Henry VII (1485–1509)

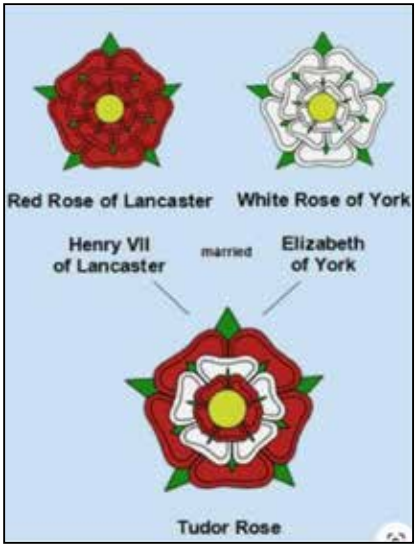


Figure 23 - Roses

After the Wars of the Roses, the half-Welsh Henry married Elizabeth of York, thereby uniting the houses of York and Lancaster.[187] He built the foundations of a wealthy nation state and a powerful monarchy. "Henry VII firmly believed that war and glory were bad for business, and that business was good for the state. He therefore avoided quarrels either with Scotland in the north, or France in the south."[188] After the Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses, England's trading position had been badly damaged, but Henry VII succeeded in stabilizing the kingdom's economy (The Low Countries, the Netherlands and Belgium alone offered a way in for trade in Europe.)[189] He did that also through making peace by her daughters' marriage with Scottish and French houses. Margaret, Henry's daughter, married James IV of Scotland, which later gave James's descendants a claim to the English throne.[190] Also, he tried to encourage exports, protect home industries, help English shipping by the time-honoured method of a navigation act to ensure that English goods were carried in English ships, and find new markets by assisting John Cabot and his sons in their voyages of discovery."[191]

Henry VII used the **Court of Star Chamber**, traditionally the king's council chamber, to deal with lawless nobles. Henry VII encouraged the use of heavy fines

187 https://www.britroyals.com/kings.asp?id=henry7; source of the picture: https://sk.pinterest.com/pin/107242034850174973/

188 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain,* 67.

189 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain,* 68.

190 https://www.britroyals.com/kings.asp?id=henry7

191 Myers, Alexander Reginald and Morrill, John S.. "Henry VII". Encyclopedia Britannica, 17 Apr. 2021, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Henry-VII-king-of-England. Accessed 7 July 2021.

as punishment because this gave the Crown money. His aim was to make the Crown financially independent.[192]

Henry VIII (1509–1547) and the Reformation of England

Henry VIII was an intelligent, well-read, pious king, the patron of the arts, but he was also cruel and wasteful of money; he was fond of hunting and playing tennis. It is improperly believed that greensleeves (English folk song) were composed by him. His lack of continual interest in government resulted in his over-reliance upon his ministers **Thomas Cornwall** and **Thomas Wolsey**. His inability to secure his lineage ensured the extinction of the Tudor dynasty.[193] Henry VIII wanted England to hold the balance of power between the two most powerful kingdoms: France and the Holy Roman Empire.

"Henry VIII's reformation began … by difficulties with the Catholic Church, in particular those surrounding his hopes for a divorce from his first wife, **Catherine of Aragon**" who could not give birth to a male heir.[194] On the other hand, he led reformation in England due to financial and despotic reason: the taxes paid to the Church reduced his income, and the Church was a great landowner. As the pope was controlled by Charles V, who was the Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain, and also Catherine's nephew, he forbade Henry's divorce. As a result, the king passed the **Act of Supremacy** in **1534**.[195] This act invoked the authority of Parliament to proclaim the declared wishes of the convocations of clergy that had already agreed to his becoming the head of the Church of England.[196] Between 1536 and 1539, he dissolved 560 monasteries and other religious houses in order to make money, but he also wanted to be popular with the rising classes of landowners and merchant. He therefore gave or sold much of the monasteries' lands to them. Although "the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England" still believed in the Catholic faith. He even got a title 'Fidei Defensor', Defender of the Faith for writing a criticism on Martin Luther's "Ninety-five Theses".[197]

The spread of Protestantism helped the absorption of Scotland and Wales within

192 Dargie, R. *A History of Britain*, 90.
193 Dargie, R. *A History of Britain,* 91.
194 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain*, 95–96.
195 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain*, 69.
196 http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/rise_parliament/docs/henry_head.htm
197 https://englishhistory.net/tudor/act-of-supremacy/

a British state. Also, Henry VIII's intention was to assimilate Wales into England, which he did in 1536. The Welsh was forced to use an English system of names by preventing Welsh names being used in law courts and on official paper. Moreover, English became the only official language, and Welsh was soon only spoken in the hills.[198] As for the neighbouring island, the Irish Parliament recognized Henry as a head of the Irish church, but the bulk of them remained Catholic. England became truly protestant only during the reign of Edward VI.[199]

Henry's second wife was **Anne Boleyn,** who was beheaded for treason. His third wife, **Jane Seymour**, finally bore him a son, who was later to become Edward VI. After Jane died in childbed, Henry married **Anne of Cleves** (annulated after a few months); then, he made two more marriages with **Katherine Howard** (executed on grounds of adultery in 1542) and **Catherine Parr** (who survived Henry to die in 1548).[200]

Edward VI

Since Edward I, Henry VIII and Jane Seymour's son, was only a child when he became king, the country was ruled by the council, whose members were from the new Protestant nobility created by the Tudors.[201] He died at an early age.

(Bloody) Mary I

Mary I was the Catholic daughter of Catherine of Aragon. Mary, for political, religious and family reasons, chose to marry King Philip of Spain. She then began persecuting and burning Protestants (300 people died), which resulted her nickname "Bloody Mary." Mary I's aim was to restore the Catholic Church.[202] In a war against French, she lost the last English possession in France (Calais).[203]

198 Welsh is now spoken by 20% of the population of Wales. Welsh and English are both official languages in Wales. Gaelic is used in Scotland and in the Republic of Ireland, where it is the first official language. Welsh and Gaelic speakers' second language is English.

199 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain,* 70.

200 https://www.royal.uk/henry-viii

201 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain*, 71.

202 https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/myth-bloody-mary-180974221/

203 https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mary-I

Elizabeth I, the Virgin Queen (1558–1603)

The Protestant Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. She never married to preserve her authority. Characteristic of this rhetorical strategy was her famous "Golden Speech" of 1601, when, in the face of bitter parliamentary opposition to royal monopolies, she promised reforms: "I do assure you, there is no prince that loveth his subjects better, or whose love can countervail our love. There is no jewel, be it of never so rich a price, which I set before this jewel; I mean, your love: for I do more esteem of it, than of any treasure or riches."[204]

She made the Church part of the state machine. It meant that the "parish", the area served by one church (usually the same size as a village) became the unit of state administration. People had to go to church on Sundays by law, and they were fined if they stayed away. Elizabeth I also arranged for a book of sermons to be used in church.[205]

Her closest relative (the granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister) was the Catholic **Mary Steward**, the Scottish queen, also called Queen of Scots. There was a danger from those Catholic nobles still in England who wished to remove Elizabeth and replace her with Mary Steward. So, when the Queen of Scots returned to England, Elizabeth kept Mary as a prisoner for almost twenty years and then executed her.

Elizabeth I correctly recognised Spain as her main trade rival and enemy. The queen's seamen were traders as well as pirates and adventurers (John Hawkins, Francis Drake and Martin Frobisher), who were trying to build English sea trade and to interrupt Spain's by attacking Spanish ships bringing treasure from America. Eventually, in **1588 Francis Drake** destroyed part of the Spanish fleet (**Armada)** in Cadiz harbour.[206]

During Elizabeth's reign more "chartered" companies were established. A **charter** gave a company the right to all the business in its particular trade or region. In return for this important advantage the chartered company gave some of its profits to the Crown. These companies were the Eastland Company to trade with Scandinavia and the Baltic set in 1579; the Levant Company to trade with the Ottoman Empire established in 1581; the Africa Company to trade in slaves, in 1588;

204 Morrill, John S. and Greenblatt, Stephen J. "Elizabeth I". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 20 Mar. 2021, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Elizabeth-I. Accessed 7 July 2

205 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain*, 72.

206 Katona, András. *Korai újkori egyetemes történelem (XV–XVIII. század)*. Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 2008, 111.

and the East India Company to trade with India founded in 1600, which finally, in 1668, took over Bombay. Also, Elizabeth I actively took part in the colonization of America. **Walter Raleigh** "sponsored a number of attempts to establish an English colony at Roanoke Island, which he named **'Virginia'** in honour of Queen Elizabeth 'the Virgin Queen'." However, the dream to establish a permanent colony in Virginia was realised only by the Virginia Company in **1607**. [207]

1603 saw the **Union of Scotland and Britain** as the death of Queen Elizabeth I led to the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne as James I, unifying the entire island under a single ruler. Although the countries had separate parliament and church. The union found expression in the kingdom's flag (**Union Jack**) from 1606: the flag of England (a red cross on a white background) known as St George's Cross, and the flag of Scotland, a white saltire (X-shaped cross, or St Andrew's Cross) on a blue background, would be joined, forming the flag of England and Scotland for maritime purposes. There are no symbols representing Wales in the flag, making Wales the only home nation with no representation. However, the Welsh Dragon was adopted in the coat of arms of the ruling Tudor dynasty.

Tudor Government

The Tudor monarchs did not like governing through Parliament. In order to control discussion in Parliament, the Crown appointed a "Speaker." Even today the Speaker is responsible for good behaviour during debates in the House of Commons. His job in Tudor times was to make sure that Parliament discussed what the monarch wanted Parliament to discuss, and that it made the decision which he or she wanted. Until the end of the Tudor period, Parliament was supposed to do three things: agree to the taxes needed; make the laws which the Crown suggested; and advise the Crown, but only when asked to do so.

Literature

The literary life of Elizabeth I's reign was distinguished by **Edmund Spenser**, English poet, **Christopher Marlowe**, English dramatist and the great English poet and dramatist, **William Shakespeare**, many of whose plays are devoted to English and British historical subjects. He gave memorable voice to English patriotism in *Richard II.* Like many English people throughout history, he referred to England as

207 https://www.rmg.co.uk/stories/topics/queen-elizabeth-i-colonising-america

an "isle," or island, ignoring the fact that England shared the island of Britain with Scotland and Wales.[208]

Witch-hunt

"The Elizabethan era also saw the beginnings of English witch-hunting. The total number of witches executed in the witch hunt that began after the passage of a law against witchcraft in 1563 and lasted until the late 17th century was between 500 and 1,000, although many more died while awaiting trial in filthy jails or as the victims of mob violence. About 90 percent of the witches executed were women, a higher percentage than in most European countries."[209]

3.5. The Stuarts

James I, king of England/James VI, king of Scotland (1603–1625)

James I intended to rule without Parliament as much as possible. He preferred a small council and believed that the king was chosen by God and therefore only God could judge him.[210] In 1605 there was a failed Catholic assassination attempt against the king (by blowing up the House of Lords), called as **Gunpowder Plot**. The most famous conspirator was **Guy Fawkes**. He and his group put 36 barrels of gunpowder in cellars underneath the Houses of Parliament in London, ready to set off a massive explosion. However, one member of Fawkes' group sent a letter to his friend who worked in Parliament, warning him to stay away on 5 November. The King's supporters got hold of the letter and the plot was rumbled. Guards broke into the cellars where the gunpowder plotters were waiting. They were arrested. All the surviving plotters "were found guilty of treason and sentenced to death by hanging, drawing and quartering."[211]On the very night that the Gunpowder Plot failed, on **5 November 1605**, bonfires were set alight to celebrate the safety of the King. Since then, November 5th has become known as **Firework Night, Bonfire Night or Guy Fawkes Day,** "as a day of thanksgiving for `the joyful day of deliverance"[212]

208 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* 102.
209 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* 104.
210 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain,* 88.
211 Fitzgibbon, Sinead. *The Gunpowder Plot. The Story in an Hour*, William Collins, 37.
212 "The Gunpowder Plot House of Commons Information Office Factsheet G8," House of Commons,

In **1607**, "James I's reign saw the foundation of the colony of **Jamestown** in Virginia, which became a center of tobacco production. The king himself, however, was one of the foremost opponents of the new plant. His *A Counter-Blaste to Tobacco* (1604) denounced it in scorching terms as unhealthy, sinful, and disgusting."[213] About 10 years later, in **1620**, Plymouh Colony, later Massachusetts Colony, the first permanent colony in New England, was also founded when the **Pilgrim Fathers,** 102 people, left England seeking religious freedom, and then on the ship *Mayflower* they got to the New World and introduced Puritanism. Actually, during the seventeenth century, twelve British colonies were born in the New World. The Northern colonies were named *New England*, the middle ones were established along the River Delaware and the southern colonies were founded around Chesapeake Bay.[214]

Ulster plantation is also related to James I's name. Being also the King of Ireland, the Protestant James wanted to unite his three kingdoms (England, Scotland and Ireland) and "strengthen his rule in Ireland where he faced opposition and rebellion from the Catholic, Irish speaking population." Therefore, from 1609 onwards, people from England and Scotland were encouraged to move to the northern part of Ireland (named *Ulster*) to make it friendlier towards James by taking huge areas of land from the local Irish population and giving them to the planters.[215] This act worsened the tense relationship between the Catholics and Protestants, which reached its peak in various waves throughout history; first in the English Civil War in the seventeenth century-England and then during the period called the Troubles in the nineteenth century-Northern Ireland.

English Civil Wars (1642–1651), Republican and Restoration Britain

The English Civil War was a series of civil wars and political machinations between **Parliamentarians ("Roundheads") and Royalists ("Cavaliers")**, mainly over the manner of England's governance and issues of religious freedom. The Royalists controlled most of the north and west whereas Parliamentarians controlled East Anglia and the southeast, including London. It ended with the execu-

200, 3–4. https://web.archive.org/web/20050215195506/http://www.parliament.uk/documents/upload/g08.pdf Find more information about the celebration on page 100.

213 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain, 106.*

214 Katona, A. *Korai újkori egyetemes történelem,* 296-298.

215 https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/topics/zj7vrj6/articles/z2bgsrd

tion of king Charles I. Britain became a **Commonwealth of Republic (1649–1660)** until its leader's, **Oliver Cromwell's** death, who, in the war, massacred in Wexford, Drogheda, Irish Catholic villages. He assumed the executive power, named himself Lord Protector; divided England into 15 military districts and introduced civil marriage. After his death, the monarchy was restored, but the **Great Plague of 1665** and the **Great Fire of London** in **1666** made the new king, **Charles II's (1630–1685)** ruling conditions difficult.[216]

"The Great Fire broke out from a baker's house in Pudding Lane. By the time it was over, four days later, much of the medieval city lay in smoking ruins… The damage caused by the Great Fire was immense: 436 acres of London were destroyed, including 13,200 houses and 87 out of 109 churches. Some places still smouldered for months afterwards…51 churches and about 9000 houses were rebuilt."[217] **Christopher Wren**, a professor of Astronomy at Oxford was asked to rebuild and design the city (e.g., St Paul's Cathedral, Tower of London, London Bridge). Also, the "new regulations were designed to prevent such a disaster happening again. Houses now had to be faced in brick instead of wood. Some streets were widened and two new streets were created. Pavements and new sewers were laid, and London's quaysides were improved."[218]

The **Great Plague of 1665** was the worst outbreak of plague on the island since the Black Death. "London lost roughly 15% of its population…The earliest cases of disease occurred in the spring of 1665 in a parish outside the city walls called St Giles-in-the-Fields."[219]

The religious conflict, still dominant during Charles II's reign, led to the establishment of the first political parties in Britain. The "**Whigs**" (a rude name for cattle drivers; opponents of the court) were afraid of an absolute monarchy, and of the Catholic faith; and wanted to have no regular army and wished for religious freedom whereas the "**Torries**" (an Irish name for thieves, Crown loyalist) upheld the authority of the Crown and the Church, and stood for the succession of a powerful monarch.[220]

216 Katona, A. *Korai újkori egyetemes történelem,* 167–182.
217 https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/discover/great-fire-london-1666
218 https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/discover/great-fire-london-1666
219 https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/great-plague/
220 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* 120.

In 1660, Charles II established the **Royal Society** for supporting natural science, and, indeed, the seventeenth century saw great scientific discoveries: William Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood; Isaac Newton, gravity; Thomas Savery developed water pump, which later led to the invention of steam engine. The first newspapers, which appeared in the same century, were a new way of spreading all kinds of these discoveries as well as religious ideas.[221]

William III/William of Orange (1689–1702) and the Glorious Revolution (1688–1689)

The Whigs wished to have a new king, the Dutch protestant stadtholder **William of Orange,** who was also the king's **James II's** son-in-law. James II claimed for religious peace and thus supported the Catholic Church financially. Finally, the last Catholic King had to exile to France as William was approaching, and all Protestants wanted to attack him. Without any fight in 1689, William and his wife were crowned and later put down James II's military reactions. "The revolution settlement also enshrined religious toleration (for Protestants) in law in the **Toleration Act of 1689**, while leaving the Anglican monopoly of public offices untouched. Catholics were tolerated on a *de facto* rather than *de jure* basis."[222] Finally, in **1701**, he passed **the Act of Settlement** according to which only a Protestant could inherit the crown. This act "has remained in force ever since"[223]

Craze for coffee and tea

It "was not until 1650 that the first coffee house in England (and only the second in Europe) was opened at Oxford, advertised as 'a simple Innocent thing, incomparable good for those that are troubled with melancholy'. But from the very beginning coffee houses proved to be centres of intellectual debate, visited by writers, scholars, wits and politicians"[224]

Likewise, tea had become a national drink by 1700, when 50,000 kg were already being imported each year. The precise date of tea's appearance in England is about the first decade of the seventeenth century. It came from Holland, where the

221 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain*, 101.
222 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* 124.
223 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain,* 96.
224 Spencer, Colin. *British Food. An Extraordinary Thousand Years of History*, Grub Street Cookery, 2011, 233.

Dutch East India Company had opened commercial relations with China ahead of its English rival.

While coffeehouses were visited by men, their wives held tea parties at home.[225] "Tea's feminine image was partly because it was introduced to England by Catherine of Braganza, the Portuguese Queen to Charles II. Although it was served in some of the exclusively male coffee-houses that opened in London after 1652 it was not usual in these before the 1690s, and was never the principal drink there. Tea was "also associated with a panoply of china and porcelain…gilded mahogany tea-tables and silver teapots."[226] In 1700 tea was still an occasional drink of the wealthy, fashionable few: before the end of the century, it was regularly consumed by all social classes, and formed an integral part of the new dietary patterns of the poor." [227] Tea earned its popularity as an economical drink by the 1720s; between 1800 and 1900 the quantity of tea consumed in the kingdom increased tenfold – from 23,720,000 lb a year to 224,180,000 lb.[228]

Coffee and tea were both instrumental in the civilizing process experienced by Western Europe in the seventeenth century.[229] "Men who drank in … London coffee-houses were subject to the house rules that prohibited swearing, gambling, quarrelling and profane language." [230] As for tea rituals, the "later hour of dining in Victorian England – often at 7.30 p.m. or 8 p.m. in the highest circles – created a gap for an additional light meal, 'afternoon tea', at around 4 p.m., a social occasion mainly for ladies and eligible bachelors. Although the **English tea ceremony** never developed the elaboration of the Japanese, the arts of managing the tea equipment and serving guests were marks of social accomplishment, as was the manner of drinking. Victorian etiquette required the milk or cream (tea-sets always included a 'cream' jug) to be added after the tea, allowing the drinker to decline or limit the amount: to drink from the saucer was no longer acceptable, while a teaspoon laid across the cup indicated that the drinker declined a refill. The polite '**afternoon tea**', at which little more than bread and butter or sandwiches were served, was quite different from '**high tea'**, a substantial meal of cold meats or fish, salads,

225 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain,* 109.
226 Spencer, C. *British Food*, 235.
227 Burnett, John. *Liquid Pleasures. A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain*, 1999, 52.
228 Burnett, John. *Liquid Pleasures*, 54, 57.
229 Burnett, John. *Liquid Pleasures*, 50.
230 Burnett, John. *Liquid Pleasures*, 51.

fruit and cakes that developed in the later nineteenth century, particularly in the north of England and Scotland. In middle-class homes it allowed the servants to attend church on Sunday evening, since no cooking was involved, while in better-off working-class homes it became something of a festive occasion for visitors. Both 'afternoon' and 'high' tea confirmed the central role of the hostess as provider and manager, presiding in her 'separate sphere' of the home."[231]

Meanwhile, the working class went to the drinking houses, called **alehouses** or **pubs**. Interestingly, **drunkenness** had been a major urban problem of the working class for many centuries since the seventeenth century, and intensified during the industrial revolution. The pubs were open 24 hours per day and widespread, e.g., in Newcastle: 1 public house to every 22 families; there were more public houses altogether than shops. Among the major reasons of heavy drinking were: to escape from the harsh and boring working environment; it was the only form of entertainment besides going to church, alcohol was healthier than water and cheaper than milk and coffee and tea, there was no direct water supply from mains; spirits were regarded as painkillers, beers were believed to give strength; working class houses were small, cramped, cold and uncomfortable while the pubs were warm and provided company.[232]

3.6. The Eighteenth Century

Mary and William III died without heir, so Mary's sister Anna became queen as the last Stuart. Since the Scottish were unsatisfied, in order to avoid war, England proclaimed that unless the Scots agreed on a full union with England by Christmas Day 1705, England breaks all economic relation with them. As a result, the **Treaty of Union of 1707** "made England and Scotland one country under the new name of **United Kingdom of Great Britain**."[233] Separate parliaments were abolished and at Westminster the new Parliament of Great Britain was established: the Scots were given 45 seats in the House of Commons and 16, in the Lords. Scotland gained equal share from English ports and colonies, yet the union damaged the Scottish

231 Burnett, John. *Liquid Pleasures,* 59.
232 Golby, J. M. and A. W. Purdue. *The Civilization of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England 1750-1900.* Sutton Publishing, 1999, 116, 119.
233 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain*, 127.

economy. When England banned the trade with its overseas colonies and lost trading privileges in France and Low Countries by the end of the seventeenth century, Scottish demanded the end of the union for the first time.[234]

When **Queen Anne (1665–1714)** died, **George,** from the **House of Hanover (1714–1727)**, became king. **Robert Walpole**, his minister, considered **Britain's first Prime Minister** "lived in 10 Downing Street from 1735 having insisted that it become the residence of the First Lord of the Treasury, rather than being given to him personally."[235] He developed the idea that government ministers should work together in a small group, which was called the **Cabinet**. He also made sure that the power of the king would always be limited by the constitution: the king could not remove or change laws; the king was dependent on Parliament for his financial income and for his army and the king was supposed to 'choose' his ministers. Even today the government of Britain is "Her Majesty's Government." But in fact, the ministers belonged as much to Parliament as they did to the king. **William Pitt "the Elder,"** later **Lord Chatham**, became another influential political representative. He was certain that Britain must beat France in the race for an overseas trade empire. The war against France's trade went on all over the world. In Canada, the British took Quebec in 1759 and Montreal the following year and India, the "jewel in the Crown."[236] The British pride was expressed in a national song written in 1742, titled "**Rule Britannia**."[237]

RULE,
BRITANNIA!

When Britain first, at Heav'n's command,
Arose from out the azure main,
This was the charter of her land,
And guardian angels sang this strain:

Rule, Britannia! Britannia, rule the waves!
Britons never never, never shall be slaves.

The nations not so blest as thee
Must in their turn to tyrants fall,
Whilst thou shalt flourish, great and free,
The dread and envy of them all.

Thee, haughty tyrants ne'er shall tame;
All their attempts to bend thee down
Will but arouse thy generous flame,
To work their woe and thy renown.

Rule, Britannia! Britannia, rule the waves!
Britons never, never, never shall be slaves.

Figure 24 - Rule, Britannia!

234 Dargie, R. *A History of Britain*, 120.
235 https://history.blog.gov.uk/2014/11/20/sir-robert-walpole-whig-1721-1742/
236 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain,* 108–109.
237 https://sk.pinterest.com/pin/797840890217023477/

Later, **George III (1760–1820)** signed the **Treaty of Paris** in **1763**, which redistributed imperial lands. The areas of Lower Canada, land up to the Mississippi, Florida, India and Senegal were ceded to Britain. The British handed Cuba and Manila over to the Spanish.[238]

In order to pay back the national debt due to the colonial wars, England imposed taxes on luxury goods, such as tea, coffee and chocolate while granted no political right to the colonies with which it traded.[239] In 1764 this led to a quarrel over taxation between the British government and its colonies in America. The colony's moto was: "No taxation without representation."[240] The situation worsened when in 1773 a group of colonists (the Sons of Liberty) disguised in Indian costume boarded the ships at the port of Boston and threw 342 chests of tea into the sea rather than pay tax on it. The event became known as the **Boston Tea party.**[241] **The American War of Independence** had thus begun, which ended in **1783** with the **Peace of Versailles**, in which Britain accepted the independence of the USA, and the British lost every American colony except for Canada.[242] The war in America gave strength to the new ideas of democracy and of independence. Many British politicians openly supported the colonists, e.g., Edmund Burke and Tom Paine.[243]

In 1801, the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland was realized, and also the first official census of the British population was organized. In 1700 England and Wales had a population of about 5.5 million then grew quickly to about 8.8 million by the end of the century. Including Ireland and Scotland, the total population was about 13 million (London: 1750–1837: from 650 000 to 2,5 million).

238 https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofBritain/Timeline-Of-The-British-Empire/
239 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain,* 109.
240 Ward, Harry M. *The War for Independence and the Transformation of American Society*, UCL Press, 2004, 1.
241 Asimov, Isaac. *The Birth of the United States, 1763-1816*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974, 34.
242 US Department of State Archive, https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/ar/14313.htm
243 Asimov, I. *The Birth of the United States,* 18–19.

3.7. Great Britain in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century

The Years of Industrial Revolution

"Beginning in the last half of the 18th century and extending into the early 20th century, first Great Britain and then Western Europe, the United States, and several other parts of the globe experienced the vibrant stirrings of a major technical and economic transformation."[244] The following list shows a few examples of British scientific inventions and social development from the 18th to the late 19th century, that is the Georgian and Victorian period. The latter period takes its name after **Queen Victoria (1837–1901)**, who was the last British monarch of the House of Hanover. All in all, Britain could excel as its coal extraction – which formed the basis of development – was nine times that of France, Germany, Russia and Belgium combined, and her naval force made Britain an Empire a successful colonizer.

1712 Thomas Newcomen invented the atmospheric engine to pump water from mines.
1769 James Watt patented steam engine.
1764 James Hargreaves invented the "spinning jenny."
1779 Richard Arkwright developed the water frame to increase the number of spindles.
1780-84 Canal system development
1784: Royal Mail, postal service established
1787 Edmund Cartwright invented his wool-combing machine and early power loom.
1798 Thomas Malthus published "Essay on the Principle of Population" in which he famously "theorized that populations would continue expanding until growth is stopped or reversed by disease, famine, war, or calamity."[245]
1801 First official census of the British population.
1805 Admiral Nelson defeated Franco-Spanish fleet at Trafalgar in the Napoleonic War, which allows the Royal Navy to have control of the seas.[246]

244 Wyatt III, Lee T. *The Industrial Revolution.* In *Greenwood Guides to Historic Events, 1500–1900,* Greenwood Press, 2009, xi.
245 https://www.investopedia.com/terms/t/thomas-malthus.asp
246 Source of relating picture (Figure 26) https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-plumb-pudding-in-danger---or---state-epicures-taking-un-petit-souper-by-gillray

1811 Luddite movement in Great Britain: a rebellion against the introduction of machinery which threatened the textile worker's skilled craft.

1814 George Stephenson developed the first steam-powered locomotive.

1825 The Stockton–Darlington Railway opened with Stephenson steam locomotive.

1826 Lowell, Massachusetts was founded, and six textile mills were established.

1829 George Stephenson's Rocket – first train operating on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway.

1833 The Factory Act places limitations on child labour in Great Britain (work only over the age of 9; employer had to give child workers daily schooling)

1834 British Parliament passed the Poor Law. Establishment of workhouses for the poor and unemployment (building roads/drainage in poor life conditions).

Robert Owen founded the Grand National Consolidate Trade Union to protect the working men's conditions (payment, service) and organize strike for the same reason.

1834 Slavery abolished in all British colonies.

1838 First department store in Edinburgh.

1835 Railroad mania began in Great Britain.

1841 Queen Victoria took her first ride on a railroad.

1842 Mines Act prohibited women and children from working underground

1844 Samuel Morse demonstrated telegraph

1844 Friedrich Engels published *The Conditions of the Working Class* in England.

1846 Elias Howe invented the sewing machine.

1847 Working day in factories was limited to ten hours (instead of 14)

1851 The Great Exhibition (Crystal Palace) attracted 6 million visitors to London. The exhibition aimed to show the world the greatness of Britain's industry (coal, iron and steel). The profits provided the foundation of Albert Hall (1871) and Victoria & Albert Museum (1852).

Major census in Great Britain.

Isaac Singer developed the first consumer sewing machine.

1854–57 Crimean War and the new era of philanthropy began (Florence Nightingale's service).

1858 The "Great Stink" in London – all of the sewage pumped into the Thames dried up and caused a stench that spurred London's City.
1863 Metropolitan underground trains (steam-powered tube trains) operating in London (smoky, uncomfortable)
1867 Reform Bill extended suffrage in Great Britain.
Free and compulsory education for children.
1876 Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone.
1879 Thomas Edison invented incandescent light bulb.
1880 First refrigerated ships used for long-distance transportation of food.
1884 Last of 19th century reform bills gave suffrage to almost all males in Great Britain.
1892 Electrification began.
1901 Queen Victoria dies.[247]

Added to the changes above, other social, religious and cultural changes took place in Victorian Britain:

➢ **The Rise of the Middle Classes**

The "middle class is defined as encompassing all non-manual occupations except aristocrats or landed gentry […] there was [no] homogeneous middle class; the financial and social gulf between the country gentry and the small shopkeepers could be vast"[248] The professions included: a priest, a lawyer, a doctor, a social worker, a diplomat, a banker, a soldier, and a shopkeeper.

➢ **Changes in thinking**

- The most important idea of the nineteenth century was that everyone had the right to personal freedom, which was the basis of capitalism.

- Weakening of religious life: according to the 1851 census, only 60 per cent of the population went to church – of these only 5.2 million Anglicans, 4.5 million Nonconformists and almost half a million Catholics.[249]

- Charles Darwin published ***The Origin of Species*** (1859) which further strengthened crisis in the Church. His theory of evolution by natural selection (the

247 Wyatt III, L. T. *The Industrial Revolution*, xv-xix.
248 Curran, Cyntia. "Private Women, Public Needs: Middle-Class Widows in Victorian England." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, vol. 25, no. 2, Summer, 1993, pp. 217–236. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4051453. Accessed 6 December 2020. 218, 220.
249 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain,* 141.

survival of the fittest) unsettled the biblical account of Genesis. [250]

- **Redbrick universities**: they were built in the new industrial cities in England. The term "redbrick" distinguished the new universities, often brick-built, from the older, mainly stone-built universities of Oxford and Cambridge. They taught more science and technology to 'feed' Britain's industries. Today, 5 of the original 6 Redbrick Universities are rated among the top 100 universities in the world, according to the QS World University Rankings (e.g., University of Liverpool, University of Birmingham, University of Manchester, University of Sheffield, University of Leeds).[251]

- **First wave of feminism** (late 19th – early 20th century)

From the late Middle Ages to the mid-19th century, due to religious influences, upper-and middle-class women, wives were expected to conform to the "Angle in the House" image, to be obedient, silent, submissive and passive having no socio-political rights and financial independence.[252] The term 'feminism' covers "the revolutionary ideas, struggles and activities of the 'women's movement,' focused… on gaining the right of women's suffrage"[253] but also on achieving economic, financial and educational equality. The most significant results were: Married Women's Property Act of 1882 and 1893 (middle-class wives could keep their earnings during marriage), in 1870s the extension of secondary and university education had started for girls; the Custody of Infants Act of 1839 allowed a mother to propose custody of her children in case of divorce; the Matrimonial Cause of Act of 1857, which "set up the Divorce Court and, though unequal in its treatment of husbands and wives, laid the foundations of modern family law."[254] Finally, women "got the vote in two stages" in 1918 and 1928; the "[m]iddle class housewives comprised the largest group to be enfranchised" in the first phase (xi, xv) whereas the Equal Franchise Act of 1928 "gave equal voting rights for both men and women."[255]

250 Bown, Nicola. *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*. Cambridge University Press, 2001, 67–68.

251 https://academicvenuesolutions.co.uk/blog/what-are-redbrick-universities

252 Read more about the expected roles of women in Coventry Patmore's sequence of poem "Angel in the House" (1854) and John Ruskin's "Of Queen's Garden" (1864).

253 Puskás, Andrea. *An Introduction to Literature, a textbook of university students of English as a foreign language*. 2019, Bymoon, 138. Puskás, Andrea, *Female identity in feminist adaptations of Shakespeare.* Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2014, 32.

254 Perkin, Herold. *The Origins of Modern English Society*, Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005, 130.

255 Nelson, Carolyn Christensen. *Literature of the Women's Suffrage Campaign in England,* edited by Carolyn Ch. Nelson, Broadview Press, 2004, pp, xi, xv.

A Brief Overview of the History of The British Empire[256]

The British Empire comprised of Britain (the "mother country") and the colonies/ countries which were ruled to some degree by and from Britain. "Bringing Wales [in 1536], Scotland [1603 and 1707] and Ireland [in 1801] within a broader British realm represents some of England's earliest forays into colonial rule."[257] "By the eighteenth-century Britain's powerful naval superiority was as much about colonial trade, shipping goods and peoples across the globe, as it was about the warfare so typical of the period."[258] "By 1783, Britain had established an empire which comprised of: colonies in North America, including the West Indies, and the Pacific including New Zealand, which became a British Colony following an expedition by James Cook in 1769, but Britain's defeat in the American War of Independence meant the loss of the American colonies…In the century 1815–1914, 10 million square miles of territory and 400 million people were added to the British Empire. By the British Empire Exhibition of 1924, Britain controlled a worldwide empire which covered a fifth of the land in the world."[259] Significant 19th century-colonial accomplishments and happenings were:

Figure 25 – The Plum Pudding in Danger, 1818. The British Prime Minister William Pitt sits on the left of the picture opposite Napoleon Bonaparte, both of who tear hungrily at the globe in a bid to gain a larger portion.

1806 Cape of Good Hope occupied by the British.
1819 Singapore founded by Sir Stamford Raffles.
1813 English East India Company lost its trading monopoly with India.
1841 Britain occupied the island of Hong Kong.
1858 East India Company dissolved.

256 Source of the map: McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain*, 146.
257 Levine, Philippa. *The British Empire. Sunrise to Sunset*, Pearson Longman, 2007, 1.
258 Levine, P. *The British Empire*, 13.
259 https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/zf7fr82/revision/4

1867 Canada was given ‘dominion’ (self-governing) status, followed by Australia and New Zealand in 1907.

1870 British troops were withdrawn from Australia, New Zealand and Canada.

1876 Queen Victoria took the title Empress of India.

1878 Occupation of Cyprus.

1881–1919 Britain acquired colonies in Africa stretching from Cairo to Cape Town.

1894 Uganda became a protectorate.

1899–1902 The British conquered South Africa (the Second Boer War).

1889 The British South Africa Co. Royal Charter was awarded; Rhodesia established.[260]

Figure 26 - Our Empire Atlas 1897

260 https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofBritain/Timeline-Of-The-British-Empire/; https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/zf7fr82/revision/5

3.8. Great Britain in the twentieth century

King **George V** (1910–1936), **George VI** (1936–1952) and Queen **Elizabeth II** (1952–) followed each other on the British throne in the twentieth century. Their rule had been challenged by the World Wars, Great Depression and the Cold War. Great Britain's participation in the world wars had had a great impact on its imperial power and the global map. After WWI, it became clear that Britain could no longer afford an empire; had no right to rule people who did not want to be ruled by Britain, and the Royal Navy was not strong enough to protect all the Empire all over the world:

1916–1998 In the years after the Easter Rising of 1916 nationalists in Ireland (people who wished to have independence) fought the Irish War of Independence against British forces and police in Ireland.

1919 The Treaty of Versailles promoted 'self-determination', or the right to rule yourself. It gave Germany's colonies, which included land in Africa and China, as 'mandates' for Britain and France to administer.

1919–1935 There was going on a strong independence movement in India.

1924 The British Empire Exhibition at Wembley Stadium showcased the strength and power of the empire. However, in Britain at this time people became increasingly critical of imperialism.

1926 The British government agreed the Balfour Declaration – that Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa were completely independent countries, "freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

1947 Declaration of Indian Independence and the partitioning of India and Pakistan.

1948 British withdrawal from Palestine.

1952 Mau Mau Rebellion broke out in opposition to white British colonial rule in Kenya.

1956–1966 Sudan gained independence, closely followed the next year by Ghana and other British colonies throughout the African mainland.

1972 Asians expelled from Uganda.

1990 Namibia achieved independence.

1997 Hong Kong was handed back to China.[261]

261 https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/zf7fr82/revision/6

British Commonwealth of Nations (1931–49) / Commonwealth of Nations (present)

It is a free association of sovereign states comprising the United Kingdom and a number of its former dependencies who have chosen to maintain ties of friendship and practical cooperation and who acknowledge the British monarch as symbolic head of their association. The modern Commonwealth of Nations was born in 1949. King George VI was the first Head of the Commonwealth, and Queen Elizabeth II became Head when he died. But the British king or queen is not automatically Head of the Commonwealth. Commonwealth member countries choose who becomes Head of the Commonwealth.[262] It comprises 53 countries (31 500 000 km^2), across all continents with 2.3 billion people (almost a third of the world population).[263]

Figure 27 - Commonwealth nations

262 Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Commonwealth". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11 Aug. 2020, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Commonwealth-association-of-states. Accessed 9 July 2021.

263 http://www.miss-ocean.com/Media_Press_Articles/Royal_Family_Commonwealth_Nations.htm; source of the map: https://conradbrunstrom.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/commonwealthmap.jpg

"The fall of the British Empire was accompanied by the immigration of people from empire nations to Britain… The 1948 arrival of the *Empire Windrush*, a ship bringing hundreds of immigrants from Jamaica, is often treated as a founding date for multicultural Britain, although there were already small Caribbean immigrant communities. There were no restrictions on immigration within the empire until 1962, so migration was one solution to the poverty and political turmoil facing British colonies."[264] Later, Asian immigrants started to arrive from India and Pakistan and from East Africa. By 1985, there were about five million recent immigrants and their children out of a total population of about fifty-six million. In the 1980s the black's bad housing and unemployment led to riots in Liverpool, Bristol and London.[265]

Britain in the Great War (1914–1918)

Britain declared war against Germany on 4 August 1914 (battles at Somme, in Iraq and Palestine, Gallipoli on the Dardanelles). The nation was told that it was defending the weak (Belgium) against the strong (Germany), and that it was fighting for democracy and freedom. The war cost almost a million British and Empire lives and 35 billion pounds, but it also initiated the invention and development of radio and aviation. Life for women also changed during the war. Because so many men were away fighting, a lot of women took paid jobs outside home for the first time. The approval of their significant place in society found expression in giving them the right to vote in 1918 and 1928. By 1918 there were five million women working in Britain.[266]

Figure 28 - This famous poster used the face of senior British army officer, Lord Kitchener, to recruit soldiers.

264 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* 224–225.
265 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* 225.
266 Source of the text and the poster: https://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/28585905

Interwar Britain (1919–1939)

The 1930s, Great Depression-era's protests "were all symptoms of the dramatic collapse of Britain's Victorian manufacturing economy after 1918. During the Edwardian years the great nineteenth-century staples – coal, cotton, shipbuilding, iron and steel – had enjoyed a final boom, although less because of their own efficiency than because the rapid growth of other economies had created a temporary demand for British goods… But entrepreneurs had invested rashly and oversupplied the market. As a result, by the summer of 1920 domestic demand had collapsed and foreign markets wanted fewer British goods."[267] It resulted a high rate of unemployment and poverty, which was the "chief targets of the six National Hunger Marches that began in the autumn of 1922"[268] and continued in 1925, 1930, 1932, 1934 and 1936. During the Great Depression, a worldwide economic crisis between 1929 and 1933 saw over 3 million unemployed in Britain.[269]

The areas most affected by the depression were those which had created Britain's industrial revolution (Clydeside, Belfast, the industrial north of England and southeast Wales). Because the worst effects of the depression in Britain were limited to certain areas, the government did not take the situation seriously enough. In the 1930s, the British economy started to recover (e.g., growing motor industry). By 1937 the British industry was producing weapons, aircraft and equipment for war, with the financial support of the United States.[270]

However, new industries such as aviation and car production flourished mostly in southern and central England. Added to this, by 1939, 75 percent of households had electricity after in 1926 the Central Electricity Generating Board – which owned and operated the National Grid – with powers to raise capital on ordinary commercial lines and a responsibility to establish interconnected lines covered the whole country.[271]

267 Pugh, Martin. *We Danced All Night. A Social History of Britain Between the Wars*. Vintage Books, 2013, 59.
268 Pugh, M. *We Danced All Night,* 61.
269 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain*, 187.
270 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain*, 165, 178.
271 Pugh, M. *We Danced All Night,* 55.

Society and Culture in the 1920s and 1930s

The inter-war period was "a time of cultural as well as political transformation … Britain was particularly receptive to the appeal of American culture due to its lack of a language barrier. Jazz music and the cinema were two particularly powerful American imports… The most popular star of all, often considered emblematic of the early silent cinema, was **Charlie Chaplin** (1889–1977) … The English director Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1990), whose early films often had British settings, became thoroughly identified with American cinema"[272]

The new technology of radio led to the formation of a state organization for broadcasting, the **British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)** in 1926. "It broadcast much classical music and required its newsreaders and other broadcasters to have a southern English, upper-class accent that came to be known as "BBC English." Regional dialects were to be used only by comedians."[273]

"Like other parts of the developed world, Britain in the early 20th century was shaped by the **automobile**. The motorcar went from being a toy for the rich to becoming a basic means of transportation for millions, although it was still restricted to the prosperous." Two of the most famous luxury car brands of all time are originally British manufactures: the **Rolls-Royce** (founded in 1906) and the **Bentley** (founded in 1919). The two companies merged in 1931.[274]

Britain in WWII (1939–1945)

"We are not fighting to restore the past. We must plan and create a noble future."

Winston Churchill, British Prime Minister (1940–1945 and 1951–1955)

In the 1930s the old democracies of Western Europe were overshadowed by the two rival ideological states: Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. **Neville Chamberlain**, the British Prime Minister (1937–1940) is best known for his foreign policy of **appeasement** with the Nazi Germany that is to grant Hitler's territorial wishes in order to avoid war. In this sense, WWII had begun as a traditional European struggle, with Britain fighting to save the "balance of power" in Europe, and to control the Atlantic Ocean and the sea surrounding Britain. But the war quickly

272 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain*, 192.
273 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain*, 193.
274 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain*, 193.

Figure 29 - Winston Churchill giving a V (victory) sign in 1943

became worldwide. Both sides wanted to control the oil in the Middle East, and the Suez Canal, Britain's route to India. When the British fail to protect Norway, Chamberlain was replaced by **Winston Churchill**.[275] Although Britain was again on the side of the winners, almost one and a half million people in London were made homeless by German bombing, and over 303,000 English soldiers and 60,000 civilians in air raids died in WWII.[276]

The war created a new hero, scientists who could win technological advantages over the enemy such as Watson-Watt's radar for bomb location, R.V. Jones distorted the Luftwaffe's navigation beams; development of atomic bombs, Alan Turing who broke Enigma, a cipher machine used by Nazi Germany; his Turing machine is considered a model of a general-purpose computer.[277]

Britain in the Cold War

After WWII, the world was divided into capitalist (the USA and Western Europe) and communist countries (Soviet Union and its satellite states). As for the foreign policy of these states, during the Cold War, "subjugated countries followed a foreign policy compatible with the interests of the Soviet Union"[278] whereas the

275 McDougall, Walter A. "20th-century international relations". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 3 Sep. 2020, https://www.britannica.com/topic/20th-century-international-relations-2085155. Accessed 24 July 2021. Source of the photo of Winston Churchill: https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/search?query=HU+55521
"The first public mention of the V-sign was in a broadcast on January 14, 1941, by the Belgian Programme Organisers, Victor de Laveleye. The feedback from Belgium and elsewhere was such that a general campaign was launched, later to include the V-sound in morse. Churchill was publicly associated with the campaign for the first time in a broadcast message on July 18/19. V was the initial letter of Victory, not only in English but also in French/Walloon and Flemish, and easily scribbled on walls in the dark." https://www.theguardian.com/notesandqueries/query/0,,-1370,00.html

276 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain*, 167.

277 Imperial War Museums, https://www.iwm.org.uk/

278 Vajda, Barnabás: Historical Pull and Push Factors in Central Europe After 1989. In: Windhager, Ákos (Editor): *A Political or a Cultural Project? Contemporary Discourses on Central European Identity*. Hungarian Academy of Arts Research Institute of Art Theory and Methodology, Budapest, 2020, 106.

western countries' affairs were influenced by the capitalist powers. In **1949** Britain joined with other Western European countries to form the **Council of Europe**, "to achieve greater unity between members." The characteristics of British foreign and defence policy in the Cold War included "'defencism', 'nuclearism', 'Atlanticism', 'globalism' and 'hermeticism'"[279]

- **Defencism** meant that "a moral intuition that defensive intent is not only a necessary but also a sufficient condition for war in general; strong defences are the best way to prevent war."
- **Nuclearism:** interest in 'tactical nuclear weapons' was of a limited kind. UK doubted that they can be used in tactically on the European continent.
- **Antlanticism:** "in order for Europe to be stable and protected from threat, whether emanating from Russia or Germany, US ground forces had to be present in some strength."
- **Globalism:** "In 1945 British policymakers saw security as a global concern."
- **Hermeticism:** "Britain has traditionally had a very closed defence decision-making apparatus… The power relationships in this group have changed in favour of the civilians and against the military in the post-war period."[280]

"Britain still considered itself to be a world power, and this confidence was strengthened by three important technical developments in the 1950s, which increased its military strength. These developments were in research into space, in the design of nuclear weapons, and in the design of intercontinental ballistic missiles. Britain's leadership in nuclear power resulted in the development of nuclear weapons. But it also led to the building of the first nuclear energy power station in the world in 1956." [281]

Later, Britain's financial and economic difficulties increased. For example, in the same year, in 1956 in the Suez Crisis, Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal which threatened the British communication with the Far East. It urged Britain to become a member of the **European Community** on 1 January **1973**, but most British continued to feel that they had not had any economic benefit from Europe.[282]

279 Ball, Simon. "British Defence Policy," 548. In *A Companion to Contemporary Britain 1939-2000*, edited by Paul Addison and Harriet Jones. Blackwell Publishing, 2005, pp. 539-556.
280 Ball, Simon. "British Defence Policy," 548-551.
281 McDowall, D. *An Illustrated History of Great Britain,* 168.
282 Nagy, László, J. *Az európai integráció politikai története*. Szeged, 2003, 59–64.

When the first female prime minister, **Margaret Thatcher** (1979–1997), the Iron Lady (got her nickname for her hostility to West's policy of *detente*[283]) had come to power, she called on the nation for hard work, patriotism and self-help. She wanted free trade at home and abroad, individual enterprise and less government economic protection or interference. Thatcher promised to stop Britain's decline, but by 1983 she did not succeed. Unemployment had risen from 1.25 million in 1979 to over 3 million. Further, by selling assets such as British Telecom and British Airways on the stock market, the government hoped to create a property-owning democracy.[284]

In 1988 Britain celebrated two major anniversaries, the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, and the Glorious Revolution in 1688.

Society and Culture in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s

For a period of 30 years after the WWII, unemployment was low, wages increased by 20 percent and living standards steadily improved. Although Britain prospered after 1945, compared with other countries of the European Economic Community, it merited the nickname "the sick man of Europe."[285]

The Sixties showed consumption and hedonism – through America, Elvis Presley's Rock and Roll reached England. The *Beatles* from Liverpool debuted in the same decade. Other leading British bands of the 1960s and 1970s included the *Rolling Stones, the Who, the Kinks, Pink Floyd, Led Zeppelin* and *Roxy Music*. Solo British artists included the guitarist Eric Clapton and Dusty Springfield. The most significant form of cultural protest in the second half of the 1970s was the load and aggressive punk music. Its representatives were *The Sex Pistols* and the *Clash*.[286]

"London was a particularly significant cultural center during the 1960s; the city

283 Détente (a French word meaning release from tension) is the name given to a period of improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union that began tentatively in 1971 and took decisive form when President Richard M. Nixon visited the secretary-general of the Soviet Communist party, Leonid I. Brezhnev, in Moscow, May 1972. https://www.history.com/topics/cold-war/detente

284 Pemberton, Hugh. "The Transformation of the Economy," 185, 191. In *A Companion to Contemporary Britain 1939-2000*, edited by Paul Addison and Harriet Jones. Blackwell Publishing, 2005, pp.180-203.

Smith Wilson, Dolly. "Gender. Change and Continuity," 257. In *A Companion to Contemporary Britain 1939-2000*, edited by Paul Addison and Harriet Jones. Blackwell Publishing, 2005, pp.245-263.

285 Dargie, R. *A History of Britain*, 196.

286 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain*, 223.

of youth culture was referred to as "Swinging London." In addition to music, British fashion attained international fame when the miniskirt was invented, and "British model, Twiggy[287] became the first supermodel with an impact on culture far beyond just wearing clothes. The television show, *The Avengers* and the *James Bond* films [based on the novels of the 20th-century English writer Ian Fleming] added to the image of a youthful, exciting culture. England even won the World Cup, soccer's greatest prize, in 1966."[288]

Figure 30 – Twiggy

Britain indeed was becoming more permissive and less judgmental society. For instance, abortion and homosexuality were relaxed in 1967; theatre sponsorship ended in 1968. Buddhism and Maoism were introduced to Britain as well.[289] Furthermore, Britain underwent the **second wave of feminism**. As a result, the 1970 bill forbade pay discrimination against women. The Australian-born **Germaine Greer** became one of Britain's as well as and the world's leading feminist intellectuals. Her ***The Female Eunuch*** (1970) became a best seller, in which she reflected on a broad range of social phenomena, from misogyny to the suppression of women's sexuality to constricting bras. *The Female Eunuch* was a powerful consciousness-raising text, drawing many women to feminism.[290] Finally, Britain also participated in the Green and Anti-Nuclear Movements of the 1980s.

Britain in the 1990s

The 1990s Britain also experienced interesting or shocking happenings both in history and in culture. A few examples:

- 1994 – First women priests are ordained by the Church of England. It was regarded a controversial step: welcomed by most of the church but rejected by traditionalists.

1994 – English Channel tunnel ("Chunnel"): in 1994, a nineteenth-century plan had been finally realized, and a tunnel under the English Channel,

287 Source of the photo: https://www.pinterest.es/pin/377458012491728786/
288 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain*, 223.
289 Dargie, R. *A History of Britain*, 197.
290 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain,* 226.

the world's longest undersea tunnel opened. It links France and Britain by high-speed rail. Opposed to the expectations, the tunnel has not enhanced great economic development in Kent, and despite a few illegal immigrants to Britain, it has not endangered British national security.[291] "Each day, about 30,000 people, 6,000 cars and 3,500 trucks journey through the Chunnel on passenger, shuttle and freight trains."[292]

- 1997 – **Diana, Princess of Wales**, had tragically died in a car crash in France.

The first **Harry Potter** book was published.

- 10 April 1998 – The Troubles, a long period of ethno-nationalist conflict in Northern Ireland ended, that lasted about 30 years from the late 1960s to the late 1990s, but whose history dated back to the Easter Uprising of 1916. The Good Friday Agreement, among others, signed by PM **Tony Blair** (1997-2007) was an agreement between Northern Ireland's nationalists and unionists – as a result of British government negotiations and US pressure on Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army. It set out plans for devolved government and provided for the early release of terrorist prisoners and the decommissioning of paramilitary weapons.

- 1999 – Britain decides not to join the European Single Currency

- The British popular culture continued flourishing with Oasis, Blur, 'Parklife,' Billy Joel, The Spice Girls, Radiohead and Westlife.

3.9. Contemporary historical, cultural and other events in Great Britain

Multicultural and religious issues

"By the start of the 21st century the greatest concern among Britons and British authorities was caused by Britain's growing Muslim communities, mostly immigrants from Pakistan and India. Radical Islamic organizers had become influential in some British Muslim communities. The strength of radical Islam in London led some to dub it 'Londonistan,' although others argued the phenomenon, though real,

291 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain*, 248.

292 https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/english-channel-tunnel-opens

was exaggerated. In addition to extra-European issues such as the Palestinian situation, radical Muslim organizations fed on resentment of British racism and some immigrants' fear of being assimilated. What brought the relationship of the Muslim community to the larger society to the top of the agenda was the **Rushdie affair**."[293] British writer *Salman Rushdie*, an immigrant from India, wrote a novel called *The Satanic Verses* (1988), which many Muslims took to be "blasphemous and insulting throughout the Muslim world." Muslim outrage was expressed mainly through massive demonstrations and demands that Penguin Books withdraw the novel."[294]

(Terrorist) Attacks in Great Britain

After the Irish Republican Army (IRA) carried out a campaign of bombing and sabotage against the civil, economic, and military infrastructure of Britain in the second half of the twentieth century, the country has been forced to face (terrorist) attacks in the twenty-first century as well. A few examples from the 2000s, 2010s and 2020s:

- 20 September 2000: The IRA fired an RPG-22 rocket launcher at the MI6 headquarters in London.[295]
- 7 July 2005: **7/7 central London bombings** conducted by four separate Islamist extremist suicide bombers, which targeted civilians using the public transport system during the morning rush hour. Three bombs were detonated on three separate trains on the London Underground and one on a double-decker bus. As well as the suicide bombers, 52 other people were killed and around 700 more were injured. It was the UK's worst terrorist incident since the 1988 Lockerbie bombing and the **first Islamist suicide attack** in the country.[296]
- 14 May, 2010: MP Stephen Timms was stabbed during his constituency surgery by a British Islamic extremist and first Al-Qaeda sympathiser.[297]

293 Burns, W. E. *A Brief History of Great Britain*, 245.

294 Slaughter, M. M. *The Salman Rushdie Affair: Apostasy, Honor, and Freedom of Speech. Virginia Law Review,* 79(1), 1993, 153–154. doi:10.2307/1073409

295 Sengupta, Kim. "Missile launcher in MI6 attack was new to UK." *Independent*, 22 September 2011, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/missile-launcher-in-mi6-attack-was-new-to-uk-698787.html

296 "7 July London bombings: What happened that day." *BBC News*, 3 July 2015, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-33253598

297 Dodd, Vicram. "Stephen Timms attacker guilty of attempted murder." *The Guardian*, 2 November 2010, https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2010/nov/02/stephen-timms-attacker-guilty

- 2016, 16 June: **Murder of Jo Cox** – Thomas Mair, a 52-year-old white nationalist, shot and stabbed the MP Jo Cox outside a surgery in West Yorkshire, and severely wounded a passer-by who came to her aid. The attack was treated as an act of terrorism. As the judge said, "There is no doubt that this murder was done for the purpose of advancing a political, racial and ideological cause namely that of violent white supremacism and exclusive nationalism most associated with Nazism and its modern forms."[298]
- 22 March **2017**: **2017 Westminster attack** – Khalid Masood, a 52-year-old Islamist, drove a car into pedestrians on Westminster Bridge, killing four and injuring almost fifty people. He ran into the grounds of the Palace of Westminster and fatally stabbed a police officer, before being shot dead by police.[299]
- 22 May, **2017**: **Manchester Arena bombing** – An Islamist suicide bomber blew himself up at Manchester Arena as people were leaving a concert, killing 22 and injuring 139. It became the deadliest terrorist attack in Britain since the 7/7 London bombings in 2005.[300]
- 3 June 2017: **2017 London Bridge attack** – Three Islamists drove a van into pedestrians on London bridge before stabbing people in and around pubs in nearby Borough Market. Eight people were killed and at least 48 wounded. The attackers were shot dead by police eight minutes after the incident was reported.[301]
- 29 November 2019: **2019 London Bridge stabbing** - Two people were killed in the attack and three were left injured. The attacker, 28-year-old Usman Khan, was shot dead by police.[302]
- 2 February 2020: **2020 Streatham stabbing** - Sudesh Amman, wearing a fake suicide vest similar to the one used in the 2019 London Bridge stabbing, was shot dead by armed police after stabbing and injuring two people

298 J. Wilkie (23 November 2016). "Sentencing remarks of Mr Justice Wilkie: R-v-Mair (Jo Cox murder)" (PDF). Judiciary. Accessed 24 November 2016.

299 "Westminster attack: What happened." *BBC News*, 7 April 2017, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-39355108

300 https://news.sky.com/topic/manchester-bombing-6647

301 "London Bridge attack: What happened." *BBC News*, 3 May 2019, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-40147164

302 Picheta, Rob. "Suspect in deadly stabbing near London Bridge identified." CNN, 2019 December 1, https://edition.cnn.com/2019/11/29/uk/london-bridge-incident-gbr-intl/index.html

in Lambeth Borough of Streatham.[303]

- 20 June 2020: **2020 Reading stabbings** - Khairi Saadallah, shouting "Allahu Akbar", attacked two groups of people socialising in a public park in the centre of Reading, killing 3 and injuring 3 others.[304]

Scottish Independence Referendum (18 September 2014)

On 18 September 2014, Scotland hold a referendum to make decision about its future within the UK. The question was: Should Scotland be an independent country?

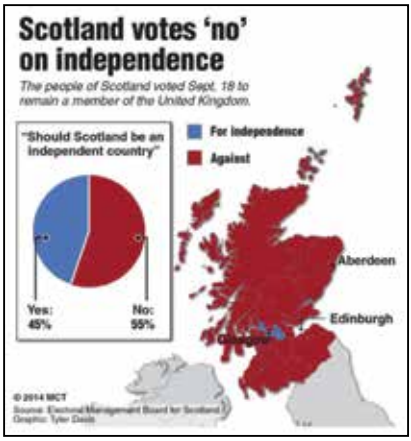


Figure 31 - Scottish Independence Referendum (result)

Reasons for Scottish independence are: a nation ought to govern itself regardless of other considerations (nationalist argument), the country could do better on its own as a small European country (economic argument), to make its own decisions about social policy like migration. [305] Finally, Scotland voted "No." [306] When the results were announced, Scotland's First Minister Alex Salmond (2007–2014) called for unity and urged the unionist parties to deliver on more powers, and **David Cameron** (British PM 2010-2016) said he was delighted the UK would remain together."[307] On 13 October 2014, the parties published proposals on further devolution for Scotland.[308] In 2016, Nicola Sturgeon, the new First Minister of Scotland

303 "Streatham attack: Terrorist threat 'not diminishing', says anti-terror police chief." *BBC News*, 5 February 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-51389884

304 "Reading stabbing attack suspect Khairi Saadallah known to MI5 – sources." *BBC News*, 22 June 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-53129046

305 https://www.nationalworld.com/news/politics/what-are-the-arguments-for-scottish-independence-experts-explain-the-reasons-why-scotland-would-vote-yes-3249855

306 Source of the map of independence referendum results: https://greenwavegazette.org/2526/news-features/news/local-national-world-news/scotland-says-nay-to-independence/

307 "Scottish referendum: Scotland votes 'No' to independence" *BBC News*, 19 September 2014 https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-29270441

308 https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/research/scotland-the-referendum-and-independence/timeline/

(2014–), hinted the possibility of holding a second referendum, but in 2019, Boris Johnson, British Prime Minister refused on the grounds that the 2014 referendum was a "once in a generation opportunity." However, in March 2021, Sturgeon told Johnson that a second independence referendum was "a matter of when – not if" and it is about to happen by autumn 2023."[309]

Brexit (2016–2020)

The term 'Brexit' (British + exit) refers to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland leaving the European Union on 31 January 2020. The EU is an economic and political union involving 28 European countries. It allows free trade and free movement of people, to live and work in whichever country they choose. The UK joined it in 1973 (when it was known as the European Economic Community). UK is the first member state who withdrew from the EU.

Reasons for Brexit

- *sovereignty* – to be able to make its own decision related to the country →
- *immigration* – in 2019 there were approximately 6.2 million people with non-British nationality living in the UK, and 9.5 million people who were born abroad. It led to the *loss of employment* and *employment opportunity*[310]
- *economic crisis* of Syria and Iran
- *increased terrorism* and *low economic growth*[311]

As a consequence, a public vote/referendum was held on 23 June 2016, to decide whether the UK should leave or remain. Leave won by 52% to 48%. The referendum turnout was very high at 72%, with more than 30 million people voting. After the referendum David Cameron, resigned from his PM position. The new Prime Minister, **Theresa May (2016–2019)** also resigned after her Brexit deal was rejected three times, and she was replaced by the new Prime Minister, **Boris Johnson (2019–)**. The Parliament rejected Theresa May's Brexit deal due to the '**backstop**.' This was designed to ensure there would be no border posts or barriers between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland after Brexit. If it had been needed, the backstop would have kept the UK in a close trading relationship with the EU and avoided checks altogether. But many MPs were critical. They said if

309 https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/scottish-independence

310 https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn06077/

311 For more information, read: Somai, Miklós and Biedermann, Zsuzsánna. "Brexit: Reasons and Challenges" Acta Oeconomica. 66, 2016, 137-156. DOI: 10.1556/032.2016.66.S1.8

the backstop was used, the UK could be trapped in it for years. This would prevent the country from striking trade deals with other countries. The backstop has been replaced with new customs arrangements so that the UK would be able to sign and implement its own trade agreements with countries around the world. It effectively creates a customs and regulatory border between Northern Ireland and Great Britain. This means some goods entering Northern Ireland from Great Britain would have to pay EU import taxes (known as tariffs).[312]

COVID-19 Pandemic and the UK

The severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus was first detected in the city of Wuhan, China at the end of December 2019. As of 29 October 2021, over 240 million cases have been reported across the world. The virus reached the UK in late January 2020. As of 29 October 2021, there had been more than 8.9 million confirmed cases and cc. 140.000 deaths among people who had recently tested positive. It is the world's nineteenth-highest death rate by population and the second-highest death toll in Europe.[313] Police were empowered to enforce the measures, and the Coronavirus Act 2020 gave all four governments emergency powers not used since the Second World War.[314]

312 https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887

313 https://www.who.int/countries/gbr/

314 Hope, Christopher; Rayner, Gordon. "What is in the Coronavirus Bill? Key areas of the new legislation." *The Telegraph*, 25 March 2020, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2020/03/25/coronavirus-bill-summary/

Chapter 1: Sixteenth Century

THE REIGN OF HENRY VII

The battle was over. On a stretch of high ground in the midland heart of the kingdom twenty thousand men had met in fierce, clumsy combat, and the day had ended in the decisive defeat of the stronger army. Its leader, the King, had been killed fighting heroically, and men had seen his naked corpse slung across his horse's back and borne away to an obscure grave. His captains were dead, captured, or in flight, his troops broken and demoralized. But in the victor's army all was rejoicing. In following the claimant to the throne his supporters had chosen the winning side, and when they saw the golden circlet which had fallen from the King's head placed upon their leader's, their lingering doubts fled before the conviction that God had blessed his cause, and they hailed him joyously as their sovereign.

The day was 22 August 1485; the battlefield was to be named after the small neighboring town of Market Bosworth; the fallen King was the third and ablest of English monarchs who bore the name Richard; and the man whom the battle made a king was to be the seventh and perhaps the greatest of those who bore the name Henry.

The very fact that Henry Tudor became King of England at all is somewhat of a miracle. His claim to the English throne was tenuous at best. His father was Edmund Tudor, a Welshman of Welsh royal lineage, but that was not too important as far as his claim to the English throne went. What was important though was his heritage through his mother, Margaret Beaufort, a descendant of Edward III. This descent from King Edward was through his third son, John of Gaunt. John's third wife, Katherine Swynford had borne him several children as his mistress before he

married her. The children born before the marriage were later legitmised, but barred from the succession. Margaret Beaufort was descended from one of the children born before the marriage of John and Katherine.

By 1485 the Wars of the Roses had been raging in England for many years between the Houses of York and Lancaster. The Lancastrian Henry later took for his bride Elizabeth of York thereby uniting the houses.

The real matter was decided on the battlefield, at the Battle of Bosworth Field. It was here that Henry and his forces met with Richard III and Henry won the crown. (see quotation above) It was truly through the defeat of Richard and the 'right of conquest' that Henry claimed the throne. It was solidified however, by his marriage to Elizabeth of York, the eldest child of the late King Edward IV.

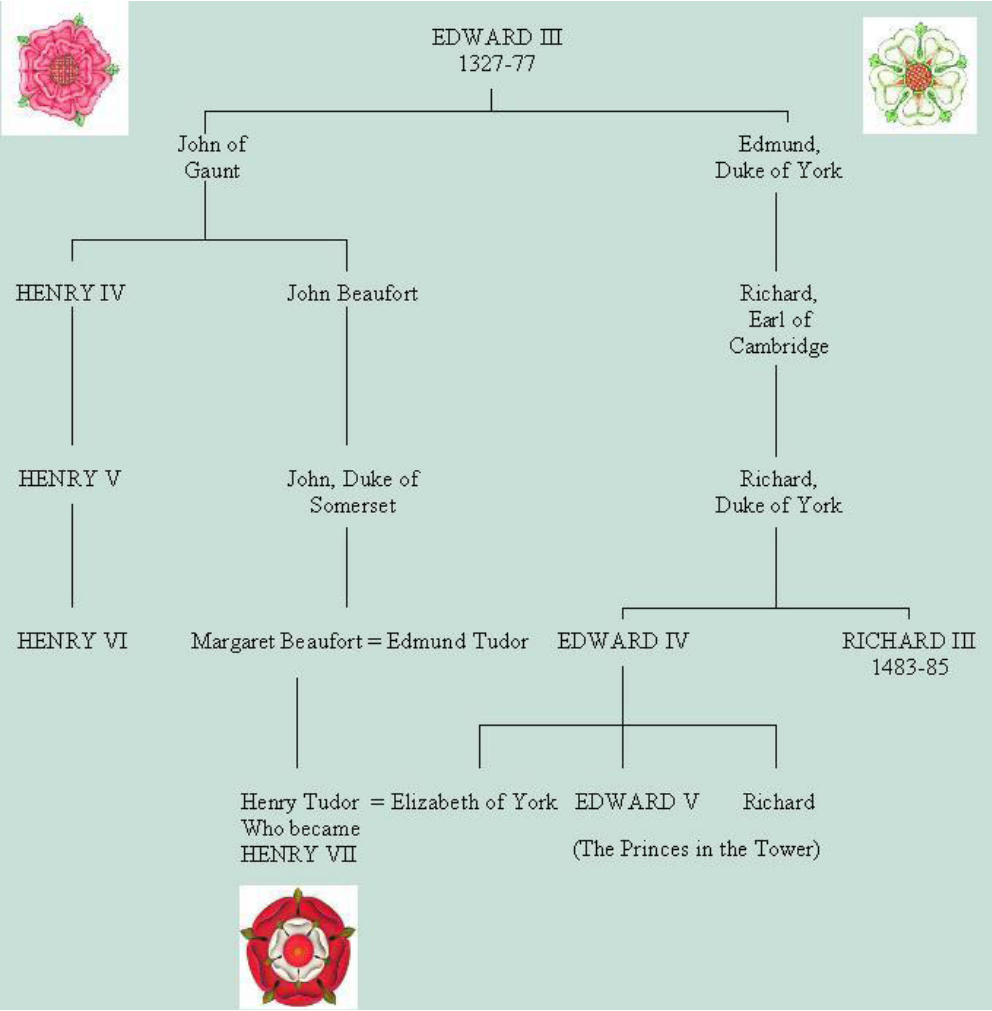
The main problem facing Henry was restoring faith and strength in the monarchy. He also had to deal with other claimants, with some of them having a far stronger claim than his own. To deal with this, Henry strengthened the government and his own power, at the expense of the nobles. Henry also had to deal with a treasury that was nearly bankrupt. The English monarchy had never been one of the wealthiest of Europe and even more so after the War of the Roses. Through his monetary strategy, Henry managed to steadily accumulate wealth during his reign, so that by the time he died, he left a considerable fortune to his son, Henry VIII.

It could be debated whether or not Henry VII was a great king, but he was clearly a successful king. He had several goals that he had accomplished by the end of his reign. He had established a new dynasty after 30 years of

struggle, he had strengthened the judicial system as well as the treasury and had successfully denied all the other claimants to his throne. The monarchy that he left to his son was a fairly secure one and most definitely a wealthy one.

Henry had seven children by Elizabeth of York, four of whom survived infancy: Arthur, who died shortly after his marriage to Catherine of Aragon (a point of some importance during "The Divorce"), Henry, Margaret and Mary.

Henry Tudor's Family Tree



The Tudors ruled England for only three generations, an almost pathetically brief span of time in comparison

with other dynasties before and since. During the 118 years of Tudor rule, England was a less weighty factor in European politics than it had been earlier, and nothing like the world power it would later become. Of the five Tudors who occupied the throne—three kings, followed by the first two women ever to be queens of England by right of inheritance rather than marriage— one was an epically tragic figure in the fullest Aristotelian sense, two reigned only briefly and came to miserable ends, and the last and longest-lived devoted her life and her reign and the resources of her kingdom to no loftier objective than her own survival. Theirs was, by most measures, a melancholy story. It is impossible not to suspect that even the founder of the dynasty, the only Tudor whose reign was both long and mostly peaceful and did not divide the people of England against themselves (all of which helps to explain

why he is forgotten today), would have been appalled to see where his descendants took his kingdom and how their story ended.

And yet, more than four centuries after the Tudors became extinct, one of them is the most famous king and another the most famous queen in the history not only of England but of Europe and probably the world. They have become not merely famous but posthumous stars in the twenty-first-century firmament of celebrity: on the big and little screens and in popular fiction their names have become synonymous with greatness, with glory. This is not the fate one might have expected for a pair whose characters were dominated by cold and ruthless egotism, whose careers were studded with acts of atrocious cruelty and false dealing, and who were never more than stonily

indifferent to the well-being of the people they ruled. It takes some explaining.

At least as remarkable as the endlessly growing celebrity of the Tudors is the extent to which, after so many centuries, they remain controversial among scholars. Here, too, the reasons are many and complex. They begin with the fact that the dynasty's pivotal figure, Henry VIII, really did change history to an extent rivaled by few other monarchs, and that appraisals of his reign were long entangled in questions of religious belief. It matters also that both Henry and his daughter Elizabeth were not just rulers but consummate performers, masters of political propaganda and political theater. They created, and spent their lives hiding inside, fictional versions of themselves that never bore more than a severely limited relation to reality but were nevertheless successfully imprinted on the

collective imagination of their own time. These invented personas have endured into the modern world not only because of their inherent appeal—it is hard to resist the image of bluff King Hal, of Gloriana the Virgin Queen—but even more because of their political usefulness across the generations.

Henry VIII

(1491-1547)

English king and Renaissance prince, who solidified the Tudor dynasty, broke with the Catholic Church, and oversaw the centralization of government, but who was also plagued by the woes of succession and marital mismanagement.

Here was a king cloaked in as many contradictions and contrasts as he had wives. He was a product of man

and a force of nature. He was distinguished as much by what he succeeded in doing as by what he failed to do. He was a reincarnated Prince Hal, characterized by an unparalleled zest for life who metamorphosed into a sour, diseased, and often evil combination of royal Falstaff and grotesque Goliath.

Henry Marries Catherine of Aragon

Henry's first marriage, within seven weeks of his accession, was to Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow and the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. To overcome the biblical caution (Lev. 20:21) that a man who takes his brother's wife shall be childless, a special dispensation from the pope was received. Henry married Catherine freely and willingly, and although she was five years his senior, she was probably both physically and

intellectually appealing; there was also the prospect of a Spanish alliance to support his antagonism toward France plus his hope to rebuild England's continental glory that provided added inducement. The happiness of their early years together was interwoven with disappointments relating to childbirth. Repeated pregnancies produced only one surviving child, Princess Mary, born in 1516; by 1525, Catherine was 40 years old and had not been pregnant for five years. Such a natal history, physicians say, is not untypical where one parent is syphilitic. (Mary would later exhibit signs of possible syphilitic congenital infection.)

The extent to which this is true suggests that Henry's difficulties in having a son may have been mostly his own fault.

But having a male heir was of vital importance. As only the second reigning Tudor, Henry was sensitive to the potential insecurity of his family's claim to the throne. (His father's succession came as a result of victory on the field of battle in 1485, but Henry VII's lineage and the fact that he was more Welsh and French than English made him aware of the need to fortify the upstart Tudor dynasty. His own marriage to Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV, and the marriages of his children to the royal houses of Spain and Scotland reflect these concerns. England had no clear-cut laws of succession, and Henry VII's claim was through his mother, an illegitimate Plantagenet, whose descendants Parliament had earlier expressly excluded from inheriting the throne.) This claim had to be strengthened, but the succession of Mary as queen in her own right, although not illegal, was without precedent. To

a 16th-century mind, this prospect was fraught with danger: disputed succession and civil war at one extreme, domination by a foreign power via marriage to a non-English prince at another. So, after rejecting his few alternative courses of action, including the grooming of his illegitimate son, Henry focused attention on divorce and remarriage.

A divorce (an annulment, really) granted by the papacy was not an unreasonable expectation since precedents existed. But there were also complications: Pope Clement VII's hesitation, generated by diplomatic and military pressure from Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, who was Catherine of Aragon's nephew, and Henry's growing desire for the new love of his life, Anne Boleyn, For her part, Anne craftily withheld her favors from her

anxious suitor because she wished to become his queen, not merely his mistress.

By 1527, another plot lime was added to the story of what is known as the King's Great Matter: conscience. Henry became convinced that his marriage to Catherine had been a great sin; the curse of Leviticus was real indeed. Reason might call attention to the existence of Mary to remind Henry he was not childless, and there was also the biblical injunction (Deut. 25:5), which said it was the duty of a man to marry his brother's widow. But to Henry, Catherine's many stillbirths and miscarriages were a more telling reality. When he said his conscience was violently troubled by the sin of his false marriage, he was>not being hypocritical. Henry was an egoist and had convinced himself he was right. No doubt it was this conviction that

enabled him to survive all the troubles of the divorce and the break with Rome.

Although this was the Age of the Protestant Reformation, and the divorce would pave the way for England's role in it, it should also be remembered that Henry was a Catholic at heart, albeit not one who would be subservient to the papacy, even a papacy that had only" recently granted him the title, "Defender of the Faith." In this respect Henry was little different from his fellow European monarchs. Still, there was deprivation and corruption within the Catholic Church, and the general attitude of the English people toward the clergy was unfavorable. Moreover, the rich, corrupt, and uncelibate Cardinal Wolsey, who was also Henry's chief minister, symbolized the worldly aspects of the Church in its worst light. And it was Wolsey who was charged with the

responsibility for persuading the pope to grant the divorce. At this task Wolsey failed and, for political reasons, the papacy kept its involvement at a minimum and itself uncommitted. For his failure, Wolsey was forced from his political office in 1529 and surely would have been tried (for exceeding his authority) and executed had his natural death not beaten the executioner's ax.

Henry then began to pressure Rome and, using the anticlericalism prevalent among members of Parliament, to turn threats into hostile legislation. By 1531, little progress toward divorce had been made. At this point Thomas Cromwell, a former aide to Wolsey and a member of the Privy Council, emerged with a plan that would not only take care of the divorce but also help in creating England as a sovereign national state. Cromwell was the driving force in the decade of the 1530s, and it was he who gave a

coherence and purpose to policy that had otherwise been lacking during Henry's reign. In 1532, the English clergy became fully submissive when they accepted the king in the pope's place as their supreme legislator. Also, the machinery for halting the flow of English money to Rome was set in place. By 1533, with the papacy as stubborn as ever, the English Reformation hit full stride.

The crucial Act in Restraint of Appeals became law in March, and henceforth all decisions of the English church court would be final and not subject to appeal to the pope. Two months later, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer opened court; he declared Henry's marriage to Catherine void, and he announced Henry's earlier-and secret-marriage to Anne Boleyn. So ended the King's Great Matter. Catherine was legally and physically cast aside, as was

daughter Mary, and the new heir to the throne that Anne had been carrying for several months would be legitimate.

Act Declares England Sovereign State

The Act in Restraint of Appeals, formulated by Cromwell with Henry's support, essentially stated a new doctrine: the king was supreme head and the country was a sovereign state free from all foreign authority. This was a giant step toward total independence and national sovereignty, but among critics of such a posture was the righteous and medieval-thinking Thomas More. An Act of Supremacy in 1534 made Henry the "Supreme Head of the Church of England." It was More's refusal to support this new order which culminated in More's dramatic trial-in Westminster Halland beheading in 1535. The man Erasmus had once called "a man for all seasons" died, according to

his final words, "the king's good servant, but God's first." While many historians find flaws in the seeming nobility of More's position, none condone Henry's actions. Nevertheless, More's death did not excite much public sympathy, and the English Reformation proceeded, most importantly with the dissolution of the monasteries,

The destruction of the monasteries ("putrified oaks" one contemporary called them) eliminated the last sources of papal support in England, and it provided vast amounts of land (about one tenth of the country) and income-first from the revenue and then from the sale of more than half of that land-to a financially troubled government, Moreover, the sale of those lands, to the gentry and the nobility, tied these powerful segments of society to the new order.

The last 11 years of Henry's life were filled with much less happiness than the king expected was his due, His doctrinal waverings left the religious position in England unstable, His return to war with France briefly gained the coastal town of Boulogne but cost outrageous sums; this led to other financial ventures, including loans and currency depreciation, which combined to fuel a European wide inflation and to swell the royal debt. And his private life continued to disappoint more than please.

Though Anne Boleyn had been flirtatious with others, her only "crime" was that she had failed to provide the required son; daughter Elizabeth was seen as an unnecessary replication of Mary. Henry's passion for Anne wilted. Evidence against her was gathered, some by the torture of her brother, and so it was no surprise that she was found guilty of incest and adultery. In 1536, shortly after

Catherine of Aragon died-an occasion Henry celebrated with a festive ball-Anne's neck rested briefly on the chopping block in the Tower of London before being severed. Wife number three, Jane Seymour, a lady at court, had caught Henry's eye during Anne's waning days, and they married quickly.

Edward VI

Edward VI, King of England and Ireland, born at Greenwich on the 12th of October 1537, was the only child of Henry VIII by his third wife, Jane Seymour, who died of puerperal fever twelve days later. The story that the mother's life was deliberately sacrificed by the performance of Caesarean section is unfounded, although Jane's death was little noticed amid the rejoicings which greeted the advent of a male heir to the throne. But in spite of Holbein's vivacious portrait of Edward at

the age of two (now at Hanover), he was a frail child, and a short life was anticipated for him from his early years. This did not prevent a strenuous education; until the age of six he was naturally left in the charge of women, but when he was only seven his tutor Dr Coxe, afterwards bishop of Ely, writes that he could decline any Latin noun and conjugate any regular verb (L. and P., 1544, ii. 726); "every day in the mass-time he readeth a portion of Solomon's Proverbs, wherein he delighteth much." Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cooke and Roger Ascham all helped to teach him Latin, Greek and French; and by the age of thirteen he had read Aristotle's *Ethics* in the original and was himself translating Cicero's *De philosophia* into Greek.

Edward was Duke of Cornwall from his birth, but he was never prince of Wales, and he was only nine when he succeeded his father as king of England and Ireland and supreme head of the English church (28th of January 1546/7). His nonage threw power

into the hands of Somerset and then of Northumberland, and enabled Gardiner and Bonner to maintain that the royal supremacy over the church was, or should be, in abeyance. Projects for his marriage were hardly even the occasion, but only the excuse, for Somerset's war on Scotland and Northumberland's subsequent alliance with France.

All factions sought to control his person, not because of his personality but because of his position; he was like the Great Seal, only more so, an indispensable adjunct to the wielder of authority. The Protector's brother [Edward's uncle, Thomas Seymour] tried to bribe him with pocket-money; Northumberland was more subtle and established a complete dominion over his mind, and then put him forward at the age of fourteen as entitled to all the power of Henry VIII. But he was only Northumberland's mask; of his individual influence on the course of history during his reign there is hardly a trace. A posthumous effort was made to give him

the credit of a humane desire to save Joan Bocher from the flames; but he recorded with apparently cold-blooded indifference the execution of both his uncles, and he certainly made no attempt to mitigate the harassing attentions which the council paid his sister Mary. This passed for piety with the zealots, and the persecutions of Mary's reign reflected a halo on that of the Protestant Josiah. So strong was the regret that rumours of his survival persisted, and hare-brained youths were found to personate him throughout Mary's and even far into Elizabeth's reign.

It was well that they were false, for Edward showed signs of all the Tudor obstinacy, and he was a fanatic into the bargain, as no other Tudor was except Mary. The combination would probably have involved England in disasters far greater than any that ensued upon his premature death; and it was much better that the Anglican settlement of religion should have been left to the

compromising temper of Elizabeth. As it was, he bequeathed a legacy of woe; his health began to fail in 1552, and in May 1553 it was known that he was dying. But his will and the various drafts of it only betray the agitated and illogical efforts of Northumberland to contrive some means whereby he might continue to control the government and prevent the administration of justice.

Mary and Elizabeth were to be excluded from the throne, as not sufficiently pliant instruments; Mary Stuart was ignored as being under Scottish, Catholic and French influence; the duchess of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey's mother, was excluded because she was married, and the duke her husband might claim the crown matrimonial. In fact, all females were excluded, except Jane, on the ground that no woman could reign; even she was excluded in the first draft, and the crown was left to "the Lady Jane's heirs male." But this draft was manipulated so as to read "the Lady Jane

and her heirs male." That Edward himself was responsible for these delirious provisions is improbable. But he had been so impregnated with the divine right of kings and the divine truth of Protestantism that he thought he was entitled and bound to override the succession as established by law and exclude a Catholic from the throne; and his last recorded words were vehement injunctions to Cranmer to sign the will.

He died at Greenwich on the 6th of July 1553, and was buried in Henry VII's chapel by Cranmer with Protestant rites on the 8th of August, while Mary had Mass said for his soul in the Tower.

MARY I (1516 -1558)

WHEN THE FIRST WOMAN EVER TO RULE ENGLAND TOOK the throne in 1553, she was already a tragic figure. For a quarter of a century she had been immersed in

betrayal, loss, and grief. Her life had been blighted first by the egotism of a father who was quite pre- pared to destroy her, then by a young half-brother who regarded it as his sacred duty to save her from her own deepest beliefs and, when that could not be arranged, to save England from her.

New Beginning

From the hour she entered London as queen, Mary Tudor faced a daunting array of challenges. She had to take charge of a government most of whose senior members—both those who were now her prisoners and those still in office—had actively opposed her succession. She had to assume the headship of a church whose primate publicly condemned her as a heretic and had supported Jane Grey to the end. The treasury she had inherited was not only empty but deep in debt, her kingdom too enfeebled by financial

mismanagement to play a weighty role in international affairs, her people confused and divided by three decades of religious convulsion.

Of course she had an agenda of her own and her own priorities. She wanted a regime, a religious settlement especially, that accorded with her view of what was true and false, what right and wrong. To accomplish this she was going to have to decide who were her friends and who her enemies, who could be trusted and who could not. She had had almost no training in government, had in no way been prepared to rule. And, being a thirty-seven-year-old virgin whose heir was both the daughter of her mother's great enemy and obviously on the evangelical side of the religious divide, she had good reason to want to produce a child. But she had little time in which to do so—her biological clock was approaching sunset.

When she arrived at the Tower, which in keeping with tradition was to be her residence until her coronation, Mary was welcomed by a rather pathetic little collection of eager well-wishers. One was the old Duke of Norfolk, an octogenarian now, who had remained a prisoner since narrowly escaping execution at the end of Henry VIII's reign. Another was Stephen Gardiner, who had risen high in Henry's service only to lose his seat on the council, then the Bishopric of Winchester, and finally his freedom. Still another was young Edward Courtenay; like his cousin Mary he was a great-grandchild of King Edward IV, and he had literally grown up in the Tower after being locked away at the time of his father's execution fifteen years before. For them and for others, Mary's arrival meant deliverance from what otherwise might have been confinement until death. And for all of them, release meant

more than liberty. The bishops deposed during Edward's reign were soon restored to their sees. Gardiner was not only restored but became chancellor. Norfolk was given back much of the Howard family patrimony and his place on the council. Courtenay was made Earl of Devon and, because of his royal blood and his family's conservative credentials, found himself put forward as a possible husband for the queen. If they were not all her friends, strictly speaking, at worst they were the enemies of her enemies. That was not nothing. Mary was generous even with those who obviously were her enemies—at least with most of them. The whole sprawling Dudley connection—John, Duke of Northumberland, his brother Andrew, all five of his sons, his daughter-in-law Jane Grey and Jane's father the Duke of Suffolk—were in custody along with various of their supporters and allies. Most were put on

trial for treason, convicted (the guilt of the accused being, for once, certain beyond possibility of doubt), and attainted. But only the duke and two obscure henchmen were executed. Jane and her husband Guildford Dudley, though under sentence of death, were kept in the Tower in comfortable circumstances, as were Guildford's brothers John, Earl of Warwick, Ambrose, Robert, and Henry. Suffolk was, somehow, released without being charged. Thomas Cranmer, who after initial hesitation had thrown himself fully behind Dudley's attempted coup, was merely confined to Lambeth Palace, the archbishop of Canterbury's London residence. He was permitted to preside at King Edward's funeral ceremony and to use the reformed rites in doing so. Mary declared that she ―wished to constrain no man to go to mass or to ―compel or constrain other men's consciences. A proclamation

informed her subjects that nothing would be done to alter the Edwardian settlement until a Parliament was assembled to address the question. When that old champion of reform John Dudley faced the crowd that had gathered to witness his execution, he professed himself to be a Catholic who prayed for England's return to the old faith. (He could hardly have meant the Roman Catholic faith, but possibly he was hoping to win favor for all the members of his family whom Mary had in custody.) The conservatives must have thought that a reversion to the traditional ways was going to be accomplished without great pain: Dudley's conduct would have encouraged them to believe that the evangelical movement was made up entirely of self-seeking opportunists prepared to abandon their heresies as soon as pressure was applied.

The evangelicals for their part, having had things almost entirely their way since the last months of Henry VIII, remained fiercely committed to expunging every trace of Catholicism from English life. This was true of no one more than of Cranmer, who seemed to grow more radical by the month. By 1553 he had had ready for Parliament's attention his Code of Ecclesiastical Constitutions, a revision of canon law that, if enacted, would have made it heresy to believe not just in papal supremacy but in transubstantiation (described as —repugnant to the plain words of scripture) and not to believe in justification by faith alone. Anyone accused of such offenses was to be tried in the church courts, excommunicated upon conviction, and given sixteen days in which to recant or be turned over to the civil authorities for execution. John Dudley, who blamed Cranmer for

the frequency with which evangelical preachers were offending the rich and powerful by criticizing their ongoing seizures of church property, had taken his revenge by blocking action on Cranmer‘s code in the House of Lords. He then discredited the proposal—cleverly gave Parliament a reason to reject it—by allowing it to be published under a demonstrably false claim that it had the approval of the Canterbury Convocation.

In all likelihood Dudley was able to thwart Cranmer only because by this point the young king was on the brink of death. Almost certainly the code would have become law—Dudley might not have dared even to raise objections—if Edward had remained strong enough to give it vigorous support. It accorded perfectly with his revulsion against Catholic doctrine and his belief that it was his responsibility to transform England into Christ’s kingdom

on earth. Cranmer's attempt to revise canon law shows that he was no less willing than the most radical reformers on the continent to use the state's power over life and death to stamp out error and spread the gospel. It is impossible to doubt that Edward would have gone along with him.

Cranmer was understandably bitter after Mary became queen. Not only had everything that he still wanted to achieve suddenly become impossible, but the stupendous gains of the past half-dozen years were in imminent danger of being undone. News reached him of one setback after another. Even Elizabeth, in whom the evangelicals had invested so much hope, was reported to be attending mass with her sister the queen, establishing a chapel in her home, even ordering from the continent a chalice, a cross, and other things useful only for engaging in the ceremonies of the papists. Cranmer exploded in rage when informed that

a mass had been celebrated in his cathedral church at Canterbury and, worse, that it was said to have been done with his approval. His printed denial dripped with invective, condemning the mass as a concoction of the pope, that arch-persecutor of Christ and true religion. He asked for an opportunity to demonstrate to the queen herself that the mass was blasphemy and that the church as purified during her brother's reign expressed the authentic spirit of Christianity. This got him a summons to appear before the council, followed by commitment to the Tower. Neither he nor anyone else can possibly have been surprised. Cranmer had not only been conspicuous among those proclaiming Jane Grey queen, he had contributed part of his personal security force to the army with which Dudley had set forth from London to confront and capture Mary. Now he was accused also of —spreading abroad

seditious bills, and moving tumults to the disquietness of the present state, and his guilt was again obvious.

Mary at the end was worn out and thoroughly defeated. She seemed somehow to have lived for a long time, and her reign, too, seemed to have lasted too long and to have grown sterile. It is startling to realize that at the time of her death she was all of forty-two years old, and had ruled for only five years.

Elizabeth I (1558-1561)

On November 17th 1558, the sun had not yet risen when Mary passed away; within a few hours, Elizabeth had been proclaimed Queen. No dissentient voice was raised in England. Heath, Mary's Chancellor and Archbishop of York, announced her accession to the Houses of Parliament; the proclamation was drawn up by Sir William Cecil, the Council's Secretary under

Edward VI. From one quarter, and only one, could a colourable challenge come. In the legitimate course of succession by blood, the claim lay with Mary Stewart, Queen of Scots and now Dauphiness of France. But the Will of Henry VIII., authorised by Parliament, was paramount. That Will had given priority to the two children of his body who had both been declared illegitimate–not born in wedlock–by the national courts. The Papal pronouncement in an opposite sense in Mary's case would have made nugatory any attempt on the part of a Catholic to question her rights; but that difficulty did not apply in the case of Elizabeth. As a matter of practical politics, the Scots Queen might waive her claim; as a matter of high theory, no personal disclaimers could cancel the validity of her title; as a matter of English Constitutional theory, Elizabeth's legal title rested on the superior validity of a Parliamentary enactment as compared with the divine right of inheritance. And in the minds of the entire

English nation, there was unanimity as to the acceptable doctrine. But the rejected doctrine remained to fall back on if discontent should arise.

The English people might settle the antagonistic claims of Mary and Elizabeth to their own satisfaction: but the rivalry also of the very strongest interest to the European Powers. was actually queen of Scotland; prospectively she was also queen of France. If to these two crowns she united that of England, the hegemony of the empire thus formed would inevitably fall to France, and France would become the premier European Power. That position was now occupied by Spain, which, in the face of such a combination, would lose its naval ascendancy, and be cut off from the Netherlands both by sea and land. For Philip therefore it was absolutely imperative to support Elizabeth at all costs.

Here then lay the strength of Elizabeth's position, which she and her chosen counsellors were quick to grasp. The only alternative to Elizabeth was the Queen of Scots; her accession would mean virtually the conversion of England into an appanage of France. Of Elizabeth's subjects none– whatever their creed might be, or whatever creed she might adopt–would be prepared to rebel at the price of subjection to France; the few hot-heads who had ventured on that line when Mary Tudor was at the height of her unpopularity had found themselves utterly without support. For the same reason, do what she would, Philip could not afford to act against her–more than that, he had no choice but to interfere on her behalf if Henry of France acted against her. He might advise–dictate–threaten–but he must, as against France, remain her champion, whether she submitted or no. As long as she kept her head, this young woman of five and twenty, with an empty treasury, with no army, a wasted navy, and with counsellors

whose reputation for statesmanship was still to make, was nevertheless mistress of the situation. Mary Stewart's claim presented no immediate danger, though it might become dangerous enough in the future.

There were two things then on which Elizabeth knew she could count; her own ability to keep her head, and the capacity for loyalty of the great bulk of her subjects. If either of those failed her, she would have no one but herself to blame. The former had been shrewdly tested during her sister's reign, when a single false step would have ruined her. The latter had borne the strain even of the Marian persecution–nay, of the alarm engendered by the Spanish marriage, which showed incidentally that fear of domination by a foreign power was the most deeply rooted of all popular sentiments; a sentiment now altogether in Elizabeth's favour, unless she should threaten a dangerous marriage.

But the cool head and the clear brain, and unlimited self-reliance, were necessary to realise how much might be dared in safety; to distinguish also the course least likely to arouse the one incalculable factor in domestic politics–religious fanaticism; which, if it once broke loose, might count for more than patriotic or insular sentiment. And these were precisely the qualities in which the queen herself excelled, and which marked also the man whom from the first she distinguished with her father's perspicacity as her chief counsellor.

Throughout the last reign, Cecil had carefully effaced himself. In matters of religion, though he had been previously associated with the Protestant leaders, he had never personally committed himself to any extreme line, and under the reaction he conformed; as did Elizabeth herself, and practically the whole of the nobility. He had walked warily, keeping always on the safe side of the law, never seeking that pre-eminence which in revolutionary times is

apt to become so dangerous. He was not the man to risk his neck for a policy which he could hope to achieve by waiting, and he was quite willing to subordinate religious convictions to political expediency. On the other hand, he never betrayed confidences; he was not to be bought; and he was not to be frightened. Further, he was endowed with a penetrating perception of character, immense powers of organisation, and industry which was absolutely indefatigable. It was an immediate mark of the young queen's singular sagacity that even before her accession she had selected Cecil to lean upon, in preference to any of the great nobles, and even to Paget who had for many years been recognised as the most astute statesman in England.

Secure of her throne, Elizabeth was confronted by the great domestic problem of effecting a religious settlement; the diplomatic problem of terminating the French war; and what may be called the personal problem of choosing–or evading–a

husband, since no one, except it may be the Queen herself, dreamed for a moment that she could long remain unwedded. To these problems must be added a fourth, less conspicuous but vital to the continuance of good government–the rehabilitation of the finances, of the national credit. A strict and lynx-eyed economy, a resolute honesty of administration, and a prompt punctuality in meeting engagements, took the place of the laxity, recklessness, and peculation which had prevailed of recent years. The presence of a new tone in the Government was immediately felt in mercantile circles, and the negotiation of necessary loans became a reasonable business transaction instead of an affair of usurious bargaining, both in England and on the continent. Finally, before Elizabeth had been two years on the throne, measures were promulgated for calling in the whole of the debased coinage which had been issued during the last fifteen years, and putting in circulation a new and honest currency. It seems to have been

owing to a miscalculation, not to sharp practice, that the Government did in fact make a small profit out of this transaction.

Philip of Spain and his representatives in England had not realised the true strength of Elizabeth's position, and certainly had no suspicion that she and her advisers were entirely alive to it. On this point they had absolutely no misgivings. They took it for granted that the English queen must place herself in their hands and meekly obey their behests, if only in order to secure Spanish support against France. Philip began operations by proposing himself as her husband, expecting thereby to obtain for himself a far greater degree of power than he had derived from his union with her sister, while inviting her to share the throne of the first Power in Europe. But Elizabeth and Cecil were alive to the completeness of the hold on Philip they already possessed; and Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, would have utterly stultified her own position by marrying her dead sister's husband,

since it would be necessary to obtain a papal dispensation, acknowledge the Pope's authority, and recognise by implication the validity of her father's marriage with Katharine of Aragon. To the ambassador's amazed indignation, the Queen with the support of the Council, decisively rejected the honour. Paget, who had in the last reign stood almost alone in commending the Spanish match, would have repeated his counsel now; but he had been displaced, while Cecil and his mistress were entirely at one.

Mary, Queen Of Scots

Mary was born in Linlithgow Palace, Scotland, on the 7 of December 1542. She was the only daughter of King James V of Scotland, and his French wife, Mary of Guise. She is said to have been christened in the Parish Church of St. Michael, near the Palace. Her father died only days after her birth, and the week old Mary became Queen of Scotland on the 14 of December 1542.

She was crowned on the 9 of September the following year at Stirling.

Mary was related to the Tudors. Her grandmother was Margaret Tudor, Henry VIII's older sister. Margaret Tudor had married King James V of Scotland, and her son was Mary's father, James V. Henry VIII was thus her great Uncle, and she and Elizabeth were cousins. Henry VIII wished to have baby Mary as a future bride for his infant son, Edward, and in 1544, his forces invaded Scotland in an attempt to force this matter, but he failed. Mary was sent to France to marry the Dauphin, Francis, the eldest son of the king of France, later Francis II. Her mother, Mary of Guise, acted as regent in Scotland.

In 1559, the King of France was killed in a jousting accident, and at only seventeen years of age, Mary became Queen of France. This alarmed Elizabeth, who had only just become Queen

herself, as she and her government feared that the French would now try and claim the English throne as well. The French were simply not in a position to do this, however. Mary of Guise's position in Scotland was weak, and she was fighting for survival in a country that was now Protestant. The French could not contemplate attacking England when French rule in the country via Mary and her French mother was so fragile. For this reason, Elizabeth's ministers urged her to aid the Scots against their Catholic government. Elizabeth was reluctant to aid rebels, but in the name of self preservation, agreed to some aid. English involvement was rather disastrous, however, with the English forces suffering humiliating defeat. William Cecil was sent to Scotland to negotiate peace with the Scots, and he played a prominent part in drawing up a treaty with the Scottish government, which guaranteed peace between the two realms. The treaty of Edinburgh was never ratified by Mary, however, as

she refused to relinquish her claim to the English throne that the English requested.

Chapter 2: Seventeenth Century

James VI of Scotland and I of England

(1603 - 1610)

QUEEN ELIZABEIH, from the House of Tudor, died on the 24th March 1603. Her successor to the throne of England was James VI of Scotland, from the House of Stuart. James VI of Scotland, who was the son of Elizabeth's old rival Mary Queen of Scots, was proclaimed King, travelled down unopposed and was duly crowned. He became James I of England (1603-1625). England and Scotland were at last joined under a single crown.

It was an excellent thing that the two countries should have the same King. Scotland kept her own laws and customs, but there was now less danger of war. James

himself came to England with the reputation of being a learned and intelligent man. As an arts patron, James employed the architect Inigo Jones to build the present Banqueting House in Whitehall, and drama in particular flourished at his court.

James had a high opinion as to his academic ability. He also held in high regard his ability to be a king. In Scotland, he had faced a lawless society where many lords simply ruled as they wished in their own area. By the time of his departure for London in 1603, James had done a great deal to tame the Scottish nobility and this had greatly boosted his own belief in his ability to be king. He described himself as "an old experienced king, needing no lessons."

While in Scotland, James had done a great deal of reading about statecraft. He had also produced a book in 1603 titled "The True Law of Free Monarchies". The theories in this book were not original but they did state with extreme clarity his belief that kings had absolute legal sovereignty within their state, that a king had absolute freedom from executive action and that a king's sole responsibility was to God.

The Scottish nobility for years had attempted to dilute his authority and had never taken James seriously. As a result, when James arrived in London, he was keen to strengthen his relationship with England's senior nobility – so that they would be grateful to the new king for their position in English society and work for him. In fact everything seemed in his favour and he did not find half the difficulties that Elizabeth had found when she began to

reign. The country was prosperous: it is true that the war with Spain was still going on, but the Spaniards were doing badly and were glad to make peace. But it was soon discovered that things were not so favourable as they seemed. The fact that the country was more prosperous made it in some ways more difficult to govern. As the merchants and country gentry got richer, they became less and less willing simply to take orders from the King. Instead, they wanted a greater share in the work of government themselves. Moreover, James turned out to be anything but a clever ruler. Though he was certainly learned, he was also tactless, undecided, peevish and conceited, and had no idea of moving with changing times.

England's "problems began to surface clearly when James I of England and his son Charles "talked too much about their rights. . . . the divine right of kings. God,

according to that theory, had placed the monarch on the throne, to rule as his viceroy; and anyone who disobeyed or crossed the king's slightest wish was thus deliberately acting against God himself".

The theory of the ' Divine Right of Kings ' suggested that treason was not only a crime but also a sin in the sight of God. This idea was one with which James, like most kings, heartily agreed. The state of monarchy [said James] is the supreme thing upon earth: kings are God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne. As to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, so it is treason in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power: "I will not be content that my power be disputed on." This was said in a speech to Parliament, and since James wanted the Commons to grant him some money, this was a tactless way to talk. The disputes between King and Commons,

that later grew so serious, were really about King and who was to have the last word in governing England.

Across the sea were countries such as Spain where the power of the Kings had been absolute for a long time and in France the royal power was growing. 'England,' said a member of the House of Commons, ' is the last monarchy that yet retains her liberties'.

Who shall decide: the King or Parliament? (ABOUT 1610 TO 1642)

It was clear now that there was to be one central government. But the new middle class were not, if they could help it, going to let that government be controlled only by the kings. Of course the quarrel was not really as simple as one may think.

To take the religious question first. There were really three main groups of people who could not agree. On one

side the Puritans, on the other the Catholics, and in the middle the Church of England party. King James quarrelled with the Puritans in the first year of his reign, later he made that quarrel worse by two things, by appointing High Party Church bishops at home and by making peace with Catholic Spain abroad.

Fourteen years after this peace, there broke out the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). It was fought between two rival parties in what are now Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria. All sorts of issues were involved in it, but at the time, many people regarded it chiefly as a war between Catholics and Protestants. At first the Catholics won, and many English Protestants wanted to join in on the Protestant side, especially as one of the first things that the victorious Catholics did was to turn James's very popular Protestant son-in-law out of the Palatinate of which he was

the ruler. But James would not decide to fight for the Protestants. He hoped that he might be able to help them in another way. It was suggested that James's son, Charles, should marry a Spanish Princess with the ultimate aim being the reconciling of the English church to Rome.

James had a strange relationship with the English. As he proceeded south after the death of Elizabeth, he was greeted with fervor. After the Gunpowder Plot, the vast bulk of the English people were sympathetic to him. Yet after this, he held them at an arm's length – and further if he had the chance. James failed to understand that the people of England wanted to see their king.

From the earliest years of his succession, James made mistakes. He tried to personalize politics by promoting to positions of authority his favorites; he believed that he, as

an academic, had a correct answer to all problems; his behavior, amusing at first and tolerated, eventually brought the royal court into disrepute.

Charles I was born in Fife on 19 November 1600, the second son of James VI of Scotland (from 1603 also James I of England) and Anne of Denmark. He became heir to the throne on the death of his brother, Prince Henry, in 1612. He succeeded, as the second Stuart King of England, in 1625. Controversy and disputes dogged Charles throughout his reign. They eventually led to civil wars, first with the Scots from 1637 and later in England (1642-46 and 1648). The wars deeply divided people at the time, and historians still disagree about the real causes of the conflict, but it is clear that Charles was not a successful ruler.

Charles was reserved (he had a residual stammer), self-righteous and had a high concept of royal authority, believing in the divine right of kings. He was a good linguist and a sensitive man of refined tastes. He spent a lot on the arts, inviting the artists Van Dyck and Rubens to work in England, and buying a great collection of paintings by Raphael and Titian (this collection was later dispersed under Cromwell). Charles I also instituted the post of Master of the King's Music, involving supervision of the King's large band of musicians; the post survives today. His expenditure on his court and his picture collection greatly increased the crown's debts. Indeed, crippling lack of money was a key problem for both the early Stuart monarchs.

Charles I had got on no better with his first Parliaments than his father had done. He, too, believed in

the divine right of Kings, and like his father he had to go to a Parliament whose members were determined to have their say before they made up the difference between the King's income and what had to be spent.

The Civil War (1640 TO 1646)

The Scots occupied Newcastle and, under the treaty of Ripon, stayed in occupation of Northumberland and Durham and they were to be paid a subsidy until their grievances were redressed.

Charles was finally forced to call another Parliament in November 1640. This one, which came to be known as The Long Parliament, was made up of members determined that never again should a king govern as Charles had done for the last eleven years.

Pym, Hampden, the Earl of Bedford, the man who afterwards became Lord Manchester, and a number of other Lords and Commoners had been very active during the last months, and during the general election, Pym and Hampden set off on a riding tour. Wherever they went they urged the squires or the burgesses to choose a Puritan as their new member.

Many of the most unpopular of Charles' courtiers and ministers fled abroad: Charles himself recalled Strafford to London, promising ' on the word of a king ' that Strafford ' should not suffer in his person, honour, or fortune '.

Charles, having failed to defend his authority by peaceful means, came more and more to think of force. The Queen had already asked the Pope to send men and money to bring the English to heel. Strafford had suggested using

an army from Ireland, and Charles himself had thought of using the army that had been collected to fight the Scots to rescue poor Strafford. Now Charles began to gather round him a band of unemployed officers and gentlemen's sons who acted as his bodyguard. With their long hair and their habit of always wearing swords, Charles' new bodyguards were nicknamed 'Cavaliers'. They jeered back at the London citizens 'Cavaliers' and called them 'Roundheads', because it was the City fashion for men to wear their hair cut short, rather as it is today. Later, these two nicknames were used for all the supporters of King and Parliament.

All through these months Charles had not been able to make up his mind, but had made up for obediently signing the bills that Parliament sent him by making secret plans with the Queen, his Cavalier officers, the Pope's agents, and with dissatisfied Scots. Whatever he signed he was still

quite unwilling to be a ' Constitutional Monarch ' and live at peace with his Parliament.

The English Civil War was a war between two sets of well-off people. On the Parliament side were the middle-class country gentlemen and richer citizens who wanted to govern the country in their way, who wanted the Puritan religion to be the religion of the State, who wanted to prevent the King from interfering in matters of trade, and who knew very well that if they were to flourish they must have control of such things as taxes and relations with foreign countries. On his side Charles gathered together his own courtiers and the people who for one reason or another did not want change.

Most of the people of England did not at first, or indeed ever, take sides at all. Only in London did the

poorer people, that is as always the great majority of people, in the least want to fight. Before the end of the war all the gentry and most of the yeomen and merchants had been dragged in on one side or the other, but to the end most poor country people were neutral.

The Battle of Edgehill in October 1642 showed that early on the fighting was even. Broadly speaking, Charles retained the north, west and south-west of the country, and Parliament had London, East Anglia and the south-east, although there were pockets of resistance everywhere, ranging from solitary garrisons to whole cities.

Before the war was over there had been some plundering by both sides, but on the whole there was less destruction than might have been expected. No part of

England became a desert, as did many huge districts in Germany during the Thirty Years War.

Each side had to have someone to command the armies that they had raised. The chief general on the King's side was his nephew, Prince Rupert, a young man of twenty- three, who was already an experienced general, for he had seen service in Germany. The chief Parliamentary general was at first 'sweet and meek' Lord Manchester. The difficulty about Lord Manchester was that he 'did not want to beat the King too much' and a month or two after the Parliamentary army had won an important battle at Marston Moor, which was never followed up, one of his officers, Oliver Cromwell, discussed the situation with him. 'If,' said Manchester, 'you beat the King ninety-nine times, yet he is King still and so will his posterity be after him; but if the King beat us once, we shall all be hanged

and our posterity be made slaves.' Cromwell answered: 'My Lord if this be so why did we take up arms at first?' Oliver Cromwell was one of those who wanted full victory.

Parliament had entered an armed alliance with the predominant Scottish Presbyterian group under the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, and from 1644 onwards. The Parliamentarians too had a Scottish army helping them. This had been arranged by Pym who, unfortunately for Parliament, died soon after.

The King had not only a Scottish army but had brought over troops from Ireland. With a general like Manchester at the head of the Parliamentary army it seemed as if there might be a deadlock. Parliament resolved that their army must be reorganized on a new model. They entrusted the work to Cromwell and there was

set up 'The New Model Army' well officered, regularly paid, with good cavalry under Cromwell, and with new artillery. The next year this army, under General Fairfax, won a decisive victory at Naseby, against Prince Rupert.

Among the things captured at Naseby was a box containing letters from and to the King, which showed how (largely through the Queen who was working for him abroad) he was doing his best to bring in a French, a Danish or any other foreign army he could get, to fight for him. This discovery set many moderate Parliamentarians more bitterly against him. The King's army was practically destroyed at Naseby, and after that, in the last eleven months, the war became a series of sieges, the New Model Army attacking small Royalist detachments that had shut themselves into a town or even a manor house. Charles himself was shut up in Oxford, but escaped from there in

disguise and, as a last hope, joined his forces in Scotland. When he got there he found that there also the war had gone against him. In May 1646 King Charles surrendered himself as prisoner to the Scottish Parliamentary army and was handed over by them to the English Parliament, who sent him to Holmby in Northamptonshire. Parliament had won the war and everyone asked themselves what was going to happen next.

Charles did not see his action as surrender, but as an opportunity to regain lost ground by playing one group off against another; he saw the monarchy as the source of stability and told parliamentary commanders: 'you cannot be without me: you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you'.

In Scotland and Ireland, factions were arguing, whilst in England there were signs of division in Parliament

between the Presbyterians and the Independents, with alienation from the Army (where radical doctrines such as that of the Levellers were threatening commanders' authority).

Charles's negotiations continued from his captivity at Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight (to which he had 'escaped' from Hampton Court in November 1647) and led to the Engagement with the Scots, under which the Scots would provide an army for Charles in exchange for the imposition of the Covenant on England. This led to the second Civil War of 1648, which ended with Cromwell's victory at Preston in August.

Oliver Cromwell (1646 TO 1659)

IT was clear, at least, that the middle class in England had won the struggle, and that now there could be no return

to the 'Divine Right of Kings'. The Long Parliament had still been sitting all this time, and through it and through the New Model Army the middle class had won its victory. But these two facts did not by themselves settle the urgent question of the moment, which was: “By what section of the middle class, and how, was the country to be governed?” A great many people had ideas on the subject. There were especially four groups who all wanted different things: (i) the King and his friends who would not admit that their defeat was final, (ii) the Long Parliament and its friends, (iii) a radical group of poor people and the stricter Puritans from the New Model Army, (iv) a much larger army group led by Oliver Cromwell.

To take the Royalists first. Charles was one of the only men in England who did not know that the Civil War had done something in England that could never be undone. He

acted as if he believed that things could be as before. There was no immediate movement to depose him, he was not kept a strict prisoner, and he employed himself in trying to play off the army against the Parliament, and the Scots against both. He himself escaped to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight and the war flared up again Parliament and the New Model Army under Cromwell had been nearly separated forever by their own disagreements as to how the governing of England was to be arranged, but they united again in their fear of Charles. When he was again in their power they lost no time in bringing him to trial in Westminster Hall, before a special Committee of the House of Commons and in declaring him guilty of Execution of treason against his people. As Mr. G. M. Trevelyan Charles I, says in his history of this time: ' It is

much easier to show that the execution was a mistake than to show what else could have been done '.

The King was sentenced to death on 27 January 1649. Three days later, Charles was beheaded on a scaffold outside the Banqueting House in Whitehall, London. The King asked for warm clothing before his execution: 'the season is so sharp as probably may make me shake, which some observers may imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation.'

To many, Charles was seen as a martyr for his people and, to this day, wreaths of remembrance are laid by his supporters on the anniversary of his death at his statue, which faces down Whitehall to the site of his execution.

The Scots offended by the execution of the king, proclaimed Charles II as their king. Charles accepted the

National Covenant and agreed to govern. On September 3, 1650, Cromwell defeated the Scots at Dunbar, near Edinburgh and killed 3,000, taking 10,000 prisoners. The next year King Charles II led a Scots army into England, which was defeated at Worcester.

Charles II was a fugitive for six weeks before escaping to France. Thus, Cromwell's convincing military successes at Drogheda in Ireland (1649), Dunbar in Scotland (1650) and Worcester in England (1651) forced Charles II into foreign exile despite being accepted as King in Scotland.

England now had no king. It was ruled by Cromwell as a “commonwealth” rather than a kingdom. England was therefore a republic during a period known as the Interregnum ('between reigns'). A series of political experiments followed, as the country's rulers tried to

redefine and establish a workable constitution without a monarchy.

Throughout the Interregnum, Cromwell's relationship with Parliament was a troubled one, with tensions over the nature of the constitution and the issue of supremacy, control of the armed forces and debate over religious toleration.

Parliament, when the war was over, had very clear ideas about what it did not want but was less clear and certainly most unimaginative in deciding what it did want. Unfortunately Pym and Hampden had both died during the war. Parliament had the only legal power in England, but it had no members who had any new ideas. Jealousy and grab were the keynotes of their policy. They were jealous of the New Model Army and wanted to disband it without giving

the soldiers the back pay that was due to them. Their only idea of dealing with those who had fought on the King's side was to take their estates by means of heavy fines, while in religion they wanted to set up a new Presbyterian Church and to suppress all the many other Puritan sects whose members had helped to give them victory.

After the execution of the king, the Parliament abolished the office of king and the House of Lords. The new form of government was to be a Commonwealth, or Free State, governed by the representatives of the people in Parliament. The people, however, were not represented in Parliament. Many large areas of the country had no representatives in Parliament. The ninety Independents that controlled Parliament did not want elections. The Commonwealth was in effect a continuation of the Long Parliament under a different name. Parliament was more

powerful than ever because there was neither king nor House of Lords to act as a check. The Commons appointed a Council of State and entrusted it with administrative power. Thirty-one of its forty-one members were also members of Parliament.

In the September of 1658, in his fifty-ninth year, Cromwell died. The problem of how England was to be ruled had not been solved, and it had been possible for him to give the country peace only because he was an unusual person. For, whatever his faults, Oliver Cromwell was a great man.

For the next year and a half the question of how England was to be governed became most urgent and various plans were tried. The first and most ridiculous was that of making Oliver's son, Richard Cromwell, Protector

just as if Oliver had accepted the crown instead of refusing it. Richard was ' gentle and virtuous ', but not the stuff of which Lords Protector must be made. He resigned.

The army recalled what was left of the Rump. The Rump proposed new laws which the army would not have. General Lambert, and General Monk, both professed to want to call a new freely elected Parliament, but each had different ideas of how to set about it. General Monk had for some time been, in communication with Prince Charles, and when the new Parliament was being elected all sorts of rumours went about. In the end a Parliament was returned in which there was a majority in favour of recalling Charles from France, and making him what his friends had long called him—King Charles II of England. King Charles II returned to England and the people rejoiced. Theatres were

opened and a period of great artistic and cultural achievement began.

The main spirit of the Restoration was that of reason. The power and wealth of the middle classes grew. This was a time of great commercial success around the world, and scientific achievement. This was also the beginning of science and medicine and the period known as the English Enlightenment.

Also, the king no longer had absolute power; from then on, he had to share power with the Parliament. Parliament in 1660 was in a far stronger position in relationship to the king than it ever had been before.

The Restoration (1660 - 1674)

Charles II was King of England by invitation of the House of Commons. The laws that the Long Parliament

had passed to limit the power of the Crown were not repealed. It was all very polite! For instance, it was agreed that ' The King can do no wrong ' (as it is today), so his subjects took care to urge him always to act through some minister or other, who could take the blame if things went wrong. A courtier friend pinned on his bedroom door these lines:

> Here lies our Sovereign Lord the King, Whose word no man relies on. He never said a foolish thing, And never did a wise one. 'Quite true,' said the King. 'For my words are my own, but my acts are my ministers.'

When the middle classes had decided to return to a system of government with a king at its head, they invited Charles because he was the son of his father and kings should be succeeded by their eldest sons. But had they been

able to choose from the whole world they would have found it difficult to find a man who seemed more willing to fit in with their plans. He was above all determined never to 'go on his travels again', and would do nothing, to risk his throne. His Ministers were to administer business to him as doctors do physic; they would wrap it up in something to make it less unpleasant. But Charles had not been on the throne long before he found there was disagreeable work that not even he could altogether shirk.

Plague had been around in England for centuries but in 1665 the so-called **Great Plague** hit the country - though it was Stuart London that took the worst of the plague. The plague was only finally brought under control in 1666 when the Great Fire of London burned down the areas most affected by plague – the city slums inhabited by

the poor. Stuart England was never free from the plague but 1665 saw the worst.

The Great Fire of London of September 1666 was one of the most famous incidents in Stuart England. It was the second tragedy to hit the city in the space of 12 months. Just as the city was recovering from the Great Plague, the inhabitants had to flee the city once again – this time not as a result of a disease, but the result of as human accident. The Great Fire of London, arguably, left a far greater mark on the city when compared to the plague.

In 1642 there was born in a small farmhouse in Lincolnshire the man who was destined to carry on the work of Galileo (1564-1642). This man was Isaac Newton. Newton grew up in an age and a country where the problems which Galileo had studied were of the greatest

practical interest, and he went on with Galileo's work—not of course alone. There were a number of other people who were deeply interested in the same sort of problems. There were, for instance, Boyle, Hooke, Halley and Wren.

Now like other scientists who were working, or had worked, on the Continent, Newton and the rest found that the Universities were not always the best places for their work. The most progressive scientists of the day were intent on experiment, wanted to be in touch with practical people, and needed a new kind of scientific society. So in 1645 they founded in England what they called 'The Invisible College'. Just such societies were being started in other countries. They were all founded by men who were tired of being told that what they had seen for themselves could not be true because it contradicted either Aristotle or the decision of a meeting of Cardinals.

Charles II took a strong personal interest in the work of the 'Invisible College' and gave the Society help and a new name 'The Royal Society'. To this day 'F.R.S'—'Fellow of the Royal Society'—is the proudest title that an English scientist can have. Many of the first Fellows gained world-wide fame. There was Robert Boyle who studied the behaviour of gases including the air and who was absurdly described in his epitaph as, 'Father of Chemistry and Uncle of the Earl of Cork'. There was Wren who began as a scientist and became the best of English architects. There was Halley, the astronomer, who made voyages to observe the action of ocean tides and of winds such as the monsoon, and to examine the stars of the Southern hemisphere. Halley, too, proved that the height of a mountain can be measured by the lessened pressure of the

atmosphere on a barometer. There was Robert Hooke who helped Boyle with his famous air pump, and worked on the variations of the compass.

But Charles was the sort of man who is careful never to push things too far. He was too lazy and too cautious and too determined not to ' go on his travels again '. If Parliament was really angry and determined, Charles always gave way. For instance, in 1672 he had issued a 'Declaration of Indulgence' which suspended the laws both against Catholics and the more extreme Nonconformists. But when Parliament met he found he had gone too far. So, with his consent, Parliament passed a Test Act which made the laws against the Catholics even stricter. It was now illegal for them to be officers in the army or navy or to hold government posts. The feeling against Catholics was extraordinarily strong. For instance, a certain swindler

named Titus Gates came before a London magistrate and declared that he knew of a 'Popish Plot' to bring over a French army, murder the King, and set up his Catholic brother James in his place. Everyone believed this story. Protestants went about armed with flails, and Catholics were tried and executed on the flimsiest evidence particularly after the magistrate to whom the tale was first told was found murdered.

The thing that most alarmed the Protestants was the fact that, because Charles had no legitimate children, the heir to the throne was his Catholic brother James. In the panic caused by the supposed discovery of the 'Popish Plot', Parliament brought in a Bill excluding James from the succession. It was suggested that Charles should be succeeded instead by his handsome and popular illegitimate son, whom he had made Duke of Monmouth.

However, Charles lived on for seven years after these excitements, and by that time Titus Gates had been proved to have been a liar, feeling against the Catholics had died down, Monmouth had been banished, and many people felt ashamed of having believed all that Titus Gates had pretended to reveal.

The Accession of James II

The position created by the accession of James II, was decidedly paradoxical. England, Ireland, and Scotland were officially Protestant States, in which Roman Catholics were not only barred by the law from holding any public office, whether in the service of the State or of the municipality, but were further penalised for participating in their own religious rites, and for abstaining from

participation in the rites of a Church which they accounted heretical. Yet at the head of these Protestant States was a zealous Roman Catholic, who, long after reaching maturity, had deliberately chosen to separate himself from the official established religion and to join the proscribed body.

Unfortunately for himself and for his cause, James was personally wholly unfitted for his task. He was of all men the most tactless, in a position where tactfulness was a supreme necessity. His incapacity for successful dissimulation had procured him a somewhat spurious reputation for straightforward honesty, but that extremely useful reputation he failed to maintain.

Within five months of James's accession the strength of his position had been completely demonstrated. In

Scotland the Scottish Estates were convened; and although they emphatically confirmed all the existing statutes for the security of Protestantism, they increased the severity of against conventicles, extending the application of the death penalty and introducing that worst period of the persecution known to Scottish tradition as the "Killing Time."

In May an English parliament assembled, and the House of Commons showed an overwhelming Tory preponderance, emphatic declaration on the king's part that he would defend the Church sufficed to secure the enthusiastic loyalty of the Commons. The revenue granted to Charles was renewed to James, and a further large grant was made for naval purposes.

Never did a monarch quite so deliberately seek his own ruin as James II. The strength of the monarchy in England rested upon the support of the Church, and the loyalty of the gentry in intimate alliance with the Church. The clergy and the squires might, not without reluctance but without violent opposition, have been induced to accept a gradual relaxation of the penalties attaching to Romanism constitutionally conceded by themselves; but James fell back on the old plan of forcing his will on the country by the exercise of the royal prerogative, and of doing so in direct defiance of Anglican sentiment.

Moreover, by recklessly reviving a parliamentary opposition in a House of Commons which had met filled with a loyalty which was prepared to run quite considerable risks, James had lost his international independence. At the moment of his accession he could have carried England

into the general combination of European Powers, Protestant and Catholic, which was shaping for resistance to the aggressive policy of the French king.

The Glorious Revolution

The disappearance of the king [James II] left no legal government in England. There was no parliament, and no existing council which could claim authority. William was the only person who could deal with the emergency, and he did so characteristically. He summoned an assembly consisting of all those who had sat in any of the parliaments of Charles II; not members of James's parliament, because elections since the suspension of the charters were held not to have been free.

To these were added fifty members of the corporation of London. This assembly promptly resolved

that a free Convention should be summoned, a parliament in all but name, like the Convention which recalled Charles II. Till this body should be assembled William was requested to exercise the executive functions of government, and to this request he acceded. The boroughs elected their representatives under the old charters which had been cancelled in the last years of Charles II.

The Convention's first step was to pass two resolutions — that James by his flight had abdicated the throne, which was therefore vacant; and that it was against public policy that it should be occupied by a prince of the popish religion. By the Lords, however, the first resolution was so far changed that it did not assert the throne to be vacant. The Commons, among whom there was a great Whig preponderance, in effect declared that a monarch was

to be elected; the Lords implied that some one or other was already dejure monarch.

The settlement was not a very simple matter. Many Tories clung to the old plan of a regency. Danby and others, supported by some of the Whigs, desired to claim the crown for Mary herself. According to the strict law of hereditary succession, if the infant prince were excluded, Mary stood first, Anne and her children next, and after them William. These three came to the rescue.

England during the reign of William III and Mary II (ABOUT 1700)

William and Mary take the throne

Popular rights were further definitely asserted; the right of presenting petitions to the- king, violated by the treatment of the seven bishops; the right of free election

and free debate in parliament; and the right to the frequent assembly of parliament. The crown was offered to William and Mary conditionally on their acceptance of this latest charter of national liberties. Their acceptance was accompanied by the Act of Settlement fixing the succession on the lines laid down; and William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England and Ireland on February 13, 1689. Thus was the Glorious Revolution of Whig tradition carried to completion; and since the official New Year was still dated not from the January 1 but from March 25, 1688 remained the titular date year of the new order.

William III takes the throne

King William III, had neither sought nor accepted the crown of England as a nominee of a political party. He

was king because if James and his son were excluded from the throne Mary and her husband were in effect the only possible occupants. Being king, he was resolved to rule conscientiously and impartially, but the government of the new kingdoms was in his eyes secondary to his aims as the leader of European resistance to French aggression. So long as he could best serve those aims by retaining the English crown, that crown, was of use to him, but if he found himself hampered in his foreign policy by the action of English parties, England would be merely an incubus. His strength lay in the fact that England could not afford to let him go.

A difference in priorities

Now, unlike William himself, the English people were more keenly interested in their domestic concerns

than in the problem of bridling the ambitions of Louis XIV. They were unfriendly to Louis mainly perhaps on account of his persecution of the Protestants. They were quite wiling to see him bridled, and they were very unwilling indeed to support him actively; but foreign affairs were in their eyes secondary to domestic concerns. William chafed, while the Convention, transformed into a parliament by his establishment on the throne, insisted on giving precedence to the affairs which in its eyes were of primary interest.

Parliament to sit annually

By making twelve months the period of the Act, the parliament also made it necessary that the Houses should be summoned annually; that is, that twelve months should not pass without their being assembled. The duration of parliament was not touched, nor was there any formal Act

requiring that parliament should meet; but its annual assembly was from thenceforth an administrative necessity. Like the Habeas Corpus Act, this measure, of great constitutional importance, was unpremeditated, and became law almost by accident.

Oath of allegiance

The first obviously necessary step was the imposition of an oath of allegiance to the new Government, the penalty for its refusal being disability to hold office. Apart from the clergy there were not many refusals even those who held that James was still king dejure accepted William's de facto sovereignty.

Among the clergy, however, there was a less ready acquiescence. Many of them were thoroughly committed to the doctrine of non-resistance, and felt unable to transfer

their allegiance. Five of "the seven bishops" demonstrated their loyalty to principle by refusing the oath, and their example was followed by some hundreds of the clergy, who as a necessary consequence, resigned their preferments. No further penalty however was exacted, and the "Non-Jurors," as they were called, for the most part continued to find congregations or patrons who approved of their principles and provided them with a livelihood.

William III and the 1699 Parliament

William himself had no illusions on the subject of the peace [with France]. He regarded it as nothing more than a truce, certain to be followed before long by a renewal of the struggle with Louis. In spite of the treaty, therefore, he urged upon the parliament the necessity not only for a large naval expenditure, but also for the

maintenance of a standing army of not less than thirty thousand men.

There was no difficulty about the fleet; the nation was thoroughly alive to the importance of maintaining naval supremacy. But Tories and Whigs alike regarded the standing army as being at the best a necessary evil in time of war, intolerable in time of peace. William, being his own Foreign Minister and relying for the conduct of foreign business on Portland and his Dutch associates rather than upon English statesmen, had failed to educate Englishmen up to his own views of continental affairs; and the Whigs regarded the peace as a satisfactory opportunity for cutting down the army to a standard far below that which was needed to satisfy William.

The Act of Settlement (1700)

The first business of the new parliament [1700] was to secure the course of the succession. Anne would of course follow William on the throne, but the last of her numerous children had just died, and the succession after her had been left indefinite. Parliament proceeded to pass the Act of Settlement, which nominated as Anne's heir the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her offspring. But the new Act of Succession or Act of Settlement included also a series of clauses dealing with constitutional matters which had been left over by the Bill of Rights. The king's dangerous control of the courts and judges was finally abolished by the enactment which made judges irremovable except on an address from both Houses.

Terms of the Act

In view of the prospect that the throne of England would be occupied by German princes, it was enacted that the sovereign must be not only a Protestant but a member of the Church of England; that he must not leave the country without consent of parliament; that England was not to be involved in war for the defence of foreign territories; and, finally, that only English-born subjects could be admitted to parliament, to public offices, civil or military, or to the Privy Council. The king's acceptance of the Act of Settlement had an extremely mollifying influence, which was shown by the resolutions of the Commons promising their support in his foreign policy.

Death of William III

William's patience had won. A great coalition had been formed against Louis, in which England had at last become not merely an auxiliary but a principal. But it was left to another to carry on his work. William's health had always been feeble, and had constantly threatened to break down uncle the tremendous Strain of toil and responsibility. The shock of a fall from his horse and a broken collar-bone proved too much for his wrecked constitution. On March 9, 1702, Anne, the last of the Stuart sovereigns became Queen of England.

British Colonial Expansion in the 17th century

When James VI of Scotland became also James I of England his actual dominion did not include a single acre of soil outside the British Isles. Ninety-nine years later,

when William III died, the whole of the North American seaboard between the French Acadia on the North and the Spanish Florida on the South was occupied by British colonists. Still farther north, beyond the French Canada, England claimed possession of the Hudson Bay territory or Prince Rupert's Land. Also she was in possession of sundry islands, and the East India Company had established a footing on the Indian Peninsula. Her colonial system was in full play, and her Indian Empire was in the germ.

The conception of an Imperial England overseas, had been born in the brains of Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh while the Virgin Queen still sat on the throne of England and the world still counted Spain, which had annexed the Portuguese Empire, mistress of the seas. But Raleigh's attempts to found the colony which he called Virginia had failed woefully. The Elizabethans were still

too eager in the pursuit of short cuts to wealth. Those who were venturesome preferred preying upon Spanish galleons to settling down to a toilsome battle with nature in new lands which produced no gold nor silver nor precious stones. But, as in ancient days, the Dane, baulked of his robbing propensities, sought to satisfy his greed of gain by commerce, the Englishman, when he could no longer spoil the Spaniard, bethought himself of turning the New World to commercial account.

In 1606 a commercial company was formed, which procured a charter for the colonisation of Virginia; for, after a vague fashion, England had asserted a claim to the territories which lay north of the Spanish possessions. The company was granted what were practically sovereign rights over a vast and undefined region (subject to the English crown). The company's settlement at Jamestown

formed the nucleus of the colony of Virginia. Here there was no native empire to be subdued, such as the Spaniards had found in Mexico and Peru, or such as that which dominated India. The native tribes were elevated only a degree above barbarism; they knew no cities, were still half nomadic, and had no political organisation higher than that of the tribe. But such an experiment as this of the English had no precedent in the world's history.

Formation of British Colonies overseas

The habitual procedure on the creation of colonies was for a company or an individual to procure from the Crown a charter conveying the possession of certain territories upon conditions. Privileges were conceded, but rights were reserved to the Crown. There was no theory that the colony was a free state; it was a community to

which permission was given to settle itself and to go its own way, provided that its specific interests were always recognised as subordinate to those of the mother country. The powers of self- government varied according to circumstances; that is, the powers of the elected Assembly, as compared with those of the Governor and Council, differed, mainly according to the nature of the body to whom the original charter was granted.

Death of Anne

She acquiesced, handing it to him with the pathetic words, "Use it for the good of my people." A general meeting was immediately called of all the available members of the Privy Council - a very different thing from the selected gathering of Bolingbroke's instruments which had been interrupted by the Whig Peers. The Council acted

as a united Government, whose first business was to secure the Hanoverian Succession, and to take measures against any possibility of insurrection or invasion. On the fifth day after Oxford's fall Queen Anne died, and George I was proclaimed king of England, while no man ventured to raise a dissentient voice.

Chapter 3: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century

The Hanoverians or Georgian era (1714 –1837)

The House of Hanover was of German descent who succeeded the House of Stuart as kings of Great Britain in 1714. The **Georgian era** of British history is a period which takes its name from, and is normally defined as spanning the reigns of the first four Hanoverian kings of Great Britain who were all named George: George I, George II, George III and George IV. The era covers the period from 1714 to 1830, with the sub-period

of the Regency defined by the Regency of George IV as Prince of Wales during the illness of his father George III. The definition of the Georgian era is often extended to include the short reign of William IV, which ended with his death in 1837. The last Hanoverian monarch of the Great Britain was William's niece Queen Victoria, who is the namesake of the following historical era, the Victorian, which is usually defined as occurring from the start of her reign, when William died, and continuing until her death.

George I (1714 – 1727)

The first Hanoverian King of England was only 52nd in line to the throne, but, thanks to the Act of Settlement, George was the nearest Protestant eligible to take the crown. Born in Germany, George was not a fluent speaker of English and chose to speak in his native language, which

made him deeply unpopular with his subjects. Although times had changed and most of Britain was now Protestant, George still had to fend off opposition from several Scottish Jacobite supporters, but any rebellion was swiftly crushed.

As with the reign of Queen Anne, George's time on the throne saw the powers of the monarchy even more greatly diminished as the modern system of government by a Cabinet developed. By the end of his reign this progressed to the point at which actual power was held by Sir Robert Walpole, Britain's first Prime Minister. George died of a stroke during one of his many visits to his beloved Hanover and was buried in the Chapel of the Leine Schloss.

George II (1727 – 1760)

George II was the only son of the king and was also born in Hanover. When he ascended the throne he shared his father's problem of having to fend off opposition from Jacobite supporters, with 1745 seeing 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' raise a strong army of rebellion in Scotland. This was famously crushed the following year in the notoriously bloody Battle of Culloden Moor.

During George II's later years he showed little interest in politics but he did involve Britain in the Seven Years War, which saw many European countries rise up against one another. His reign also saw the foundation of the Industrial Revolution. After thirty-three years on the throne, he died while on the toilet and was buried at Westminster Abbey. As his eldest son Frederick had died

of an abscess, the heir became the King's grandson, also named George.

George III (1760 – 1820)

Despite being the third Hanovarian monarch of Britain, this King George was the first to be born in Britain and use English as his first language. During his reign, George III tried to reverse the diminished role of the monarchy in governing the country but by this point ministers were too powerful. Also during George's reign Britain lost many of its colonies in North America, but Great Britain and Ireland were joined together to form the United Kingdom.

In later years George III famously suffered from recurrent mental illness, thought to be related to the blood disease porphyria. However, recent studies have revealed

high levels of arsenic in King George's hair, suggesting that the poison was also a possible cause of the King's insanity. After a final relapse in 1811, the King's eldest son, George, Prince of Wales ruled as Prince Regent. Upon George's death aged 81, the Prince of Wales succeeded his father as George IV.

George IV (1820 – 1830)

As a young man the Prince Regent earned a reputation for fine living and decadence, and he became a lavish patron of the arts. Also developing a keen interest in architecture The Prince Regent commissioned the elegant Brighton Pavilion, with no expense spared. Over time he fell out with his father and many of his subjects who had to foot the bill for his expensive lifestyle.

George's time as Regent was marked by victory in the Napoleonic Wars in Europe and the reconstruction by John Nash of Buckingham Palace as we know it today. When he finally ascended the throne as George IV he had a suitably lavish coronation extravaganza, although by this time he was obese and possibly addicted to laudanum, his life blighted by a difficult arranged marriage to his own cousin and the death of his daughter and mother. He died a bloated mess of a man, and was buried in Windsor Castle.

William IV (1830 – 1837)

Following the death of George IV, family deaths meant that his brother William took the throne. During his youth, he served in the Royal Navy and as a result was nicknamed the Sailor King. Due to ascending the throne at sixty-nine, his reign was short. It was, however, one of

several major reforms, including local government being democratized, child labor restricted and slavery abolished throughout the British Empire.

However, the most important reform of William IV's reign was the Reform Act of 1832, which refashioned the British electoral system. He ultimately died of asthma-related illness and was succeeded by his niece, Princess Victoria of Kent. Under ancient law no woman could carry the Hanoverian crown, which went to William's brother and so ended the Hanoverian Dynasty in Britain.

Social and Cultural Impact of the Georgian era

The Georgian era began with the German 'House of Hanover', or as they're otherwise known 'The Hanoverians'. The period lasted from approximately 1714 to 1830. There were three monarchs in the era, all Kings:

George I, George II, and George III. The dynasty was accepted with the *Act of Settlement* (1701). Even though these kings were accepted as monarchs following the Act of Settlement, it is claimed by some that they were not particularly popular monarchs, especially George I. However, our aim is not necessarily to decipher if the Georgian Kings were popular, rather, our main purpose is to show what the Georgians brought us. And one thing the Georgians did give us was some of the world's best-known literature.

The Origins of Georgian Literature

Georgian Literature, perhaps more accurately termed Augustan Literature is a distinctive style of writing that has its roots in the period of England's history when the country was ruled by Queen Anne, George I and George II.

This period would cover the years from approximately 1700 up to 1760 although some historians would place the end of this period even later, to 1789. The term Augustan itself can be traced to King George I of England who was named George Augustus.

Two other labels have been affixed although rather inaccurately to this period in English literature namely: Neoclassicism and The Age of Reason. Although the use of these two terms may hold some merit, they also tend to overlook and exclude many key areas in the field of literature.

The era of Georgian Literature was marked by many remarkable developments such as the maturing of the novel into the form that we know today, the rapid development of the satirical form of writing, the change in drama from

political satire to melodrama and in the field of poetry a shift towards a more personal exploration. Philosophical literature during this period also saw a widespread change to empiricism while political-economic writing gave birth to mercantilism as a distinct formal philosophy, as well as the birth of capitalism and widespread trade.

The chronological roots of Georgian Literature may be up for debate since much of its origins can be traced back to contemporary 18th century criticism and the term itself came to be a cursory description of a vague period that saw the growth of the satirical form of writing. What is certain however is that this period gave birth to an unprecedented bold political literature across many different genres marked by satires full of irony and hidden meanings.

Whereas literature before this period was largely confined to contributions from London, the rest of the country became more active in the literary world with contributions coming from many other areas within the kingdom. Literature began to break free from the strictly formal styles of the previous years and the various folk compositions, which had previously been largely ignored, now rose to almost equal prominence.

While the literature during this period appeared on the surface to retain much of the mild delivery and formal tone of years past, many of the political, philosophical and literary innovations of the later Romantic period were in fact beginning to take root and were starting to challenge the feudal and courtly values which had long been in place.

One of the most influential factors that led to the development of Georgian Literature was the increasing accessibility of printed material for both authors and even ordinary readers. Books which was formerly the domain of only a privileged few became much more affordable and there was a huge market for used books in many town fairs all over the country.

The Georgian era brought us some great writers, such as Jane Austen, Percy Shelley, Mary Shelley, John Keats, and Lord Byron. Interestingly, it is the female writers, Mary Shelley and Jane Austen, who have stood the test of time, and are as much celebrated in today's second Elizabethan era, as they were during the era they lived in, the Georgian era.

Today, Jane Austen is celebrated all over the world. There are numerous societies, celebrating the life and work of the woman who gave us stories such as *Pride and Prejudice*, *Jane Eyre*, *Emma*, *Sense and Sensibility*, and of course, *Mansfield Park*. An example of the celebration of Jane Austen comes from the 'Jane Austen Centre', a place that is hosting a summer ball and a Jane Austen festival in 2014. Another example of Austen's relevance in the hearts of the British public is that she will appear on the ten-pound note from 2017. This could show that Jane Austen is as relevant today as she was in Georgian England. It can even be argued that with Austen being the face of the new ten-pound note, she is one of the most loved British authors of all time. After all, few other authors have been given a place on bank notes.

When we think of the Georgian era, we often think of Austen's worlds and a grand upper class lifestyle. We rarely think of it as a gothic era, full of monsters, but this is what makes Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* a welcome breath of fresh air. Shelly gives us something completely different in her work.

Mary Shelley's work of Frankenstein gives us a monster created under the eccentric scientist Victor Frankenstein. Frankenstein covers some of the same themes as Austen's novels, including romance, and social class; however, there are also the themes of knowledge, alienation, guilt, and vegetarianism. Frankenstein forces us to think about the more negative aspects of society, and how societies can mistreat others. Perhaps, this was not surprising, as Shelley was the daughter of the feminist philosopher Mary Wollstonecraft. Wollstonecraft was a

critic of the way women were treated in society, most famously noting this in her work *The Vindication of Women's Rights*. Both Shelley and Austen spoke out against prejudice, and the patriarchal nature of society.

How England Had Grown Richer (1700 to 1800)

All through the reigns of George II and III there had been improvements and inventions in making and exchanging everything that people need. This was how the bills had been paid. A strange new invention was being used in a few mines, 'the engine for raising water by fire'. Out of this clumsy pump were developed the great engines that to-day work the belts of half the factories in the world. There were new devices for spinning, weaving and printing cotton, for smelting iron, for making steel, for baking china and pottery.

All through the hundred years from 1700 to 1800 such great improvements had been made that all kinds of goods, from ribbons and buttons, to chests of drawers and coal, had begun to be more plentiful than ever before.

When more and more things were manufactured for sale and not just used in the village in which they were made, transport became important, the bad roads became unbearable, and some better way of carrying heavy goods had to be found. The first thing that was done was to try to deepen the rivers that were already used to carry goods inland. For instance, the Rivers Aire and Calder were improved to serve the cloth-makers of the West Riding, and the Mersey was made navigable tor larger vessels. The coasting vessels that earned so much of the trade of England were now much more manageable, because they were better rigged.

The next step in inland water transport was not just to improve the old waterways but to make new ones. The first important English canal was built by a brilliant engineer named James Brindley to connect the coal mines of the Duke of Bridgewater at Worsley with Manchester. The canal was only a few miles long, yet as soon as it was in use the price of coal in Manchester fell by half. Canal building went rapidly ahead and soon there was a whole network of them linking up the towns round Birmingham and another in Lancashire, while the famous 'Grand Junction Canal' linked the Mersey with the Thames.

But to go by canal was very slow. Roads were needed too. A law had been passed in 1555 by which the men of each parish were supposed to keep up their part of the road. Most of them neglected their duties badly, and none of them kept their sections really fit for heavy traffic.

For instance, in 1730 a coach containing George II and Queen Caroline upset at Parson's Green because the road was so bad, and the Queen was begged by ministers who had to come and see her, not to live in Kensington Palace in the winter, because of the 'impassable gulf of mud' through which they had to ride. When all this was felt to be unbearable, there came an odd development.

Private companies were formed called Turnpike Trusts. Each one undertook to keep up a section of the road, in return for the right to charge a toll to travelers. Each company was out for profit and had nothing to do with any other. The consequence was sometimes that a splendid length of road laid out by a good engineer and kept up by a good company would suddenly end in a muddy track because that was where that particular

company's section finished. On the whole, though, the turnpike roads were better than the old ones.

Another change was that people began to gather in towns, and much larger groups of people began to work together, one doing one part of the job and some another. Sometimes the work would be done in one large building, but more often it would be done in the workers' house, messengers or overseers taking the half-finished work from one to another.

At last the citizens of a few English towns began to realize that the old medieval ways of throwing rubbish and slops into the street was not only disgusting but caused disease. Under what were called 'Improvement Acts' Manchester, Birmingham, London and other towns got powers from Parliament to raise money to cover in open

drains and to pave and light their streets. Simple as this sounds, people's health began to be better. Fewer children died, people lived longer, and so about 1750 the population began to grow faster than it had ever done before. It was still not what we should now call big, and was much smaller than that of France. Only after 1760 were there as many people in all England as there are in London to-day. But for the next hundred and fifty years the population of Britain grew faster and faster, and it has only just stopped growing now at well over forty millions.

In the 18th century there was an agricultural revolution in England. An intelligent farmer—one Jethro Tull in Berkshire for instance—had come to the conclusion that his forefathers' methods of growing crops were wasteful of the farmer's most precious treasures, lime, seed, land and labour. In the 17th century seed was sown by

hand. The sower simply scattered seed on the ground. However in 1701 Tull invented the seed drill. This machine dropped seeds at a controllable rate in the straight lines. A harrow at the back of the machine covered the seeds to prevent birds eating them. Tull also invented a horse drawn hoe, which killed weeds between rows of seeds. These were marked improvements in the way of cultivating the land. Even in the country, many children had suffered from rickets and even scurvy, for there had been no fresh milk or butter and no fresh meat all winter. But now scurvy practically died out, at any rate in the country.

In the late 18th century everyday life in Britain was transformed by the industrial revolution. Towns, industry and trade had been growing for centuries but about 1780 economic growth took off.

In the late 18th century a network of canals was built. One of the first was built for the Duke of Bridgewater by James Brindley. It opened in 1761 from Worsley to Manchester.

A number of technological advances made the revolution possible. In 1709 Abraham Darby (1677-1717), who owned an ironworks, began using coke instead of charcoal to melt iron ore. (It was a much more efficient fuel). Darby and his family kept the new fuel secret for a time but in the late 18th century the practice spread.

Meanwhile in 1698 Thomas Savery made the first steam engine. From 1712 Thomas Newcomen made steam engines to pump water from coalmines. Then, in 1769, James Watt patented a more efficient steam engine and in the 1780s it was adapted to power machinery.

The first industry to become mechanised was the textile industry. In 1771 Richard Arkwright opened a cotton-spinning mill with a machine called a water frame, which was powered by a water mill. Then, in 1779, Samuel Crompton invented a new cotton-spinning machine called a spinning mule. Finally in 1785 Edmund Cartwright invented a loom that could be powered by a steam engine. As a result of these new inventions cotton production boomed.

Iron production also grew rapidly. In 1784 a man named Henry Cort (1740-1800) invented a much better way of making wrought iron. Until then men had to beat red hot iron with hammers to remove impurities. In 1784 Cort invented the puddling process. The iron was melted in an extremely hot furnace and stirred of 'puddled' to remove

impurities. The result was a vast increase in iron production.

Impact of Industrial Revolution.

Industrial Revolution brought about profound changes in the social, economic and political life of the people of England. The following are the major impact of Industrial Revolution.

1. Development of New means of Transport and communication

One of the important aspects of Industrial Revolution was drastic changes in transport and communication. New scientific inventions hiked the production of England to a large extent. The new age ushered in by the machines could not have flourished under the old condition of transport. The coming of machinery

coincided with an improvement in the transport of goods. The production of coal, iron and other heavy materials necessitated the construction of canals and railways. An efficient system of transportation was the need of the hour to carry raw materials to factories and finished goods to markets. Hence revolution in the means of transport became inevitable.

2. Social Effects of Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution produced two social classes in Britain-capitalist and the proletariat (Labour class). The difference between the two groups increased day by day. The capitalist led a very luxurious life with great pomp and show at the expense of the labour class. The labour class suffered a lot; they led a very miserable life. Urbanization was a most striking feature of Industrial

Revolution. It altered the village agricultural life and witnessed the emergence of city life. Large scale migration from village to new industrial cities started in search of new jobs. By 1830 Britain was the most urban society the world had known. In 1750 there had been only two cities – London and Edinburgh. By 1851 there were 29 cities and majority of people lived in towns. The crowded towns and smoky factories were disastrous to the workers.

3. Economic Effects

The economic condition of England was drastically changed as the result of Industrial Revolution. An agricultural country turned into industrial country. Various industries were established in England. The consequence was the decline of small-scale industries and capitalists monopolized the entire industries of England. The

increasing wealth after the industrialisation enabled England to meet the requirements of her rising population. The invention of machines threw a large number of workers out of job and problem of unemployment created distress among them. Prior to the Industrial Revolution there had no such sharp contrast among the people of different classes. But after the Industrial Revolution an unbridgeable gap was created between the capitalists and laborers.

4. Political Effects

The influence of capitalists began to increase in the administration due to Industrial Revolution. The rich people began to interfere in the political affairs of the country by using their money power. They purchase votes in order to acquire the membership of theParliament. They

also began to neglect the interests of the people of lower class for safeguarding their own interests.

The ideology of socialism and communism received much attention in England during the time. The movement emerged against the onslaughts of capitalism. The socialists raised voice against the atrocities of the capitalists. The parliamentary Reforms in England during the 19th century were the direct outcome of Industrial Revolution.

5. Impact on Ecology and Environment

Process of Industrial revolution brought far reaching changes in the field of production which raised major ecological and environment problems. Industrialisation created environmental and ecological damage. Exploitation of natural resources in a greedy way created problems.

With the rapid industrialisation, unscrupulous destruction of nature and natural resources set in. Large scale deforestation and biological depletion from a variety of habitats occurred due to the industrialisation process.

6. Factory System

Advent of modern factory system was a significant feature of Industrial Revolution. Factory was the site of the new machinery and power that made industrialism possible. Prior to Industrial Revolution production was carried out by the artisans in their own homes. This was known as domestic system of production. But after industrialisation people realized the insufficiency of domestic production system. The change from old pre-machine world to the world of factories was a very gradual process. Production was now carried on in a factory in

place of workshops in home, with the help of machines in place of simple tools. Water or steam power replaced human muscle and animal energy as the source of power.

Class structure

The Georgians shaped the nature of the social class system, and this remains in modern Britain. The upper class was a small segment of society and included the wealthiest. It was an elite aristocracy that was closed off to all others. The upper class was not infrequently subject to criminal acts in Georgian England though, as there was not a force in the modern form. Secondly, there was the middle class. This class was a little broader than the upper class, but it still retained a small percentage of society. It was made up of various businessmen and professionals. And, last but not least, there was the working class. The working

class made up the majority of the Georgian era's population. It was a class that was exploited by the rich and it was often forced to work in the newly formed factories. Children, from as young as five, were even made to work.

Colonialism and its Impact

The word colonialism, according to the Oxford English Dictionary comes from the Roman *Colonia* which meant farm or *settlement,* and referred to Romans who settled in other lands but still remained their citizenship. Oxford English Dictionary describes colonialism as "a settlement in a new country….. a body of people who settled in a new locality, forming a community subject to or connected with the parent state."

Colonialism is a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another. It is a

process whereby the metro pole (mother city) claims sovereignty over the colony, and the social structure, government, and economics, of the colony are changed by colonizers from the metropolis. It is the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting economically. Colonialism was a response to the economic needs of industrial capitalist Europe. They exploited the colony for raw materials, markets for sale of manufactured goods and field for the investment of surplus capital.

The colonial period was the era from the 1550s to, arguably, the 1990s when several European powers like, Spain, Portugal, Dutch, Britain and France, established colonies in Asia, Africa, and the Americas.

The concept of colonialism is not a modern phenomenon. The origin can be traced back to ancient period. The Egyptians Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans had built colonies of their own. Colonialism is not restricted to a specific time or space. With the spread of Hellenic and Roman culture and technology by the Roman Empire, the renaissance and the enlightenment of the fifteen and sixteenth centuries and the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most of the world has at some point been colonized by a European country. The most notable colonial powers were Rome, Greece, Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands Belgium and Denmark, whose combined empires covered at various times the whole of the North, Central and South America, Africa, Australia, Indonesia, and Indian subcontinent.

By the 16th century colonialism had changed drastically due to the technological developments in navigation that began to connect more remote parts of the world. After the *Spanish Armada* in 1588 Britain emerged as a supreme naval force. Modern colonialism started with the Age of Geographical Discovery. Colonialism arose out of the need for the strong European powers to acquire direct political control over another country or territory. With the industrial revolution in Europe, the economy of most industrialised nations became altered.

In Britain, inequalities in wealth and income distribution had weakened the consumption power of the working classes and this did not create room for producers to utilise fully their individual capacity. Lacking in domestic investment outlets, British capitalists turned their attention to the economically under-exploited regions of

the world. Great Britain then established colonies to hike their surplus capital. The need to expand capital and boost the domestic economy motivated European nations especially Great Britain, France and Portugal to explore into the rest of the world where labour and raw materials were cheap.

Following are the major features of colonialism:

* The complete subordination of the colony to meet the needs of the metropolis.

* Economic exploitation of the colony or the appropriation of the colony's economic surplus by the metropolis.

The economic surplus in the colony is produced in many different ways, from traditional agriculture to plantations to modern mining and factory production. The

essence of colonialism is appropriation of this surplus by various classes of the imperialist country. The basic issue of the colony's economy and social and political development are not determined by the colony's own needs but by the needs and interests of the metropolitan economy and of the capitalist class. Thus colonialism is much more than political control. It is best seen as a structure. Colonial interests and policies, colonial state and administrative institutions, colonial culture and society, colonial ideas and ideologies, all functions within the frame work of colonial structure.

Impact of colonialism

The impacts of colonialism are very immense and crucial. The impact can be identified in various fields, including spread of various diseases, establishment of

unequal social relations, exploitation, enslavement, medical advances, establishment of new institutions, spread of colonial education and technological advancement. European nations entered their imperial projects with the goal of enriching the European metro pole. Exploitation of non-Europeans and other Europeans to support imperial goals were acceptable to the colonizers. The immediate impact was slavery and indentured servitude. In the 17th century nearly two-thirds of English settlers came to North America as indentured servants. African slavery was an exploitable means of creating an inexpensive labour force for the colonies. Europeans brought large numbers of African slaves to the Americas by sail. The British, French and Dutch joined in the slave trade. Ultimately, around 11 million Africans were taken to the Caribbean and North and South America as slaves by European colonizers. Their

frantic demand for manpower to meet their colonial needs led to cruel exploitation, and a flourishing but illicit slave-trade. Encounters between the colonizers and populations in the rest of the world often introduced new diseases, which caused local epidemics of extraordinary virulence.

Smallpox, measles, malaria, yellow fever and others were unknown in pre-colonial America. The native population of the European colony in the Americas were wiped out by small pox, measles, and other diseases. The indigenous people had no immunities because of their complete isolation from the rest of the world.

Colonialism arose out of the need for European nations to have direct political control over their colonies. It aimed to ensure the protection of the economic interest of metropolis. European nations desire colonies in order to

have access to the raw materials of the colonies, to have markets, for sale of manufactured goods of the home country and field for the investment of surplus capital.

The weapon used by the Europeans for the realization of the purpose of colonialism was education. Education had been accepted worldwide as the gate way to the development of society. European nations used force to suppress the traditional educational system. Instead of indigenous education the colonial regime inaugurated a foreign educational system that is geared towards development of an internal material base, with the result that technologically and in relation to the developed world. Europeans rigorously applied their own curricula without considering the indigenous people. As a bye-product of colonisation, the colonizing nation implemented its own

form of schooling within their colonies so as to suit their purpose.

The colonizing government realized that they gain strength not necessarily through physical control but through mental control. This mental control is implemented through the colonial education system. Colonial schools sought to extent foreign domination and economic exploitation of the colony. Their education policy was an attempt to strip the colonized people away from their indigenous learning structures and draw them the structures of colonizers. The system of education was highlighted the glory of white man's mythical racial superiority and oriental inferiority. The indigenous people were taught about themselves was designed to enable them to internalize their inferiority and to recognize the white man as their savior. Colonial schooling was education for

subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and development of underdevelopment.

The implementation of new education system leaves those who are colonized with lack of identity and a limited sense of their past. The indigenous history and customs once practices and observed slowly slipped away. The colonized became hybrids of two vastly different cultural systems. Colonial education created a blurring that makes it difficult to differentiate between the new enforced ideas of the colonizers and formerly accepted native practices. European powers did not establish colonial states to carry out a programme of political development or changes but to erect efficient and effective administrative states for purposes of economic exploitation.

In short the effects of colonialism are:

* loss of political power
* blocked the further evolution of national solidarity
* destroyed craftsmanship and destroyed the growth of technology.
* destroyed internal trade
* destroyed indigenous culture
* introduced new value system by imparting western education.
* transformed traditional agricultural system and introduced cash-crop production.
* destructed the traditional handicrafts.

* colonialism brought poverty and insecurity in the colonies through the introduction of heavy taxes, paid employment, alienation from the land and environment and discouragement of food-crop production.

Colonialism and Imperialism

Colonial authorities always justified their deeds to convince the world that they had been involved in the great duty of civilizing the non-European people. They had to justify their exploitation in the colonies. For this purpose they formed many fabricated concepts concerned with the colonized state and people. George Bernard Shaw aptly remarks thus: "an English man never commit mistakes. What he has been doing is based on some principles. In the name of nationalism he

fights against you, in the name of trade he exploits you, in the name of imperialism he makes you slave."

Imperial and colonial powers from ancient to modern times have often regarded their rule over others as an aspect of their own destiny.

The destiny is that to civilize, educate and bring law and order in the world. The Spanish conquest of the Americas in the 15th and 16th centuries sparked a theological, political and ethical debate about the use of military force to acquire control over foreign lands. The debate took place within the framework of a religious discourse that justified and legitimized military conquests as a way to facilitate conversion and salvation of the indigenous peoples. The Spanish conquerors and colonists openly justified their activities in the American

colony in terms of a religious mission to bring Christianity to the native peoples.

The legitimacy of colonialism and imperialism was a topic of debate among the French, German, and the British philosophers in the 18th and 19th centuries. Enlightenment thinkers such as Immanuel Kant, Smith and Diderot were severely criticised the barbarity of colonialism and challenged the idea that Europeans had the obligation to 'civilise' the rest of the world. The right to trade and commerce was used as a justification for colonisation by Spanish thinkers in the 16th and 17th century. The imperialist thinkers used the theory of 'historical development' to justify their activities in the colonies. According to this theory, all societies naturally moved from hunting, to herding, to farming, to commerce. It is a developmental process that

simultaneously tracked a cultural arc from “savagery” through “barbarism”, to “civilization”.

The idea that civilization is the culmination of a process of historical development, proved useful in justifying colonialism and imperialism. According to John Stuart Mill, savages do not have the capacity for self- government. He further argued that, only commercial society produces the material and cultural conditions that enable individual to realise their potential for freedom and self-government. According to this concept, civilised societies like Great Britain are acting in the interest of less-developed peoples by governing them. Colonialism, from this perspective, is not primarily a form of political domination and economic exploitation.

But colonialism is a paternalistic practice of government that impart civilization and modernization in order to foster the improvement of native peoples.

The British Empire began as an extension of their trading interest, the need for raw materials, as well as for markets. India, considered being the jewel in the crown of their imperial project, was initially colonized by a commercial enterprise. A similar process took place in Africa.

A moral argument was used to justify the continuation and expansion of colonialism. This was famously expressed by Rudyard Kipling in his 1899 poem, “The White Man’s Burden”. The poem says: “it was a moral responsibility to rule over people who were “half-devil and half child” who therefore needed the discipline, oversight

and governance that only a superior race could provide. Britain believed that, they had the destiny to create a Pax *Britannica* (to provide peace and prosperity to all the citizens) as the Roman's had a Pax *Romana*. The British, they said, were by nature a ruling race, and were destined to rule others. The so called moral justification of colonialism was predicated on racist assumptions. The assumption is that some people were better and others were genetically incapable of self-governance. They developed the argument that if the colonial power departed, ancient animosities and tribal rivalry would create a blood-shed; thus only colonial rule could keep the peace.

Great Britain often represented imperialism to itself in a highly idealized fashion. When British took over a territory, they justified it by saying that they brought civilisation to the Barbarian, enlightenment to the

heathen, prosperity to the impoverished, law and order to the brutish uncultured fellows. Imperialist expansion found further justification in Britain's self-appointed mission of spreading "civilisation, commerce, and Christianity" across the globe.

American War of Independence

The American Revolutionary War (1775–83) began when representatives from 13 North American colonies of the kingdom of Great Britain sought more autonomy within the British Empire. But when did the French intervene? How close did the British come to winning the war? And how tyrannical was the rule of King George III?

Independence was not the Americans' Original Aim

When the war began in April 1775, the colonies sought more autonomy within the British Empire, not

complete separation. The Continental Congress, which led American resistance, petitioned King George III that summer, denying that independence was the Americans' objective, and appealing to him to protect the colonies. At this critical juncture, British ministers, and the king, rebuffed the Americans, and started to treat them as open and avowed enemies, making many of the colonists think that independence was the only option. George III was not trying to impose a tyrannical regime in the colonies.

Despite the accusations made in the Declaration of Independence, George III was not determined to create an authoritarian system in the colonies. Indeed, in the constitutional disputes before the fighting began he urged moderation on his ministers, rather than encouraging them to take a hard line. In 1775, George III disappointed the Americans by siding unambiguously with his government;

but he saw the war as the struggle for the rights of parliament, not as an attempt to increase his own power.

For enslaved people, the British, not the Americans, represented freedom. The rhetoric of the revolution presented the Americans as staunch defenders of liberty and the British as a threat to that liberty. But for enslaved people in the colonies, it was the British who represented liberty, not the white Americans.

In November 1775, Lord Dunmore, the last royal governor of Virginia, offered freedom to enslaved people who helped him put down the rebellion. Thereafter, thousands of slaves flocked to the British lines throughout the war. Many were to be disappointed, but at least some secured their freedom. Dunmore's actions may well have helped the revolutionary cause in the south,

where many conservative plantation-owners reacted badly to his undermining the slave system.

In late summer 1776, the British army inflicted a major defeat on Washington's forces at the battle of Long Island (also known as the battle of Brooklyn). The British then went on to occupy New York City and chased the disintegrating remnants of the American army across New Jersey to the Delaware River.

By mid-December, many British officers assumed that the rebellion was on the verge of collapse. But just after Christmas, Washington boldly counter-attacked, reviving American spirits and ensuring that the war continued. Contemporaries blamed General Howe, the British commander, for not seizing the opportunity to crush the rebellion when he had the chance. Historians have been

kinder, recognizing that, even in the 1776 campaign, the British faced major logistical challenges supplying their army at such a distance from home, and that Howe had no wish to alienate Americans further by using brutal methods.

The French Revolution

The Origins of the French Revolution

The outbreak of the French Revolution in the summer of 1789 stirred the imagination of nearly all Europeans. The French revolutionaries - that is, those men and women who made conscious choices - sensed in their hearts and minds that they were witnessing the birth of a new age. And if the revolutionaries of Paris, Bordeaux, Lyons or Toulouse knew they were innovating, knew they were helping to usher in the dawn of a New Jerusalem, so too did observers in London, Berlin, Philadelphia,

Moscow, Manchester, Geneva, Amsterdam or Boston. The English Romantic poet, William Wordsworth (1770-1850) was living in Paris during the heady days of 1789.

Upon the ruins of the *ANCIEN REGIME* - that is, the old order - a new era appeared which seemed to realize the lofty ideals of the Enlightenment. The ideals were genuine and they were optimistic through and through. Man had entered a stage in human history characterized by his emancipation from superstition, prejudice, cruelty and enthusiasm. Liberty had triumphed over tyranny. New institutions were created on the foundations of Reason and justice and not authority or blind faith. The barriers to freedom, liberty, equality and brotherhood were torn down.

Man had been released from other-worldly torment and was now making history!

For the revolutionary generation, it seemed as if the natural, inalienable rights of man had become an instant reality. The forces of oppression, tyranny and misery needed to be overcome. So, 1789 stands as the pivotal year - a watershed - in which these forces came to their abrupt and necessary end.

So believed the revolutionaries. . . .

The causes of the French Revolution are complicated, so complicated that a debate still rages among historians regarding origins, causes and results. In general, the real causes of the Revolution must be located in the rigid social structure of French society during the ancient regime. As it had been for centuries, French society was divided into three Estates or Orders. The First Estate consisted of the clergy and the Second Estate the nobility.

Together, these two Estates accounted for approximately 500,000 individuals. At the bottom of this hierarchy was the vast Third Estate which basically meant everybody else, or about 25 million people.

This social structure was based on custom and tradition, but more important, it was also based on inequalities which were sanctioned by the force of law. These, then, are the social causes that acted as a breeding ground for the grievances and passions the Revolution would unleash. But there are a few other causes, equally important, that are also worth our attention.

The Impact of the French Revolution on England

It would be peremptory to treat the French Revolution as just another historical incident having political significance alone. The French Revolution exerted

a profound influence not only on the political destiny of a European nation but also impinged forcefully on the intellectual, literary, and political fields throughout Europe. It signalised the arrival of a new era of fresh thinking and introspection.

The conditions prevailing in England at that time made her particularly receptive to the new ideas generated by the Revolution. In literature the French Revolution was instrumental in the creation of anew interest in nature and the elemental simplicities of life. It accelerated the approach of the romantic era and the close of the Augustan school of poetry which was already moribund in the age of Wordsworth.

Poetry and Politics:

The age of Wordsworth was an age of revolution in the field of poetry as well as of politics. In both these fields the age had started expressing its impatience of set formulas and traditions, the tyranny of rules and the bondage of convention. From the French Revolution the age imbibed a spirit of revolt asserting the dignity of the individual spirit and hollowness of the time-honoured conventions which kept it in check. Thus both in the political and the poetic fields the age learnt from the Revolution the necessity of emancipation-in the political field, from tyranny and social oppression; and in the poetic, from the bondage of rules and authority. The French Revolution, in a word, exerted a democratising influence,both on politics and poetry. Inspired by the French Revolution, poets and politicians alike were poised

for an onslaught on old, time-rusted values. It was only here and there that some conservative critics stuck to their guns and eyed all zeal for change and liberation with suspicion and distrust. (Thus, for instance, Lord Jeffrey wrote in the Edinburgh Review that poetry had something common with religion in that its standards had been fixed long ago by certain inspired writers whose authority it would be ever unlawful to question.) But such views did not represent the spirit of the age which had come under the liberating influence of the French Revolution.

It is perhaps quite relevant to point out here the folly of the belief that the new literary and political tendencies, which had a common origin and were almost contemporaneous with each other, always influenced a given person equally strongly, that a person could not be a revolutionary in politics without being a revolutionary in

literature, and vice versa. Scott, for example, was a romantic, but a Tory. Hazlitt, on the contrary, was a chartist in politics but was pleased to call himself an "aristocrat" in literature. Keats did not bother about the French Revolution, or even politics, at all. Wordsworth and Coleridge, the two real pioneers of the Romantic Movement in England, started as radicals and ended as tenacious Tories.

Chapter 4: Twentieth Century

England between Two World Wars First World War (1914-1918)

World War I was a global war centered in Europe that began on 28 July 1914 and lasted until 11 November 1918. It was predominantly called the World War or the Great War from its occurrence until the start of World War II in 1939, and the First World War or World War I

thereafter. It involved all the world's great powers, which were assembled in two opposing alliances: the Allies (based on the Triple Entente of the United Kingdom, France and Russia) and the Central Powers (originally centred on the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy).These alliances both reorganised and expanded as more nations entered the war. Ultimately more than 70 million military personnel, including 60 million Europeans, were mobilized in one of the largest wars in history. More than 9 million combatants were killed, largely because of enormous increases in lethality of weapons.

The long term effects of imperialism, nationalism and militarism created tensions that lasted for years in Europe. However the immediate causes of the war was from the alliance system, tensions on the Balkan Peninsula,

and the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand. The alliance system was the main reason for expanding the small war between Austria-Hungary and Serbia to the entire world.

Causes of the First World War: Secret and Diplomatic Alliances

Before the start of the war, several treaties had been signed and several wars had been fought that created great animosity in Europe and led to the formation of alliance systems. Ever since German unification, the Chancellor of Germany, Otto von Bismarck had realized that Germany would need a strong ally for protection because of Germany's big disadvantage in geography. In case of a war or conflict, Germany could be attacked on all sides by its enemies. In 1879, Germany signed an alliance treaty with Austria- Hungary.

Germany felt that this alliance would ensure security and survival of their empire. In addition, the treaty served as a way of preventing a Russian attack on Germany because of Russian outrage at Germany from the Congress of Berlin. In 1878 Germany set up a Congress in Berlin between the European nations. In the Congress, the treaty of San Stefan was nullified and Bosnia-Herzegovina was given to Austria-Hungary. Germany knew that if Russia attacked, it would easily be defeated by both Germany and Austria-Hungary. Austria-Hungary signed the treaty with Germany because it wanted to prevent a Russian attack on it from tension between the nations on the Balkan Peninsula.

The treaty was very significant because it was one of the first alliances signed between two superpowers in Europe. In1882; Italy had made an alliance with Germany

and Austria-Hungary. These three countries made up the Triple Alliance of Europe. Against this military alliance, there emerged another group. In 1907, England made an alliance with Russia. The Triple Entente came into force which included three great powers of Europe- Great Britain, Russia and France. The Triple Alliance confronted with the Triple Entente and the rivalry between the two became one of the major causes of the First World War.

Impact of First World War

The World War of 1914 was the most disastrous event of the world. It was the most destructive of all fought ever before. About thirty-six nations took part in it. More than sixty-five million soldiers fought in the war from both sides in which about thirteen million were killed, twenty two million wounded, and about seven million lost their

limbs. It was the first war in which many new and modern weapons like tanks, aeroplanes, aerial bombing, submarines and poisonous gases were used on a very large scale. The war had far reaching consequences which affected the political, economic and social structure of nations.

Economic effects

One of the most dramatic effects of the war was the expansion of governmental powers and responsibilities in Britain, France, the United States, and the Dominions of the British Empire. In order to harness all the power of their societies, governments created new ministries and powers. New taxes were levied and laws enacted, all designed to bolster the war effort.

In Britain, rationing was imposed in early 1918, limited to meat, sugar, and butter. From 1914 to 1918 trade union membership doubled, from a little over four million to a little over eight million. Work stoppages and strikes became frequent in 1917–1918 as the unions expressed grievances regarding prices, alcohol control, pay disputes, fatigue from overtime and working on Sundays, and inadequate housing. Britain turned to her colonies for help in obtaining essential war materials whose supply had become difficult from traditional sources.

As the governments of all nations directed their endeavours to the war and invested all money in the war, they could not pay much attention to the welfare of the people. The governments became indifferent towards the improvement of their industries, trade, agriculture and commerce. It led to the decrease of food production to a

considerable extent. In order to meet the financial requirements, the governments of different countries imposed taxes of various types. It caused an overwhelming burden upon the people, who were already suffering from many economic problems. Due to the heavy taxes, the financial condition of the people deteriorated further. This caused the beginning a wave of resentment among the people.

Social Consequences

The world war created some profound effects in the social field also. Its social consequences are follows:

During the course of war, the demand for soldiers to fight in the battlefield and to work in the industries producing war materials gradually increased. As a result of this urgent need of human labour, many people left their

jobs and joined in the army. The vacancies which occurred due to the above reason had to be filled up by women. Due to the peculiar situations created by the war, the women came out of their homes and began to work in factories, mills and offices. In this way, the scope of work for women was expanded and they realized their importance. They also took active part in political movements.

The feelings of self-determination, self-confidence and courage grew in them. As a consequence of the change, the women demanded equal status with men. They also demanded that the government should provide all those facilities and concede rights to them which were being enjoyed by men. In this way, there came about a revolutionary change in the lives of the women and their social status greatly improved after the war. Another important consequence of the war which affected the social

setup of the Europe was the great setback to education. Due to the high demand for the soldier to fight at the battle fields, many students joined in the army.

Governments implemented forced labour to avail soldiers in the battle field. The military training was made compulsory for all. It adversely affected the progress of education. Most of the educational institutions were closed due to the decreasing number of students. Thus the education system was badly affected by the war.

Representation of the People Act 1918

The struggle for enfranchisement conducted by various organisations in Britain finally materialised their demands by the passage of the Representation of the People Act of 1918. The 1918 Representation of the People Act was the start of female suffrage in Great Britain. The

bill was passed by an overwhelming majority in the House of Common (385 for to 55 against). The 1918 Representation of the People Act gave women of property over the age of 30 the right to vote – not all women, therefore, could vote – but it was a major start. The Representation of the People Act 1918 was an Act of British Parliament passed to reform the electoral system in the United Kingdom. It is sometimes known as the Fourth Reform Act. This act was the first to include practically all men in the political system and began the inclusion of women.

The Representation of the People Act 1918 widened suffrage by abolishing practically all property qualifications for men and by enfranchising women over 30 who met minimum property qualifications. The enfranchisement of this latter group was accepted as

recognition of the contribution made by women defense workers. However, women were still not politically equal to men (who could vote from the age of 21) full electoral equality wouldn't occur until the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act 1928.

Major provisions of the Act

* All adult males gain the vote, as long as they are 21 years old or over and are resident in the constituency.

* Women over 30 years old receive the vote but they have to be either a member or married to a member of the Local Government Register.

* Some seats redistributed to industrial towns

* Elections to be held on a decided day each year .

The Concept of Welfare state in Great Britain

In the United Kingdom, the modern welfare state started to emerge with the Liberal welfare reforms of 1906–1914 under Liberal Prime Minister Herbert Asquith. These included the passing of the Old-Age Pensions Act in 1908, the introduction of free school meals in 1909, the 1909 Labour Exchanges Act, The Development Act 1909, which heralded greater Government intervention in economic development, and the enacting of the National Insurance Act 1911 setting up a national insurance contribution for unemployment and health benefits from work.

Impact of Second World War

The Second World War broke out in 1939 and continued for a long period of six years. It came to an

end in 1945. It was the most disastrous event of the world. It greatly affected almost all aspects of human life as well as international politics of that time. The Second World War is known as the most destructive of all wars fought ever before. In this war, about ten million soldiers were badly wounded. Besides the loss of human life, this war has been remembering for the economic loss, and great destruction. Great Britain alone had to suffer the economic expenses of about two thousand crore rupees. Thus the national property of various countries of world was destroyed in the Second World War on a large scale.

Loss of colonies

As a consequence of the Second World War, the colonial empire of the Great Britain, which existed

in Asia, came to an end. Many nations were granted the right to independence after the war. In the same way, India, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, and Egypt achieved freedom from the colonial clutches of Great Britain. The political map of Asia changed thoroughly after the Second World War, because the European sovereignty was completely faded in Asia. The Second World War profoundly affected the relative positions of the European nations. The leadership of the World slipped from the hands of England and came in to the hands of America and Russia.

How Did The Second World War Affect The British Society?

Second World War has affected the personal, social and political life of millions of people.

Immediately after the end of Second World War, Britain underwent enormous social change. The country was bankrupted after the war. The new Labour government provided the reformation of the main institutions such as mining, railways, road traffic, air traffic, petrol, electricity and even the Bank of England. The government set up the Beveridge committee which brought in the Welfare State after the war. It also adopted a new ways of running the economy (called Keynesian Economics) which promised full employment. Due to the urgent need of war, many men went to fight and women did their work. This had a long term effect upon women's liberation. There was a huge growth in ammunitions and air craft industries. Other industries like hose building etc. were put on hold.

The Britain after World War II was destroyed a lot. Destruction by bombing created a need for massive house building after the war. This was a great challenge for architects. The primary task before the government was to build houses for living and schools.

Post-war housing policies offered homes in new housing estates often many miles from the old communities in which grandparents and other relatives lived. So this led to an “estrangement” in families which were more unite before the war and it was common that grandparents lived near their children. Before the war it was usual that all the family had a dinner together. But the post-war trend was that people became more separate from one another. This led to the fact that family members were getting more isolated and the old strong family structures became less tied. The

consequence of this situation was that children's freedom was more tolerated and accepted by their parents.

Many schools built after the war, for instance the Henry Hartland Grammar School at Worksop, were well- designed inside but not very impressive from outside. People had to equip their homes somehow. The war taught them using "utility" furniture. People wanted to live in modern and nice-equipped homes.

CONTENTS

1. Evolution of English 5

2. Early Modern English 32

3. The Renaissance Period 45

4. The Appeal to Authority 96

5. The Nineteenth Century and After ……..… 110

6. The English Language in America ……..… 134

7. English in the Scientific Age 155

8. English as a World Language 184

9. Varieties of English ……..... 203

References …..…… 234

CHAPTER ONE

EVOLUTION OF ENGLISH

When the Romans came to Britain, first under Julius Caesar in 55 B. C. and later under Claudius in 42 A. D., they found a race of Celtic people, the Britons, in occupation. These Britons resisted the Romans fiercely on the shores of south-east England but they were finally conquered and driven back. The Romans were not the first invaders of the country. The Britons themselves had come as invaders and they had been preceded by others, but until the coming of the Romans no written record of these influxes had been made. Gradually the invader occupied the greater part of the country, but soon he came up against the obstacle that had no doubt held up earlier invaders and was to hold up later ones -- the mountains of Wales and Scotland. Among the mountains the Britons took refuge and here the invader was forced to come to a stop.

During the next four hundred years, though England became a Roman colony, Wales and N. W. Scotland remained largely unconquered. The Romans made their magnificent roads into Wales (Watling Street went from London to Anglesey), they built camps at Caernarvon (Segontium) and at Caerleon, and

great walls to keep back the Scots. But outside the camps and beyond the Wall, the Roman influence was hardly felt, the old Celtic language was spoken and Latin never became a spoken language there as it did in England, at any rate in the larger towns.

In 410 A. D. the Romans left Britain; their soldiers were needed to defend Rome itself against the Goths. It was then that the Angles and Saxons and Jutes came and seized the undefended Britain. And they came to stay. Once more the Britons of England were driven to the mountains of Wales and Scotland, W. Ireland and the Isle of Man, to Cornwall or Brittany.

The evolution of English in the 1,500 years of its existence in England has been an unbroken one. Within this development, however, it is possible to recognize three main periods. Like all divisions in history, the periods of the English language are matters of convenience and the dividing lines between them purely arbitrary. But within each of the periods it is possible to recognize certain broad characteristics and certain special developments that take place. The period from 450 to 1150 is known as Old English. It is sometimes described as the period of full inflections, because during most of this period the endings of

the noun, the adjective, and the verb are preserved more or less unimpaired. From 1150 to 1500 the language is known as Middle English. During this period the inflections, which had begun to break down toward the end of the Old English period, become greatly reduced, and it is consequently known as the period of leveled inflections. The language since 1500 is called Modern English. By the time we reach this stage in the development a large part of the original inflectional system has disappeared entirely, and we therefore speak of it as the period of lost inflections. The progressive decay of inflections is only one of the developments that mark the evolution of English in its various stages. In a course on the history of English, we have to discuss the features that are characteristic of Old English, Middle English, and Modern English.

The Celtic Element

The language spoken by those Britons has developed into Welsh, spoken by the people of Wales; Gaelic, spoken in parts of the Highlands of Scotland; Erse, spoken in Ireland; and Breton, spoken in Brittany in France. There is still some Manx spoken in the Isle of Man, but it is dying out; and there used to be a Cornish language, but this died out in the eighteenth century. Welsh and Erse, Gaelic, Breton and Manx, though they come from the same

ancestor, are not of course the same language, but a Welshman would probably be understood (with difficulty) by a Breton, and a Manxman might make something of a speech in Gaelic or Erse. But if an Englishman heard a speech in any of these languages, he would not understand a single word of it. That is because the English that he speaks comes, not from the Britons who withstood the Romans, but from the Angles who made Britain 'Angle-land'; and English took practically nothing from the old Celtic language. The words *ass, brock* (= a badger), *bannock* (= a loaf of home-made bread) and *bin* (= a manger) are probably survivals of British words. And there have been importations into English at a later date; from Welsh: *druid, flannel, gull, bard;* from Scotch Gaelic: *cairn; clan, plaid, whisky;* and from Irish: *brogue, shamrock, galore.*

But something of Celtic has been fossilized in numerous place names. Ten of our rivers still have the beautiful name of *Avon*, from the Celtic word for 'river'; and *Esk, Ex, Usk, Ouse, Aire* are all from the word for 'water'. The *Don* and *Doune* (like the *Danube*) are from another old Celtic word for 'water'. *Stour, Tees, Trent, Wye* and *Wey* are all Celtic names. The Celtic *Dun* (= a protected place) can be seen in *Dundee*; *Kill* (= a church) in *Kil*dare, *Kil*kenny*; -combe* (= a hollow) in Ilfra*combe, Combe*

Martin; *caer* (= a castle) in *Caer*lon, *Car*lisle, *Car*diff; and *llan-* (= holy) in *Llan*gollen, *Llan*dudno. The names *London, Dover, York, Glasgow* are British, and so is the first part of *Dor*chester, *Glou*cester, *Man*chester, *Win*chester, *Salis*bury, to which has been added the old English *ceaster* (from the Latin *castra* = a camp) or *-burgh* (= a frot).

The Anglo-Saxon Element

The story of English in England, therefore, begins in the first half of the fifth century when the invaders came, the Angles from Schleswig, the Saxons from Holstein, and the Jutes from Jutland. The language they all spoke belonged to the Germanic speech family. This in turn was separated into three main families: EAST GERMANIC, which died out with Gothic about the eighth century; NORTH GERMANIC, which developed into Swedish, Norwegian, Danish and Icelandic; and WEST GERMANIC, from which are descended Dutch, Flemish, Friesian and English. But the Germanic languages are merely one branch of another great family, the Indo-European, which comprises most of the languages of Europe and India.

The parent Indo-European language began several thousands of years B. C., probably in South Europe near the Asian border. It

spread West into Europe and East into India, splitting and modifying into various forms as it spread and came into contact with other languages of different origin. As a result of these divisions there are two main groups of languages in the Indo-European family: there is the Western group, containing Germanic, Celtic, Greek, Latin; and there is the Eastern group containing Balto-Slavonic, Indo-Iranian, Albanian and Armenian. The chart on "INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES" will show the modern descendants of Indo-European and their relationship to each other.

The language that these invaders of England spoke was a west Germanic member of the Indo-European languages. We generally term it 'Anglo-Saxon'. The Jutes settled in Kent, Southern Hampshire and the Isle of Wight; the Saxons in the rest of Southern England south of the Thames; the Angles in the land north of the Thames. Each of the three tribes spoke a different form of their common language. And so in England ('Britain' had now become 'Englaland', the land of the Angles') three different dialects developed -- or rather four dialects, for very soon two forms grew up in the North, one spoken north of the Humber (Northumbrian), the other south of the Humber (Mercian).

The dialect of the Saxons was called West Saxon, that of the Jutes was called Kentish. At first it was the Northumbrian with its center at York that developed the highest standard of culture. It was in Northumbria in the eighth century that Caedmon, the first great English poet, wrote his poetry, and it was into Northumbrian that the Venerable Bede translated the gospel of St. John. Then for a time under Alfred the Great (848-901), who had his capital in Winchester and who encouraged learning in his kingdom and also was himself a great writer, West Saxon became pre-eminent. It remained pre-eminent until Edward the Confessor held his court not in Winchester but in Westminster. Then London became the capital of the country; and from Mercian, the dialect spoken in London -- and at Oxford and Cambridge -- came the Standard English that we speak today. But the language of England in the time of Alfred bears little resemblance to the language of today.

Anglo-Saxon or Old English was an inflected language, but not so highly inflected as Greek, Latin or Gothic. Thus there were five cases of nouns (Nominative, Vocative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative), ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ declensions for adjectives (each with five cases); there was a full conjugation of verbs -- complete with Subjunctive -- and there was a system of grammatical

gender. So in Old English *hand* was feminine, *fot* (= foot) was masculine, but *heafod* (= head) was neuter; *wif* (=wife) was neuter, but *wifmann* (= woman) was masculine; *dag* (= day) was masculine but *niht* (= night) was feminine.

Most of that has changed. In modern English, grammatical gender of nouns has completely disappeared, adjectives no longer 'agree' with their nouns in number, case and gender, nouns have only two cases, verbs very few forms, and the subjunctive has practically disappeared. Most of these changes were caused, or at any rate hastened, by the two other invasions of England.

The Danish Element

The first of these was by the 'Northmen' or Danes. Towards the close of the eighth century they appeared, first as raiders, then as conquerors and settlers. For a time they were held at bay by Alfred and the country was divided, the northern half or 'Danelaw' being ruled by the Danes, the southern half by Alfred. But in 1016, after Alfred's death, a Danish King, Canute, became King of all England as well as of Denmark and Norway.

The language spoken by the Danes was not unlike the language of England. Words like *mother* and *father, man* and *wife, summer*

and winter, house, town, tree, land, grass, come, ride, see, think, will and a host of others, were common to both languages, and Saxon and Dane could more or less understand each other. But though the languages were similar, the endings were different. And, as the roots of the words were the same in both languages, Saxon and Dane found they could understand each other better if the inflectional endings tended to be leveled to the same form and ultimately to be dropped altogether.

There were, too, some positive gains in vocabulary and grammar. The word *law* is Danish, so are *leg, skin, skull, knife, sky* and *Thursday*. The Old English plural pronouns *hi, hiera, hem* were very like the singular forms *he, hiere, him*, so it was a great advantage when the Danish plural forms *they, their, them* ousted them.

Among adjectives from Danish there are *flat, happy, low, ugly, weak* and *wrong*; among verbs *want, call, cut, die, lift* and *take*. The Danish *are* replaced the Anglo-Saxon *sindon*, and *same* replaced *thilke*. And it is because of the Danes that today we say *eggs* instead of the Saxon *eyren* and speak of a window (old Norse *vindauga* = wind-eye) and not, as the Saxons did, of an *eye-thril* (= eye-hole), though we do say *nostril* (‘nose-hole’).

An interesting feature of the language is a number of Danish forms existing side by side with, and usually with a different meaning from, the English forms, e.g.

English	Danish	English	Danish
shirt	skirt	rear	raise
no	nay	from	fro
drop	drip	blossom	bloom
sit	seat		

The Norman Element

There was still one other invasion which was to play a major part in the shaping of the English language, that of the Normans. We generally date the Norman-French period in English history from the invasion by William the Conqueror in 1066, but Norman influence had appeared before then. The Saxon King Ethehed the Unready (reigned 978-1016) had married a Norman princess, and his son Edward the Confessor (1042-1066), who reigned after him, had been brought up in France. This had the result that a number of French words had come into the language before William the Conqueror became King of England.

The Normans were descended from the same fierce warrior race of 'Norsemen' as had harried England a century before the coming of the Conqueror. In 912 Rollo the Rover was given Normandy by the French King Charles the Simple. With amazing vigor the Normans became one of the most highly organized states in the world. They adopted French as their language, embraced Christianity and became renowned for their learning, their military prowess and their organizing ability.

After defeating the English king, Harold, at Hastings in 1066, William the Conqueror began to organize England on the Norman pattern. Many Frenchmen came to England bringing the rich learning and developed civilization of Normandy, and putting England into the full stream of European culture and thought. The Normarns ruled with a hard hand, and the defeated Saxons suffered oppression and indignities. For the next three centuries all the Kings of England spoke French; all the power in Court and castle and Church was in the hands of the Normans, and the Normans organized from above the lives and activities of the common people. The language they spoke was French and they never dreamed of doing their organizing in any language except French or Latin. For about three hundred years two languages were spoken side by side in England. The 'official'

language was French; English was spoken only by the ‘common’ people. Robert of Gloucester, writing about 1300, says:

So, England came into Normandy’s hand; and the Normans spoke French just as they did at home and had their children taught in the same manner so that people of rank in this country who came of their blood all stick to the same language; for if a man knows no French, people will think little of him. But the lower classes still stick to English as their own language. I imagine there is no country in the world that doesn’t keep its own language except England. But it is well known that it is the best thing to know both languages, for the more a man knows the more he is worth.

The language of Saxon times was being changed, but it was in no danger of dying out; and the changes were all to the good.

Ultimately Norman and Saxon united to form one nation, but it had taken more than three centuries. The turning point was perhaps marked in 1362 when for the first time Edward III opened Parliament in English. At the same time the Statute of Pleading enacted that proceedings in law courts should be in English because ‘French has become much unknown in this

realm'. In 1415 the English ambassadors who represented Henry V could not speak French, and the papers they had to sign were written in Latin. Henry himself said, according to Shakespeare, as he tried to woo Katherine: 'It is as easy for me, Kate, to conquer the Kingdom as to speak so much more French.'

When finally English emerged as the language of England, it had been greatly modified by the vicissitudes through which it had gone. The gradual dropping of inflectional endings and the general grammatical simplification, which had begun in the time of the Danes, had gone on. These changes had been greatly accelerated by the collision with French and by the fact that English had for three centuries been almost entirely a spoken language, no longer restrained and kept from change by literary models.

The changes were striking and revolutionary. The language had now got rid of grammatical gender -- a feat that so far as we can tell no other language in the world has achieved. Case endings of nouns had been reduced to one, the Genitive or Possessive; prepositions had taken the place of inflectional endings. Plural forms, though not made entirely regular, had been made much

fewer, verb forms had been simplified, and the whole language had been made much more flexible and expressive.

All this was more or less the accidental or indirect result of the Norman Conquest. What was its more direct effect? There is no doubt that its greatest impact was on the vocabulary. The language emerged with its essential structure still Germanic. But an examination of the vocabulary of modern English will show that approximately 50 per cent of the words in it are of French or Latin origin, and half of these were adopted between 1250 and 1400. Nevertheless, despite this tremendous French element, English remains fundamentally Anglo-Saxon, for though it is easy enough to make sentences on ordinary subjects without using a single word of French or Latin origin, it is practically impossible to make even a short sentence without using Saxon words.

The borrowings throw an interesting light on the social history of the times. C. L. Wrenn says, “In it (the English language) as it were, there lies fossilized or still showing the signs of the freshness of the assimilation, the whole of English history, external and internal, political and social.”

If all other sources of knowledge about the Normans were lost, we could almost re-construct the times from an examination of the language of today. We should know, for example, that the Normans were the ruling race, for almost all the words expressing government (including *government* itself) are of French origin. It is true that the Normans left the Saxon words *king* and *queen, earl, lord* and *lady;* but *prince, sovereign, throne, crown, royal, state, country, people, nation, parliament, duke, count, chancellor, minister, council* and many other such words are all Norman. So too are such words as *honour, glory, courteous, duty, polite, conscience, noble, pity, fine, cruel,* etc., words expressing the new ideas of chivalry and refinement (both, again, Norman words). From their activity in building (in the 'Norman style') and architecture came *arch, pillar, palace, castle, tower,* etc.; from their interest in warfare we got *war, peace, battle, armour, officer, soldier, navy, captain, enemy, danger, march, company,* to mention but a few. The Normans were great law-givers, and though *law* itself is Scandinavian, the words *justice, judge, jury, court, cause, crime, traitor, assize, prison, tax, money, rent, property, injury* are all of French origin.

By the thirteenth century there was a certain amount of translation of the Scriptures and of sermons from Latin into

English by Norman monks. In making these translations it was often easier to adopt the Latin word, generally in French guise than to hunt round for the Saxon equivalent. So a large number of French words connected with religion came into the language: *religion, service, saviour, prophet, saint, sacrifice, miracle, preach, pray.*

The names of nearly all articles of luxury and pleasure are Norman: the simpler things are English. There was the Norman *castle* and *city*; but *town* and *hamlet*, *home* and *house* are English. The Norman had his *relations, ancestors* and *descendants*; but the English words are *father* and *mother, sister, brother, son* and *daughter*. The Norman had *pleasure, comfort, ease, delight;* the Englishman had *happiness* and *gladness* and *work*. The names of great things of Nature, if not of art, are English: the *sun*, the *moon*, the *stars, winds, morning* and *evening*, the *plough*, the *spade, wheat, oats, grass;* the Norman had *fruit* and *flowers, art, beauty, design, ornament.*

The lowly English worker was a *shoemaker, shepherd, miller, fisherman, smith* or *baker*; the men who came more in contact with the rulers were *tailors, barbers, painters*, and *carpenters.* The Normans used *chairs, tables* and *furniture*; the Englishman

had only the humble *stool*. The Norman ate the big *dinner, feast, supper,* at which food could be *boiled, fried, roasted*; the Englishman had the simpler *breakfast*.

The whole situation is given in a very interesting passage in Scott's Ivanhoe, where Wamba points out to Gurth that the names of almost all the animals while they are alive are English, but when they are prepared for food they are Norman. In other words, the poor Saxon had all the work and trouble of looking after them while they were alive. But when there was the pleasure of eating them, the Englishman's *cow, bull* or *ox* became French *beef*; his *sheep* and *lamb* became French *mutton*; his *swine* or *pig* became *pork* or *bacon*; his *calf* turned to *veal*, and the *deer* (which he would be hanged for killing) went to Norman tables as *venison*.

The close relationship both for peace and war that England and France have always had from Norman times until the present has resulted in a constant influx of French words into the language. In the thirteenth century the University of Paris, the most renowned of its time, attracted English scholars and incidentally led to the founding of Oxford. It is interesting to note that at that time the pronunciation of the French of Paris was different from

Anglo-Norman French. (‘Chaucer’s Prioress, it will be remembered, spoke French after the scole of Stratford-atte-Bowe. For French of Paris was to hire unknowe’.) So we have occasionally two English words, both derived from the same French word, but borrowed at different times, and, as a result, having different pronunciations and usually slightly different meanings. They are known as ‘doublets’. Examples are: *warden, guardian, warranty, guarantee; cattle, chattel; catch, chase*.

French words that came early into the language became fully anglicized both in accent and pronunciation. The later importations, say from the sixteenth century onwards, failed to achieve this complete incorporation into the language. A feature of Old English, and of the Germanic group generally, was that in words of more than one syllable the accent is on the first syllable. And we have that accentuation in early borrowings from French such as *virtue, nature, honour, favour, courage, reason, captain.* Words like *campaign, connoisseur, facade, menage* have not yet acquired this accentuation. Again, words like *table, chair, castle, grocer, beauty* are so completely ‘English’ that it gives us almost a shock of surprise to realize that they have not always been native words. But with *amateur, soufftet, valet, chef* we do not have that feeling.

The word *garage* is in a half-way stage. We are not quite sure whether it ought to be pronounced [gara:ʒ], [gəra:ʒ] or whether, like *carriage* or *marriage*, it has reached Anglicization as [garidʒ]. Compare again the words of early borrowing, *chief, chore, chapel, cherish, chimney, Charles* (where the 'ch' is pronounced [tʃ] with the later ones *chef, chaperon, champagne, chauffeur, chandelier, Charlotte*, where the 'ch' is [ʃ]. Similarly, the 'g' pronounced [dʒ] in *rage, siege, age, judge*, dates these as old borrowings that have become anglicized, whereas the 'g' pronounced [ʒ], in *rouge, mirage, sabotage, camouflage* shows that these are more recent borrowings. Or compare the vowels in *suit* and *suite, vine* and *ravine; duty* and *debut; beauty* and *beau; count* and *tour.*

In almost every century since Norman times French words have entered the language. In the sixteenth we took, among many others: *pilot, rendez-vous, volley, vase, moustache, machine.* In the seventeenth we had: *reprimand, ballet, burlesque, champagne, naive, muslin, soup, group, quart.* In the eighteenth: *emigre, guillotine, corps, espionage, depot, bureau, canteen, rouge, rissole, brunette, picnic, police.* In the nineteenth: *barrage, chassis, parquet, baton, rosette, profile, suede, cretonne, restaurant, menu, chauffeur, fiancee, preslige, debacle.*

And in the twentieth century we continued with *garage, camouflage, hangar, revue.*

An interesting effect of the French, particularly the Norman, element has been to give the language a sort of bilingual quality, with two words, one of Saxon origin and one of French origin, to express roughly the same meaning. Thus we have *foe* and *enemy, friendship* and *amity; freedom* and *liberty; unlikely* and *improbable; homely* and *domesticated; happiness* and *felicity; fatherly* and *paternal; motherhood* and *maternity; bold* and *courageous; love* and *charity,* and a host of others. This duality has been turned to great use, for in practically no case are there any complete synonyms. Quite often there is a difference of meaning, almost always there is a difference of association or emotional atmosphere; and the Saxon word has generally the deeper emotional content; it is nearer the nation's heart. *Brotherly love* is deeper than *fraternal affection; love* is stronger than *charity; help* expresses deeper need than *aid; a hearty welcome* is warmer than a *cordial reception.*

There is just one other rather interesting characteristic of Old English that largely died out with the coming of the Normans: that is its power and ingenuity in making compounds from its

native words. Thus Old English had such words (replaced by the French word in brackets) as: *fore-elders* (ancestors); *fair-hood* (beauty); *wanhope* (despair); *earth-tilth* (agriculture); *gold-hoard* (treasure); *book-hoard* (library); *star-craft* (astronomy); *learning-knight* (disciple); *leech-craft* (medicine); and the title of a moral treatise of about 1340 was *The Ayenbite of Inwit* (The 'again bite', i.e. 'remorse', of 'conscience').

Since Norman times no other invader has come to England to impose an alien tongue on the country. But the stream of words has never ceased to flow in.

The Classical Element

Both Latin and, to a lesser degree, Greek have been important contributors, though often Latin, and even oftener Greek, words have come in French form or via French or some other language. Some Latin words were taken into the language of the Angles and Saxons before these peoples came to England, e.g. *wine, cup, butter, cheese, silk, copper, street, pound, mile, plum*. A few came in during the Roman occupation and were learned by the English from Romanized Britons of the towns, chiefly place names like *ceaster* (Latin, *castra*). With the coming of Christian culture from Rome and Ireland in the sixth and seventh centuries

numerous others came: *candle, monk, bishop (*Latin *episcopus), Mass*. In all about 400 Latin words became English before the Norman Conquest, but many of these are not commonly used.

In the Middle English period a number of technical or scientific terms were taken and given a wider application, e.g. *index, simile, pauper, equivalent, legitimate, diocese, tolerance.*

A great flood came with the Revival of Learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For a time 'the whole Latin vocabulary became potentially English'. The English 'Grammar Schools' were schools where Latin grammar, not English grammar, was taught. Nor was it only a written language. It became a medium of international communication between scholars, and in the schools the boys spoke Latin -- at least while their teacher was within earshot. Bacon and Newton wrote some of their books in Latin. Writers like Milton and Sir Thomas Browne wrote magnificent but highly Latinized English. Books to expound English grammar were written in Latin and the English language was distorted to fit into the pattern of Latin grammar. Not all the words that were adopted then have lasted, but many of them have, for example in the sixteenth century: *specimen, focus, arena album, minimum, lens, complex, pendulum;* in the

eighteenth century: *nucleus, alibi, ultimatum, extra, insomnia, via, deficit;* in the nineteenth century: *ego, opus, referendum, bacillus.*

We have mentioned that many Latin words came through French. In the same way most Greek words came through Latin into French and English. Most of them were learned, technical or scientific words. At the time of the Revival of Learning many of the new ideas or branches of learning that the Renaissance brought were expressed by Greek words: *arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, grammar, logic, rhetoric, poetry, comedy, dialogue, prologue.*

Of the more general terms that English had gained by the fifteenth century were: *Bible, academy, atom, tyrant, theatre*. In the sixteenth century came: *alphabet, drama, chorus, theory;* the seventeenth century contributed o*rchestra, museum, hyphen, clinic*. Since then science, medicine, physics, chemistry and other sciences and arts have gone to Greek for their nomenclature, coining from Greek words that the Greeks never knew: *dynamo and psychology, zoology* and *telephone, photograph, bicycle, aeroplane, nitrogen cosmetic* and *antiseptic.*

In addition there are a great number of words formed from Greek prefixes tacked on to words of English or other languages, like anti (= against): anti-British, antipodes; hyper (= beyond): hyper-critical, hyperbole; arch (= chief): archbishop; dia (= through): diameter, diagonal; hemi (= half): hemisphere; homo (= same): homogeneous; homonym; mono (= single): monoplane, monocle, monotonous; pan (= all): pantomime, pantheist; poly (= many): polysyllable, polyglot; pro (= before): prophet, prologue; pseudo (= false): pseudonym; syn / sym (= with): sympathy, synthesis; tele (= at a distance): telegraph; tri (= three): tripod, tricycle. From suffixes, like -ism, we get Bolshevism, vegetarianism; from -ology, sociology, radiology and numerous others.

Borrowings from Other Languages

From almost every country in the world words have come into this language. Italy, for so long the centre of European culture, has given words to our vocabulary of music and architecture and poetry: piano, piccolo, soprano, finale, solo, sonata, opera; palette, cameo, fresco, miniature, studio, model, vista; balcony, corridor, parapet, stucco; sonnet, stanza, canto. But there have been more commonplace words, too, from Italy: alarm, brigand, florin, pilgrim (all before 1500), umbrella, influenza, muslin, duel, milliner and monkey.

From Spanish we have ‘cargo, cigar, cigarette, and cork’. English seamen clashed with Spanish ones in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and we see the evidence of this in ambuscade, desperado, dispatch, grandee, and renegade. Alligator is really the Spanish el lagarto = ‘the lizard’. ‘Sherry’ gets its name from the Spanish port of Jerez. From the voyages of the Elizabethan seamen to the New World we have ‘potato, tobacco, canoe and toboggan’. From Mexico came ‘chocolate, cocoa (a mistake for cacao), tomato’. ‘Cannibal’ is said to have been brought to Europe by Columbus, and ‘hammock, hurricane, maize’ are Caribbean words.

Portugal gave us ‘port’ (wine) from Oporto, ‘marmalade, tank, buffalo, verandah, parasol, caste and firm (a business Company)’ and, from Portuguese exploration in Africa, ‘banana, and negro’.

We are reminded of the fame of Holland as a maritime nation by ‘yacht, buoy, freight, hull, dock, skipper, cruise and smuggle’, and of the rich school of Dutch and Flemish painting by: ‘landscape, easel, sketch’.

From India we have ‘pyjamas, shampoo, bangle, chutney, khaki, teak, bungalow, curry, ginger and chintz’. From Persian we get

‘bazaar, caravan, divan, jackal, jasmine, lilac and check- mate in chess (shah mat = the King is dead)’. From Arabic come ‘admiral, alkali, lemon, alcohol, algebra, coffee, cotton, crimson and assassin’. ‘Tea’ is from the Chinese; ‘bamboo, bantam, gong and sago’ from Malaya. From Polynesia and Australasia we have ‘taboo, cockatoo, boomerang, kangaroo’.

No language seems to be so ready as English to absorb foreign words, perhaps because there has never been any self- conscious worship of ‘pure English’ that opposed the ‘debasing’ of the language by the introduction of new words. So when, for example, the potato was brought to Europe, the English used the Native American word; the French on the other hand gave it a French name, pomme de terre. Even though there is already a word in English similar in meaning to the foreign one, English still takes in the foreign word. Take for example the words ‘preface, foreword, prologue’ where French, Anglo-Saxon and Greek have contributed to expressing the same idea; or ‘proverb, saying (or saw), aphorism, precept, motto’ where, in addition, Latin and Italian have also been enrolled.

In the course of time each word acquires a slightly or even markedly different meaning from the others. Almost any group

of synonyms in the language would illustrate this. But to take one at random, here are thirty-seven ‘synonyms’ for the general idea of ‘thief’: robber, burglar, house-breaker, pick-pocket, cut-purse, shop-lifter, pilferer, stealer, filcher, plunderer, pillager, despoiler, highwayman, footpad, brigand, bandit, marauder, depredator, purloiner, peculator, swindler, embezzler, defrauder, gangster, pirate, buccaneer, sharper, harpy, cracksman, crook, poacher, kidnapper, abductor, plagiarist, rifter, thug, and welsher.

This borrowing has made English a rich language with a vocabulary of already about half a million words, and growing daily. It is this wealth of near-synonyms which gives to English its power to express exactly the most subtle shades of meaning.

CHAPTER TWO
EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

The late Middle Ages had seen the triumph of the English language in England, and the establishment once more of a standard form of literary English. This did not mean, however, that English was now entirely without a rival: Latin still had great prestige as the language of international learning, and it was a long time before English replaced it in all fields. Even the natural scientists, the proponents of the New Philosophy, often wrote in Latin.

The philosopher of the new science, Francis Bacon, wrote his Advancement of Learning in English, but the book that he intended as his major contribution to scientific method, the Novum Organum, was in Latin. And the three greatest scientific works published by Englishmen between 1600 and 1700 were all in Latin Gilbert's book on magnetism (1600), Harvey's on the circulation of the blood (1628), and Newton's Principia (1689), which propounded the theory of gravitation and the laws of motion. However, by about 1700 Latin had fallen into disuse as the language of learning in England, and Newton's Opticks, published in 1704, was in English.

English versus Latin

In the defeat of Latin and the final establishment of English as the sole literary medium in England, quite an important part was played by the religious disputes that raged from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. At the time of the Reformation, controversialists wanted to be read by as large a public as possible. Since many of the people who were attracted by Protestantism were of humble origins, and lacked a classical education, this meant that controversial books and pamphlets tended to be written in English.

When Sir Thomas More wrote for the entertainment of the learned men of Europe, as in the Utopia, he wrote in Latin, but when he was drawn into the domestic religious controversy against the Reformers he wrote books and pamphlets in English. Milton, similarly, more than a century later, wrote defences of the English people and the English republic which were intended for the learned men of Europe, and these were in Latin. But the bulk of his controversial prose (on episcopacy, divorce, the freedom of the press, and so on) was intended to have an immediate impact on English politics, and was written in English.

Another factor that worked in favor of English was the rise of social and occupational groups which had little or no Latin, but which nevertheless had something to say - which of course they said in English. Such were many of the practical men of sixteenth and seventeenth-century England - skilled craftsmen, instrument makers, explorers and navigators. A gentleman-scientist like Gilbert wrote in Latin, but there were plenty of Elizabethan treatises on practical subjects like navigational instruments, warfare, and so on, which were written in English for the plain man, and sometimes by him. Here, obviously, an important part was played by the invention of printing, and the spread of literacy which followed it.

A third factor in favor of English was the increase in national feeling which accompanied the rise of the modern nation-state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The medieval feeling that a man was a part of Christendom was replaced by the modern feeling that a man is an Englishman or a Frenchman or an Italian. This change in feeling seems to be the result of changes in economic and political organization.

The medieval system of holding land from a lord by personal service, in which a man could be lord and vassal of different fiefs

in several countries, and in which power was decentralized was replaced by a system in which a powerful. and centra1ized state apparatus attended to the interests of a national merchant class, in direct competition with the government and merchants of other countries. This increase in national feeling led to a greater interest and pride in the national language, while the language of international Christendom, Latin, slowly fell into the background. The new nationalism led to conscious attempts to create a vernacular literature to vie with that of Greece or Rome, and both Spenser's Faery Queen (1590) and Milton's Paradise Lost (1667) were attempts to do for English what Homer and Virgil had done for Greek and Latin.

But, while English was thus establishing its supremacy over Latin, it was at the same time more under the influence of Latin than at any other time in its history. The Renaissance was the period of the rediscovery of the classics in Europe. In England there was quite a revival of Greek scholarship, symbolic of which was the foundation of St Paul's School by Dean Colet in 1509. But always it was Latin that was of major importance, and we see the constant influence of Latin literature, Latin rhetorical theories, the Latin language.

Loan Words from Latin

One result of this Latin influence on English during the Renaissance was the introduction of a large number of Latin words into the language. We have already seen that the influx of French words in the Middle English period had predisposed English speakers to borrow words from abroad. In the Renaissance, this predisposition was given full scope, and there was a flood of Latin words. The peak period was between about 1550 and 1650.

These were not, of course, the first Latin words to be borrowed by English. We have already seen how words like street, mint, and wine were borrowed while the English were still on the continent and words like bishop and minister during the Old English period. Quite a few Latin words were borrowed, too, during the Middle English period: they include religious terms, like requiem and gloria. Words from the law courts, like client, executor, convict and memorandum; medical and scientific words like recipe, dissolve distillation, concrete, comet and equator; and numbers of abstract words, like adoption, conflict, dissent, imaginary, implication.

In early Modern English, however, the trickle of Latin loans becomes a river, and by 1600 it is a deluge. Some of the words were taken over bodily in their Latin form, with their Latin spelling, like genius (1513), species (1551), cerebellum (1565), militia (1590), radius (1597), torpor (1607), specimen (1610), squalor (1621), apparatus (1628), focus (1644), tedium (1662), lens (1693), and antenna (1698). Not, of course, that they were always taken over with their original meaning: lens, for example, is the Latin for 'lentil', and was applied to pieces of optical glass because a double-convex lens is shaped like a lentil seed.

Other words, however, were adapted; and given an English form. For example, the Latin ending -atus is sometimes replaced by -ate, as in desperate and associate. In other cases the Latin inflexion is left out, as in complex and dividend (Latin complexus dividendum). This reshaping is often influenced by the forms of French words derived from Latin; for example, the Latin ending -tas sometimes becomes English -ty, as in celerity (Latin celeritas), by analogy with similar words borrowed via French. And in fact it is often difficult to be sure whether a word has come into English direct from Latin or via French.

These Latin loans tend to be learned words. Many of them are scientific terms, like pollen, vacuum, equilibrium, and momentum. Some are mathematical, like area, radius, series, and calculus. A number are legal terms, like alias, caveat, and affidavit. There are everyday words too, like album, miser, circus. But in general they are the kind of words that are introduced into a language through the medium of writing rather than in speech.

They did not enter the language without opposition, and there are numerous attacks in the sixteenth century on the, 'inkhorn terms', as they were called. For example, in Thomas Wilson's influential book The Art of Rhetoric (1553) there is a well-known attack on them. No doubt such attacks were to some extent provoked by the absurdities of a lunatic fringe, who were also ridiculed in the theatre. Such ridiculous affecters of Latinisms are, for example, Holofernes in Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Lost and Crispinus in Ben Jonson's Poetaster. But attacks and ridicule could not stop the tide of Latin loans, and the words held up to ridicule art often ones that have since become fully accepted and now seem quite unexceptionable. For example, the ridiculous words used by Crispinus in Poetaster include nice specimens like rubrical, turgidous, oblatrant, and furibund; but they also include

retrograde, reciprocal, defunct, spurious, and strenuous. Besides, there were plenty of people to defend Latinisms, and even Wilson admits that some of them are all right. And Shakespeare may make fun of Holofernes and his pedantry, but he himself is no purist, and is a great user of new words.

The Remodeling of Words

Not only did Latin influence bring in new words; it also caused existing words to be reshaped in accordance with their real or supposed Latin etymology. An example of this can be seen near the end of the passage from Wilson's Art of Rhetoric quoted above: the word 'coumpt'. This is simply a respelling of 'count', which was a Middle English loan from Anglo-Norman 'counter', descended from the Latin verb 'computare'. Wilson's spelling of the word has been influenced by the Latin, which he no doubt felt was the more 'correct' form.

Similarly, we owe the 'b' in our modern spelling of *debt* and *doubt* to Renaissance etymologizing, for the earlier spellings of these were 'dette' and 'doute', which were their forms in Old French; the 'b' was inserted through the influence of Latin 'debitum' and 'dubitare'. In the case of 'debt' and 'doubt' the change was merely one of spelling, for the 'b' has never been

pronounced in English; and the same is true of the ‘p’ inserted in receipt and the ‘c’ in ‘indict’.

But there are cases where the actual pronunciation of a word was altered under Latin influence. Thus in Middle English we find the words ‘descrive, parfit, assault, verdit, and aventure’, which in the Renaissance were remodelled under Latin influence to ‘describe, perfect, assault, verdict, and adventure’. An odd survival of Middle English ‘aventure’ is seen in the phrase ‘to draw a bow at a venture’ (from I Kings xxii. 34), where ‘at a venture’ is a misdivision of ‘at aventure’, meaning ‘at random’.

Some of the Renaissance remodellings are based on false etymologies, so that they have the awkward disadvantage of combining pedantry with bad scholarship. Such is the case with ‘advance and advantage’, remodeled from Middle English ‘avance and avantage’. The modern forms obviously arose from the belief that the initial a- represented the Latin prefix ad-, but in fact both words derive from French avant, which comes from Latin abante.

A similar case is the word admiral, a reformation of earlier amiral. This word came into English from French, but the French

had it from Arabic, where it occurred as the first two words of titles like amir al bahr, ‘commander of the sea’. In this case, however, we cannot blame Renaissance pedantry alone for the ad-, for the form admiral is found in Middle English, and conversely ammiral is found in Milton. The change in this instance may have been encouraged by the resemblance to admirable.

Loan Words from Other Languages

Although Latin was the main source of new words in the Renaissance, a number were borrowed from other languages too. Quite a few were from classical Greek, though in many cases these came via Latin or French. They tended to be learned words, and many of them are technical terms of literary criticism, rhetoric, or the natural sciences. Literary and rhetorical terms direct from Greek include pathos, phrase, and rhapsody; via Latin came many more, including irony, drama, rhythm, trochee, and climax; and there were a few via French, like ode, elegy, and scene. Scientific terms direct from Greek include larynx and cosmos, while via French came cube and acoustic, but the majority came via Latin, like anemone, caustic, cylinder, stigma, python, electric, and energy.

Quite a number of words were borrowed from Italian and Spanish. Part of a young gentleman's education was the grand tour of the continent, and France, Italy, and Spain were especially favored. In the sixteenth century there are frequent sarcastic references to the gallant who comes back from the continent affecting foreign clothes, customs, and morals, and larding his speech with foreign words. Italy was particularly influential, and Italian has left its mark on our vocabulary.

When we think of Italian words in English, we no doubt think first of words connected with the arts, and especially with music. Most of these words are in fact later importations, mainly from the eighteenth century, but a few were borrowed in the Renaissance period: for example, madrigal and opera in music, sonnet in literature, fresco, cameo, and relief in the visual, arts, cornice and cupola in architecture. But in this early period there were other fields of activity where the Italians made an even greater impression. One was warfare, in which we have such Italian words as squadron, parapet, salvo, and bandit. Another was commerce, and here belong such Italian loans as traffic, contraband, argosy, and frigate.

Fewer words were borrowed from Spanish, but here again commerce and warfare are prominent: cask, cargo, anchovy, sherry, armada, galleon and parade. The Spaniards were famous for the formality of their manners, and there is a loan word that puts this in a nutshell: punctilio. Their lighter moments are reflected in guitar and spades (the suit in cards, meaning 'swords'). Since the early exploration of America was to a great extent carried out by the Spaniards and the Portuguese, many early words for specifically American things came into English via Spanish or Portuguese. Thus from Spanish came mosquito, potato, and cannibal, which is a variant of caribal, meaning 'Carib, inhabitant of the Caribbean'. And from Portuguese we have flamingo, Molasses, and coconut.

The other fair-sized source of loan words in the Renaissance was Low German, in which we can lump together Dutch, Flemish, and the dialects of northern Germany. These regions had had close commercial contacts with England ever since the Norman Conquest, and many of the words borrowed by English have to do with seafaring and trade. From the Middle English period, for example, date 'luff, skipper, firkin, and deck.' Sixteenth-century loans include 'cambric, dock, splice, and yacht', while in the seventeenth century we find 'keelhaul, cruise, yawl, and smack'.

The Dutch were also famous for painting (seventeenth-century easel, sketch, stipple) and for drinking (Middle English booze, seventeenth-century brandy).

CHAPTER THREE
THE RENAISSANCANCE PERIOD

Changing Conditions in the Modern Period

In the development of languages particular events often have recognizable and at times far-reaching effects. The Norman Conquest and the Black Death are typical instances that we have already seen. But there are also more general conditions that come into being and are no less influential. In the Modern English period, the beginning of which is conveniently placed at 1500, certain of these new conditions come into play, conditions that previously either had not existed at all or were present in only a limited way, and they cause English to develop along somewhat different lines from those that had characterized its history in the Middle Ages. The new factors were the printing press, the rapid spread of popular education, the increased communication and means of communication, the growth of specialized knowledge, and the emergence of various forms of self-consciousness about language.

The invention of the process of printing from movable type, which occurred in Germany about the middle of the fifteenth century, was destined to exercise a far-reaching influence on all

the vernacular languages of Europe. Introduced into England about 1476 by William Caxton, who had learned the art on the continent, printing made such rapid progress that a scant century later it was observed that manuscript books were seldom to be seen and almost never used. Some idea of the rapidity with which the new process swept forward may be had from the fact that in Europe the number of books printed before the year 1500 reaches the surprising figure of 35,000. The majority of these, it is true, were in Latin, whereas it is in the modern languages that the effect of the printing press was chiefly to be felt. But in England over 20,000 titles in English had appeared by 1640, ranging all the way from mere pamphlets to massive folios. The result was to bring books, which had formerly been the expensive luxury of the few, within the reach of many. More important, however, was the fact, so obvious today, that it was possible to reproduce a book in a thousand copies or a hundred thousand, every one exactly like the other. A powerful force thus existed for promoting a standard, uniform language, and the means were now available for spreading that language throughout the territory in which it was understood.

Such a widespread influence would not have been possible were it not for the fact that education was making rapid progress

among the people and literacy was becoming much more common. In the later Middle Ages a surprising number of people of the middle class could read and write, as the Paston Letters abundantly show. In Shakespeare's London, though we have no accurate means of measurement, it is probable that not less than a third and probably as many as half of the people could at least read. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there arose a prosperous trades class with the means to obtain an education and the leisure to enjoy it, attested to, for example, by the great increase in the number of schools, the tremendous journalistic output of a man like Defoe, and the rapid rise of the novel. Nowadays, when practically everyone goes to school, we witness the phenomenon of newspapers with circulations of several hundred thousand copies daily, even up to 2 million, and magazines that in an exceptional case reach a total of 80 million copies per month. As a result of popular education the printing press has been able to exert its influence upon language as upon thought.

A third factor of great importance to language in modern times is the way in which the different parts of the world have been brought together through commerce, transportation, and the rapid means of communication we have developed. The exchange of

commodities and the exchange of ideas are both stimulating to language. We shall see later how the expansion of the British Empire and the extension of trade enlarged the English vocabulary by words drawn from every part of the world, besides spreading the language over vast areas whose existence was undreamed of in the Middle Ages. But while diversification has been one of the results of transportation, unification has also resulted from ease of travel and communication. The steamship and the railroad, the automobile, and the airplane have brought people into contact with one another and joined communities hitherto isolated, while the post office sand the telegraph, the telephone, the radio, the movies, television, and electronic data transmission have been influential in the intermingling of language and the lessening of the more easily altered local idiosyncrasies.

The fourth factor, the growth of specialized knowledge, has been important not only because new knowledge often requires new vocabulary but also because, in the early centuries of the modern period, Latin became less and less the vehicle for learned discourse. Both trends accelerated strongly during the seventeenth century. The rapid accumulation of new knowledge

was matched by a rapid trend away from publishing specialized and learned works in Latin.

Finally, there is the factor which we have referred to as self-consciousness about language. This has two aspects, one individual and one public. At the individual level we may observe a phenomenon that has become intensely important in modern times: as people lift themselves into a different economic or intellectual or social level, they are likely to make an effort to adopt the standards of grammar and pronunciation of the people with whom they have identified, just as they try to conform to fashions and tastes in dress and amusements. However superficial such conformity might be, people are as careful of their speech as of their manners. Awareness that there are standards of language is a part of their social consciousness. Most people are less aware that such standards are largely accidental rather than absolute, having developed through the historical contingencies of economics, culture, and class. At the public level a similar self-consciousness has driven issues of language policy over the past four centuries, long before "language policy" acquired its modern meaning. The beginnings of this public discussion are evident in the sixteenth-century defense of English and debates about orthography and the

enrichment of the vocabulary. Anxiety about language policy reached a new urgency in the second half of the seventeenth century. From that time, through eighteenth-century proposals for an academy to twentieth-century efforts at language planning in former colonies of European powers, a self-consciousness about the shape that English ought to take has been an endless source of concern. This concern has been no less passionate for often being fueled by naive beliefs about the nature of language and the determinants of linguistic change.

Effect upon Grammar and Vocabulary

The forces here mentioned may be described as both radical and conservative—radical in matters of vocabulary, conservative in matters of grammar. By a radical force is meant anything that promotes change in language; by conservative, what tends to preserve the existing status. Now it is obvious that the printing press, the reading habit, the advances of learning and science, and all forms of communication are favorable to the spread of ideas and stimulating to the growth of the vocabulary, while these same agencies, together with social consciousness as we have described it, work actively toward the promotion and maintenance of a standard, especially in grammar and usage. They operate both singly and in combination. Education, for

example, exerts its influence not only through formal instruction in language—grammar, spelling, pronunciation, etc.—but also by making possible something more important, the unconscious absorption of a more or less standard English through books, magazines, and newspapers. We shall accordingly be prepared to find that in modern times changes in grammar have been relatively slight and changes in vocabulary extensive. This is just the reverse of what was true in the Middle English period. Then the changes in grammar were revolutionary, but, apart from the special effects of the Norman Conquest, those in vocabulary were not so great.

The Problems of the Vernaculars

In the Middle Ages the development of English took place under conditions that, because of the Norman Conquest, were largely peculiar to England. None of the other modern languages of Europe had had to endure the consequences of a foreign conquest that temporarily imposed an outside tongue upon the dominant social class and left the native speech chiefly in the hands of the lower social classes. But by the close of the Middle English period English had passed through this experience and, though bearing deep and abiding marks of what it had gone through, had made a remarkable recovery. From this time on the course of its

history runs in many ways parallel with that of the other important European languages.

In the sixteenth century the modern languages faced three great problems: (1) recognition in the fields where Latin had for centuries been supreme, (2) the establishment of a more uniform orthography, and (3) the enrichment of the vocabulary so that it would be adequate to meet the demands that would be made upon it in its wider use. Each of these problems received extensive consideration in the England of the Renaissance, but it is interesting to note that they were likewise being discussed in much the same way in France and Italy, and to some extent in Germany and Spain. Italy had the additional task of deciding upon the basis of its literary dialect, a matter that in France and England had been largely taken care of by the ascendancy of Paris and London.

The Struggle for Recognition

Although English, along with the other vernaculars, had attained an established position as the language of popular literature, a strong tradition still sanctioned the use of Latin in all the fields of knowledge. This tradition was strengthened by the "revival of learning," in which the records of Greek civilization became once

more available in the original. Latin and Greek were not only the key to the world's knowledge but also the languages in which much highly esteemed poetry, oratory, and philosophy were to be read. And Latin, at least, had the advantage of universal currency, so that the educated all over Europe could freely communicate with each other, both in speech and writing, in a common idiom. Beside the classical languages, which seemingly had attained perfection, the vulgar tongues seemed immature, unpolished, and limited in resource. It was felt that they could not express the abstract ideas and the range of thought embodied in the ancient languages. Scholars alone had access to this treasure; they could cultivate the things of the spirit and enrich their lives. It would seem at times as though they felt their superiority to the less educated and were jealous of a prerogative that belonged to them alone.

The defenders of the classical tradition were at no loss for arguments in support of their position. It was feared that the study of the classical languages, and even learning itself, would suffer if the use of the vernaculars were carried too far. And there were many who felt that it would be dangerous if matters like the disputes of theology and discussions in medicine fell into the hands of the indiscreet.

Against this tradition the modern languages now had their champions. In England there were many defenders of English against those who wished to discriminate against it, among them influential names like Elyot and Ascham, Wilson, Puttenham, and Mulcaster. Of those champions none was more enthusiastic than Richard Mulcaster. He expresses his opinion many times, but perhaps nowhere more eloquently than in the words: "For is it not in dede a mervellous bondage, to becom servants to one tung for learning sake, the most of our time, with losse of most time, whereas we maie have the verie same treasur in our own tung, with the gain of most time? our own bearing the joyfull title of our libertie and fredom, the Latin tung remembring us of our thraldom and bondage? I love Rome, but London better, I favor Italie, but England more, I honor the Latin, but I worship the English."

Influential as utterances such as these were, their importance lies in the fact that they voiced a widespread feeling. The real force behind the use of English was a popular demand, the demand of all sorts of men in practical life to share in the fruits of the Renaissance. The Revival of Learning had revealed how rich was the store of knowledge and experience preserved from the civilizations of Greece and Rome. The ancients not only had

lived but had thought about life and drawn practical conclusions from experience. Much was to be learned from their discussion of conduct and ethics, their ideas of government and the state, their political precepts, their theories of education, their knowledge of military science, and the like. The Renaissance would have had but a limited effect if these ideas had remained the property solely of academicians. If the diplomat, the courtier, and the man of affairs were to profit by them, they had to be expressed in the language that everybody read.

The demand was soon met. Translations (and, it might be added, original works generated by the same intellectual ferment) virtually poured from the press in the course of the sixteenth century. The historians were great favorites, probably because their works, as so often described on the title pages, were "very delectable and profitable to read." Thucydides and Xenophon had been Englished before Shakespeare started school, and Herodotus appeared before the dramatist had begun his career. Caesar was translated by Arthur Golding in 1565, Livy and Sallust and Tacitus before the close of the century, and one of the great translations of the age, Plutarch's Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans, in the version of Sir Thomas North, was published in 1579. Works dealing with politics and morals were equally

popular. The Doctrinal of Princes, made by the noble oratour Isocrates was translated from the Greek as early as 1534 by Sir Thomas Elyot, who had already given the English a taste of Plato in The Knowledge Which Maketh a Wise Man. Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius appeared in whole or in part, while the poets and dramatists included Virgil, Ovid (1567), Horace (1566–1567), Terence, Theocritus, and most of the lesser names. Various partial translations of Homer were printed before Chapman's version began to appear in 1598. The translators did not stop with the great works of antiquity but drew also upon medieval and contemporary sources. Saint Augustine, Boethius, Peter Martyr, Erasmus, Calvin, and Martin Luther were among those rendered into English. It would seem that while scholars were debating the merits of Latin and English, the issue was being decided by the translators.

Other factors, however, contributed to the victory. One was the overzeal of the humanists themselves. Not content with the vigorous and independent Latin that was written in the Middle Ages, they attempted to reform Latin prose on the style and vocabulary of Cicero. Ciceronianism substituted slavish imitation for what had been a natural and spontaneous form of expression. Not only was the vocabulary of Cicero inadequate for the

conveyance of modern ideas, but there was no hope of being able to surpass one's model. As Ascham confessed in his Toxophilus, "as for ye Latin or greke tonge, every thyng is so excellently done in them, that none can do better." Another factor was the Protestant Reformation, itself a phase of the Renaissance. From the time that Wycliffe refused to carry on his quarrel with the church in the language of the schools and took his cause directly to the people in their own tongue, one of the strongholds of Latin was lost. The amount of theological writing in English is almost unbelievable, for as one Elizabethan remarked, "The dissension in divinity is fierce beyond God's forbid." Finally, we must not overlook the fact that the contest between Latin and English had a commercial side. The market for English books was naturally greater than for Latin, and we cannot blame the Elizabethan printer if he sometimes thought, as one said to Thomas Drant in 1567, "Though, sir, your book be wise and full of learning, yet peradventure it will not be so saleable."

Although it is plain to us nowadays that from the beginning the recognition of English was assured, the victory was not lightly won. The use of English for purposes of scholarship was frankly experimental. Sir Thomas Elyot in his Doctrinal of Princes (1534) says: "This little book…I have translated out of greke…to

the intent onely that I wolde assaie, if our English tongue mought receive the quicke and proper sentences pronounced by the greekes." The statement is slightly apologetic. Certainly those who used English where they might have been expected to write in Latin often seem to anticipate possible criticism, and they attempt to justify their action. Ascham prefaces his Toxophilus with the statement: "And althoughe to have written this boke either in latin or Greke… had bene more easier and fit for mi trade in study, yet neverthelesse, I supposing it no point of honestie, that mi commodite should stop and hinder ani parte either of the pleasure or profite of manie, have written this Englishe matter in the Englishe tongue, for Englishe men." In his Castle of Health (1534) Elyot is somewhat bolder in his attitude: "If physicians be angry, that I have written physicke in englische, let them remember that the grekes wrate in greke, the Romains in latine, Avicenna, and the other in Arabike, whiche were their own proper and maternall tongues. And if thei had bene as muche attached with envie and covetise, as some nowe seeme to be, they wolde have devised some particular language, with a strange cipher or forme of letters, wherin they wold have written their scyence, whiche language or letters no manne should have knowen that had not professed and practised physicke." All these attempts at selfjustification had as their strongest motive the

desire to reach the whole people in the language they understood best. This is stated with engaging frankness by Mulcaster: “I do write in my naturall English toungue, bycause though I make the learned my judges, which understand Latin, yet I meane good to the unlearned, which understand but English, and he that understands Latin very well, can understand English farre better, if he will confesse the trueth, though he thinks he have the habite and can Latin it exceeding well.” Statements such as these, which could be multiplied many times from the literature of the period, show that the recognition of English was achieved in spite of a rather persistent opposition.

As we approach the end of the century and see that English has slowly won recognition as a language of serious thought, we detect a note of patriotic feeling in the attitude of many people. They seem to have grown tired of being told that English was crude and barbarous. This is apparent in the outburst of George Pettie in his book on Civile Conversation (1586): “There are some others yet who wyll set lyght by my labours, because I write in Englysh: and…the woorst is, they thinke that impossible to be doone in our Tongue: for they count it barren, they count it barbarous, they count it unworthy to be accounted of.” “But,” he adds, “how hardly soever you deale with your tongue, how

barbarous soever you count it, how litle soever you esteeme it, I durst my selfe undertake (if I were furnished with Learnying otherwyse) to wryte in it as copiouslye for varietie, as compendiously for brevitie, as choycely for woordes, as pithily for sentences, as pleasauntly for figures, and every way as eloquently, as any writer should do in any vulgar tongue whatsoever." Mulcaster goes so far as to say: "I take this present period of our English tung to be the verie height therof, bycause I find it so excellentlie well fined, both for the bodie of the tung it self, and for the customarie writing thereof, as either foren workmanship can give it glosse, or as homewrought hanling can give it grace. When the age of our peple, which now use the tung so well, is dead and departed there will another succede, and with the peple the tung will alter and change. Which change in the full harvest thereof maie prove comparable to this, but sure for this which we now use, it semeth even now to be at the best for substance, and the bravest for circumstance, and whatsoever shall becom of the English state, the English tung cannot prove fairer, then it is at this daie, if it maie please our learned sort to esteem so of it, and to bestow their travell upon such a subject, so capable of ornament, so proper to themselves, and the more to be honored, bycause it is their own." In 1595 Richard Carew wrote a discourse on The Excellency of the English Tongue, and about

1583 Sir Philip Sidney could say, “But for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceit of the minde, which is the end of speech, that [English] hath it equally with any other tongue in the world.”

The Problem of Orthography

Spelling is for most people a pedestrian subject, but for the English, as for the French and the Italians, in the sixteenth century the question of orthography or “right writing,” as Mulcaster preferred to call it, was a matter of real importance and the subject of much discussion. The trouble was not merely that English spelling was bad, for it is still bad today, but that there was no generally accepted system that everyone could conform to. In short, it was neither phonetic nor fixed. Speaking generally, the spelling of the modern languages in the Middle Ages had attempted with fair success to represent the pronunciation of words, and this is true of English in spite of the fact that Norman scribes introduced considerable confusion when they tried to write a language that they imperfectly knew and carried over habits that they had formed in writing French. The confusion was increased when certain spellings gradually became conventional while the pronunciation slowly changed. In some cases a further discrepancy between sound and symbol arose when letters were inserted in words where they were not pronounced (like the b in

debt or doubt) because the corresponding word in Latin was so spelled (debitum, dubitare), or in other cases (for example, the gh in delight, tight) by analogy with words similarly pronounced (light, night) where the gh had formerly represented an actual sound. The variability of English spelling was an important part of the instability that people felt characterized the English language in the sixteenth century, especially as compared with a language like Latin. To many it seemed that English spelling was chaotic.

That the problem of bringing about greater agreement in the writing of English was recognized in the sixteenth century is apparent from the attempts made to draw up rules and to devise new systems. The earliest of these, An A.B.C. for Children (before 1558), is almost negligible. It consists of only a few pages, and part of the space is devoted to "precepts of good lyvynge," but the author manages to formulate certain general rules such as the use of the final *e* to indicate vowel length (*made, ride, hope*).

During the first half of the next century the tendency toward uniformity increased steadily. The fixation of English spelling is associated in most people's minds with the name of Dr. Johnson,

and a statement in the preface of his dictionary, published in 1755, might lend color to this idea. In reality, however, our spelling in its modern form had been practically established by about 1650. In The New World of English Words published in 1658 by Milton's nephew Edward Phillips, the compiler says: "As for orthography, it will not be requisite to say any more of it then may conduce to the readers direction in the finding out of words," and he adds two or three remarks about Latin prae being rendered in English by pre-, and the like. Otherwise he seemed to think that the subject did not call for any discussion. And in reality it did not. The only changes we should make in the sentence just quoted are in the spelling then (for than) and the addition of an apostrophe in readers. A closer scrutiny of the preface as a whole would reveal a few other differences such as an occasional e where we have dropped it (kinde), ll and sse at the end of words (gratefull, harshnesse), -ick for -ic (logick), and a contracted form of the past participle (authoriz'd, chanc't). Even these differences are not very noticeable. Spelling was one of the problems that the English language began consciously to face in the sixteenth century. During the period from 1500 to 1650 it was fairly settled.

The Problem of Enrichment

English was undoubtedly inadequate, as compared with the classical languages, to express the thought that those languages embodied and that in England was now becoming part of a rapidly expanding civilization. The translations that appeared in such numbers convinced people of the truth of this fact. The very act of translation brings home to the translators the limitations of their medium and tempts them to borrow from other languages the terms whose lack they feel in their own. For writers to whom Latin was almost a second mother tongue the temptation to transfer and naturalize in English important Latin radicals was particularly great.

This was so, too, with French and Italian. In this way many foreign words were introduced into English. One may say that the same impulse that led scholars to furnish the English mind with the great works of classical and other literatures led them to enrich the English language with words drawn from the same source. New words were particularly needed in various technical fields, where English was notably weak. The author of a Discourse of Warre justifies his introduction of numerous military terms by an argument that was unanswerable: “I knowe

no other names than are given by strangers, because there are fewe or none at all in our language."

It is not always easy, however, to draw the line between a word that is needed because no equivalent term exists, and one that merely expresses more fully an idea that could be conveyed in some fashion with existing words. We can appreciate the feeling of scholars for whom a familiar Latin word had a wealth of associations and a rich connotation; we must admit the reasonableness of their desire to carry such a word over into their English writing. English acquired in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries thousands of new and strange words.

The greater number of these new words were borrowed from Latin. But they were not exclusively drawn from that source. Some were taken from Greek, a great many from French, and not a few from Italian and Spanish.

Permanent Additions

From the exaggeration of a critic like Wilson one might get the impression that much of the effort to introduce new words into the language was pedantic and ill-advised. Some of the words Wilson ridicules seem forced and in individual cases were

certainly unnecessary. But it would be a mistake to conclude that all or even a large part of the additions were of this sort. Indeed the surprising thing about the movement here described is the number of words that we owe to this period and that seem now to be indispensable. Many of them are in such common use today that it is hard for us to realize that to the Elizabethan they were so strange and difficult as to be a subject of controversy. When Elyot wished to describe a democracy he said, "This manner of governaunce was called in Greke democratia, in Latine popularis potentia, in Englisshe the rule of the comminaltie." If he were not to have to refer to "the rule of the commonalty" by this roundabout phrase, he could hardly do better than to try to naturalize the Greek word. Again he felt the need of a single word for "all maner of lerning, which of some is called the world of science, of other the circle of doctrine, which is in one word of Greke, encyclopedia" Though purists might object, the word encyclopedia filled a need in English, and it has lived on. The words that were introduced at this time were often basic words—nouns, adjectives, verbs. Among nouns we may note as random examples *allurement, allusion, anachronism, atmosphere, autograph, capsule, denunciation, dexterity, disability, disrespect, emanation, excrescence, excursion, expectation, halo, inclemency, jurisprudence*. Among adjectives we find *abject* (in

our sense of “down in spirit”), *agile, appropriate, conspicuous, dexterous, expensive, external, habitual, hereditary, impersonal, insane, jocular, malignant*. Few of these could we dispense with. But it is among the verbs, perhaps, that we find our most important acquisitions, words like *adapt, alienate, assassinate, benefit* (first used by Cheke, who thought “our language should be writ pure”!), consolidate, disregard (introduced by Milton), emancipate, eradicate, erupt, excavate, exert, exhilarate, exist, extinguish, harass, meditate (which Sidney apparently introduced). It is hard to exaggerate the importance of a movement that enriched the language with words such as these.

Adaptation

Some words, in entering the language, retained their original form; others underwent change. Words like *climax, appendix, epitome, exterior, delirium*, and *axis* still have their Latin form. The adaptation of others to English was effected by the simple process of cutting off the Latin ending. *Conjectural* (L. *conjectural-is*), *consult* (L. *consult-are*) exclusion (L. exclusion-em), and exotic (L. exotic-us) show how easily in many cases this could be done. But more often a further change was necessary to bring the word into accord with the usual English forms. Thus, the Latin ending *-us* in adjectives was changed to

-*ous* (*conspicu-us* > *conspicuous*) or was replaced by -*al* as in *external* (L. *externus*). Latin nouns ending in -*tas* were changed in English to -*ty* (*brevity* < *brevitas*) because English had so many words of this kind borrowed from French where the Latin –tatem regularly became -té. For the same reason nouns ending in -antia, -entia appear in English with the ending -ance, -ence or -ancy, -ency, while adjectives ending in –bilis take the usual English (or French) ending -ble. Examples are consonance, concurrence, constancy, frequency, considerable, susceptible. Many English verbs borrowed from Latin at this time end in -*ate* (*create, consolidate, eradicate*). These verbs were formed on the basis of the Latin past participle (e.g., exterminatus, whereas the French exterminer represents the Latin infinitive exterminare). The English practice arose from the fact that the Latin past participle was often equivalent to an adjective, and it was a common thing in English to make verbs out of adjectives (busy, dry, darken).

Reinforcement through French

It is not always possible to say whether a word borrowed at this time was taken over directly from Latin or indirectly through French, for the same wholesale enrichment was going on in French simultaneously and the same words were being

introduced in both languages. Often the two streams of influence must have merged. But that English borrowed many words from Latin firsthand is indicated in a number of ways. The word fact represents the Latin factum and not the French *fait*, which was taken into English earlier as feat. Many verbs like confiscate, congratulate, and exonerate are formed from the Latin participle (confiscat-us, etc.) and not from the French confisquer, congratuler, exonerer, which are derived from the infmitives confiscare, etc. Caxton has the form confisk, which is from French, but the word did not survive in this shape. The form prejudicate is from Latin while prejudge represents the French prejuger. In the same way instruct and subtract show their Latin ancestry (instructus, subtractus) since the French instruire and subtraire would have become in English instroy (like destroy) and subtray (which is found in the fifteenth century). Our word conjugation is probably a direct importation from Latin (conjugation-em) since the more usual form in French was conjugaison. Sometimes the occurrence of a word in English earlier than in French (e.g., obtuse) points to the direct adoption from Latin, as do words like *confidence, confident*, which are expressed in French by the forms confiance, confiant, but which in English are used in senses that the French forms do not have.

There still remain, however, a good many words that might equally well have come into English from Latin or French. Verbs like consist and explore could come either from the Latin consistere and explorare or the French consister and explorer. Conformation, conflagration, and many other similar nouns may represent either Latin conformation-em, conflagration-em, or French conformation, conflagration. It is so with words like fidelity, ingenuity, proclivity, where the Latin fidelitat-em developed into French fidélité, but English possessed so many words of this kind from French that it could easily have formed others on the same pattern. So adjectives like affable, audible, jovial may represent the Latin affabilis or the French affable, etc., and others like consequent, modest, sublime can have come equally well from the Latin or the French forms. It is really not important which language was the direct source of the English words because in either case they are ultimately of Latin origin. In many cases French may have offered a precedent for introducing the Latin words into English and may have assisted in their general adoption.

Words from the Romance Languages

Sixteenth-century purists objected to three classes of strange words, which they characterized as inkhorn terms, oversea

language, and Chaucerisms. For the foreign borrowings in this period were by no means confined to learned words taken from Latin and Greek. The English vocabulary at this time shows words adopted from more than fifty languages, the most important of which (besides Latin and Greek) were French, Italian, and Spanish. English travel in France and consumption of French books are reflected in such words as *alloy, ambuscade, baluster, bigot, bizarre, bombast, chocolate, comrade, detail, duel, entrance, equip, equipage, essay, explore, genteel, mustache, naturalize, probability, progress, retrenchment, shock, surpass, talisman, ticket, tomato, vogue,* and *volunteer*. But the English also traveled frequently in Italy, observed Italian architecture, and brought back not only Italian manners and styles of dress but also Italian words. Protests against the Italianate Englishman are frequent in Elizabethan literature, and the objection is not only that the Englishmen came back corrupted in morals and affecting outlandish fashions, but that they "powdered their talk with oversea language." Nevertheless, Italian words, like Italian fashions, were frequently adopted in England. Words like *algebra, argosy, balcony, cameo, capricio* (the common form of *caprice* until after the Restoration), *cupola, design, granite, grotto, piazza, portico, stanza, stucco, trill, violin, volcano* began to be heard on the lips of Englishmen or to

be found in English books. Many other Italian words were introduced through French or adapted to French forms, words like battalion, bankrupt, bastion, brigade, brusque, carat, cavalcade, charlatan, frigate, gala, gazette, grotesque, infantry, parakeet, and rebuff. Many of these preserved for a time their Italian form. From Spanish and Portuguese, English adopted *alligator* (*el lagarto*, the lizard), *anchovy*, *apricot*, *armada*, *armadillo*, *banana*, *barricade* (often *barricado*, as in Shakespeare), *bastiment*, *bastinado*, *bilbo*, *bravado*, *brocade* (often employed in the form *brocado*), *cannibal*, *canoe*, *cedilla*, *cocoa*, *corral*, *desperado*, *embargo*, *hammock*, *hurricane*, *maize*, *mosquito*, *mulatto*, *negro*, *peccadillo*, *potato*, *renegado* (the original form of *renegade*), *rusk*, *sarsaparilla*, *sombrero*, *tobacco*, and *yam*. Many of these words reflect the Spanish enterprise on the sea and colonization of the American continent. Like Italian words, Spanish words sometimes entered English through French or took a French form. Grenade, palisade, escalade, and cavalier are examples, although commonly found in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the form grenado, palisado, escalado, and cavaliero, even when the correct Spanish form would have been granada, palisada, escalada, and caballero. Sometimes the influence of all these languages combined to give us our English word, as in the case of galleon, gallery, pistol,

cochineal. Thus the cosmopolitan tendency, the spirit of exploration and adventure, and the interest in the New World that was being opened up show themselves in an interesting way in the growth of our vocabulary and contributed along with the more intellectual forms of activity to the enrichment of the English language.

The Movement Illustrated in Shakespeare

It is a well-known fact that, except for a man like the Elizabethan translator Philemon Holland, Shakespeare had the largest vocabulary of any English writer. This is due not only to his daring and resourceful use of words but also in part to his ready acceptance of new words of every kind. It is true that he could make sport of the inkhorn terms of a pedant like Holofernes, who quotes Latin, affects words like intimation, insinuation, explication, and replication, and has a high scorn for anyone like the slow-witted Dull who, as another character remarks, "hath not eat paper." Shakespeare had not read Wilson in vain (see p. 218). But he was also not greatly impressed by Wilson's extreme views. Among Shakespearian words are found *agile, allurement, antipathy, catastrophe, consonancy, critical, demonstrate, dire, discountenance, emphasis, emulate, expostulation, extract, hereditary, horrid, impertinency, meditate, modest, pathetical,*

prodigious, vast, the Romance words ambuscado, armada, barricade, bastinado, cavalier, mutiny, palisado, pell-mell, renegade — all new to English in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Some of the words Shakespeare uses must have been very new indeed, because the earliest instance in which we find them at all is only a year or two before he uses them (e.g., *exist, initiate, jovial*), and in a number of cases his is the earliest occurrence of the word in English (*accommodation, apostrophe, assassination, dexterously, dislocate, frugal, indistinguishable, misanthrope, obscene, pedant, premeditated, reliance, submerged*, etc.). He would no doubt have been classed among the liberals in his attitude toward foreign borrowing. Shakespeare's use of the new words illustrates an important point in connection with them. This is the fact that they were often used, upon their first introduction, in a sense different from ours, closer to their etymological meaning in Latin. Thus, *to communicate* nowadays means to exchange information, but in Shakespeare's day it generally preserved its original meaning 'to share or make common to many'.

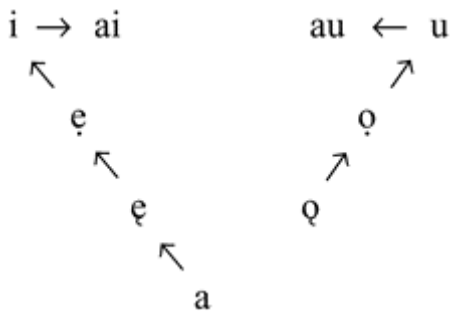
From Middle English to Modern

When we come to the vowel changes in Modern English we see the importance of the factors that determined the length of

vowels in Middle English. All Middle English long vowels underwent extensive alteration in passing into Modern English, but the short vowels, in accented syllables, remained comparatively stable. If we compare Chaucer's pronunciation of the short vowels with ours, we note only two changes of importance, those of *a* and *u*. By Shakespeare's day (i.e., at the close of the sixteenth century) Chaucer's /ɑ/ had become an [æ] in pronunciation (*cat, thank, flax*). In some cases this ME a represented an OE (at, apple, back), and the new pronunciation was therefore a return to approximately the form that the word had had in Old English. It is the usual pronunciation in America and a considerable part of southern England today. The change the /u/ underwent was what is known as unrounding. In Chaucer's pronunciation this vowel was like the *u* in *full*. By the sixteenth century it seems to have become in most words the sound we have in *but* (e.g., *cut, sun; love*, with the Anglo-Norman spelling of o for u). So far as the short vowels are concerned it is clear that a person today would have little difficulty in understanding the English of any period of the language.

The Great Vowel Shift

The situation is very different when we consider the long vowels. In Chaucer's pronunciation these had still their so-called "continental" value—that is, *a* was pronounced like the *a* in *father* and not as in *name*, *e* was pronounced either like the *e* in *there* or the *a* in *mate*, but not like the *ee* in *meet*, and so with the other vowels. But in the fifteenth century a great change is seen to be under way. All the long vowels gradually came to be pronounced with a greater elevation of the tongue and closing of the mouth, so that those that could be raised were raised, and those that could not without becoming consonantal (i, u) became diphthongs. The change may be visualized in the following diagram:



Such a diagram must be taken as only a very rough indication of what happened, especially in the breaking of *i* and *u* into the diphthongs *ai* and *au*. Nor must the changes indicated by the

arrows be thought of as taking place successively, but rather as all part of a general movement with slight differences in the speed with which the results were accomplished (or the date at which evidence for them can be found). The effects of the shift can be seen in the following comparison of Chaucer's and Shakespeare's pronunciation:

M.E.	*Chaucer*		*Shakespeare*
ī	[fi:f]	five	[faɪv]
ē	[me:də]	meed	[mi:d]
ē	[klɛ:nə]	clean	[kle:n] (now [kli:n])
ā	[na:mə]	name	[ne:m]
ǭ	[gɔ:tə]	goat	[go:t]
ō	[ro:tə]	root	[ru:t]
ū	[du:n]	down	[daʊn]

Grammatical Features

English grammar in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century is marked more by the survival of certain forms and usages that have since disappeared than by any fundamental developments. The great changes that reduced the inflections of Old English to their modern proportions had already taken place. In the few parts of speech that retain some of their original inflections, the

reader of Shakespeare or the Authorized Version is conscious of minor differences of form and in the framing of sentences may note differences of syntax and idiom that, although they attract attention, are not sufficient to interfere seriously with understanding. The more important of these differences we may pass briefly in review.

The Noun

The only inflections retained in the noun were those marking the plural and the possessive singular. In the former the *s*-plural had become so generalized that except for a few nouns like *sheep* and *swine* with unchanged plurals, and a few others like *mice* and *feet* with mutated vowels, we are scarcely conscious of any other forms. In the sixteenth century, however, there are certain survivals of the old weak plural in -*n*. Most of these had given way before the usual *s*-forms: *fon* (foes), *kneen* (knees), *fleen* (fleas). But beside the more modern forms Shakespeare occasionally has eyen (eyes), shoon (shoes), and kine, while the plural hosen is occasionally found in other writers. Today, except for the poetical kine and mixed plurals like children and brethren, the only plural of this type in general use is oxen.

The Adjective

Because the adjective had already lost all its endings, so that it no longer expressed distinctions of gender, number, and case, the chief interest of this part of speech in the modern period is in the forms of the comparative and superlative degrees. In the sixteenth century these were not always precisely those now in use. For example, comparatives such as lenger, strenger remind us that forms like our elder were once more common in the language. The two methods commonly used to form the comparative and superlative, with the endings *-er* and *–est* and with the adverbs more and most, had been customary since Old English times. But there was more variation in their use. Shakespearian comparisons like *honester*, *violentest* are now replaced by the analytical forms. A double comparative or superlative is also fairly frequent in the work of Shakespeare and his contemporaries: *more larger*, *most boldest*, or Mark Antony's *This was the most unkindest cut of all*. The chief development affecting the adjective in modern times has been the gradual settling down of usage so that monosyllables take *-er* and *-est* while most adjectives of two or more syllables (especially those with suffixes like those in frugal, learned, careful, poetic, active, famous) take *more* and *most*.

The Pronoun

The sixteenth century saw the establishment of the personal pronoun in the form that it has had ever since. In attaining this result three changes were involved: the disuse of *thou, thy, thee*; the substitution of *you* for *ye* as a nominative case; and the introduction of *its* as the possessive of *it*.

(1) In the earliest period of English the distinction between thou and ye was simply one of number; thou was the singular and ye the plural form for the second person pronoun. In time, however, a quite different distinction grew up. In the thirteenth century the singular forms (thou, thy, thee) were used among familiars and in addressing children or persons of inferior rank, while the plural forms (ye, your, you) began to be used as a mark of respect in addressing a superior. In England the practice seems to have been suggested by French usage in court circles, but it finds a parallel in many other modern languages. In any case, the usage spread as a general concession to courtesy until ye, your, and you became the usual pronoun of direct address irrespective of rank or intimacy. By the sixteenth century the singular forms had all but disappeared from contexts in which the plural forms were deemed proper and were maintained into the twentieth century only among the Quakers.

(2) Originally a clear distinction was made between the nominative ye and the objective you. But because both forms are so frequently unstressed, they were often pronounced alike [jə] A tendency to confuse the nominative and the accusative forms can be observed fairly early, and in the fourteenth century you began to be used as a nominative. By a similar substitution ye appears in the following century for the objective case, and from this time on the two forms seem to have been used pretty indiscriminately until ye finally disappeared. It is true that in the early part of the sixteenth century some writers (Lord Berners, for example) were careful to distinguish the two forms, and in the Authorized Version of the Bible (1611) they are often nicely differentiated: No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you (Job). On the other hand Ascham and Sir Thomas Elyot appear to make no distinction in the nominative, while Shakespeare says A southwest wind blow on ye And blister you all over! In The Two Gentlemen of Verona occurs the line Stand, sirs, and throw us that you have about ye, where the two pronouns represent the exact reverse of their historical use. Although in the latter instance, ye may owe something to its unemphatic position, as in similar cases it does in Milton, it is evident that there was very little feeling any more for the different functions of the two

words, and in the course of the seventeenth century you becomes the regular form for both cases.

(3) In some ways the most interesting development in the pronoun at this time was the formation of a new possessive neuter, its. As we have seen above, the neuter pronoun in Old English was declined hit, his, him, hit, which by the merging of the dative and accusative under hit in Middle English became hit, his, hit. In unstressed positions hit weakened to it, and at the beginning of the modern period it was the usual form for the subject and object. His, however, remained the proper form of the possessive. Although it was thus identical with the possessive case of he, its occurrence where we should now use its is very common in written English down to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Thus Portia's words How far that little candle throws his beams are quite natural, as is the Biblical if the salt have lost his savor, wherewith shall it be salted?

If grammatical gender had survived in English the continued use of his when referring to neuter nouns would probably never have seemed strange. But when, with the substitution of natural

gender, meaning came to be the determining factor in the gender of nouns, and all lifeless objects were thought of as neuter, the situation was somewhat different. The personal pronouns of the third person singular, he, she, it, had a distinctive form for each gender in the nominative and objective cases, and a need seems to have been felt for some distinctive form in the possessive case as well. Various substitutes were tried, clearly indicating a desire, conscious or unconscious, to avoid the use of his in the neuter. Thus, we find frequently in the Bible expressions like Two cubits and a half was the length of it and nine cubits was the length thereof. Not infrequently the simple form it was used as a possessive, as when Horatio, describing the ghost in Hamlet, says It lifted up it head, or when the Fool in Lear says: The hedge-sparrow fed the cuckoo so long, That it had it head bit off by it young.

The same use of the pronoun it is seen in the combination it own: We enjoin thee…that there thou leave it, Without more mercy, to it own protection (Winter's Tale). Similarly, the was used in place of the pronoun: growing of the own accord (Holland's Pliny, 1601). Both of these makeshifts are as old as the fourteenth century. It was perhaps inevitable that the possessive of nouns (stone's, horse's) should eventually suggest the

analogical form it's for the possessive of it. (The word was spelled with an apostrophe down to about 1800.) The first recorded instance of this form is in The Second Book of Madrigals, published by Nicholas Yonge in 1597,50 but, like most novelties of this kind in language, it had probably been in colloquial use for a time before it appeared in print. Nevertheless, it is not likely to have been common even at the end of the sixteenth century, considering the large amount of fairly colloquial English that has come down to us from this period with no trace of such a form. At the beginning of the seventeenth century it was clearly felt as a neologism not yet admitted to good use. There is no instance of it in the Bible (1611) or in any of the plays of Shakespeare printed during his lifetime. In the First Folio of 1623 there are only ten instances, and seven of these were in plays written near the end of the dramatist's career. Milton, although living until 1674, seems to have admitted it but grudgingly to his writings; there are only three occurrences of the word in all his poetry and not many in his prose. Yet so useful a word could hardly fail to win a place for itself among the rank and file of speakers. Toward the close of the seventeenth century its acceptance seems to have gained momentum rapidly, so that to Dryden (1631–1700) the older use of his as a neuter seemed an archaism worthy of comment.

Finally, mention should be made of one other noteworthy development of the pronoun in the sixteenth century. This is the use of who as a relative. Refinements in the use of subordinate clauses are a mark of maturity in style. As the loose association of clauses (parataxis) gives way to more precise indications of logical relationship and subordination (hypotaxis) there is need for a greater variety of words effecting the union.

Old English had no relative pronoun proper. It made use of the definite article (sē, sēo, þæf), which, however it was felt in Old English times, strikes us as having more demonstrative force than relative. Sometimes the indeclinable particle þe was added (sē, þe, which, that) and sometimes þe was used alone. At the end of the Old English period the particle þe had become the most usual relative pronoun, but it did not long retain its popularity. Early in the Middle English period its place was taken by þæt (that), and this was the almost universal relative pronoun, used for all genders, throughout the Middle English period. In the fifteenth century which begins to alternate fairly frequently with that. At first it referred mostly to neuter antecedents, although occasionally it was used for persons, a use that survives in Our Father, which art in heaven. But the tendency to employ that as a universal relative has never been lost in the language, and was so

marked in the eighteenth century as to provoke Steele to address to the Spectator (No. 78) his well-known “Humble Petition of Who and Which” in protest. It was not until the sixteenth century that the pronoun who as a relative came into use. Occasional instances of such a use occur earlier, but they are quite exceptional. There is no example of the nominative case in Chaucer. Chaucer, however, does use the oblique cases whose and whom (infrequently) as relative pronouns, and it is clear that the use of who as a pure relative began with these forms. Two earlier uses of who are the sources of the new construction: who as an indefinite pronoun (Who hath ears to hear, let him hear; Who steals my purse steals trash) and as an interrogative in indirect questions. The latter appears to have been the more important. The sequence Whom do you want? (direct question), They asked whom you wanted (indirect question), I know the man whom you wanted (relative) is not a difficult one to assume. In any case, our present-day widespread use of who as a relative pronoun is primarily a contribution of the sixteenth century to the language.

The Verb

Even the casual reader of Elizabethan English is aware of certain differences of usage in the verb that distinguish this part of

speech from its form in later times. These differences are sometimes so slight as to give only a mildly unfamiliar tinge to the construction. When Lennox asks in Macbeth, *Goes the King hence today*? we have merely an instance of the more common interrogative form without an auxiliary, where we should say *Does the king go?* or *Is the king leaving today?* we have merely an instance of the more common interrogative form without an auxiliary, where we should say Does the king go? or Is the king leaving today? Where we should say has been Shakespeare often says is: Is execution done on Cawdor? and 'Tis unnatural, Even like the deed that's done; or Arthur, whom [who] they say is killed tonight. A very noticeable difference is the scarcity of progressive forms. Polonius asks, What do you read, my Lord?—that is, What are you reading? The large increase in the use of the progressive is one of the important developments of later times. Likewise the compound participle, having spoken thus, having decided to make the attempt, etc., is conspicuous by its infrequency. There are only three instances in Shakespeare and less than threescore in the Bible. The construction arose in the sixteenth century. On the other hand, impersonal uses of the verb were much more common than they are today. It yearns me not, it dislikes me, so please him come are Shakespearian expressions which in more recent English have been replaced by personal

constructions. In addition to such features of Elizabethan verbal usage, certain differences in inflection are more noticeable, particularly the ending of the third person singular of the present indicative, an occasional -s in the third person plural, and many forms of the past tense and past participle, especially of strong verbs.

The regular ending of the third person singular -*s*, -*es* in the whole south and southeastern part of England – that is, the district most influential in the formation of the standard speech was -*eth* all through the Middle English period. It is universal in Chaucer: *telleth, giveth, saith, doth*, etc. In the fifteenth century, forms with -*s* occasionally appear. These are difficult to account for, since it is not easy to see how the Northern dialect, where they were normal, could have exerted so important an influence upon the language of London and the south. But in the course of the sixteenth century their number increases, especially in writings that seem to reflect the colloquial usage. By the end of the 16th century forms like *tells, gives, says* predominate, though in some words, such as *doth* and *hath*, the older usage may have been the more common.

Usage and Idiom

Language is not merely a matter of words and inflections. We should neglect a very essential element if we failed to take account of the many conventional features—matters of idiom and usage—that often defy explanation or logical classification but are nevertheless characteristic of the language at a given time and, like other conventions, subject to change. Such a matter as the omission of the article where we customarily use it is an illustration in point. Shakespeare says creeping like snail, with as big heart as thou, in number of our friends, within this mile and half, thy beauty's form in table of my heart, where modern idiom requires an article in all these cases. On the other hand, where we say at length, at last, Shakespeare says at the length, at the last. Again, usage permitted a different placing of the negative—before the verb—as in such expressions as I not doubt, it not appears to me, she not denies it. For a long time English permitted the use of a double negative. We have now discarded it through a false application of mathematical logic to language; but in Elizabethan times it was felt merely as a stronger negative, as indeed it is today in the instinct of the uneducated. So Shakespeare could say Thou hast spoken no word all this while—nor understood none neither; I know not, nor I greatly care not; Nor this is not my nose neither; First he denied you had

in him no right; My father hath no child but I, nor none is like to have; Nor never none shall mistress be of it, save I alone. It is a pity we have lost so useful an intensive.

Perhaps nothing illustrates so richly the idiomatic changes in a language from one age to another as the uses of prepositions. When Shakespeare says I'll rent the fairest house in it after threepence a bay, we should say at; in Our fears in Banquo stick deep, we should say about. The single preposition of shows how many changes in common idioms have come about since 1600: One that I brought up of (from) a puppy; he came of (on) an errand to me; 'Tis pity of (about) him; your name…. I know not, nor by what wonder you do hit of (upon) mine; And not be seen to wink of (during) all the day; it was well done of (by) you; I wonder of (at) their being here together; I am provided of (with) a torchbearer; I have no mind of (for) feasting forth tonight; I were better to be married of (by) him than of another; That did but show thee of (as) a fool. Many more examples could be added. Although matters of idiom and usage generally claim less attention from students of the language than do sounds and inflections or additions to the vocabulary, no picture of Elizabethan English would be adequate that did not give them a fair measure of recognition.

General Characteristics of the Period

As we survey the period of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries — the period of early Modern English — we recognize certain general characteristics, some of which are exemplified in the foregoing discussion, while others concern the larger spirit of the age in linguistic matters. These may be stated in the form of a brief summary as a conclusion.

First, a conscious interest in the English language and an attention to its problems are now widely manifested. The fifteenth century had witnessed sporadic attempts by individual writers to embellish their style with "aureate terms." These attempts show in a way a desire to improve the language, at least along certain limited lines. But in the sixteenth century we meet with a considerable body of literature — books and pamphlets, prefaces and incidental observations — defending the language against those who were disposed to compare it unfavorably to Latin or other modern tongues, patriotically recognizing its position as the national speech, and urging its fitness for learned and literary use. At the same time it is considered worthy of cultivation, and to be looked after in the education of the young. Whereas a century or two before, the upper classes seemed more interested in having their children acquire a correct French accent

and sometimes sent them abroad for the purpose, we now find Elyot urging that noblemen's sons should be brought up by those who "speke none englisshe but that which is cleane, polite, perfectly and articulately pronounced, omittinge no lettre or sillable," and observing that he knew some children of noble birth who had "attained corrupte and foule pronunciation" through the lack of such precautions. Numerous books attempt to describe the proper pronunciation of English, sometimes for foreigners but often presumably for those whose native dialect did not conform to the standard of London and the court. Along with this regard for English as an object of pride and cultivation went the desire to improve it in various ways — particularly to enlarge its vocabulary and to regulate its spelling. All of these efforts point clearly to a new attitude toward English, an attitude that makes it an object of conscious and in many ways fruitful consideration.

In the second place, we attain in this period to something in the nature of a standard, something moreover that is recognizably "modern." The effect of the Great Vowel Shift was to bring the pronunciation within measurable distance of that which prevails today. The influence of the printing press and the efforts of spelling reformers had resulted in a form of written English that

offers little difficulty to the modern reader. And the many new words added by the methods already discussed had given us a vocabulary that has on the whole survived. Moreover, in the writings of Spenser and Shakespeare, and their contemporaries generally, we are aware of the existence of a standard literary language free from the variations of local dialect. Although Sir Walter Raleigh might speak with a broad Devonshire pronunciation, and for all we know Spenser and Shakespeare may have carried with them through life traces in their speech of their Lancashire and Warwickshire ancestry, yet when they wrote they wrote a common English without dialectal idiosyncrasies. This, as Puttenham (1589) reminds us, was to be the speech of London and the court. It is not without significance that he adds, "herein we are already ruled by th' English Dictionaries and other bookes written by learned men, and therefore it needeth none other direction in that behalfe." However subject to the variability characteristic of a language not yet completely settled, the written language in the latter part of the sixteenth century is fully entitled to be called Standard English. The regularization of spellings in this written standard can be seen as early as the mid-fifteenth century in the official documents of Chancery.

Thirdly, English in the Renaissance, at least as we see it in books, was much more plastic than now. People felt freer to mold it to their wills. Words had not always distributed themselves into rigid grammatical categories. Adjectives appear as adverbs or nouns or verbs, nouns appear as verbs — in fact, any part of speech as almost any other part. When Shakespeare wrote stranger'd with an oath he was fitting the language to his thought, rather than forcing his thought into the mold of conventional grammar. This was in keeping with the spirit of his age. It was in language, as in many other respects, an age with the characteristics of youth — vigor, a willingness to venture, and a disposition to attempt the untried. The spirit that animated Hawkins and Drake and Raleigh was not foreign to the language of their time.

Finally, we note that in spite of all the progress that had been made toward a uniform standard, a good many features of the language were still unsettled. There still existed a considerable variety of use — alternative forms in the grammar, experiments with new words, variations in pronunciation and spelling. A certain latitude was clearly permitted among speakers of education and social position, and the relation between the literary language and good colloquial English was so close that

this latitude appears also in the written language. Where one might say have wrote or have written with equal propriety, as well as housen or houses, shoon or shoes, one must often have been in doubt over which to use. One heard service also pronounced sarvice, and the same variation occurred in a number of other words (certain — sartin, concern — consarn, divert — divart, clerk — clark, smert — smart, etc.). These and many other matters were still unsettled at the close of the period. Their settlement, as we shall see, was one of the chief concerns of the next age.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE APPEAL TO AUTHORITY

The Temper of the Eighteenth Century

The first half of the eighteenth century is commonly designated in histories of literature as the Augustan Age in England. The principal characteristics of this age which affected the course of the English language emerged early and maintained their influence throughout the century, in spite of the eruption of some radical challenges in the final two decades. The eighteenth century sought to retain from the seventeenth century the best features of rational discourse that had been established while rejecting the uncontrolled proliferation of what sober minds regarded as dangerous tendencies in English prose.

In England the age was characterized by a search for stability. One of the first characteristics to be mentioned is a strong sense of order and the value of regulation. Adventurous individualism and the spirit of independence characteristic of the previous era gave way to a desire for system and regularity. This involves conformity to a standard that the consensus recognizes as good. It sets up correctness as an ideal and attempts to formulate rules or principles by which correctness may be defined and achieved.

The most important consideration in the foundation of this standard is reason. The spirit of scientific rationalism in philosophy was reflected in many other domains of thought. A great satisfaction was felt in things that could be logically explained and justified. It must not be supposed, however, that the powerful new current of scientific rationalism swept away the firmly grounded reverence for classical literature. Not only in literature but also in language Latin was looked upon as a model, and classical precedent was often generalized into precept. It is easy to see how a standard having its basis in regularity, justified by reason, and supported by classical authority might be regarded as approaching perfection, and how an age that set much store by elegance and refinement could easily come to believe in this standard as an indispensable criterion of "taste." While continuing to venerate Greece and Rome, eighteenth-century English people were increasingly conscious of ways in which their own achievements could be judged as surpassing those of the ancient world. They could easily come to believe in the essential rightness of their judgment and think that their own ideals could be erected into something like a permanent standard. We may well believe that permanence and stability would seem like no inconsiderable virtues to a generation that remembered the disorders and changes of the Revolution and Restoration.

The intellectual tendencies here noted are seen quite clearly in the eighteenth-century efforts to standardize, refine, and fix the English language. In the period under consideration discussion of the language takes a new turn. Previously interest had been shown chiefly in such questions as whether English was worthy of being used for writings in which Latin had long been traditional, whether the large additions being made to the vocabulary were justified, and whether a more adequate system of spelling could be introduced. Now for the first time attention was turned to the grammar, and it was discovered that English had no grammar. At any rate its grammar was largely uncodified, unsystematized. The ancient languages had been reduced to rule; one knew what was right and what was wrong. But in English everything was uncertain. One learned to speak and write as one learned to walk, and in many matters of grammatical usage there was much variation even among educated people. This was clearly distasteful to an age that desired above all else an orderly universe. The spontaneous creativeness of a Shakespeare, verbing it with nouns and adjectives, so to speak, sublimely indifferent to rules, untroubled by any considerations in language save those springing from a sure instinct, had given place to hesitation and uncertainty, so that a man like Dryden confessed

that at times he had to translate an idea into Latin in order to decide on the correct way to express it in English.

In its effort to set up a standard of correctness in language the rationalistic spirit of the eighteenth century showed itself in the attempt to settle disputed points logically, that is, by simply reasoning about them, often arriving at entirely false conclusions. The respect for authoritative example, especially for classical example, takes the form of appeals to the analogy of Latin, whereas a different manifestation of the respect for authority is at the bottom of the belief in the power of individuals to legislate in matters of language and accounts for the repeated demand for an English Academy. Finally it is an idea often expressed that English has been and is being daily corrupted, that it needs correction and refinement, and that when the necessary reforms have been effected it should be fixed permanently and protected from change. In other words, it was desired in the eighteenth century to give the English language a polished, rational, and permanent form.

Eighteenth-Century Attempts To Codify The English Language

The Eighteenth-century attempts to codify the English language and to direct its course fall under three main heads: (1) to reduce the language to rule and set up a standard of correct usage; (2) to refine it — that is, to remove supposed defects and introduce certain improvements; and (3) to fix it permanently in the desired form.

1. Ascertainment

In the eighteenth century the need for standardization and regulation was summed up in the word *ascertainment*. Dr. Johnson defined *ascertainment* as "a settled rule; an established standard"; and it was in this sense that Swift used the verb in his *Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue*. When reduced to its simplest form the need was for a dictionary that should record the proper use of words and a grammar that should settle authoritatively the correct usages in matters of construction.

2. Refining the Language

The lack of a standard to which all might conform was believed to have resulted in many corruptions that were growing up

unchecked. It is the subject of frequent lament that for some time the language had been steadily going down. Such observations are generally accompanied by a regretful backward glance at the good old days. Various periods in the past were supposed to represent the highest perfection of English. It was Dryden's opinion that "from Chaucer the purity of the English tongue began," but he was not so completely convinced as some others that its course had been always downward. For Swift the golden age was that of the great Elizabethans. "The period," he says, "wherein the English tongue received most improvement, I take to commence with the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and to conclude with the great rebellion in forty-two. From the civil war to this present time, I am apt to doubt whether the corruptions in our language have not at least equaled the refinements of it; and these corruptions very few of the best authors in our age have wholly escaped. During the usurpation, such an infusion of enthusiastic jargon prevailed in every writing, as was not shaken off in many years after. To this succeeded the licentiousness which entered with the restoration, and from infecting our religion and morals fell to corrupt our language."

With this opinion Dr. Johnson agreed. In his Dictionary he says, "I have studiously endeavored to collect examples and authorities

from the writers before the restoration, whose works I regard as the wells of English undefiled, as the pure sources of genuine diction." It is curious to find writers later in the century, such as Priestley, Sheridan, and the American Webster, looking back upon the Restoration and the period of Swift himself as the classical age of the language. It is apparent that much of this talk springs merely from a sentimental regard for the past and is to be taken no more seriously than the perennial belief that our children are not what their parents were. Certainly the corruptions that Swift cites seem to us rather trivial. But the significance of such utterances lies in the fact that they reveal an attitude of mind and lead to many attempts in the course of the century to "purify" the language and rid it of supposed imperfections.

There have always been, and doubtless always will be, people who feel a strong antipathy toward certain words or expressions or particular constructions, especially those with the taint of novelty about them. Usually such people do not make their objections felt beyond the circle of their friends. But occasionally an individual whose name carries weight and who is possessed with a crusading spirit offers his or her views to the public. However much the condemned usages may represent mere

personal prejudice, they are often regarded by others as veritable faults in the language and continue to be condemned in words that echo those of the original critic until the objections attain a currency and assume a magnitude out of all proportion to their significance. Such seems to have been the case with the strictures of Dean Swift on the English of his day.

In matters of language Dean Swift was a conservative. The things that specifically troubled the dean in his reflections on the current speech were chiefly innovations that he says had been growing up in the last twenty years. One of these was the tendency to clip and shorten words that should have retained their full polysyllabic dignity. He would have objected to *taxi, phone, bus, ad,* and the like.

A second innovation that Swift opposed was the tendency to contract verbs like *drudg'd, disturb'd, rebuk'd, fledg'd*. A third innovation that aroused Swift's ire has to do with certain words then enjoying a considerable vogue among wits and people of fashion. They had even invaded the pulpit. Young preachers, fresh from the universities, he says, "use all the modern terms of art, *sham, banter, mob, bubble, bully, cutting, shuffling,* and *palming*.

3. The Desire to Fix the Language

One of the most ambitious hopes of the eighteenth century was to stabilize the language, to establish it in a form that would be permanent. Swift talked about “fixing” the language, and the word was echoed for fifty years by lesser writers who shared his desire and, like him, believed in the possibility of realizing it. But that aim was not achieved.

The Proposal for an English Academy

There can be little doubt that the vital incentive to the establishment of an academy in England came from the example of France and Italy. The suggestion of an English Academy occurred early in the seventeenth century. With the Restoration, discussion of an English Academy became much more frequent. Shortly thereafter the idea of an academy received support from several influential persons, notably from Dryden and John Evelyn.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the ground had been prepared, and the time was ripe for an authoritative plan for an academy. With the example of Richelieu and the French Academy doubtless in his mind, Swift addressed a letter in 1712 to the earl of Oxford, Lord Treasurer of England. It was

published under the title *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue*. After the usual formalities he says: "My Lord, I do here in the name of all the learned and polite persons of the nation complain to your Lordship as *first minister,* that our language is extremely imperfect. The remedy he proposes is an academy, though he does not call it by that name. The publication of Swift's *Proposal* marks the culmination of the movement for an English Academy. Yet nothing came of Swift's *Proposal*. So, the academy was not established.

Dr. Johnson's Dictionary

The publication in 1755 of *A Dictionary of the English Language,* by Samuel Johnson, was hailed as a great achievement. True, it had its defects but it had positive virtues. It exhibited the English vocabulary much more fully than had ever been done before. It offered a spelling, fixed, even if sometimes badly, that could be accepted as standard. It supplied thousands of quotations illustrating the use of words. While he was still engaged on the *Dictionary* he wrote: "I have laboured to refine our language to grammatical purity, and to clear it from colloquial barbarisms, licentious idioms, and irregular combinations." Johnson himself envisaged his work as performing the same function as the dictionary of an academy.

Speaking of pronunciation, he says, “one great end of this undertaking is to fix the English language.”

Grammar Books in the Mid-Modern Period

William Loughton, Schoolmaster at Kensington, whose *Practical Grammar of the English Tongue* (1734) went through five editions, inveighs against those who “have attempted to force our Language (contrary to its Nature) to the Method and Rules of the Latin Grammar.” In 1761 Joseph Priestley published *The Rudiments of English Grammar*. It was followed by Robert Lowth’s *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762). *The British Grammar* by James Buchanan appeared in the same year. In 1784 Noah Webster published the second part of *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, which enjoyed much prestige in America and not a little circulation in England.

Eighteenth century grammarians aimed to do three things: (1) to codify the principles of the language and reduce it to rule; (2) to settle disputed points and decide cases of divided usage; and (3) to point out common errors or what were supposed to be errors, and thus correct and improve the language.

Prescriptive Grammar

To prescribe and to proscribe seem to have been coordinate aims of the grammarians. Many of the conventions now accepted and held up as preferable in our handbooks were first stated in this period. The prescriptive distinction between the two verbs *lie* and *lay* was first made in the second half of the eighteenth century. The preference for *different from* (rather than *different than* or *to*) and the proscription of *between you and I* are among the attitudes which, generally speaking, have been subsequently approved in the standard speech. Finally we may note that the eighteenth century is responsible for the condemnation of the double negative. Lowth stated the rule that we are now bound by: "Two Negatives in English destroy one another, or are equivalent to an Affirmative."

The Doctrine of Usage

In the latter half of the eighteenth century we find the beginnings of the modern doctrine that the most important criterion of language is usage. Thus John Hughes says in his essay Of Style (1698) that "general acceptation…is the only standard of speech." The person who more wholeheartedly than anyone else advocated the doctrine, however, was Joseph Priestley. in his Rudiments of English Grammar (1761) he repeatedly insisted

upon the importance of usage. “It must be allowed, that the custom of speaking is the original and only just standard of any language.” Of almost equal importance in representing this point of view, and perhaps more influential in giving it currency, was George Campbell. “Language is purely a species of fashion…. It is not the business of grammar, as some critics seem preposterously to imagine, to give law to the fashions which regulate our speech.”

The Expansion of the British Empire

The English settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth were the beginning of a process of colonization in North America that soon gave to England the Atlantic seaboard. Meanwhile England was getting a foothold in India and in 1600 the East India Company was founded to promote this trade, establishing settlements at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta.

The beginnings of the English occupation of Australia also occurred in the eighteenth century. The colonizing of Africa was largely the work of the nineteenth century. England seized the Dutch settlement at Cape Town. From this small beginning sprang the control of England over a large part of South Africa. The financial embarrassments of Egypt and Britain’s acquisition

of control over the Suez Canal led to the British protectorate over the region of the Nile.

The most obvious effects of English expansion are to be seen in the vocabulary. New territories mean new experiences, new activities, new products, all of which are in time reflected in the language. Trade routes have always been important avenues for the transmission of ideas and words. Contact with Native Americans resulted in a number of characteristic words such as *caribou, moose, skunk, tomahawk* and *totem*. From other parts of America, we have derived many more words, chiefly through Spanish. Thus we have in English Mexican words such as *chili, chocolate,* and *tomato;* from Cuba and the West Indies come *barbecue, canoe, hurricane, maize, potato,* and *tobacco.* From India come *Brahman, cashmere,* and *rupee*. From Africa, we obtain *banana, chimpanzee, gorilla* and *zebra*. Australia later contributed new terms to the general language. *Boomerang* and *kangaroo* are interesting examples of native words that have passed into universal use. Thus, one of the reasons for the cosmopolitan character of the English vocabulary today is seen to be the multitude of contacts the English language has had with other tongues in widely scattered parts of the world.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

Influences Affecting the Language

The events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries affecting the English-speaking countries have been of great political and social importance, but in their effect on the language they have not been revolutionary. The success of the British on the sea in the course of the Napoleonic Wars, culminating in Nelson's famous victory at Trafalgar in 1805, left England in a position of undisputed naval supremacy and gave it control over most of the world's commerce. The war against Russia in the Crimea (1854–1856) and the contests with princes in India had the effect of again turning English attention to the East. The great reform measures - the reorganization of parliament, the revision of the penal code and the poor laws, the restrictions placed on child labor, and the other industrial reforms - were important factors in establishing English society on a more democratic basis. They lessened the distance between the upper and the lower classes and greatly increased the opportunities for the mass of the population to share in the economic and cultural advantages that became available in the course of the century. The establishment of the first cheap newspaper (1816) and of cheap postage (1840) and

the improved means of travel and communication brought about by the railroad, the steamboat, and the telegraph had the effect of uniting more closely the different parts of Britain and of spreading the influence of the standard speech. During the first half of the twentieth century the world wars and the troubled periods following them affected the life of almost everyone and left their mark on the language. At the same time, the growth in importance of some of England's larger colonies, their eventual independence, and the rapid development of the United States have given increased significance to the forms of English spoken in these territories and have led their populations to the belief that their use of the language is as entitled to be considered a standard as that of Great Britain.

Some of these events and changes are reflected in the English vocabulary. But more influential in this respect are the great developments in science and the rapid progress that has been made in every field of intellectual activity in the last 200 years. Periods of great enterprise and activity seem generally to be accompanied by a corresponding increase in new words. This is the more true when all classes of the people participate in such activity, both in work and play, and share in its benefits. Accordingly, the great developments in industry, the increased

public interest in sports and amusements, and the many improvements in the mode of living, in which even the humblest worker has shared, have all contributed to the vocabulary. The last two centuries offer an excellent opportunity to observe the relation between a civilization and the language which is an expression of it.

The Growth of Science

The most striking thing about our present-day civilization is probably the part that science has played in bringing it to pass. We have only to think of the progress that has been made in medicine and the sciences auxiliary to it, such as bacteriology, biochemistry, and the like, to realize the difference that marks off our own day from that of only a few generations ago in the diagnosis, treatment, prevention, and cure of disease. Or we may pause to reflect upon the relatively short period that separates the Wright brothers, making history's first powered and controlled airplane flight, from the landings of astronauts on the moon, the operation of a space shuttle, and the voyages of spacecraft past the outer planets of the solar system. In every field of science, pure and applied, there has been need in the last two centuries for thousands of new terms. The great majority of these are technical words known only to the specialist, but a certain number of them

in time become familiar to the layperson and pass into general use.

In the field of medicine this is particularly apparent. We speak familiarly of *anemia, appendicitis, arteriosclerosis*, difficult as the word is, of *bronchitis, diphtheria*, and numerous other diseases and ailments. We use with some sense of their meaning words like *bacteriology, immunology, orthodontics*, and the acronym *AIDS* (*acquired immune deficiency syndrome*). We maintain clinics, administer an antitoxin or an anesthetic, and vaccinate for smallpox. We have learned the names of drugs like *aspirin, iodine, insulin, morphine*, and we acquire without effort the names of antibiotics, such as *penicillin, streptomycin*, and a whole family of *sulfa* compounds. We speak of *adenoids, endocrine glands,* and *hormones* and know the uses of the stethoscope, the EKG (electrocardiogram), and the CAT scan (computerized axial tomography). We refer to the combustion of food in the body as metabolism, distinguish between proteins and carbohydrates, know that a dog can digest bones because he has certain enzymes or digestive fluids in his stomach, and say that a person who has the idiosyncrasy of being made ill by certain foods has an allergy. Cholesterol is now a part of everyone's vocabulary, and there is an awareness that some fats are

polyunsaturated. All of these words have come into use during the nineteenth and, in some cases, the twentieth century.

In almost every other field of science the same story could be told. In the field of electricity words like *dynamo, commutator, alternating current, arc light* have been in the language since about 1870. Physics has made us familiar with terms like *calorie, electron, ionization, ultraviolet rays, quantum mechanics*, and *relativity*, though we don't always have an exact idea of what they mean. The development of *atomic energy* and *nuclear weapons* has given us *radioactive, hydrogen bomb, chain reaction, fallout,* and *meltdown*. In recent years *laser, superconducting supercollider, quasar,* and *pulsar* have come into common use; and *black holes, quarks, the big bang model,* and *superstrings* have captured the popular imagination. Chemistry has contributed so many common words that it is difficult to make a selection — *alkali, benzine, creosote, cyanide, formaldehyde, nitroglycerine, radium*, to say nothing of such terms as *biochemical, petrochemical*, and the like. The psychologist has taught us to speak of *schizophrenia, extrovert* and *introvert, behaviorism, inhibition, defense mechanism, inferiority complex, bonding, and psychoanalysis*. Originally scientific words and expressions such as *ozone, natural selection,*

stratosphere, *DNA* (for *deoxyribo-nudeic acid*) became familiar through the popularity of certain books or scientific reports in magazines and newspapers. Among the most publicized events since the 1960s have been the achievements of space and engineering in the exploration of space. In addition to astronaut and cosmonaut, space science has given us dozens of new words, especially compounds like *spacecraft, space shuttle, launch pad, countdown, blast off, flyby, command module.* Consciously or unconsciously, we have become scientifically minded in the last few generations, and our vocabularies reflect this extension of our consciousness and interest.

Automobile, Film, Broadcasting, Computer

Scientific discoveries and inventions do not always influence the language in proportion to their importance. It is doubtful whether the radio and motion pictures are more important than the telephone, but they have brought more new words into general use. Such additions to the vocabulary depend more upon the degree to which the discovery or invention enters into the life of the community. This can be seen especially in the many new words or new uses of old words that have resulted from the popularity of the automobile and the numerous activities associated with it. Many an old word is now used in a special

sense. Thus we park a car, and the verb to park scarcely suggests to the average driver anything except leaving his or her car along the side of a street or road or in a parking space. But the word is an old one, used as a military term (to park cannon) and later in reference to carriages. The word *automobile* is new, but such words as *sedan* (saloon in Britain) and *couch* are terms adapted from earlier types of vehicles. The American *truck* is the British *lorry* to which we may attach a trailer. We have learned new words or new meanings in *carburetor, spark plug* (British *sparking plug*), *choke, clutch, gearshift* (British *gear lever*), *piston rings, differential, universal, steering wheel, shock absorber, radiator, hood* (British bonnet), *windshield* (in Britain *windscreen*), *bumper, chassis, hubcap, power steering, automatic transmission,* and *turbocharger*. We engage *cruise control*, have a *blowout*, use *radial tires, carry a spare, drive a convertible* or *station wagon* (British estate car), and put the car in a *garage*. We may *tune up* the engine or *stall it*, or we may *skid, cut in, sideswipe* another car and be fined for *speeding* or running a *traffic light*. We must buy *gas* in America and *petrol* in Britain. Many more examples could be added to terms familiar to every motorist, to illustrate further what is already sufficiently clear, the way in which a new thing that becomes genuinely popular makes demands upon and extends the resources of the language.

The same principle might be illustrated by film, radio, and television. The words *cinema* and *moving picture* date from 1899, whereas the alternative *motion picture* is somewhat later. *Screen, reel, film, scenario, projector, close-up, fade-out* are now common, and although the popularity of *three-D* (or 3-D) as a cinematic effect was short-lived, the word is still used. The word radio in the sense of a receiving station dates from about 1925, and we get the first hint of television as early as 1904. Since many of the terms from radio broadcasting were applicable in the later development of television, it is not surprising to find a common vocabulary of broadcasting that includes *broadcast* itself, *aerial, antenna, lead-in, loudspeaker, stand by,* and *solid-state*. Words like *announcer, reception, microphone,* and *transmitter* have acquired special meanings sometimes more common than their more general senses. The abbreviations *FM* (for *frequency modulation*) and *AM* (for *amplitude modulation*) serve regularly in radio broadcasting for the identification of stations, while terms associated with television include *cable TV, teleprompter, videotape, VCR,* and *DVD*. The related development of increasingly refined equipment for the recording of sound since Thomas Edison's invention of the *phonograph* in 1877 has made the general consumer aware of *stereo* and

stereophonic, quad and *quadraphonic, tweeter, woofer, tape deck, reel-to-reel,* and *compact disc* or *CD*.

The first electronic digital computers date from World War II, and a few terms have been in general use since then. New meanings of *program, language, memory,* and *hardware* are familiar to people who have never used a computer. With the widespread manufacturing and marketing of personal computers during the 1980s, a much larger number of English speakers found the need for computer terms in their daily work: *PC* itself, *RAM (random-access memory), ROM (read-only memory), DOS (disk operating system), microprocessor, byte, cursor, modem, software, hacker, hard-wired, download,* and new meanings of *read, write, mouse, terminal, chip, network, workstation, windows,* and *virus*. The use of *bug* for a problem in running a computer program is sometimes traced in computer lore to an actual moth residing in the Mark II at Harvard in 1945. It was discovered by Grace Hopper and is taped in the logbook for September 9, 1945. As it turns out, however, the 1972 Supplement to the *OED* records *bug* for a problem in technology as early as 1889, by Thomas Edison working on his phonograph. Admiral Hopper may have a stronger claim to the first use of *debug*.

The World Wars

As another example of how great developments or events leave their mark upon language we may observe some of the words that came into English between 1914 and 1918 as a direct consequence of World War I. Some of these were military terms representing new methods of warfare, such as *air raid, antiaircraft gun, tank,* and *blimp*. *Gas mask* and *liaison officer* were new combinations with a military significance. *Camouflage* was borrowed from French, where it had formerly been a term of the scene-painter's craft, but it caught the popular fancy and was soon used half facetiously for various forms of disguise or misrepresentation. Old words were in some cases adapted to new uses. *Sector* was used in the sense of a specific portion of the fighting line; *barrage,* originally an artificial barrier like a dam in a river, designated a protective screen of heavy artillery or machine-gun fire; *dud,* a general word for any counterfeit thing, was specifically applied to a shell that did not explode; and *ace* acquired the meaning of a crack airman, especially one who had brought down five of the enemy's planes. In a number of cases a word that had had only limited circulation in the language now came into general use. Thus *hand grenade* goes back to 1661 but attained new currency during the war. Other expressions already in the language but popularized by the war were *dugout, machine*

gun, periscope, no man's land, and even the popular designation of an American soldier, *doughboy*, which was in colloquial use in the United States as early as 1867. *Blighty* was a popular bit of British army slang, derived from India and signifying Britain or home, and was often applied to a wound that sent a man back to Britain. Other expressions such as *slacker, trench foot, cootie*, and *war bride* were either struck off in the heat of the moment or acquired a poignant significance from the circumstances under which they were used.

It would seem that World War II was less productive of memorable words, as it was of memorable songs. Nevertheless it made its contribution to the language in the form of certain new words, new meanings, or an increased currency for expressions that had been used before. In connection with the *air raid,* so prominent a feature of the war, we have the words and expressions *alert* (air-raid warning), *blackout, blitz* (German *Blitzkrieg,* literally 'lightning war'), *blockbuster, dive-bombing, evacuate,* air-raid *shelter*. The words *beachhead, parachutist, paratroop, landing strip, crash landing, roadblock, jeep, fox hole* (as a shelter for one or two men), *bulldozer* (an American word used in a new sense), *decontamination, task force* (a military or naval unit assigned to the carrying out of a particular operation),

resistance movement, and *radar* are not in the first edition of the *OED* or its 1933 Supplement. *To spearhead* an attack, *to mop up*, and *to appease* were new verbs or old verbs with a new military or political significance. *Flak* (antiaircraft fire) was taken over from German, where it is an abbreviation of *Fliegerabwehrkanone*, 'antiaircraft gun'. *Commando*, a word that goes back to the Boer War, acquired a new and specialized meaning. Some words that were either new or that enjoyed great currency during the war — *priority, tooling up, bottleneck, ceiling* (upper limit), *backlog, stockpile* — have become a part of the vocabulary of civilian life, while *lend-lease* has passed into history. The aftermath of the war gave us such expressions as *iron curtain, cold war, fellow traveler, front organization, police state*, all with a very special connotation.

English World-Wide

In the various parts of the former British Empire, as in the United States, the English language has developed differences that distinguish it from the language of England. In Australasia, Africa, South Asia, and Canada, peculiarities of pronunciation and vocabulary have grown up that mark off national and areal varieties from the dialect of the mother country and from one another. These peculiarities are partly such as arise in

communities separated by time and space, and are partly due to the influence of a new environment. In some countries the most striking changes are the result of imperfect learning and systematic adaptations by speakers of other languages. Differences of nature and material civilization, and generally contact with some foreign tongue, are clearly reflected in the vocabulary.

1. Australia and New Zealand

In Australia it has been well said, "It is probably not too much to say that there never was an instance in history when so many new words were needed, and that there never will be again, for never did settlers come, nor can they ever come again, upon Flora and Fauna so completely different from anything seen by them before. An oak in America is still a *Quercus*, not as in Australia a *Casuarina*. But with the whole tropical region intervening it was to be expected that in the South Temperate Zone many things would be different, and such expectation was amply fulfilled." Australian English uses many words that would not be understood in England or America. Some of these are old words that have acquired new meanings by being applied to new things. Thus the term *robin* is used for various birds not known in Europe. The word *jackass* (shortened from *laughing jackass*)

means a bird whose cry is like a donkey's bray. Other words have been borrowed from the aboriginal languages of Australia and from Maori in New Zealand. *Kangaroo* and *boomerang* have become general English, but *wombat* is still chiefly Australian because it is the name of an Australian animal. The Australian calls a rowdy street loafer a *larrikan*. A *swagman* is a man traveling through the *bush* (back country) carrying a *swag* (tramp's bundle). Where an American talks of a *ranch*, the Australian speaks of a *station* and, like us, distinguishes between a *sheep station* and a *cattle station*. A *boundary rider* is one who patrols an estate and keeps the owner informed concerning every part of it. The English of Australia not only is characterized by interesting differences of vocabulary but varies strikingly in pronunciation from the received standard of England.

2. South Africa

The same thing is true in a somewhat different way of Africa, the most multilingual continent on earth. The present Republic of South Africa had been occupied successively by the Bushmen, Hottentots, Bantus, Portuguese, and Dutch before the English settlers came. From all these sources, but especially from Dutch and its South African development, Afrikaans, the English language has acquired elements. A few words that occurred

earlier in peculiarly South African contexts have passed into the general English vocabulary. In addition to *apartheid* and *veldt* (or *veld*), which retain their original associations, British and American speakers use *commando*, *commandeer*, and *trek* in contexts that no longer reflect their South African history. The great majority of Afrikanerisms (i.e., words and expressions borrowed from Dutch and Afrikaans) would still be generally meaningless in other parts of the English-speaking world yet are quite common in the daily life of South Africans. A recently compiled list of words and phrases that South Africans themselves consider to be characteristic of their variety of English includes *biltong* (strips of dried meat), *braaivleis* (a barbecue), *donga* (ravine), *gogga* (insect), *koeksisters* (a confection), *kopje* (hill), *lekker* (nice), *mealies* (Indian corn), *ou* (fellow, U.S. *guy*), *spruit* (gully), *stoep* (verandah, U.S. *stoop*), and *veldskoen* (hide-shoes). As in Australian English, a number of good English words are used in quite new senses. South African racial policies gave a new meaning to *location* as an area in which black Africans are required to live. *Lands* in South Africa are just those portions of a farm that can be used for cultivation of crops, *camp* refers to the fenced-in portion of a farm, and the *leopard* (Afrikaans *tier*, from *tyger*) is sometimes called a *tiger*.

In pronunciation the English of South Africa has been much influenced by the pronunciation of Afrikaans and to a lesser extent by the speech of many Scottish schoolmasters. To Afrikaans it apparently owes not only the peculiar modification of certain vowels (e.g., [pen] for *pin;* [kɛb] for *cab*, etc.), but also its higher pitch and the tendency to omit one of two or more consonants at the end of a word (e.g., *tex* for *text*). South African shares with American English the general disposition to pronounce the *r* when it appears in the spelling and to give full value to unaccented syllables (*extraordinary*, rather than the English *extraord'n'ry*).

3. West and East Africa

In other parts of sub-Saharan Africa that were once British colonies and are now independent countries, the English language has a complex relationship to the many African languages. Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Uganda, and other former colonies have a choice of retaining their colonial linguistic inheritance or rejecting it. In Nigeria three main African languages — Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo — and scores of languages spoken by smaller groups exist alongside English. Although only a tiny minority of the population speaks English, almost always as a second language, it is the official language of

the country. Ethnic jealousies that would arise from the selection of one of the African languages, and the advantages of English for communication both internally and internationally, are sufficient to overcome the reluctance toward using a colonial language. Swahili is the official language in Tanzania, but government business is routinely transacted in English.

The Bantu language Kiswahili is the most important African language throughout East Africa, and from its influence the East African variety of English has acquired some of its characteristic phonological patterns (for example, the lack of [ð]/*[θ]* as in [zis siŋ] *this thing*). From Kiswahili also have come loanwords that have passed into international currency: *safari, simba* (lion), *bwana* (master), *jambo* (hello).

4. South Asia

The issues concerning English in India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Nepal are similar in many respects to those in Africa except that a clearly identifiable South Asian variety of English has emerged over the years. Certain pronunciations result from the systematic influence of Indian languages. For speakers of the variety of Hindi that does not permit *sk, st,* and *sp* at the beginning of words, English *station* is regularly pronounced with

an initial vowel [Iste: šən]. In some varieties of Indian English [v] and [w] are not distinguished, and [t], [d], [l], and [r] are pronounced with retroflection.

5. Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong

The development of English as a second language in the Pacific rim is especially interesting because of the influence of background languages (the Chinese dialects Hokkien, Cantonese, and Mandarin; Malay; the southern Indian Tamil) and because of the effects of different language policies instituted by the various governments. During the 1970s a national fervor in Malaysia brought about a policy of promoting Bahasa Malay as the official language, and the use of English declined rapidly. Recently, the Malaysian government has quietly begun to reemphasize English.

In Singapore the changing relationship between English and the Asian languages has been in a sense the reverse of that in Malaysia. With English as one of the four official languages and the main medium for administration, commerce, industry, and education, the country has prospered in international trade and in its domestic economy. However, key government leaders, including the founder of the independent state, Lee Kuan Yew,

have expressed concern over the loss of Asian values and have begun to promote the use of Mandarin.

Hong Kong, although more than a thousand miles across the South China Sea from Singapore, has similarities in the use of English because of its British colonial history. The main difference is in the relatively homogeneous population, which is 97 percent Chinese. English is much less frequently used for oral communication among Hong Kong's Cantonese-speaking Chinese than among the Chinese in Singapore.

6. The Caribbean

For most of the Anglophone Caribbean islands, however, including Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, the Leeward Islands, and the Windward Islands, the most relevant languages in contact are those of the west coast of Africa. Ewe, Twi, Efik, Yoruba, Ibo, Hausa, and other African languages were spoken by slaves who were brought to the islands during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. In addition to the syllable-timed rhythm that we have seen in other varieties of world English, final syllables in Jamaican Creole frequently have rising tone, reflecting the West African tone language spoken by the slaves, who carried their own phonology into their

reinterpretation of a Germanic language with light and heavy stresses.

Despite gaps in the written records of both the early forms of Caribbean English and of the African source languages, continuing lexicographical efforts have revealed much about the complex history of English in this part of the world. A large number of words can be traced clearly to African languages.

7. Canada

Canadian English has much in common with that of the United States while retaining a few features of British pronunciation and spelling. Where alternative forms exist the likelihood for a particular choice to be British or American varies with region, education, and age. British items such as *chips, serviette,* and *copse* tend to occur more frequently in the West, while the more common American choices *French fries, napkin,* and *grove* tend to occur in the East. British spellings such as *colour* and pronunciations such as *schedule* with an initial [š] occur most frequently throughout Canada among more highly educated and older speakers. In addition there are a number of words with meanings that are neither British nor American but peculiarly Canadian. Thus one finds *aboiteau* (dam), *Blue nose* (Nova

Scotian), *Creditiste* (member of the Social Credit party), *Digby chicken* (smoke-cured herring), *mukluk* (Inuit boot), *reeve* (chairman of a municipal council), *salt-chuck* (ocean), and *skookum* (powerful, brave).

The Oxford English Dictionary

In the attitude of the Society for Pure English, as distinguished from most purist efforts in the past, it is impossible not to see the influence of a great work that came into being in the latter half of the nineteenth century. About 1850 the inadequacy of the existing dictionaries of the English language began to be acutely felt. A formal "Proposal for the Publication of a New English Dictionary by the Philological Society" was issued in 1851. The two principal aims of the new project were to record every word that could be found in English from about the year 1000 and to exhibit the history of each — its forms, its various spellings, and all its uses and meanings, past and present. The last-named feature was especially to be shown by a full selection of quotations from the whole range of English writings.

The first editor appointed to deal with the mass of material being assembled was Herbert Coleridge, already mentioned. Upon his sudden death in 1861 at the age of thirty-one, he was succeeded

by Furnivall, then in his thirty-sixth year. For a time work went forward with reasonable speed, but then it gradually slowed down, partly because of Furnivall's increasing absorption in other interests. Meanwhile James A. H. Murray, a Scottish schoolmaster with philological tastes, had been approached by certain publishers to edit a dictionary to rival those of Webster and Worcester. After the abandonment of this project Murray was drawn into the Philological Society's enterprise, and in 1879 a formal agreement was entered into with the Oxford University Press whereby this important publishing house was to finance and publish the society's dictionary and Murray was to be its editor. From this time on the work was pushed with new energy and in 1884 the first installment, covering part of the letter A, was issued. By 1900 four and a half volumes had been published, extending as far as the letter H. World War I made serious inroads in the dictionary staff, and progress was for a time retarded. But in 1928 the final section was issued, just seventy years after the Philological Society had passed its now notable resolution looking toward "A New English Dictionary."

In 1897 William A. Craigie, recently called to Oxford from the University of St. Andrews, joined the staff and in 1901 became a third editor. Finally, in 1914, Charles T. Onions, who had been

working with Dr. Murray since 1895, was appointed the fourth member of the editorial staff. Two of the editors were knighted in recognition of their services to linguistic scholarship, Murray in 1908 and Craigie in 1928. But the list of editors does not tell the story of the large number of skillful and devoted workers who sifted the material and did much preliminary work on it. Nor would the enterprise have been possible at all without the generous support of the Oxford University Press and the voluntary help of thousands who furnished quotations. The dictionary was originally known by the name *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles (NED),* although in 1895 the title *The Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* was added and has since become the standard designation.

The influence of this great publication — the greatest dictionary of any language in the world — has been far-reaching. Its authority was recognized from the appearance of the first installment. It has provided a wealth of exact data on which many questions relating to the history of the language have been resolved. But it has had a further important effect that was scarcely contemplated by the little committee of the Philological Society to which it owed its inception. It has profoundly

influenced the attitude of many people toward language, and toward the English language in particular.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN AMERICA

The Settlement of America

The English language was brought to America by colonists from England who settled along the Atlantic seaboard in the seventeenth century. It was therefore the language spoken in England at that time, the language spoken by Shakespeare and Milton and Bunyan. In the peopling of this country three great periods of European immigration are to be distinguished. The first extends from the settlement of Jamestown in 1607 to the end of colonial times. This may be put conveniently at 1787, when Congress finally approved the Federal Constitution, or better, 1790, when the last of the colonies ratified it and the first census was taken. At this date the population numbered approximately four million people, 95 percent of whom were living east of the Appalachian Mountains, and 90 percent were from various parts of the British Isles. The second period covers the expansion of the original thirteen colonies west of the Appalachians, at first into the South and into the Old Northwest Territory, ending finally at the Pacific. This era may be said to close with the Civil War, about 1860, and was marked by the arrival of fresh immigrants from two great sources, Ireland and Germany. The

failure of the potato crop in Ireland in 1845 precipitated a wholesale exodus to America, a million and a half emigrants coming in the decade or so that followed. At about the same time the failure of the revolution in Germany (1848) resulted in the migration of an equal number of Germans. Many of the latter settled in certain central cities such as Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and St. Louis or became farmers in the Middle West. The third period, the period since the Civil War, is marked by an important change in the source from which our immigrants have been derived. In the two preceding periods, and indeed up to about 1890, the British Isles and the countries of northern Europe furnished from 75 to 90 percent of all who came to this country. Even in the last quarter of the nineteenth century more than a million Scandinavians, about one-fifth of the total population of Norway and Sweden, settled here, mainly in the upper Mississippi valley. But since about 1890 great numbers from Southern Europe and the Slavic countries have poured in. Just before World War I, Italians alone were admitted to the number of more than 300,000 a year, and of our annual immigration of more than a million, representatives of the east and south European countries constituted close to 75 percent.

Outside the patterns of European immigration was the forced immigration of Africans through the slave trade that began in the seventeenth century and continued until the mid-nineteenth. There are presently some 25 million African Americans in the United States, mostly settled in the South and in the larger cities of the North. Finally, one should note the influx during the mid-twentieth century of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and other Hispanic immigrants. Extreme economic imbalances among the countries of the Western Hemisphere have caused a sharp increase in migration, both legal and illegal, to the United States during the past two decades.

Uniformity of American English

In this necessarily rapid survey some emphasis has been laid on the geographical and ethnic groups represented in the settlement of different parts of the country. The reason for this emphasis will appear later. But it been equally the intention to show that except for a few districts, such as the region around Massachusetts Bay and the tidewater section of Virginia, the most prominent characteristic of the occupation of the United States is the constant mingling of settlers from one part with settlers from other parts.

Linguistically the circumstances under which the American population spread over the country have had one important consequence. It has repeatedly been observed, in the past as well as at the present day, especially by travelers from abroad, that the English spoken in America shows a high degree of uniformity. We may excuse the patriotism that inspired some of these remarks, remembering that Cooper was writing at a time when Americans often felt the need for dwelling on the advantages of their country, but the fact remains that the uniformity of American English seems to have been something generally recognized at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The merging of regional differences through the mixture of the population that has been described has been promoted since by a certain mobility that characterizes the American people. This is not to deny that currents contrary to standardization have always run through American speech communities. At least nine varieties of American English have enough coherence within themselves and distinction from other varieties, to warrant their description as separate dialects. Raven I. McDavid, Jr., who spent years recording American dialects for the Linguistic Atlas, confirmed the conclusions of the less systematic observers quoted above: “To those familiar with the situation in European

countries, such as France or Italy or even England, dialect differences in American English are relatively small.

Archaic Features in American English

A quality often attributed to American English is archaism, the preservation of old features of the language that have gone out of use in the standard speech of England. American pronunciation as compared with that of London is somewhat old-fashioned. It has qualities that were characteristic of English speech in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The preservation of the *r* in General American and a flat *a* in *fast, path,* etc. are two such that were abandoned in southern England at the end of the eighteenth century. In many little ways standard American English is reminiscent of an older period of the language. Most Americans pronounce *either* and *neither* with the vowel of *teeth* or *beneath*, while in Britain an alternate pronunciation has developed since the American colonies were established and the more usual pronunciation is now with an initial diphthong [aɪ]. The American use of *gotten* in place of *got* as the past participle of *get* always impresses the British of today as an old-fashioned feature not to be expected in the speech of a people that prides itself on being up-to-date. It was the usual form in Britain two centuries ago. American English has kept a number of old words

or old uses of words no longer used in Britain. Americans still use *mad* in the sense of angry, as Shakespeare and his contemporaries did, and they have kept the general significance of *sick* without restricting it to nausea. They still speak of *rare* meat, whereas the British now say *underdone*. *Platter* is a common word in the United States but is seldom used anymore in Britain except in poetry. Americans have kept the picturesque old word *fall* as the natural word for the season. They learn *autumn*, the word used in Britain, in the schoolroom, and from books.

Early Changes in the Vocabulary

When colonists settle in a new country they find the resources of their language constantly taxed. They have no words for the many new objects on every hand or the constant succession of new experiences that they undergo. Accordingly in a colonial language changes of vocabulary take place almost from the moment the first settlers arrive. When the colonists from England became acquainted with the physical features of this continent they seem to have been impressed particularly by its mountains and forests, so much larger and more impressive than any in England, and the result was a whole series of new words like *bluff, foothill, notch, gap, divide, watershed, clearing,* and

underbrush. Then there were the many living and growing things that were peculiar to the New World. The names for some of these the colonists learned from Native Americans, words like *moose, raccoon, skunk, opossum, chipmunk, porgy, terrapin;* others they formed by a descriptive process long familiar in the language: *mud hen, garter snake, bullfrog, potato bug, groundhog, reed bird*. Tree names such as the *hickory* and *live oak,* and the *locust* are new to colonial English, as are *sweet potato, eggplant, squash, persimmon, pecan*.

The individual character of our political and administrative system required the introduction of words such as *congressional, presidential, gubernatorial, congressman, caucus, mass meeting, selectman, statehouse, land office*. Many other words illustrate things associated with the new mode of life — *back country, backwoodsman, squatter, prairie, log cabin, clapboard, corncrib, popcorn, hoe cake, cold snap, snow plow, bobsled, sleigh*.

More interesting, however, are the cases in which colonists applied an old word to a slightly different thing, as when they gave the name of the English *robin* to a red-breasted thrush, applied the word *turkey* to a distinctive American bird, and transferred the word *corn* to an entirely new cereal. American

speakers were perhaps at their best when inventing simple, homely words like *apple butter, sidewalk, lightning rod, spelling bee, crazy quilt, lowdown,* and *know-nothing*.

Noah Webster's Call for an American Language

The Declaration of Independence and the years during which the colonies were fighting to establish their freedom from England produced an important change in American psychology. An ardent, sometimes belligerent patriotism sprang up, and among many people it became the order of the day to demand an American civilization as distinctive from that of Europe as were the political and social ideals that were being established in the new world.

No one expressed this attitude more vigorously than Noah Webster (1758–1843). Webster accordingly set about compiling three elementary books on English, a spelling book, a grammar, and a reader. These he published in 1783, 1784, and 1785 under the high-sounding title *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language*. In 1806 he brought out a small *Dictionary*, the prelude to his greatest work. This was *An American Dictionary of the English Language*, published in 1828 in two quarto volumes.

In all of these works and in numerous smaller writings he was animated by a persistent purpose: to show that the English language in America was a distinctly American thing, developing along its own lines, and deserving to be considered from an independent, American point of view. A "national language," he says, "is a band of national union. Every engine should be employed to render the people of this country *national;* to call their attachments home to their own country; and to inspire them with the pride of national character."

Webster's Influence on American Spelling

It is a matter of common observation that American spelling often differs in small ways from that customary in England. We write *honor, color,* and a score of words without the *u* of English *honour, colour,* etc. We sometimes employ one consonant where the English write two: *traveler — traveller, wagon — waggon,* etc. We write *er* instead of *re* in a number of words like *fiber, center, theater*. We prefer an *s* in words like *defense, offense,* and write *ax, plow, tire, story,* and *czar,* for *axe, plough, tyre, storey,* and *tsar*. The differences often pass unnoticed, partly because a number of English spellings are still current in America, partly because some of the American innovations are now common in England, and in general because certain alternatives are

permissible in both countries. Although some of the differences have grown up since Webster's day, the majority of the distinctively American spellings are due to his advocacy of them and the incorporation of them in his dictionary.

Webster's Influence on American Pronunciation

Though the influence is more difficult to prove, there can be no doubt that to Webster are to be attributed some of the characteristics of American pronunciation, especially its uniformity and the disposition to give fuller value to the unaccented syllables of words.

Differences in Pronunciation between American English and British English

The earliest changes in the English language in America, distinguishing it from the language of the mother country, were in the vocabulary. These have already been mentioned. From the time when the early colonists came, however, divergence in pronunciation began gradually to develop. This has been due in part to changes that have occurred here but has resulted still more from the fact that the pronunciation of England has undergone further change and that a variety of southern English has come to be recognized as the English received standard. At the present

time American pronunciation shows certain well-marked differences from English use.

Perhaps the most noticeable of these differences is in the vowel sound in such words as *fast, path, grass, dance, can't, half*. At the end of the eighteenth century southern England began to change from what is called a flat *a* to a broad *a* in these words, that is from a sound like the *a* in *man* to one like the *a* in *father*. The change affected words in which the vowel occurred before *f, sk, sp, st, ss, th,* and *n* followed by certain consonants. In parts of New England the same change took place, but in most other parts of the country the old sound was preserved, and *fast, path,* etc., are pronounced with the vowel of *pan*. In some speakers there is a tendency to employ an intermediate vowel, halfway between the *a* of *pan* and *father,* but the "flat *a*" must be regarded as the typical American pronunciation.

Next to the retention of the flat *a,* the most noticeable difference between English and American pronunciation is in the treatment of the *r*. In the received pronunciation of England this sound has disappeared except before vowels. It is not heard when it occurs before another consonant or at the end of a word unless the next word begins with a vowel. In America, eastern New England and

some of the South follow the English practice, but in the Middle States and the West the *r* is pronounced in all positions.

A distinction less apparent to the layman is the pronunciation of the *o* in such words as *not, lot, hot, top*. In England this is still an open *o* pronounced with the lips rounded, but in America except in parts of New England it has commonly lost its rounding and in most words has become a sound identical in quality with the *a* in *father*, only short.

There are other differences of less moment between English and American pronunciation, because they concern individual words or small groups of words. Thus in England *been* has the same sound as *bean* but in America is like *bin*. *Leisure* often has in America what is popularly called a long vowel but in England usually rhymes with *pleasure*. There, too, the last syllable of words like *fertile* and *sterile* rhymes with *aisle*. American English has kept the common eighteenth-century pronunciation with a short vowel or a mere vocalic *l*.

A more important difference is the greater clearness with which Americans pronounce unaccented syllables. They do not say *secret'ry* or *necess'ry*. Bernard Shaw said he once recognized an

American because he accented the third syllable of *necessary*, and the disposition to keep a secondary stress on one of the unaccented syllables of a long word is one of the consequences of our effort to pronounce all the syllables.

The American Dialects

At least six regional dialects in the eastern half of the country are prominent enough to warrant individual characterization, and three additional dialects of considerable importance extend over several regions:

1. *Eastern New England*

This includes the whole or parts of states that lie to the east of the Connecticut River in Massachusetts and Connecticut and east of the Green Mountains in Vermont. Although not all features of the dialect are uniform in their distribution, we may recognize as characteristic the retention of a rounded vowel in words like *hot* and *top*, which the rest of the country has unrounded to a shortened form of the *a* in *father;* the use of the broad *a* in *fast, path, grass*, etc.; and, as we have seen, the loss of the *r* in *car, hard*, and the like except before vowels *(carry, Tory)*. Boston is its focal area.

2. *New York City*

Although often considered a part of the Eastern New England dialect, the speech of New York City and adjacent counties is on the whole quite different. The occurrence of *r* has increased significantly since World War II, and its frequency among various groups of speakers has become a reliable indicator of social class. *Cot* and *caught* are phonemically contrasted because the *o* in words like *cot* and *top,* before voiceless stops, is almost always unrounded. The pronunciation of *curl* like *coil*, *third* as *thoid* is the characteristic most distinctive of New York City in the popular mind, although it should be added that among cultivated New Yorkers *curl* and *coil* are phonemically distinct.

3. *Upper North*

Western New England, upstate New York, and the basin of the Great Lakes share features of pronunciation that derive from the original settlement and the spread of the population westward through the water route of the lakes. Like the speech of eastern New England, the Upper North dialect distinguishes [o] in words like *mourning* and *hoarse* from in *morning* and *horse*. Also like the dialect of eastern New England and in contrast with the prevailing forms of the Pennsylvania settlement area, the Upper

North has [ð] regularly in *with*, [s] in *grease* (verb) and greasy, and [u:] in *roots*.

Because the speech of the Upper North differs strikingly from that of eastern New England in its retention of postvocalic [r] and in the occurrence of the vowel [æ] in words like *ask*, it is necessary to separate these two Northern varieties, with a prominent boundary running in a northerly direction from the mouth of the Connecticut River to the Green Mountains of Vermont.

4. Lower North

Like the dialect of the Upper North, that of the Lower North preserves the *r* in all positions and has [æ] in *fast, ask, grass,* etc. Within the Lower North region one of the two major subareas is the Middle Atlantic, which includes the eastern third of Pennsylvania below the Northern-Midland line, the southern half of New Jersey, the northern half of Delaware, and the adjacent parts of Maryland. The speech of this subarea has the unrounded vowel in *forest* as well as in *hot*, the [ε] of egg in *care, Mary, merry,* and a merging of [o] and before [r] and *four* and *forty*.

5. *Upper South*

The *r* is sounded as in the Lower North, but [aɪ] is generally pronounced [aɛ].

6. *Lower South*

The dialect of the Lower South covers a large area, the old plantation country, and it would be unreasonable to expect uniformity in it. Important focal areas are the Virginia Piedmont and the low country near the coast of South Carolina. In many districts it agrees with eastern New England in the loss of *r* finally and before consonants, as in *car* and *hard*, but tends to go even further and omit the *r* before a word beginning with a vowel, as in *far away* [f*a*:ə'wɛ]. But it does not have the rounded vowel in words like *top* and *hot*, or the broad *a* in *grass* and *dance*. In the latter words it shows a preference for [æə, æɪ] aeɪ]. A distinctive feature of the Southern dialect is the treatment of the diphthong in *out*. Instead of the usual [au] the Southern speaker begins this diphthong with [æ] before voiced consonants and finally.

7. *General American*

General American was widely accepted as one of the three main dialects of American English, along with New England and

Southern. It was usually said to be characterized by the flat *a* (in *fast*, *path*, etc.), the unrounded vowel in *hot*, *top*, etc., the retention of a strong *r* in all positions, and less tendency than British English to introduce a glide after the vowels [e] and [o], *late*, *note*.

8. *African American Vernacular English*

One of the most intensively studied varieties of English during the past three decades has been the speech of many African Americans in the South and in northern cities. The very name of this variety, *African American Vernacular English* or *Vernacular Black English*, indicates both that the variety is not a geographical dialect and also that it is not the dialect of all African Americans. The term *vernacular* refers to nonstandard features of the variety, just as nonstandard features of English spoken mainly by whites have brought about the use of *White Vernacular*.

The best known example of an English-based creole in the continental United States is the Gullah dialect spoken by blacks along the coast and on the coastal islands of South Carolina and Georgia.

9. *Hispanic American English*

Like African American Vernacular English, Hispanic American English is a social and ethnic variety, but like the Anglo dialects of the Southwest it is also a geographical variety for which isoglosses can be traced across the map. Indeed, some of the roots of its geography reach back further than those of any other variety of American English, to the late sixteenth century and for more than two centuries afterwards, when Texas was a part of Mexico. Hispanic American English is unique among the major varieties of English in being the result of languages in continuing contact within a bilingual culture, and yet the complexity of the linguistic situation is such that some scholars have questioned whether it is a dialect at all. The alternative would be to consider the features associated with Hispanic American English the result of language contact with Spanish and thus the manifestations of English learned as a second language, rather than the features of a stable dialect.

Whereas speakers of other varieties of English might modulate the degree of regionalism or ethnicity by changing the proportions of certain variable structures of English, speakers of Chicano English who also know Spanish might shift out of English altogether within a single sentence. This *code-switching*

between English and Spanish is a familiar feature of Chicano English.

Present Differentiation of Vocabulary

Except in pronunciation the distance that the English language in America has traveled in its separation from that of England is chiefly measured in its vocabulary. It is easy to exaggerate the importance of the differences that can be readily pointed out. The American on going to England or the British traveler on arriving in America is likely to be impressed by them, because each finds the other's expressions amusing when they do not actually cause puzzlement. As examples of such differences the words connected with the railroad and the automobile are often cited. The British word for *railroad* is *railway*, the *engineer* is a *driver*, the *conductor* a *guard*. The *baggage car* is a *van*, and the *baggage* carried is always *luggage*. American *freight train* and *freight yard* become in Britain *goods train* and *goods yard*. Some of the more technical terms are likewise different. A *sleeper* in the United States is a sleeping car; in Britain it is what Americans call a *tie*. American *switch* is a *point*, a *grade crossing* a *level crossing*, and so on. In connection with the automobile, the British speak of a *lorry* (truck), *windscreen* (windshield),

bonnet (hood), *sparking plugs*, *gear lever* (gearshift), *gearbox* (transmission), *silencer* (muffler), *boot* (trunk), *petrol* (gasoline or gas). British *motorway* is American *expressway* and *dual carriageway* is *divided highway*. Such differences can be found in almost any part of the vocabulary: *lift* (elevator), *post* (mail), *hoarding* (billboard), *nappy* (diaper), *spanner* (wrench), *underground* (subway), *cotton wool* (absorbent cotton), *barrister* (lawyer), *dustman* (garbage collector). Americans readily recognize the American character of *ice cream soda*, *apple pie*, *popcorn*, *free lunch*, *saloon* from their associations, and can understand why some of them would not be understood elsewhere. A writer in the London *Daily Mail* complained that an English person would find "positively incomprehensible" the American words *commuter*, *rare* (as applied to underdone meat), *intern*, *tuxedo*, *truck farming*, *realtor*, *mean* (nasty), *dumb* (stupid), *enlisted man*, *seafood*, *living room*, *dirt road*, and *mortician*, although some of these have since become normal in British English. It is always unsafe to say what American words a British person will not understand, and there are some pairs in this list that would be pretty generally "comprehended" on both sides of the Atlantic. Some words have a deceptive familiarity. *Lumber* with Americans is timber but in Britain is discarded furniture and the like. *Laundry* in America is not only the place

where clothing and linen are washed but the articles themselves. A *lobbyist* in England is a parliamentary reporter, not one who attempts to influence the legislative process, and a *pressman* for Americans is not a reporter but one who works in the pressroom where a newspaper is printed.

CHAPTER SEVEN
ENGLISH IN THE SCIENTIFIC AGE

By about 1700, the main changes in pronunciation that made up the Great Vowel Shift were all completed. Forms like 'loveth' had disappeared in ordinary educated speech, and been replaced by ones like 'loves'. The pronouns 'thou and thee', and the corresponding verb forms like 'truest', had disappeared from everyday educated use. Auxiliary 'do' had come to be used as we use it today. And, all in all, the language had reached a stage at which its differences from present-day English were very small. This can be seen if we look at a piece of writing from the early eighteenth century. The following is an extract from one of the numbers of the Spectator for the year 1711; it was written by Joseph Addison, who was fond of ridiculing the Italian opera, which was then in vogue in London:

"The next Step to our Refinement, was the introducing of Italian Actors into our Opera; who sung their Parts in their own Language, at the same Time that our Countrymen perform'd theirs in our native Tongue. The Ring or Hero of the Play generally spoke in Italian, and his Slaves answered him in English: The Lover frequently made his Court, and gained the

Heart of his Princess in a Language which she did not understand. One would have thought it very difficult to have carry'd on Dialogues after this Manner, without an Interpreter between the Persons that convers'd together; but this was the State of the English Stage for about three Years.

At length the Audience grew tir'd of understanding Half the Opera, and therefore to ease themselves Entirely of the Fatigue Of Thinking, have so order'd it at Present that the whole Opera is perform'd in an unknown Tongue, we no longer understand the Language of our own stage insomuch that I have often been afraid, when I have seen our Italian ' Performers chattering in the Vehemence of Action, that they have been calling us Names, and abusing us among themselves; but I hope, since we do put such an entire Confidence in them, they will not talk against us before our Faces, though they may do it with the same Safety as if it were behind our Backs. In the mean Time I cannot forbear thinking how naturally an Historian, who writes Two or Three hundred Years hence, and does not know the Taste of his wise Forefathers, will make the following Reflection, *In the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century, the Italian Tongue was so well understood in England, that Operas were acted on the publick Stage in that Language.*

If we feel that that piece of writing is very typical of its age, this is largely a matter of tone and style and outlook; there is very little in grammar, syntax, or vocabulary that would not be acceptable in present-day English. Addison writes ‘sung’ where we use ‘sang’ (though ‘sung’ is common in substandard speech, and may yet come back into the literary language). We should perhaps write ‘At’ instead of ‘In’ at one point (‘In the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century’). And there is one example of ‘do’ used in an older way (“since we do put’), though this may possibly be an example of the emphatic use.

The Standardization of Spelling

Addison’s spelling, too, is almost identical with ours. There are minor differences, like carry’d and publick, and there are small differences in punctuation and in the use of capital letters; but essentially the system of orthography is the one we use now. In Middle and early Modern English there had been no standard spelling: it varied from writer to writer, and even within the work of one writer. Even proper names were not fixed and Shakespeare, in the three signatures on his will, uses two different spellings of his own surname (Shakspere and Shakespeare).

A powerful force for standardization was the introduction of printing, and by the middle of the sixteenth century, although there was still no standard system, there were quite a number of widely accepted conventions. There was considerable discussion of the problem by grammarians and spelling reformers in both the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, partly because of the increased interest in the vernacular, and partly because people with a classical education wanted English to be 'fixed' in the way that classical Latin was fixed. This classical desire for a stable language was even stronger in the eighteenth century, a great age for grammarians and lexicographers, among whom the most famous is Dr. Johnson. But in fact the standardization of English spelling had effectively taken place before that century opened, in the second half of the seventeenth century; and it has changed only in minor ways since that time.

However, the standardized spelling which became established in the late seventeenth century was already an archaic one, and broadly speaking it represented the pronunciation of English as it had been in late medieval times.

This explains many of the oddities of present-day English spelling. We still preserve letters in our spelling which represent

sounds that long ago ceased to be pronounced, like the *k* and *gh* of knight, the *t* in castle, the w in wrong. In some cases a sound change has taken place, but the spelling represents the older pronunciation, as in clerk and Derby (which would more reasonably be spelt clark and Darby). Distinctions are made in spelling where there is no longer any distinction in pronunciation, as in meat and sea beside meet and see.

Conversely, new distinctions have arisen without being recognized in the spelling, so that we use the same letter to represent the vowels of put and putt. Diphthongs, like the vowel of mice, are often represented by a single letter, because the sound was a pure vowel in Middle English. Conversely, modern monophthongs are sometimes represented by digraphs, like the au of author or the *ou* of cough, because in Middle English the sound was a diphthong. And superimposed on all this are the effects of Renaissance etymologizing, which accounts for such things as the *b* in Subtle and the *p* in receipt. Such things have introduced inconsistencies into our spelling, and these are what is bad about it; within quite wide limits, the spelling conventions that a language adopts are a matter of indifference, but it is important that it should use them consistently.

One result of the inconsistencies of our spelling is the prevalence of spelling pronunciations. These arise when a word is given a new pronunciation through the influence of its spelling. This is especially likely to happen when universal education and the wide dissemination of books and newspapers introduce people to words in printed form which they have never heard pronounced in their home environment. Spelling pronunciations are also encouraged by the commonly held view that the written form of a word is the primary or 'right' one, to which the spoken form should be made to conform. This attitude was long strengthened by the predominance in English education of classical studies, centered upon the written texts of two dead languages.

The prestige accorded to the written forms explains the fact that even ordinary everyday words may be given spelling pronunciations. Thus, the influence of the spelling leads many people to pronounce the *t* in often and waistcoat, the *th* in clothes, the *h* in forehead, the *l* in Ralph, and the *w* in towards. These had been lost in the traditional pronunciation, which would be better represented by the spellings offen, weskit, cloze, forrid, Rafe, and tords; in all six of these words, with the sole exception of forehead, the spelling pronunciation is now fully accepted in educated speech.

Changes in Pronunciation

In pronunciation no major changes have taken place since Addison's time, but there have been a number of minor ones. Perhaps the most important has been the disappearance of *r* before consonants and before a pause. Formerly, the r was always pronounced in words like barn and person and father. But today, in southeastern English and also in some kinds of American speech, the *r* is never pronounced in words like barn and person, and is pronounced in words like father only if they occur immediately before a vowel (as in the phrase 'father and mother'). The weakening of *r* before consonants and before a pause had begun in the sixteenth century or even earlier, but the final disappearance of the *r* in educated speech did not take place until the middle of the eighteenth century.

However, although *r* has disappeared from such positions, it has left its mark on the words where it was formerly pronounced, for, before disappearing, it caused changes in the vowel that preceded it. In Middle English, arm was pronounced [arm], birch was [birtʃ], and here was [he:r]; whereas today the three words are pronounced [a:m], [bə:tʃ], and [hiə]. The *r* has caused three kinds of change: lengthening, change of quality, and diphthongization. The changes mostly occur in early Modern English, but one of

them goes back to Middle English times, and some were not completed until the eighteenth century.

Examples of the lengthening process are arm, bark, card, and cord, horse, storm. These originally had short [a] and [ɔ], which were lengthened in the seventeenth century. The lengthened [a] has developed into the /a:/ phoneme of present-day English, a phoneme that did not exist in early Modern English. The lengthened [ɔ] has become the present-day English phoneme /ɔ:/, and has fallen together with the vowel of words like came and law, which in Middle English was the diphthong [au] and which became a pure vowel in the course of early Modern English.

An example of change of quality is the development of [er] to [ar]. This took place in late Middle English, and affected many words, though not all. So Middle English sterre, ferre, and ferme became early Modern English star, far, and farm; then the 'a' was lengthened in the seventeenth century, and the *r* lost in the eighteenth, giving our present-day pronunciation. In words in which [er] failed to develop into [ar], like certain and verse, it developed in the sixteenth century into [ər]; in the seventeenth century the [ə] was lengthened to [ə:], and in the eighteenth

century the [r] was lost, giving the present-day pronunciations [sə:tən] and [və:s] (though [er] can still be heard in Scots speech). In a few words, double forms were preserved, one with er and one with ar; such doublets include person and parson, university and varsity, errant and arrant, perilous and parlous.

The process of diphthongization before *r* took place in the long vowels. In Middle English, care was pronounced [ka:r], and deer was [de:r]. By 1600, these had quite regularly become [ke:r] and [di:r], by the Great Vowel Shift. But in the seventeenth century the [r] caused diphthongization and they became [ker] and [diar]; the eighteenth-century loss of final [r] has given the present-day pronunciations [keə] and [diə]. Similar changes have produced the diphthongs in poor, flour, scarce, and pear.

Various other dependent changes have taken place in Modern English, though none as far-reaching in their effects as those caused by *r*. For example, after *w* there has been a change of *a* to *o*, so that swan and watch no longer have the same vowel as ran and match. This change began in the seventeenth century and was completed in the eighteenth; it did not take place, however, when the 'a' was followed by a velar consonant, as in wax, wagon, and twang. Another change has been the lengthening of

short *a* and *o* before the voiceless fricatives [f], [s] and [θ], as in after, castle, bath, often, moss, cloth. These lengthenings took place in the seventeenth century, and became fashionable in the eighteenth, but forms with short vowels have continued to exist beside them in some styles of speech. The short a is normal in the north of England, for example. And in the 20th century the forms with lengthened *o* (pronounced [ɔ:]) had been dropping out of use in the standard language, the forms ‘ with short *o* being used instead: so that it now sounds rather old-fashioned to use a long vowel in words like often and moss.

Shortening of vowels has taken place in the modern period in numerous words, especially words of one syllable. You can often recognize such shortenings from the spelling, which shows that the word had a long vowel in Middle English, for example book, foot, dead, sweat, sieve, Greenwich. In the proverbial phrase ‘to lose (or spoil) the ship for a ha’porth of tar’, ‘ the word ship is a shortening of sheep.

The Influence of Scientific Writing

The seventeenth century saw the triumph of the scientific outlook in England, and science has had a pervasive influence on the language and the way it has been used during the past three

hundred years. We have already seen how Latin gave way to English as the language of science and scholarship. The rise of scientific writing in English helped to establish a simple referential kind of prose as the central kind in Modern English.

Other kinds of prose continued to exist, of course, but a rhetorical style ceased to be the norm, and what we may call 'the plain style' became central, the background against which other kinds of prose were examined. The plain style is not of course confined to science; it is found in all kinds of expositional writing - history, philosophy, literary criticism, and so on. Nor, unfortunately, do all scientists write in a plain style. But scientific writing, and the scientific attitude in general, undoubtedly played a part in the establishment of this style.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the influence of science on the way language was used was quite conscious. In 1667 Thomas Sprat wrote a history of the Royal Society, the first scientific society in England, and still the most famous. In this book, he made an attack in rhetorical and figurative language, which he said the members of the Royal Society had rejected:

“They have therefore been most rigorous in putting in execution, the only Remedy that can be found for this extravagance: and that has been, a constant Resolution, to reject all the amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style: to return back to the primitive purity, and shortness, when men delivered so many things, almost in an equal number of words. They have exacted from all their members, a close, naked, natural way of speaking; positive expressions; dear senses; a native easiness; bringing all things as near the mathematical plainness, as they can: and preferring the language of Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants, before that of Wits, or Scholars.”

Sprat’s primitive purity and shortness is of course a myth: the kind of style he is describing is a highly sophisticated achievement, and not at all primitive. But the passage shows clearly that the seventeenth-century scientists had their own ideas about the way language should be used.

The Scientific Vocabulary

However, the more obvious influence of science on the language has been in the expansion of the scientific vocabulary. Scientists have needed technical terms for an enormous number of things:

for example, for the names of the branches and sub-branches of science (zoology, chemistry, histology, genetics); for newly discovered or invented substances (oxygen, uranium, benzene, nucleic acid, nylon); for the various parts of an organism (femur, flagellum, pericarp); for the various kinds of plant and animal (Angelica sylvestris, Calidris ferruginea, Homo sapiens); for various kinds of scientific instrument (barometer, electroscope, vernier, cyclotron); for units of measurement (metre, micron, dyne, erg, ohm); for states and processes and relationships (anaesthesia, photosynthesis, symbiosis); for the description of shapes and qualities (ovate, glabrous); for postulated entities (phlogiston, luminiferous ether, neutrino); and in general for an enormous number of objects and concepts of all kinds.

One authority has estimated that the technical vocabulary of the natural sciences now runs into several millions of items. Nobody, obviously, can know more than a fraction of this vocabulary: the greater part of it must belong to the narrowly specialist field. However, there is a considerable scientific vocabulary which is more widely known, and some of the very common words are familiar to the man in the street ‘ (like cell, atom, nucleus, volt, molecule).

In forming this enormous vocabulary, the scientists have drawn on various sources. One device is to take a word already in everyday use and give it a special scientific meaning. This is what the chemists have done with salt, the botanists with pollen and fruit, the biologists with parasite, the metallurgists with fatigue, and the physicists with work, force, power, current, and resistance. Another way is to take over words bodily from another language; thus from Latin have been taken such words as bacillus, corolla, cortex, focus, genus, quantum, saliva, and stamen; fewer words have been lifted from Greek, but there are some, like cotyledon, iris, larynx, pyrites, and thorax.

But by far the commonest way of providing new scientific words is to invent them, using Greek and Latin material. Thus there is no Greek word chlorophyll, but the English word is made up of Greek elements chloros (‘light green’) and phyllon (‘leaf’); the whole word does not of course mean ‘light green leaf’, but is the name for the substance in plants that gives them their green color. Similarly, there is no Latin word vitamin, but this word has been coined from Latin elements, of which the main one is vita (‘life’). Some words are mixed Latin and Greek, for example haemoglobin; this is the name of a protein substance in the blood, and is built up from a Greek word for ‘blood’, a Latin word for

‘ball’, and a suffix -in which could be equally well Greek or Latin.

The number of such words formed from classical elements, and especially Greek ones, is now enormous. It is sometimes objected to them that they are opaque, i.e. that their meaning is not self-evident to an Englishman in the way that a word formed from English elements might be. There were some folksy reformers in the nineteenth century who wanted to replace such classical coinages by English ones: electricity, for example, could be called fireghost, and the horizon would be called tile sky-sill. Such arguments have had no erect, however; and the classical words have the advantage of being intelligible internationally.

Moreover, in any specialist field, the research worker presumably gets to know the meanings of the classical element commonly used there, so that the words are not opaque to him. Indeed, there are Greek elements that are so commonly used in forming English words that their meaning is understood by most educated Englishmen, even if they know no Greek. Such, for example, are elements like metro (‘single’), pyro (‘fire’), bio (‘life’), graph (‘write, draw’), photo (‘light’), phono (‘speech, sound’), morph

(‘shape, form’), hydro (‘water’), thermo (‘heat’), micro (‘small’), and many more.

The great expansion of the scientific vocabulary during the last three hundred years has gone on at an ever-increasing pace. The sixteenth century had introduced especially words to do with the human body, like skeleton, tibia, abdomen, and tendon, and also a number of names of diseases, like catarrh, epilepsy, mumps, and smallpox. In the seventeenth century, too, the new scientific words were predominantly medical and biological (vertebra, tonsil, pneumonia, lumbago); but there were also quite a few new words in chemistry (including acid), in physics (including atmosphere, equilibrium, and gravity), and in mathematics (including formula, logarithm, and series).

In the eighteenth century came an enormous expansion in the vocabulary of the biological sciences, for this was the great age of biological description and classification, as seen for example in the work of Linnaeus. From this period, therefore, come many of the descriptive terms of zoology and botany, like albino, coleoptera, anther, fauna, dicotyledon, habitat, pistil, and so on.

The great changes in chemical theory in the late eighteenth century also produced many new words, including hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, and molecule. In the nineteenth century, the expansion became explosive; many specialized scientific fields were developing rapidly, and the majority of the new words have never had any circulation outside their own narrow sphere. A few, however, have got into common use, like accumulator, dynamo, cereal, hibernate, pasteurize, conifer, ozone, metabolism, and aspidistra.

In the 20th century, the flow continued, especially in the newer fields like genetics and nuclear physics. Once again, a certain number of the new words got into the language of the non-specialist. Nuclear physics, for example, has had a profound effect on us all, both in changing our conceptions of the universe and in confronting us with new and terrifying problems of war and human survival, and we all know words like proton, neutron, electron, reactor, radioactive, and isotope. This last word is especially connected in the popular mind with the medical applications of radioactive isotopes; and other new words that bear closely on our health have also obtained a wide circulation: vitamin, penicillin, antibiotic.

Other words have obtained general currency because they are connected with new and widely used products of technology: stratosphere and supersonic are linked in our minds with airliners, and we all know about nylon, television, and transistors, because they are popular consumer goods. Some scientific words get taken into popular speech and used with a quite different meaning; this has happened, for example, with atomic (often used popularly to mean ‘powerful, shattering’) and with allergic (a word now commonly used to indicate disinclination or dislike).

The Expansion of the General Vocabulary

The expansion of the English vocabulary in the modern period has by no means been confined to scientific words. As a community changes, there is a constant demand for new words to express new concepts or new attitudes, to denote new objects or institutions, and so on. During the past few centuries the change has been particularly great and society has become increasingly complex. And the growth of our vocabulary has been correspondingly great. New methods develop in commerce, and bring new words with them: capital, discount, insurance, finance, and budget. New ideas and new institutions demand a new political vocabulary: legislator, cabinet, prime minister,

democrat; socialism. New configurations of human experience emerge in the arts, and new words crystallize round them: sentimental, romantic, aesthete, expressionist. Even new recreations and pastimes produce new words, like jazz and aqualung, and so do new fashions, whether it be doublet, crinoline, jeans, or bikini. And so on.

The flood of new words in Modern English has had various sources. We have seen that most of the new scientific words are learned formations using classical elements, but this has not been the main way of acquiring new words in other spheres.

Loan Words

We have continued to borrow words from other languages. Because of the growth of world trade, and Britain's large part in it, we have borrowed words from distant and exotic countries: pyjamas from India, bamboo from Malaya, maize from the West Indies, budgerigar from Australia, tomato from Mexico, coffee from Turkey, and tea from China. And many more. Nearer home, we have continued to borrow words from French words connected with the arts (critique, connoisseur, pointillism), with clothes and fashion (rouge, corduroy, suede), with social life

(etiquette, parvenu, elite), and more recently with motoring and aviation (garage, hangar, chauffeur, fuselage, nacelle).

From the Dutch we have taken more nautical terms (taffrail, schooner), and from the Italians more words from the arts (studio, replica, scenario, fiasco). From German have come quite a few scientific words, especially in chemistry and mineralogy, like paraffin, cobalt, and quartz; the Germans have also given us a few words in wartime, like strafe, blitz, and ersatz. From other languages we borrow words occasionally when there is some special reason like Afrikaans apartheid and Russian sputnik.

Altogether, loan words have continued to make a very respectable contribution to our vocabulary throughout the late Modern English period. But they cannot compare in number with the flood of French words in Middle English or of Latin words in the Renaissance. And in fact there have been other sources of new words which have been more important.

Affixation

An important method has been the use of prefixes and suffixes, which are added to existing English words or stems to form new words. Thus the prefix un- can be added to enormous numbers of

words to give words like unlucky, unconditional, untie, unfunny, and so on. The prefix de- can be added to verbs to give forms like denationalize, decontrol, and deration, or can replace another prefix, as when demote is coined as the opposite of promote. And similarly with many other prefixes, like dis-, pre-, anti-, pro-, mis-.

An example of a suffix is -ize, which can be added to adjectives (national, miniature, tender) or to nouns (carbon, vitamin, vapour) to form new verbs (nationalize, carbonize, etc.). From these in turn can be formed a new abstract noun ending in -ization (like nationalization, carbonization). Other active suffixes in Modern English include -er (walker, bumper), -ee (detainee, employee, evacuee), -st (anarchist, capitalist, stockist) and -y or -ie (civvy, goalie, nappy, undies).

Most of these prefixes and suffixes are not of native origin, i.e. they have not come down to us from Old English but have been taken over from Greek, Latin, or French. This of course is of no importance - they have now become part of the English language and their origins are irrelevant. Many of them are in fact so familiar to us that we can use them for making spontaneous

coinages in speech or writing (‘anti-Common-Market’, ‘pre-Stalin’, ‘re-transcribe’, and such like).

Compounding

Another method of word formation that has been very prolific in the modern period is compounding, that is, the making of a new word by joining together two existing ones. In this way we have obtained such words as airscrew, bandmaster, childlike, graveyard, nosedive, oatcake, offside, oilcloth, outcry, pigtail, and so on. Some words are particularly prolific in forming new compounds: there are large numbers ending in man (like postman, frogman, business-man), and in present-day American English there are large number of new adverbs ending in -wise (like examinationwise, discussionwise, and so on). We tend to treat such compounds as single words (a) if their meaning cannot be deduced from the sum of their parts, as in the case of air-umbrella and bubble-car, or (b) if they have the stress pattern of a single word, as in the case of paperback and redbrick. The importance of stress, and of the accompanying intonation pattern, can be seen if you compare a blackbird with a black bird, or the greenhouse with the green house.

When a compound word has become established, it may then in the course of time undergo phonetic changes which make it quite different from the words that originally made it up. The unstressed element is especially likely to change. For example, nobleman is an old compound word (going back to Middle English), and its second element no longer has the same vowel as the independent word man, but has been weakened down to [-man] (at any rate in the southeast of England).

Sometimes the pronunciation of both elements diverges from that of their originals: breakfast is derived from break and fast, but no longer has the vowel of either. Other similar example (all going back to the Middle English period or earlier) are sheriff (‘shire reeve’), holiday (‘holy day’), woman (‘wife man’), two-pence, and garlic (‘gore leek’, where the first element originally meant ‘spear’, and survives in dressmaking in the sense of ‘gusset’). There are also cases where only the stressed element has diverged in pronunciation from its original, like tadpole (‘toad poll’, i.e. ‘toad head’). Many of these vowel changes represent a shortening of the vowel at some period, either because it was unstressed (as in the -lic of garlic), or because it occurred before a group of consonants (tadpole), or because it occurred in the first syllable of a three-syllable word (holiday).

When such changes of pronunciation have taken place, a word-element with the new pronunciation may itself be used for making new compounds. Thus in southeastern English the ending [-man] (from words like nobleman) has been used to form new words like postman and frogman, in which the ending has never had the same pronunciation as the independent word 'man'. In some cases, the pronunciation of such an element can change so much that it is no longer recognized as identical with the original word. An example is the ending -ly, in adjectives like lonely, kingly, bodily. This goes back to an Old English ending -lie, which originally was identical with the Old English independent word līc, meaning 'form, shape, body'. This survives in the word lychgate, so called because it was the roofed gate leading into the churchyard under which the body was placed while the funeral procession awaited the arrival of the clergyman.

Moreover, our preposition 'like' ('similar to') goes back to the Old English adjective 'gelīc' ('similar, equal'), which was derived from līc and basically meant something like 'having the same form as'. But phonetic change has obscured for us the relationship between -ly, lych, and like, which originally were all the same word. And now we think of -ly as a suffix, not as the second half of a compound word. It is in fact an example of the

way in which a suffix can develop out of a full word. Now that we no longer feel any relationship between -ly and like, we can use the latter for forming a new series of compound words. So beside the word lively, which goes back to Old English līflīc, we have the more recent formation lifelike, which consists of what are, historically speaking, exactly the same two elements.

Conversion

A process which has led to quite a considerable expansion of the vocabulary, in both Middle and Modern English, is the one called 'conversion'. This is the transfer of a word from one grammatical category to another, for example from noun to verb, or from adjective to noun. The word 'market', borrowed from Norman French in the eleventh century, was originally used only as a noun, as when we say 'a market is held here every Saturday'. But since the seventeenth century we have also been able to use the word market as a verb, as when we say 'this detergent is marketed by I.C.I.'. This kind of change is very easy in Modern English, because of the loss of so many of our inflexions. There is nothing in the word 'market', taken in isolation, to show what part of speech it is, whereas the Latin mercatus (from which it is ultimately derived) shows immediately by its ending that it is not a verb.

In Old English, similarly, the ending of a word often proclaims what part of speech it is, and related words are formed by suffixes rather than by conversion. Thus there is an Old English noun ‘dōm’ and a related verb ‘dēman’ (from earlier *dōmjan); these became Modern English ‘doom’ and ‘deem’, but now we also have a verb ‘to doom’, formed by conversion from the noun, and recorded from the fifteenth century.

An example of a noun being formed from a verb is ambush; this was borrowed from the French in Middle English times, in the form to enbush or to embush, and is not found used as a noun until the late fifteenth century. The word black, on the other hand, was originally only an adjective (as in a black hat); later it came to be used also as a noun (to wear black) and as a verb (to black boots).

The process of conversion is especially popular in the present century. There are new verbs like to feature, to film, to pinpoint, to headline, to process, to service, to audition, to garage. New nouns include a highup and a must. And perhaps we could say that there are new adjectives like key (‘a key man’), teenage, backroom, off-the-record, and round-the-clock. But it is in fact debatable whether these should be called adjectives, because they

cannot be used in all positions which adjectives can normally occupy in the sentence: we can say that a man is very important, but not that he is very key. One particularly common type in recent years has been the compound noun formed by conversion from a corresponding verb: from the verb to hand out is formed the new noun a handout, and similarly with buildup, walkout, setup, blackout, hairdo, and knowhow. In these cases the verb usually has double stress (to hand out) and the noun single stress (a handout).

Minor Sources of New Words

We have now covered the major sources of the great expansion of the vocabulary in the modern period, but there are also a number of minor ways in which new words have been acquired, and we can look at a few of these. One is the process of shortening. Most often, this is done by cutting off the end of the word, as when cabriolet becomes cab, or photograph becomes photo. Sometimes it is the end of a whole phrase that is cut off, as when public house becomes pub or permanent wave becomes perm. And occasionally it is the beginning of the word that is lopped off, as when acute becomes cute, or periwig just trig. Other examples of shortening are bus (omnibus), van (caravan,

vanguard), telly (television), nylons (nylon stockings), prefab (prefabricated house), plane (aeroplane), and bra (brassiere).

A few new words are made by blending, that is by combining part of one word with part of another: brunch (breakfast and lunch), motel (motor hotel), subtopia (suburban utopia), smog (smoke and fog).

Another minor source of words is illustrated by ‘ohm’ and ‘bikini’: the first is taken from the name of the German scientist G. S. Ohm, and the second from the name of a Pacific atoll which was used for atomic bomb tests. Sometimes such proper names are combined with a suffix, as in the verb to pasteurize; sometime a pet name is taken, as in bobby (‘policeman’), from Sir Robert Peel. But often the name of a person or place is taken unchanged and used as the name for something: mackintosh, cardigan, derrick (from the name of a seventeenth century hangman), doily, diesel, sandwich (from the fourth Earl of Sandwich, who was unwilling to leave the gambling table even to eat). Similarly, a few proprietary trade names have been made 140 common nouns, like thermos (flask) and primus (stove).

Yet another minor method of word-formation is that called back formation. An example of this is the verb to sidle, which was formed in the seventeenth century from the adverb sideling. The word sideling (a variant of sidelong) meant ‘sideways, obliquely’; but in a sentence like ‘He came sideling down the road’ it could obviously be apprehended as the present participle of a (non-existent) verb to sidle; and as a consequence this verb was then invented.

Similarly, the verb to beg was probably a back formation from the noun beggar, itself derived from the French word begard. In this case, the -ar of beggar has been ‘ identified with the -er ending by which agent nouns are formed from verbs (rob/robber, drink/drinker, etc.), and the verb to beg then invented by analogy with such forms. More recent examples of back formation are the nineteenth-century verbs to enthuse and to reminisce (from enthusiasm and reminiscence). Perhaps we should also count as back formations, verbs like to baby-sit, to bird-watch, to mass-produce, which are probably derived from the compound nouns baby-sitter, bird-watcher, mass production; this particular type of formation is quite common in our own time.

CHAPTER EIGHT
ENGLISH AS A WORLD LANGUAGE

Today, when English is one of the major languages of the world, it requires an effort of the imagination to realize that this is a relatively recent thing - that Shakespeare, for example, wrote for a speech community of only a few millions, whose language was not thought to be of much account by the other nations of Europe, and was unknown to the rest of the world. Shakespeare's language was confined to England and southern Scotland, not having yet penetrated very much into Ireland or even into Wales, let alone into the world beyond.

In the first place, the great expansion in the number of English speakers was due to the growth of population in England itself. At the Norman Conquest, the population of England was perhaps a million and a half. During the Middle Ages it grew to perhaps, four or five million, but then was held down by recurrent plagues, and was still under five million in 1600. It was approaching six million in 1700, and nine million in 1800, and then expanded rapidly to seventeen million in 1850 and over thirty million in 1900.

At the same time, English penetrated more and more into the rest of the British Isles at the expense of the Celtic languages. But the populations of other European countries were expanding too, and even in the eighteenth century, when England was beginning to be powerful and influential in the world, the English language still lacked the prestige in Europe of French and Italian. And it was not until the nineteenth century that it became widely respected as a language of culture, commerce, and international communication.

However, English has become a world language because of its establishment as a mother tongue outside England, in all the continents of the world. This carrying of English to other parts of the world began in the seventeenth century, with the first settlements in North America, and continued with increasing impetus through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Above all, it is the great growth of population in the United States, assisted by massive immigration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, that has given the English language its present standing in the world. In 1788, when the first American census was held, there were about four million people in the United States, most of them of British origin. By 1830, the

population was nearly thirteen million; by 1850 it was twenty-three million, and had overtaken that of England; and then it shot ahead to fifty million by 1880, seventy-six million by 1900, and a hundred and fifty million by 1950. At the same time there was a less grandiose but nevertheless important expansion of native speakers of English elsewhere in the world, so that today there are about fifteen million in Canada, twelve million in Australia, nearly three million in New Zealand, and over a million in South Africa.

There are very few native speakers of English in South America or in Asia, but English is an important medium of communication in many parts of the world where it is not a native language. In India, with its five hundred million people and its two hundred and twenty-five different languages, English is still the main medium of communication between educated speakers from different parts of the country, and is widely used as a language of administration and commerce. As could be expected, the Indian schools have changed over to teaching in the regional languages since Independence, but English is still used as the medium of instruction in most Indian universities, and university students rely to a very large extent on textbooks written in English.

A similar situation is found in other countries, especially former British colonies: in Nigeria, for example, where there are three main regions with different languages, English is still an essential language for internal communication, and the universities carry out their teaching in English. This situation cannot continue forever; such countries will ultimately change over to teaching and administering and publishing textbooks in one or more of their own languages, and nobody will want to quarrel with them for that. But it is clear that for a long time ahead English will be an important language for them, playing a role somewhat like that of Latin in medieval Europe.

Moreover, the use of English as a medium of international communication is not confined to such countries. In the past few hundred years the English-speaking peoples have played a large part in seafaring and international trade, and English has become one of the essential commercial languages of the world. So that if a Norwegian or Dutch business firm wants to write to a firm in Japan or Brazil or Ceylon, it will probably do so in English, and will expect to receive a reply in English. In science, too, the English-speaking peoples have played a large part, and in recent years there has been an increasing tendency for scientists in other

countries to publish in English, which in this field has gained at the expense of German.

Of course, English is not the only important international language. Arabic, French, German, Malay, and Spanish all play an important part in certain areas. Russian has become of greater international importance than ever before, and will undoubtedly continue to go up; and we can confidently expect that Chinese will soon follow. But at the moment it does seem that English is the most important of the international languages.

DIVERGENT DEVELOPMENT IN MODERN ENGLISH

As new English-speaking communities have been set up in different parts of the world - North America, Australia, South Africa, and so on - a certain amount of divergent development has inevitably taken place in their languages. Fortunately, a standard form of English had already established itself pretty firmly in England before the expansion over the world began, otherwise the divergence might have been greater, and English might not have survived as a single language. Even so, it is clear that some of the groups that emigrated had social or regional peculiarities in their language which made it different right from

the start from the standard form of the language in England. This was probably the case, for example, with some of the groups that settled in North America in the seventeenth century: these tended to be drawn from the puritan middle classes, not from the landowning gentry whose language had the greatest prestige in England. Moreover, once the group was settled in its new home, far from the influence of the original speech community, its language took its own course. Changes in pronunciation took place; new words were coined to cope with the new environment; there was influence from other languages spoken in the region; and in general the community put the stamp of its own personality on the language.

Australian English

So today there is, for example, a distinctively Australian form of English. It has its own pronunciation: for example, the long vowel in words like 'park' is made further forward than in Britain (British [pa:k], Australian [pa:k]); the /ə:/ phoneme (as in bird) is made in a higher position than in Britain, and is given some lip-rounding; and the unstressed endings -es and -ed (in words like boxes and waited) are not pronounced [-iz] and [-id], as in Britain, but [-əz] and [-əd].

There are also vocabulary items which are specifically Australian: words have been borrowed from local aboriginal languages, like dingo, billabong, and woomera; new words have been coined from existing English elements, like outback, tuckerbox and stockman; old words have been given new meanings, like wattle (‘acacia’), bush (‘woodland, rural areas’), and paddock (used for any piece of fenced land, whatever its size); and old dialect words which have been lost in England have been retained, ‘ like larrikin (‘hooligan’), fossick (‘to seek, rummage around’), and perhaps wowser (‘fanatical puritan’). Characteristic Australian idioms and phrases have grown up, and Australian slang in particular has been enriched to the stage where it is incomprehensible to the outsider.

When local developments take place like this, they may then react back on the English spoken in Britain. The influence of the Commonwealth countries on British English has on the whole been limited to vocabulary, like Australian boomerang, kangaroo, bush telegraph, cuppa. But American influence has been more pervasive, and has increased considerably in recent years, because the Americans now form the largest, richest, and most powerful group within the English-spearing community.

American English

That British and American English have diverged in the three hundred odd years since the first settlements is obvious enough, and many of the differences are apparent to speakers on both sides of the Atlantic. There are differences in pronunciation, especially of the vowels, so that British and American speakers use different vowel sounds in words like home, hot, and aunt. There are differences of grammar, so that an American can say ‘Do you have the time?’ while an Englishman says ‘Have you got the time?’ And there are differences of vocabulary, so that every after-dinner speaker knows that British braces are American suspenders, while British suspenders are American garters.

Some of the divergences are due to the fact that British English has changed, while American has not: for example, the American pronunciation of words like fast and bath with [æ] is more archaic than the British pronunciation with [a:]. On the other hand, the American use of the word creek to mean ‘tributary’ is an innovation, and the British meaning ‘inlet’ is the original one. In other cases, both Englishmen and Americans have made innovations, but different ones, for example in the naming of new objects, so that we find American railroad, auto, antenna,

sidewalk, and subway beside British railway, car, aerial, pavement, and underground.

People on both sides of the Atlantic have at different times tried to make a virtue either of archaism or of innovation, usually claiming of course that the virtue belonged particularly to their own form of the language. Some, indeed, have managed to claim a monopoly of both virtues simultaneously. Such disputes are pointless: neither archaism nor innovation is a virtue in itself.

American Dialects

The American language is not monolithic, any more than the British, but consists of an agglomeration of dialects, both regional and social. The regional dialect areas are larger than those of Britain, a relatively uniform style of speech often stretching over hundreds of miles of country, where in Britain it would be tens of miles. There are three major dialect regions in the United States, the Northern, the Midland, and the Southern, the Midland being divided into North Midland and South Midland. Each of these main regions can in rurn be subdivided into subdialect areas, the exact number of which is uncertain, as the American dialect survey is not yet finished.

These dialect areas show differences in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. For example, the r sound has been retained before consonants and pauses (as in barn, father) in the Midlands, the interior South, and most of the North; but it has been lost in the coastal South, in eastern New England, and in New York City. Britain and the United States are similar in this respect: it is not true, as is sometimes popularly thought, that all Americans pronounce the r in these positions, and that no Englishmen do. In fact, in both countries the r is pronounced in some regions but not in others (in England, for example, it is pronounced in the West Country). But this fact has been obscured by the great prestige enjoyed in Britain by 'public school English', which is one of the styles where the r is lost. In vocabulary, an example is the pair of words pail (which is Northern) and bucket (which is Midland and Southern); here again the situation resembles that in England (where, however, bucket is northern and pail southern). In grammar, the form dove, as the past tense of the verb to dive, is characteristic of the North, the other areas using dived.

The American dialect areas have no direct correspondence to those of Britain. The early settlers were a mixed lot, as indeed can be seen from the place names they took with them, like Portsmouth, Norwich, Bangor, Boston, Worcester, York, Belfast,

Exeter, and Ipswich. Each community must have had its own particular mixture, which was gradually levelled out into a local dialect. As the frontier was pushed westwards, the original dialect groups on the east coast expanded along fairly well marked lines, and of course underwent modifications in the process.

American Pronunciation

The differences in pronunciation between British and American English are not as simple as they seem to the casual listener. It is not possible to take an English and an American speaker and simply say that where the Englishman produces sound A the American produces sound B. There is not usually any such one to one correspondence, for the distribution of the phonemes often differs in the two forms of the language. For example, the lengthening of short /a/ before voiceless fricatives, which took place in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, did not occur in most American dialects, so that in words like fast, bath, and half an American uses the same vowel as in cat, whereas a southern Englishman uses the same vowel as in father.

Sometimes the distribution of a phoneme varies considerably in different American dialects. This can be illustrated with an

example given by the American dialectologist Professor W. Nelson Francis: the words cot, bomb, caught, and balm. Some American speakers make the same distinctions as British speakers in their treatment of these four words, i.e. they recognize three different vowels ([ɔ], [ɔ:], [a:]), those in cot and bomb being the same. There are other speakers, however, who recognize only two different vowels. Some of these have one vowel for cot and bomb (a short [a]) and a second vowel for caught and balm (a long [a:]). Others, however, have one vowel for cot and balm (a short [a]) and a second one for caught and bomb (a short [ɔ]). And there is yet another group of speakers which uses only one vowel for all four words, namely a short [ɔ].

There are also differences between British and American English in stress and intonation. In general, southeastern Eng1ish uses more violent stress contrasts and a wider range of pitch than American does. Where the Englishman gives a word one heavy stress and several very weak ones, the American often gives it a secondary stress on one of the weak syllables. This is the case, for example, with words ending in -ary, like military and temporary, where the American has a secondary stress on the third syllable. As a result, southeastern English on the whole moves faster than American English, since there are fewer

stresses: and the whole rhythm of English, as we have seen, tends to an equal spacing of stresses. And it tends to have more reduced vowels than American English (as in the third syllable of military). Northern English speech, however, is closer to American in movement than southeastern English is.

American Grammar

In grammar and syntax, the differences between British and American usage are not great, at any rate if we confine ourselves to educated speech and writing. We have already noticed two minor differences: the form dove for dived, and the American use of ‘do have’ where an Englishman says ‘have got’; of course, we also use ‘do have’ in Britain (‘Do you have dances in your village?’), but the distribution of the two forms is different. Again, American has the two forms ‘I have got’ (meaning ‘I have’) and ‘I have gotten’ (meaning ‘I have acquired’ or ‘I have become’), where British English uses only the first form.

An American can use impersonal one, and then continue with his and he; for example ‘If one loses his temper, he should apologize’. This sounds odd to an Englishman, who replaces his and he by one’s and one. The American in his rum is likely to be surprised by the British use of a plural verb and plural intensive

pronoun in sentences like ‘The government are considering the matter themselves.’ Prepositions, too, are sometimes used differently: an Englishman lives in Oxford Street, whereas an American will usually live on it; and an Englishman caters for somebody, while an American caters to him. But, while example of this kind could be multiplied, they are all minor things: in all essentials, British and American syntax are identical.

American Vocabulary

The largest divergences are perhaps in vocabulary. Expanding across a new continent, with new flora and fauna and different natural features from those of Europe, building up a new society, with its own political institutions, its own social customs, its own recreations, its various ways of earning its living, the Americans were impelled to adapt old words or invent new ones to meet their many needs. The very names for topographical features evoke a specifically American atmosphere, and words like gulch, bluff, creek, rapids, and swamp seem as much out of place east of the Atlantic as moor, heath, fen, and coomb do west of it.

A large part of the specifically American vocabulary was borrowed from other languages. The first contacts of the settlers were with the American Indians, and quite a number of words

were borrowed from them, especially in the seventeenth century. Many of the Indian words were rather long, and they were often shortened and simplified by the borrowers: thus seganku became skunk, and pawcohiccora was borrowed as hickory. Occasionally the form of the word was altered to give it English elements with a meaning of their own, as when wuchak was borrowed as woodchuck; this is the process known as popular etymology.

Many of the words borrowed were the names of the American flora and fauna, like chipmunk, hickory, sequoia, skunk, and terrapin. Others were words connected with American Indian culture, like wigwam, totem, wampum, and powwow; this last word originally meant ‘medicine man’, and passed through a whole series of changes of meaning before reaching its present one of ‘informal conference, discussion’. Among the other words borrowed are some in the sphere of politics, like caucus and Tammany. And some American place and river names are also Indian: Mississippi means ‘big river’, and Chicago perhaps means ‘place of wild onions’.

Even more words, several hundred in all, were borrowed from Spanish, for the Spaniards had established solid and permanent settlements in the New World, and the American pioneers

encountered them at many points during their expansion. Borrowings are especially common in the southwest of the United States. Many of the loans go back to the seventeenth century, though there are also a large number from the nineteenth. A number of them, again, are topographical, like sierra and canyon, or words for flora and fauna, like alfalfa, armadillo, and cockroach. A large number come from ranch life, like ranch, corral, lasso, stampede, mustang, and bronco; perhaps with these we can group words for clothing, like poncho and sombrero.

One other interest of the Spanish settlers, mining, is seen in such loans as bonanza and placer, and there are also words connected with the administration of justice, like calaboose, desperado, and vigilantes. Miscellaneous loans include filibuster, hombre, pronto, ‘ stevedore, tornado, and vamoose. There are also many Spanish place names, especially saints’ names like Santa Barbara and San Francisco.

In the north, there was contact right from the beginning with the French, and a number of words were borrowed from them, especially in the eighteenth century. They again include topographical words, like prairie and rapids, and flora and fauna,

like pumpkin and gopher. This last word is from French gaufre, which means ‘honeycomb’, but has been borrowed as the name of a small rat-like animal, because of its honeycomb of burrows. From French, too, come names of coins, cent and dime; the latter word in fact already existed in England, having been borrowed in Middle English times, and it is found in Shakespeare, but as an American monetary term it is a reborrowing.

There were also a few borrowings from the Dutch settlers in North America, who were centered on New Amsterdam (which in 1644 was taken by the British and became New York). The loans include food names like cookie and waffle, and miscellaneous words like boss, boodle, dope, snoop, and perhaps Yankee, which may be derived from the Dutch Jankin (‘little John’) or Jan Kees (‘John Cheese’), in which case it will have been a patronizing name given by the Dutch to the English settlers of New England.

Later, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, large numbers of immigrants of many nationalities entered the United States. But their contribution to the American vocabulary is remarkably small, because the language of the immigrant has low prestige in the United States, and he is usually anxious to Americanize

himself as thoroughly as possible. The largest number of loans are from German, for the German influx in the nineteenth century was particularly massive, and there is still a considerable German-speaking population in the United States. These borrowings include food names like dilicatessen and hamburger, educational terms like semester and seminar, and a number of miscellaneous words like loafer and nix.

These contacts with other languages are not the only sources of the specifically American vocabulary. The same processes of word formation have been going on in Britain and America - affixation, compounding, conversion, and so on and sometimes, inevitably, different words have been coined for the same thing: petrol and gasoline, tram and street car, lift and elevator, and so on. Nor are all the names for specifically American phenomena borrowed from other languages. Native material has been used for coining new words, like groundhog and bullfrog, or existing English words have been given a new application, like robin (used for a bird of the thrush family) and corn (specialized to mean what an Englishman calls maize).

Indeed, in the coining of new words and phrases, the Americans in modern times have been more exuberant and uninhibited than

the British. After the American Revolution, the Americans broke away even more fully than before from English traditions, linguistic as well as social and political, and were much less restrained by upper class ideals of decorum in their treatment of the language. The exuberance and the love of novelty were encouraged by the existence of the ever-moving frontier, which for over two hundred years kept bringing new American communities into existence, and encouraged the pioneer spirit. The frontier spirit is no doubt partly responsible for the American gift for coining lively and telling new phrases, like ‘flying off the handle’ or ‘barking up the wrong tree’. It may also be responsible for the love of the grandiloquent that turns an undertaker into a mortician and a spittoon into a cuspidor.

CHAPTER NINE
VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

Standard English

The divergent development that has taken place in the English language as it has spread over the world during the last three hundred years raises the question of Standard English. Does it exist? If so, what is it?

Inside England, as we have seen, one form of the language, basically an East Midland dialect, became accepted as a literary standard in the late Middle Ages. This does not mean, of course, that dialect differences disappeared within England, or even that all educated Englishmen spoke in the same way: in the plays and the novels of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we often meet country gentlemen who are represented as speaking a local dialect. But in the last century or two there has been a strong tendency for the English upper and upper middle classes to adopt a uniform style of speech. One of the causes of this has been the influence of the great public schools, which have dominated the education of the English gentry at least since the time of Arnold of Rugby in the early Victorian age.

This ‘public school’ English is obviously a variant of southeastern English, but it has in fact ceased to be a regional dialect and has become a class dialect, spoken by members of the English gentry whatever part of the country they come from. It has great prestige, and by many English people is considered the only really ‘correct’ form of speech. But of course it is not spoken by all educated English people, unless we equate ‘educated’ with ‘educated at a public school’: and that is really rather too flattering to the public schools. Today, in fact the majority of English people educated to university level are not from public schools, and there is an increasing tendency for educated people to speak the educated form of their regional dialect. On the other hand, the more ‘educated’ a regional dialect is, the more nearly it approximates to public school English.

However, while educated southeastern English, and the class dialect of the public schools derived from it, have established themselves as prestige languages in England, their claims to be the only standard form of English speech do not meet with much sympathy in other parts of the English-speaking world.

Even in the British Isles there are rivals, for Irishmen and Scots have their own forms of educated speech, and see no reason why

they should be considered inferior to the speech of Eton or Harrow. Nor have the inhabitants of New Zealand, Australia, Canada, or the United States any reason to mimic the language of the English upper classes, since they fail to see any way in which it is superior to their own language.

The American attitude to regional dialects is more tolerant than the English one: an educated man is expected to speak the educated form of his regional dialect, and no region has special prestige in this respect; still less is there a non-regional class dialect with super-prestige. This attitude would be a sensible one for us to adopt towards the varieties of English as a whole.

The English language is not the monopoly of the inhabitants of Britain: we have no sole proprietary rights in it, which would entitle us to dictate usage to the rest of the English-speaking world. Nor is it the monopoly of the Americans, or the Australians, or any other group: it belongs to us all. It would be reasonable to give parity of esteem to all educated forms of English speech, whatever country they are found in, and in whatever region of that country.

Fortunately, there is a solid core of common usage in all English-speaking countries, which makes it possible to talk of ‘standard world English’. The regional variations that we have been discussing are especially marked in the spoken language (many of them are differences in pronunciation), and are greatest in informal, slangy, and uneducated speech. But if we examine the more formal uses of language, and especially if we confine ourselves to a formal style of written language, the differences become small. In formal writing, the essential structure of the language is practically the same throughout the English-speaking world; the differences in vocabulary are perceptible but not enormous; and the differences in spelling negligible. There is, therefore, a standard literary language which is very much the same throughout the English-speaking community, and it is this, if anything, which deserves to be called Standard English.

The reality of this literary standard can be seen from the fact that it is often difficult to say what part of the world a piece of writing comes from. Of course, a good deal depends on the kind of writing -- how familiar it is in style, how nearly it models itself on everyday speech. If you are presented with a page from Mr Brendan Behan’s autobiography or from Mr J. D. Salinger’s Catcher in the Rye, you do not need to be much of a detective to

guess that the authors are from Ireland and the United States respectively. But suppose you open a novel and find that it starts like this:

"Love conquers all -- omnia vincit amor, said the gold scroll in a curve beneath the dial of the Old French gilt clock. To the dial's fight, a nymph, her head on her arm, drowsed, largely undraped, at the mouth of a gold grotto where perhaps she lived. To the dial's left, a youth, by his crook and the pair of lambs with him, a shepherd, had taken cover. Parting fronds of gold vegetation, he peeped at the sleeping beauty. On top of the dial, and all unnoticed by the youth, a smiling cupid perched, bow bent, about to loose an arrow at the peeper's heart. While Arthur Winner viewed with faint familiar amusement this romantic grouping, so graceful and so absurd, the clock struck three."

Is the nationality of the author really so evident? Perhaps an Englishman would have written "To the right of the dial" rather than "To the dial's right", but this is by no means certain. And there is hardly any clue beyond this. In fact it is the work of an American, the opening of By Love Possessed, by James Gould Cozzens, published in 1957. But it is difficult to see anything in

it that could not have been written by an Englishman or an Irishman or an Australian: it is Standard World English.

Of course, the existence of a standard literary language does not in itself prove that Spoken English is a single language. But experience shows that educated English-speaking people from any part of the world have no serious difficulties in understanding each others' speech. Things are a little more difficult when the speakers are uneducated, especially if they are old and have spent their whole lives in small isolated communities. An aged agricultural labourer from a village in Norfolk or in Cornwall who had never lived outside his birthplace would no doubt have some difficulty in conversing with a similar character from the United States or with a bushwhacker from the Australian outback. But even in this case there is a chain of mutual comprehension which could easily be established. The old Norfolk labourer can convene easily with the younger men of his own village, they can converse easily with the townsfolk in Norwich, the latter can convene easily with educated people from New York, and so on along the chain. For all their rich variety and regional diversification, the dialects spoken in the British Isles, in the Commonwealth countries, and

in the United States still form one single entity, the English language.

English Today and Tomorrow

In the 20th century, the English language entered on a period of quite considerable change. One encouraging feature is that the divergent tendencies that have been apparent over the past few centuries now seem to have been slowed down, and perhaps even reversed. We have seen how, as English spread over the world from the seventeenth century onwards, local varieties inevitably sprang up in North America, in Australia, and so on. This is not to be regretted: the rich variety of English is one of the things that make it an exciting language to speak and to hear. But an indefinite continuation of the divergent processes would ultimately break up English into a number of separate languages, as Proto-Germanic was broken; and this would be an unhappy thing for us, and for the world. As it is, we have some reason to feel optimistic about the continuing unity of English, and about its prospects as a major medium of world intercourse.

Dialect Mixing

The slowing down of the divergent trend has been due to the great development of communications (steamships, aircraft,

telegraph, telephone) and the rise of the mass media (the popular press, the cinema, broadcasting, television). These things have enabled the different regional varieties of English to influence one another, and so to reduce their differences. Such influences have been mutual, but at present the major influence in the English-speaking world is undoubtedly the language of the United States, and this influence penetrates everywhere that English is spoken as a mother tongue.

Not only do Americans form by far the largest single body of speakers of English, but also of course they have a preponderance of economic and political power and prestige. And considerations of this kind play a major part in the influence of a language. Latin became the dominant cultural language of Western Europe, not because it was intrinsically superior to Greek or Arabic, or was the vehicle for a finer literature than they, but simply because of the political and administrative achievements of Imperial Rome. Similarly the wealth and power of the United States make her a creditor nation in linguistic matters, as in others.

American influence shows itself especially in vocabulary. When I was giving examples of new words which had arisen in

America, you were probably surprised to learn that some of them were of American origin. Words like cockroach, stevedore, tornado, and loafer are so familiar to us that we do not think of them as Americanisms; and the same is true of phrases like ‘having an axe to grind’ and ‘barking up the wrong tree’. More recent importations, like gimmick or package deal or blurb or cagey or rugged (in the sense of ‘robust’) are still conscious. Americanisms, but will no doubt become naturalized in Britain in due course.

Inside Britain a somewhat similar process is going on. The different dialects are being mixed and leveled. In addition to the influence of the mass media, there has been that of universal and compulsory education, dating from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which has worked against the broader dialect elements, both regional and social. Moreover, the population has become more mobile: the small self-contained community has practically disappeared, there has been continuing migration to the great cities, and in two world wars there has been mixing of men in enormous conscript armies.

As a result, the traditional rural dialects have now virtually vanished, and have been replaced by new mixed dialects. This

does not mean, of course, that dialect differences have disappeared: a Manchester man still speaks differently from a London man; and a Manchester millhand still speaks differently from a Manchester company director. But it does mean that the range of variation has been reduced, and that the more idiosyncratic usages are disappearing, in vocabulary, in grammar, in pronunciation.

Received Pronunciation and Regional Accents

One can refer to the prestige language of the English gentry, and the influence of the public schools in making it more or less universal among the upper and upper-middle classes in recent times. It is above all in pronunciation that this form of the language differs from other educated forms, since, as we have seen, the grammar and vocabulary of educated English vary relatively little in different parts of the world.

The pronunciation of the public-school speaker is often called Received Pronunciation, or just RP. Now the leveling process that is going on among the English dialects, while it tends to produce standard grammar and a common vocabulary, does not necessarily produce speakers of RP. Many English schoolteachers, for example, do not use RP, but the educated

form of their regional accent; and it is towards this, rather than towards public-school English, that the influence of the schools works.

It also seems likely that RP has itself lost some of its prestige in the present century, with the rise of democracy and the consequent loss of the monopoly in power and education formerly enjoyed by public-school men. This has been especially so since the Education Act of 1944, which threw open a higher education to the children of the lower and lower-middle classes who were talented enough and tough enough to survive the rat race in the schools. Today, the majority of English university students are not speakers of RP, and of course it is from the universities that a large part of the English professional classes are recruited. Consequently, it is becoming increasingly common for professional men to speak with an educated regional accent, as in America. I do not wish to suggest that public-school speech has lost all its magic. It still has great prestige, for example in the City, in many parts of the Civil Service, and among officers of the armed forces. But it surely is true that the public schools are no longer felt to have a monopoly of ‘correct speech’, and that the prestige of educated regional speech has risen enormously in the present century.

Indeed, many people would no longer define Standard English or Received Pronunciation as that of the upper classes or of the public schools, but rather as that of educated people in southeastern England, thus making an educated regional accent into the standard. It is perhaps symptomatic that Daniel Jones, in his celebrated ‘Pronouncing Dictionary’, gives both criteria, for he claims that his dictionary records the pronunciation of people from the southeast of England who were educated at public schools.

There is, consequently, a tendency in present-day England to draw the boundaries of ‘Standard English’ and of ‘Received Pronunciation’ rather wider than formerly, and to take into account the usages of a larger part of the population. Hence some of the changes that seem to be taking place in the language may be more apparent than real: they may be changes in acceptance, rather than actual substantive changes. What formerly existed as a usage in some group, but was considered substandard, may now come to be accepted as standard, because of the changing definition of ‘standard’. It does seem however, that there are also substantive changes going on in the language, in pronunciation, in grammar, in vocabulary.

Changes in Vocabulary

The expansion of the vocabulary seems to be going on at a great rate in our time. Many new words continue to be coined from Greek and Latin roots for use in science and technology, and some of these get into the general vocabulary, like cosmonaut and stereophonic. These two words illustrate the way in which technical terms are adopted by the general public in particular spheres that interest them in this case space-travel (and science fiction) and sound recording. The word stereophonic (now usually shortened to stereo) is presumably coined on the analogy of stereoscopic.

However, not all new scientific and technical words are coined from Latin and Greek elements. The engineering industries in particular tend to use existing English word elements, and one very common habit is the coining of new compound verbs by back-formation. Example of this process are the verbs to case-harden, to centre-drill, to colour-code, to custom-build, to drop-forge, to field-test, to impact-extrude, to instrument-check, and to self-adjust. Conversely, not all new learned formations are in the field of science or technology: escalation, for example, comes from political-military circles, and psychedelic has arisen in the modish adolescent scene.

In addition to these specialist formations, more popular words continue to arise in large numbers. Affixation is still one of the favorite methods of word-formation. Among the fashionable prefixes of recent years can be mentioned crypto- (crypto-Communist), neo-(neo-Nazi), and above all mini-. The vogue of mini-began in the early 1960s, with the popularity of the Mini-Minor car (soon shortened to Mini), and led to coinages like minicab and minivan. But the real flowering of the prefix Carrie with the invention of the miniskirt in 1966, which made it so popular that in recent years we have had mini-practically-everything.

In the wake of mini-came maxi-and midi-, products of that flux of fashion which is so necessary to the people who make their money out of clothes. At the same time, more traditional prefixes continue to be used, like de- (debug, defrost, debrief), un- (unfunny), pre- (previtaminize), and non- (non-event). Among suffixes active in our time, we can note -er (pot-holer, commuter), -ize (finalize), -ry (weaponry, rocketry, circuitry), and -manship (gamesmanship, brinkmanship, one-up-manship).

Compounding also continues to be a common method of word-formation. For example, the coming of air travel has led to many

compounds in air- (aircrew, air-hostess, airstrip, air-minded). Among other recent compounds can be cited disc-jockey, flower-power, hindsight (formed on analogy with fore-sight), off-white, and security-conscious. Most of the examples are nouns, but there are also some adjectives.

Conversion also continues to be used extensively; it is especially used to form new verbs, like to screen, to streamline, to feather-bed, to ad-lib. New compound nouns are also formed by conversion from verbs, like count-down, fly-over, and underpass; the American word teach-in has recently had a great vogue in Britain, and has led to other similar formations, like love-in.

A curious recent example of conversion is the use of the adjective cool as a noun, in the expression ‘keep your cool’; this is perhaps produced by contamination, the common expression ‘keep cool’ having been affected by expressions like ‘keep your head’. There are also new attributive uses of nouns, like top (‘a top model, general, etc.’). Notice also a whole sentence converted into an attributive element of this kind: ‘do it yourself’, in expressions like ‘a do-it-yourself shop’.

Shortenings, too, continue to produce new words. Among these is one of the vogue-words of recent years, fab, a shortening of fabulous. Other recent examples are mod, op-art, pop-singer, show-biz, and hi-fi. Back formations also continue to occur, especially to produce new verbs, like automate, escalate, liaise, locomote (from automation, escalation, liaison, locomotion).

Loans play only a small part in the expansion of the present-day vocabulary, but a few foreign words do continue to drib in. French words, as ever, are often to do with fashion or the arts: couture, montage, collage, compere, and more recently boutique and discothique (now commonly shortened to disco). German writings on psychology have long been influential in England, and this is reflected in the use of the German word angst (‘anxiety’), and the rather less common use of schadenfreude (‘mischievous pleasure in the misfortunes of others’).

The word moped is also a loan; in structure it is plainly a blend, but the blending did not take place in Britain; the word was invented in Sweden in 1952, and from there it spread to Germany and to England. Also Scandinavian in origin are the words ombudsman (Danish ombudsmand, Norwegian ombudsmann, Swedish ombudsman) and orienteering (Swedish orientering,

‘cross-country foot-racing with map and compass’,’ Norwegian orienteringslop, ‘race of this kind’). The Eskimo languages do not strike one as a very likely source of new, English words, but they have in fact given us the word anorak.

Changes in Meaning

Changes in meaning also continue, as always. One cause of semantic change, as we have seen, is the form of the word in question, which may cause it to be confused with another word which it resembles. An example of this in our own time is the word format; this is a technical term of bibliography, referring to the shape and size of a book (folio, quarto, octavo, etc.): this is the only meaning recorded in the Oxford English Dictionary. Recently, however, people have begun to use it to mean ‘layout, design’ (e.g. of a page, a poster), and even more generally to mean ‘form’, so that people talk about the format of a conference, or of a lecture-course.

This development illustrates the way in which the meaning of a word becomes wider when it moves out of a specialist sphere into the general vocabulary, but it is probably also an example of the influence of another word, in this case the word form. In fact many people seem to regard format as simply a more

magniloquent version of the word form, and use it accordingly. Another recent example of such formal influence is the word enormity; this means ‘extreme wickedness, outrageous crime’, but some people now use it in the sense ‘great size’; this is presumably due to confusion with enormousness, or simply to the influence of the adjective enormous.

Other pairs of words in which such semantic influence is often seen are adopt/adapt (sometimes leading to a new noun adaption), economic/economical, historic/historical, masterful/masterly, secret/secretive, sensuous/sensual, and (strange to say) ingenuous/disingenuous. The attentive reader of the daily paper should have no difficulty in spotting the semantic changes produced by confusions of such pairs.

A recent example of narrowing of meaning is the noun probe. In early Modern English this was a medical word, meaning ‘instrument for exploring a wound’, but later it was generalized to mean ‘investigation, examination’, and in this sense it is common in newspaper headlines (e.g. Labour Demands Rent Probe). Recently, however, a new specialization of meaning has taken place, and probe has come to mean ‘space vehicle for scientific investigation’, or even just ‘space vehicle’. A recent

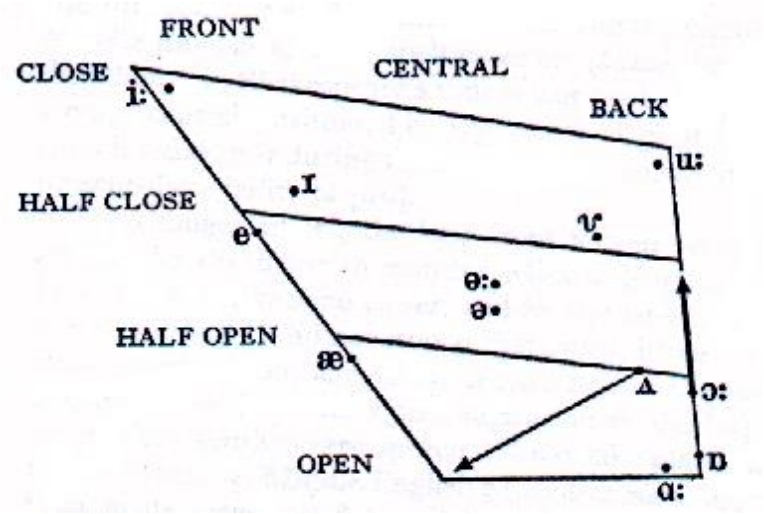
example of the opposite process, the widening of meaning, is syndrome. This is a medical or psychological term meaning ‘a complex of symptoms’, but nowadays it is often used popularly to mean simply ‘phenomenon’.

A recent example of loss of intensity seems to me to be the word obscene; formerly this was rather a strong word, but is now commonly used as a vague epithet of disapproval, especially in political journalism, and so is losing its force. Perhaps a similar desire for emphasis is responsible for the popularity of phrases to replace the word now. This little monosyllable is often too unemphatic or too laconic for the public speaker or the journalist, who replaces it by expressions like ‘in this day and age’, and ‘(as) at the present time’, and ‘as of now’.

Other words worth keeping an eye on are atomic, book, budget, economy, and refute, which you may find used to mean ‘powerful’, ‘magazine’, ‘cheap’, ‘large’, and ‘deny’. Of course, it is not only single words that change in meaning: the same thing can happen to whole phrases. An example of this that has struck me recently is the expression ‘as far as I’m concerned’, which is now often used to mean ‘in my opinion’; and another is ‘in terms of’, which often seems to mean ‘concerning, with reference to’.

Changes in Pronunciation

In the educated speech of southeastern England, there seems to have been a change in the quality of some vowels during the present century: the /ʌ/ of words like cut and jump is now made farther forward than it was, nearer to the [a] of French chat; the /ɔ:/ vowel of words like law and horse, on the other hand, has become closer, nearer to the [o:] of French beau.



Vowel diagram for the pure vowels of present-day British English. Examples: green /gri:n/, sit /sɪt/, bed /bed/, hat /hæt/, father /'fɑ:ðə/, dog /dɒg/, law /lɔ:/, cut /kʌt/, put /pʊt/, food /fu:d/, bird /bə:d/.

The long pure vowels /i:/ (as in keep and see) and /u:/ (as in hoop and too) are becoming diphthongized: in the speech of many people, /i:/ is now the glide [ii], that is to say, it begins at [i] and

then moves to the position of [i:]. Similarly, /u:/ is often the diphthong [uu], that is, it begins at [u] and then glides to the position of [u:]. In substandard speech, these diphthongs often begin at an even opener and more central position, for example from the position of [ə], thus becoming [əi] and [əu]. Typical positions for the pure vowels of present-day English (Received Pronunciation) are shown in the vowel diagram in the above figure. The current changes in /ʌ/ and /ɔ:/ are shown by the arrows.

In unstressed syllables, the /ə/ phoneme is spreading at the expense of other short vowels. For example, it is often heard instead of /i/ in the unstressed syllables of system, waitress, remain, kitchen, and women; and it sometimes replaces other vowels too, for example in words like sawdust and boycott. In this respect, British pronunciation is following in the wake of American and Australian.

Among the consonants, the long-term historical process of weakening and loss at the ends of words seems to be continuing. Final consonants which are especially often lost in familiar speech are /t/, /d/, and /n/. For example, the /d/ is often lost in phrases like old man, the /n/ in fifteen miles, and the /t/ in half

past five. There are also various minor changes going on: for example, assimilations, such as the pronunciation of tenpence as tempence, or of due as jew; and the continuing spread of intrusive /r/, heard in such phrases as ‘the idear of it’,’ Indiar and Ghana, the lawr of the sea. Intrusive /r/ arises by analogy with words like father and beer, which (for historical reasons) quite regularly have a final /r/ before a vowel, but not before a consonant or a pause.

There are also changes going on in the way words are stressed. In a number of words of two syllables, the stress has been moved within living memory from the second to the first syllable garage, adult, alloy, ally. In some words of more than two syllables, there is an apparent tendency to move the stress from the first to the second syllable: doctrinal, communal, formidable, aristocrat, pejorative, hospitable, controversy, and many others. However, the forms with the stress on the second syllable are not new ones, and it seems that here we have a change of acceptance (or the beginnings of it) rather than a substantive change. The pronunciations with first-syllable stress are upper-class ones, and the other forms are permeating up from below, as part of the dialect mixing of our time. The words cigarette and magazine are normally pronounced in Britain with the main stress on the final

syllable; recently, however, some speakers have begun to put the main stress on the first syllable; the change appears to be due to American influence.

As far as sentence stress is concerned, there has been one striking development in recent years, which is now very common among public speakers, especially on radio and television. This is the habit of giving strong stress to prepositions, even when no contrastive emphasis is intended. It is very common to hear such things as 'A report ON today's proceedings IN Parliament will be given BY John Smith OF our news staff'. This is perhaps caused by a desire for clarity and emphasis; something rather similar is often heard from inexperienced amateur actors who, in their anxiety to obtain emphasis, tend to stress far too many words.

A trend which has been encouraged by the spread of secondary education is the adoption of what can be called 'continental pronunciations'. Words borrowed from abroad soon get assimilated to an English style of pronunciation, either by passing through normal English sound changes or because of the influence of the spelling. Nowadays, however, such words are sometimes given a 'foreign' kind of pronunciation again. Thus in

the traditional pronunciation the words gala, Gaza, Copenhagen, and armada have their stressed a pronounced /ei/, but it is now common for /a:/ to be used instead, and in armada this pronunciation is universal. Similarly, valet and beret and ricochet are now often pronounced without their final /t/; sometimes has its i pronounced /i:/ instead of /ai/; Marlowe's Dr Faustus is frequently given the /au/ of the German Faust instead of the traditional English /ɔ:/; and chivalry is almost universally pronounced with a /ʃ/ instead of the traditional /tʒ/. Such changes obviously imply a realization that the word is of foreign origin, and some knowledge of foreign languages; they must be due to some extent to the expansion of education and the increased popularity of foreign travel.

However, there is probably another influence at work too namely the 'new' pronunciation of Latin, which' has continental-style vowels, whereas the 'old' pronunciation had anglicized vowels, The majority of Englishmen under middle age, if they have learnt Latin at all, have learnt the new pronunciation. This no doubt explains why many younger people are reluctant to use the traditional pronunciation of those Latin tags which are commonly used in English, like 'a priori quasi, sine die': the traditional pronunciation sounds wrong, and they tend to use an

approximation to the new Latin pronunciation. This even affects Latin proper names; of course, there is no longer that a well-known name like Julius Caesar will lose its traditional pronunciation; but it is now quite common to pronounce Shakespeare's Coriolanus with /a:/ instead of /ei/.

The same change of vowel is sometimes heard in status, apparatus, and stratum, and even occasionally in data. Besides affecting words which are obviously direct from Latin, this 'new Latin' influence also affects a few words which are more remotely derived from Latin, but whose origin is nevertheless plain. Thus the words deity, vehicle and spontaneity traditionally have their e pronounced /i:/ but nowadays it is often pronounced /ei/. The 'new Latin' and 'continental' tendencies must obviously reinforce one another.

Changes in Grammar

In grammar we can see the continuation, in small ways, of the long-term historical trend in English from synthetic to analytic, from a system that relies on inflexions to one that relies on word order and on grammatical words (prepositions, auxiliary verbs, etc.). For example, the form 'whom' is dropping out of use, at any rate in speech, and 'who' tends to be used in all positions. Admittedly, we still have to use 'whom' after a preposition, as in

‘To whom shall I give it?’ But in fact this is not what we say in ordinary speech we say ‘Who shall I give it to?’

Another example of the trend is in the comparison of adjectives, where ‘more’ and ‘most’ are spreading at the expense of the endings -er and -est. Formerly, -er and -est were used more widely than today, and in the seventeenth century you meet forms like famousest and notoriousest. At the beginning of the 20th century, adjectives of more than two syllables always had more and most (‘more notorious, most notorious’). Adjectives of one syllable normally had -er and -est (‘ruder, rudest’). The adjectives of two syllables varied, some normally being compared one way (‘more famous, most famous’) and some the other (‘commoner, commonest’). In this group of two-syllable adjectives, there has been a tendency in the course of the century for -er and -est to be replaced by ‘more’ and ‘most’, and it is now quite normal to say ‘more common, most common’; and similarly with fussy, quiet, cloudy, cruel, simple, pleasant, and others. Recently, moreover, ‘more’ and ‘most’ have been spreading to words of one syllable, and it is not at all uncommon to hear expressions like ‘John is more keen than Robert’ and ‘It was more crude than I expected’.

On the whole, noun and verb forms have remained very stable during the later Modern English period, and appear to be so still. There is no tendency, for example, for old mutated plurals like feet and geese to be changed by analogy to *foots and *gooses, or for strong past tenses like ran and gave to be changed to *runned and *gived. The one exception is the group of learned nouns borrowed from Greek and Latin complete with their original plural forms (formula/formulae, syllabus/syllabi, genus/genera, dogma/dogmata, etc.). Such words are more and more often given analogical plurals in -s (formulas, syllabuses, genuses, dogmas), though sometimes a distinction is made between technical and popular usage (technical formulae, popular formulas).

A slightly ‘different development can be seen with some nouns that have a learned plural in -a, like datum, stratum, medium, bacterium, criterion, and phenomenon. These six words are frequently used in the plural, and by many people the plural form, lacking the normal English -s marking, has come to be apprehended as a singular. Hence it is not at all uncommon to hear people say such things as ‘this data’, ‘the mass media is responsible’, ‘a bacteria’,’ and so on. The decline of the classics in English education has obviously played a part here.

Changes are also taking place among the auxiliary verbs. Thus shall and should are dropping out of use in some positions, and being replaced by will and would: it is now quite normal to say such things as ‘We will all die someday’ and ‘I would prefer not to’. For giving or asking permission, ‘can’ is now common instead of ‘may’, so that children say ‘Can I leave the table?’ And, especially in the United States, might seems to be spreading at the expense of other auxiliaries, especially may, But in some younger speakers in Britain the opposite trend can be seen, for there seem to be many who never use the word might, always may. Recently this usage has begun to appear in writing; and not long ago. I read in a national newspaper a report on a football match which contained the sentence: ‘Just before half-time, Leeds United may have scored a goal. This was puzzling (especially as the match had ended in a goalless draw); but study of the context showed that the author meant that they might have scored a goal (but hadn’t).

The verbs ‘need’ and ‘dare’ are ceasing to be auxiliaries, and coming more and more to be used as ordinary verbs. Thus it is increasingly normal to say ‘Do you need to do it?’’ and ‘I don’t dare to do it’, and less common to say ‘Need you do it?’ and ‘I dare not do it.’ In substandard speech, the same has happened to

the auxiliaries ‘ought to’ and ‘used to’, for you hear expressions like ‘He didn’t ought to’ and ‘He didn’t used to’, and such forms are now spreading into educated speech.

It also seems that changes are taking place in the use of the definite article, which is sometimes omitted where formerly it was obligatory, for example in phrases like ‘the Bank Rate’, ‘the United States’, ‘the Government’, ‘on the radio’, ‘the art of the theatre’, ‘to go to the university’, and in the names of diseases like ‘the mumps’, ‘the measles’. It is also becoming common to put titles or descriptive phrases in front of proper names, in cases where this would formerly have been impossible, for example Prime Minister Macmillan (instead of the Prime Miniter, Mr Macmillan or Mr Macmillan, the Prime Minister); and similarly with actress Flora Robson, centre-forward John Charles, twenty-seven-year-old pretty London housewife Betty Smith, and so on. This trick comes from the newspapers, but is no longer confined to them, and is even heard in speech.

Another development where the newspapers may have had an influence is the use of expressions like ‘London’s East End’ and ‘a symphony’s first movement’, where formerly it was normal to say ‘the East End of London’ and ‘the first movement of a

symphony'; the newspapers no doubt find the new forms shorter and snappier for headlines. This development is contrary to the normal run of grammatical change in English: the replacement of the preposition 'of' by the inflexion [..' s] is a move from analytic to synthetic.

It is dangerous to extrapolate or to prophesy, and none of us can even guess what the English language will be like in a hundred years time. The changes of the last few decades suggest what forces are at work in the language today, and the likely shape of things in the next few decades; but the history of the language in the coming century will depend, as it always has done, on the history of the community itself.'

One of the striking things at the moment is the remarkable expansion going on in the vocabulary. We cannot tell whether this will continue at its present rate, but if it does the change in a hundred years will be comparable to that of such earlier periods as 1300 to 1400 or 1550 to 1650. Another clear trend at the moment is large-scale dialect mixing, with American influence predominant; if this continues, the divergent tendencies of the language will be held in check, and a unified English language

will continue to be available as a medium of international communication.

REFERENCES

Barber, Charles (1972) *The Story of Language*. London: Pan Books.

-------- (2000) *The English Language: A Historical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baugh, Albert C. and Thomas Cable (2002) *A History of the English Language*. Fifth Edition. London: Routledge.

Eckersley, C.E. and J.M. Eckersley (1980) *A Comprehensive English Grammar for Foreign Students*. London: Longman.

Momma, H. and M. Molto, eds. (2008) *A Companion to the History of the English Language*. Blackwell.