Université Paris 8 – Vincennes – Saint-Denis

LLCER L1 – Histoire britannique

An Introduction to British and Irish History

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THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE FOUR NATIONS OF THE BRITISH ISLES

ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND



The Venerable Bede
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH NATION
(731 A.D.)

The Picts, both then and afterwards, remained quiet in the farthest part of the island, save that sometimes they would do some mischief, and carry off booty from the Britons.

When, however, the ravages of the enemy at length ceased, the island began to abound with such plenty of grain as had never been known in any age before; with plenty, luxury increased, and this was immediately attended with all sorts of crimes; Nor were the laity only guilty of these things, but even our Lord's own flock, and his pastors also, addicting themselves to drunkenness, animosity, litigiousness, contention, envy, and other such like crimes, and casting off the light yoke of Christ. In the meantime, on a sudden, a severe plague fell upon that corrupt generation, which soon destroyed such numbers of them, that the living were scarcely sufficient to bury the dead [...] Whereupon, not long after, a more severe vengeance, for their horrid wickedness, fell upon the sinful nation. They consulted what was to be done, and where they should seek assistance to prevent or repel the cruel and frequent incursions of the northern nations; and they all agreed with their King Vortigern to call over to their aid, from the parts beyond the sea, the Saxon nation; which, as the event still more evidently showed, appears to have been done by the appointment of our Lord Himself, that evil might fall upon them for their wicked deeds.

[...] The newcomers received of the Britons a place to inhabit, upon condition that they should wage war against their enemies for the peace and security of the country, whilst the Britons agreed to furnish them with pay. Those who came over were of the three most powerful nations of Germany, namely the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people of Kent, and of the Isle of Wight, and those also in the province of the West Saxons who are to this day called Jutes, seated opposite to the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is, the country which is now called Old Saxony, came the East Saxons (Essex), the South Saxons (Sussex), and the West Saxons (Wessex). From the Angles, that is, the country which is called Anglia (Angeln in Schleswig) [...] are descended the East Angles, the Middle Angles, the Mercians, all the race of the Northumbrians, that is, of those nations that dwell on the north side of the river Humber, and the other nations of the English. [...] In a short time, swarms of the aforesaid nations came over into the island, and they began to increase so much, that they became terrible to the natives themselves who had invited them. Then [...] they began to turn their weapons against their confederates. [...] In short, the fire kindled by the hands of these pagans proved God's just revenge for the crimes of the people; not unlike that which, being once lighted by the Chaldeans, consumed the walls and city of Jerusalem. For the barbarous conquerors acting here in the same manner, or rather the just Judge ordaining that they should so act, they plundered all the neighbouring cities and country, spread the conflagration from the eastern to the western sea, without any opposition, and covered almost every part of the devoted island. Public as well as private structures were overturned; the priests were everywhere slain before the altars; the prelates and the people, without any respect of persons, were destroyed with fire and sword [...]. Some of the miserable remainder, [...] fled beyond the seas (Brittany). Others, continuing in their own country, led a miserable life among the woods, rocks, and mountains (Wales, Strathclyde) [...].

[...] Among other most wicked actions, not to be expressed, [...] they added this, that they never preached the faith to the Saxons, or English, who dwelt amongst them; however, the goodness of God did not forsake his people whom He foreknew, but sent to the aforesaid nation much more worthy preachers, to bring it to the faith.

(The text continues with the sending of Augustine of Canterbury and his missionary team to Britain by the Pope)

From Book I, chapter XIV to XXII, depicting events taking place from the middle of the 5th c. to the sending of Augustine by Pope Gregory I to evangelize the English in 597.
Electronic Edition: Internet Medieval Sourcebook.



Sur deux reliquaires, Harold prête serment à Guillaume.
Harold swears fealty to William.
Auf zwei Reliquienschreinen leistet Harold Wilhelm den Eid.



Couronnement d'Harold, qui reçoit l'épée et le sceptre.
Harold's coronation with sword and sceptre.
Krönung Harolds, dem Degen und Szepter überreicht werden.



La flotte fait voiles sur l'Angleterre.
The fleet set sails for England.
Die Flotte geht unter Segel nach England.



Harold reçoit une flèche mortelle dans l'œil et succombe.
Harold gets an arrow in the eye and dies.
Harold, von einem tödlichen Pfeil ins Auge getroffen bricht zusammen.

William of Malmesbury (died 1143?)
The Battle of Hastings, 1066

The courageous leaders mutually prepared for battle, each according to his national custom. The English, as we have heard, passed the night without sleep, in drinking and singing, and in the morning proceeded without delay against the enemy. All on foot, armed with battle-axes, and covering themselves in front by the juncture of their shields, they formed an impenetrable body [...]. King Harold himself, on foot, stood with his brothers near the standard in order that, so long as all shared equal danger, none could think of retreating. [...]

On the other hand, the Normans passed the whole night in confessing their sins, and received the communion of the Lord's body in the morning. Their infantry, with bows and arrows, formed the vanguard, while their cavalry, divided into wings, was placed in the rear. The duke, with serene countenance, declaring aloud that God would favor his as being the righteous side, called for his arms [...] Then [...] the battle commenced on both sides, and was fought with great ardor, neither side giving ground during the greater part of the day.

[...] This alternating victory, first of one side and then of the other, continued so long as Harold lived to check the retreat; but when he fell, his brain pierced by an arrow, the flight of the English ceased not until night.

[...] This was a fatal day to England, and melancholy havoc was wrought in our dear country during the change of its lords. For it had long adopted the manners of the Angles, which had indeed altered with the times [...]. After embracing the faith of Christ, by degrees and, in process of time, [...they...] gave their whole attention to religion. [...]

What shall I say of the multitudes of bishops, hermits, and abbots? Does not the whole island blaze with such numerous relics of its own people that you can scarcely pass a village of any consequence but you hear the name of some new saint? And of how many more has all remembrance perished through the want of records?

Nevertheless, the attention to literature and religion had gradually decreased for several years before the arrival of the Normans. The clergy, contented with a little confused learning, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments [...]. The monks mocked the rule of their order by fine vestments and the use of every kind of food. The nobility, given up to luxury and wantonness, went not to church in the morning after the manner of Christians, but merely, in a careless manner, heard matins and masses from a hurrying priest in their chambers, amid the blandishments of their wives. The commonalty, left unprotected, became a prey to the most powerful, who amassed fortunes, either by seizing on their property or by selling their persons into foreign countries [...].

Drinking in parties was a universal practice, in which occupation they passed entire nights as well as days. [...] The vices attendant on drunkenness, which enervate the human mind, followed; hence it came about that when they engaged William, with more rashness and precipitate fury than military skill, they doomed themselves and their country to slavery by a single, and that an easy, victory. [...]

The English at that time [...] were accustomed to eat till they became surfeited, and to drink till they were sick. These latter qualities they imparted to their conquerors; as to the rest, they adopted their manners. I would not, however, had these bad propensities ascribed to the English universally; I know that many of the clergy at that day trod the path of sanctity by a blameless life; I know that many of the laity, of all ranks and conditions, in this nation were well-pleasing to God. Be injustice far from this account; the accusation does not involve the whole, indiscriminately; but as in peace the mercy of God often cherishes the bad and the good together, so, equally, does his severity sometimes include them both in captivity.

(James Harvey Robinson, ed., *Readings in European History*, 2 Vols. (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1904-06), Vol. I: *From the Breaking up of the Roman Empire to the Protestant Revolt*, pp. 224-229. Scanned in and modernized by Dr. Jerome S. Arkenberg, Dept. of History, Cal. State Fullerton. Internet Medieval Source Book)

Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe* (1819)
From chapter 1

A circumstance which greatly tended to enhance the tyranny of the nobility, and the sufferings of the inferior classes, arose from the consequences of the Conquest by Duke William of Normandy. Four generations had not sufficed to blend the hostile blood of the Normans and Anglo-Saxons, or to unite, by common language and mutual interests, two hostile races, one of which still felt the elation of triumph, while the other groaned under all the consequences of defeat. The power had been completely placed in the hands of the Norman nobility, by the event of the battle of Hastings, and it had been used, as our histories assure us, with no moderate hand. The whole race of Saxon princes and nobles had been extirpated or disinherited, with few or no exceptions; nor were the numbers great who possessed land in the country of their fathers, even as proprietors of the second, or of yet inferior classes. The royal policy had long been to weaken, by every means, legal or illegal, the strength of a part of the population which was justly considered as nourishing the most inveterate antipathy to their victor. All the monarchs of the Norman race had shown the most marked predilection for their Norman subjects; the laws of the chase, and many others equally unknown to the milder and more free spirit of the Saxon constitution, had been fixed upon the necks of the subjugated inhabitants, to add weight, as it were, to the feudal chains with which they were loaded. At court, and in the castles of the great nobles, where the pomp and state of a court was emulated, Norman-French was the only language employed; in courts of law, the pleadings and judgments were delivered in the same tongue. In short, French was the language of honour, of chivalry, and even of justice, while the far more manly and expressive Anglo-Saxon was abandoned to the use of rustics and hinds, who knew no other. Still, however, the necessary intercourse between the lords of the soil, and those oppressed inferior beings by whom that soil was cultivated, occasioned the gradual formation of a dialect, compounded betwixt the French and the Anglo-Saxon, in which they could render themselves mutually intelligible to each other; and from this necessity arose by degrees the structure of our present English language, in which the speech of the victors and the vanquished have been so happily blended together; and which has since been so richly improved by importations from the classical languages, and from those spoken by the southern nations of Europe.

[… *the scene now features two characters, Gurth, a Saxon serf, and Wamba, a Saxon employed as Jester at the Court…*]

Gurth, I advise thee to call off [your dog], and leave the [swine] herd to their destiny, which, whether they meet with bands of travelling soldiers, or of outlaws, or of wandering pilgrims, can be little else than to be converted into Normans before morning, to thy no small ease and comfort."

"The swine turned Normans to my comfort!" quoth Gurth; "expound that to me, Wamba, for my brain is too dull, and my mind too vexed, to read riddles."

"Why, how call you those grunting brutes running about on their four legs?" demanded Wamba.

"Swine, fool, swine," said the herd, "every fool knows that."

"And swine is good Saxon," said the Jester; "but how call you the sow when she is flayed, and drawn, and quartered, and hung up by the heels, like a traitor?"

"Pork," answered the swine-herd.

"I am very glad every fool knows that too," said Wamba, "and pork, I think, is good Norman-French; and so when the brute lives, and is in the charge of a Saxon slave, she goes by her Saxon name; but becomes a Norman, and is called pork, when she is carried to the Castle-hall to feast among the nobles; what dost thou think of this, friend Gurth, ha?"

"It is but too true doctrine, friend Wamba, however it got into thy fool's pate."

"Nay, I can tell you more," said Wamba, in the same tone; "there is old Alderman Ox continues to hold his Saxon epithet, while he is under the charge of serfs and bondsmen such as thou, but becomes Beef, a fiery French gallant, when he arrives before the worshipful jaws that are destined to consume him. Mynheer Calf, too, becomes Monsieur de Veau in the like manner; he is Saxon when he requires tendance, and takes a Norman name when he becomes matter of enjoyment."

"By St Dunstan," answered Gurth, "thou speakest but sad truths; little is left to us but the air we breathe, and that appears to have been reserved with much hesitation, solely for the purpose of enabling us to endure the tasks they lay upon our shoulders. The finest and the fattest is for their board; the loveliest is for their couch; the best and bravest supply their foreign masters with soldiers, and whiten distant lands with their bones, leaving few here who have either will or the power to protect the unfortunate Saxon.



Union with England Act 1707

1707 c. 7

Act Ratifying and Approving the Treaty of Union of the Two Kingdoms of SCOTLAND and ENGLAND

The Estates of Parliament Considering that Articles of Union of the Kingdoms of Scotland and England were agreed on the twenty second of July One thousand seven hundred and six years by the Commissioners nominated on behalf of this Kingdom under Her Majesties Great Seal of Scotland bearing date the twenty seventh of February last past in pursuance of the fourth Act of the third Session of this Parliament and the Commissioners nominated on behalf of the Kingdom of England under Her Majesties Great Seal of England bearing date at Westminster the tenth day of April last past in pursuance of an Act of Parliament made in England the third year of Her Majesties Reign to treat of and concerning an Union of the said Kingdoms Which Articles were in all humility presented to Her Majesty upon the twenty third of the said Month of July and were Recommended to this Parliament by Her Majesties Royal Letter of the date the thirty one day of July One thousand seven hundred and six And that the said Estates of Parliament have agreed to and approven of the saids Articles of Union with some Additions and Explanations as is contained in the Articles hereafter insert And sicklyke Her Majesty with advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament Resolving to Establish the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church Government within this Kingdom has past in this Session of Parliament an Act entituled Act for secureing of the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church Government which by the Tenor thereof is appointed to be insert in any Act ratifying the Treaty and expressly declared to be a fundamentall and essentiall Condition of the said Treaty or Union in all time coming Therefore Her Majesty with advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament in fortification of the Approbation of the Articles as abovementioned And for their further and better Establishment of the same upon full and mature deliberation upon the forsaids Articles of Union and Act of Parliament Doth Ratifie Approve and Confirm the same with the Additions and Explanations contained in the saids Articles in manner and under the provision aftermentioned whereof the Tenor follows.

I

That the Two Kingdoms of Scotland and England shall upon the first day of May next ensuing the date hereof and forever after be United into One Kingdom by the Name of Great Britain And that the Ensigns Armorial of the said United Kingdom be such as Her Majesty shall appoint and the Crosses of St Andrew and St George be conjoined in such manner as Her Majesty shall think fit and used in all Flags Banners Standards and Ensigns both at Sea and Land

II

That the Succession to the Monarchy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and of the Dominions thereunto belonging after Her Most Sacred Majesty and in default of Issue of Her Majesty be, remain and continue to the Most Excellent Princess Sophia Electoress and Dutchess Dowager of Hanover and the Heirs of Her body being Protestants upon whom the Crown of England is settled by an Act of Parliament made in England in the twelth year of the Reign of His late Majesty King William the Third entituled An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject And that all Papists and persons marrying Papists shall be excluded from and for ever incapable to inherit possess or enjoy the Imperial Crown of Great Britain and the Dominions thereunto belonging or any part thereof And in every such case the Crown and Government shall from time to time descend to and be enjoyed by such person being a Protestant as should have inherited and enjoyed the same in case such Papists or person marrying a Papist was naturally dead according to the provision for the Descent of the Crown of England made by another Act of Parliament in England in the first year of the Reign of their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary entituled An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and settling the Succession of the Crown

III

That the United Kingdom of Great Britain be Represented by one and the same Parliament to be stiled the Parliament of Great Britain

IV

That all the Subjects of the United Kingdom of Great Britain shall from and after the Union have full Freedom and Intercourse of Trade and Navigation to and from any port or place within the said United Kingdom and the Dominions and Plantations thereunto belonging And that there be a Communication of all other Rights Privileges and Advantages which do or may belong to the Subjects of either Kingdom except where it is otherwayes expressly agreed in these Articles

Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant (1912)

This Covenant was signed by more than 237000 Ultster men (women were not allowed to sign it).

Being convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship, and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of His Gracious Majesty King George V, humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, do hereby pledge ourselves in solemn Covenant, throughout this our time of threatened calamity, to stand by one another in defending, for ourselves and our children, our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom, and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland. And in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us, we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognise its authority.

In sure confidence that God will defend the right, we hereto subscribe our names.

In the same spirit, 234000 Ulster women signed the following declaration:

We, whose names are underwritten, women of Ulster, and loyal subjects of our gracious King, being firmly persuaded that Home Rule would be disastrous to our Country, desire to associate ourselves with the men of Ulster in their uncompromising opposition to the Home Rule Bill now before Parliament, whereby it is proposed to drive Ulster out of her cherished place in the Constitution of the United Kingdom, and to place her under the domination and control of a Parliament in Ireland.

Praying that from this calamity God will save Ireland, we here to subscribe our names.

THE PARTITION OF IRELAND

Letter on the partition of Ulster addressed to the British Lord Chancellor from Charles McLorinan, a Catholic living in Northern Ireland, 1 June 1922

When Northern Ireland was formed in 1920, it was decided, partly because of where Catholic and Protestant populations lived, to only include six of the nine counties of Ulster within the new state. Thus, the remaining three counties eventually formed part of the Irish Free State.

My Lord,

May I take the liberty of making a suggestion to you - solely in the interest of peace in this part of the world.

The root cause of the trouble here is that the Catholics and the Nationalists feel that Ulster was unfairly divided by the 1920 Act. The opposition of Ulster (all Ulster) was used as an argument against Home Rule, but when it came to forming a separate Government here, all Ulster was not taken as a unit, it was cut up in such a way as to empower 820,000 Protestants to rule over 420,000 Catholics. The result being that Catholics will not enter the Northern Parliament. If all Ulster had been taken as a unit, there would have been 890,000 Protestants as against 690,000 Catholics. This would have enabled Catholics to form a strong minority in the Northern Parliament so strong that they could have protected themselves fairly well and perhaps in the near future, with the aid of liberal minded Protestants, to get into office as happens in England and other civilised countries. As it is Catholics see no hope of anything save being ruled for all time by their hereditary enemies. This to them is an intolerable state of affairs. Sir James Craig told a friend of mine lately that to induce Catholics to enter his Parliament he would be willing to give them representation in proportion to their numbers in the six counties. This is a move in the right direction.

Could you not appoint some outstanding English statesman, in whom both sides would have confidence, as a special commissioner to arrange the matter, just as the British Government appointed Lord Durham in 1867 to settle the Canadian difficulty?

There is no great affection between Northern Catholics and Southern Catholics and if Northern Catholics were treated fairly, they would support the Northern Parliament.

The National Archives, HO 45/24812. https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/HO45-24812-source-3-scaled.jpg

KING GEORGE V OPENS NORTHERN IRELAND PARLIAMENT (1921)

In June 1921 the British king, George V, travelled to Belfast and addressed the opening of the Northern Ireland parliament:

Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons.

For all who love Ireland, as I do with all my heart, this is a profoundly moving occasion in Irish history. My memories of the Irish people date back to the time when I spent many happy days in Ireland as a midshipman. My affection for the Irish people has been deepened by the successive visits since that time, and I have watched with constant sympathy the course of their affairs.

I could not have allowed myself to give Ireland by deputy alone My earnest prayers and good wishes in the new era which opens with this ceremony, and I have therefore come in person, as the head of the Empire, to inaugurate this parliament on Irish soil. I inaugurate it with deep felt hope and I feel assured that you will do your utmost to make it an instrument of happiness and good government for all parts of the community which you represent.

This is a great and critical occasion in the history of the Six Counties – but not for the Six Counties alone, for everything which interests them touches Ireland, and everything which touches Ireland finds an echo in the remotest parts of the Empire. Few things are more earnestly desired throughout the English speaking world than a satisfactory solution of the age long Irish problems, which for generations embarrassed our forefathers, as they now weigh heavily upon us…

I am confident that the important matters entrusted to the control and guidance of the Northern Parliament will be managed with wisdom and with moderation, with fairness and due regard to every faith and interest, and with no abatement of that patriotic devotion to the Empire which you proved so gallantly in the Great War… My hope is broader still. The eyes of the whole Empire are on Ireland today, that Empire in which so many nations and races have come together in spite of ancient feuds, and in which new nations have come to birth within the lifetime of the youngest in this Hall.

I am emboldened by that thought to look beyond the sorrow and the anxiety which have clouded of late My vision of Irish affairs. I speak from a full heart when… I appeal to all Irishmen to pause, to stretch out the hand of forbearance and conciliation, to forgive and to forget, and to join in making for the land which they love a new era of peace, contentment, and goodwill… For this the parliament of the United Kingdom has in the fullest measure provided the powers; for this the parliament of Ulster is pointing the way. The future lies in the hands of My Irish people themselves.

May this historic gathering be the prelude of a day in which the Irish people, North and South, under one parliament or two, as those parliaments may themselves decide, shall work together in common love for Ireland upon the sure foundations of mutual justice and respect.

THE ANGLO-IRISH TREATY (1921)

1. Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the Community of Nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace order and good government of Ireland and an Executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.

2. Subject to the provisions hereinafter set out the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada, and the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern their relationship to the Irish Free State.

3. The representative of the Crown in Ireland shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor-General of Canada and in accordance with the practice observed in the making of such appointments.
…
6. Until an arrangement has been made between the British and Irish Governments whereby the Irish Free State undertakes her own coastal defence, the defence by sea of Great Britain and Ireland shall be undertaken by His Majesty's Imperial Forces.
…
11. Until the expiration of one month from the passing of the Act of Parliament for the ratification of this instrument, the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State shall not be exercisable as respects Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act 1920, shall, so far as they relate to Northern Ireland remain of full force and effect…

16. Neither the Parliament of the Irish Free State nor the Parliament of Northern Ireland shall make any law so as either directly or indirectly to endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school or make any discrimination as respects State aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for public utility purposes and on payment of compensation…

17. By way of provisional arrangement for the administration of Southern Ireland during the interval which must elapse between the date hereof and the constitution of a Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State in accordance therewith, steps shall be taken forthwith for summoning a meeting of members of Parliament elected for constituencies in Southern Ireland since the passing of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and for constituting a provisional Government, and the British Government shall take the steps necessary to transfer to such provisional Government the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties, provided that every member of such provisional Government shall have signified in writing his or her acceptance of this instrument. But this arrangement shall not continue in force beyond the expiration of twelve months from the date hereof.

18. This instrument shall be submitted forthwith by His Majesty's Government for the approval of Parliament and by the Irish signatories to a meeting summoned for the purpose of the members elected to sit in the House of Commons of Southern Ireland and if approved shall be ratified by the necessary legislation.

THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT
April 10, 1998

Declaration of Support

1. We, the participants in the multi-party negotiations, believe that the agreement we have negotiated offers a truly historic opportunity for a new beginning.

2. The tragedies of the past have left a deep and profoundly regrettable legacy of suffering. We must never forget those who have died or been injured, and their families. But we can best honour them through a fresh start, in which we firmly dedicate ourselves to the achievement of reconciliation, tolerance, and mutual trust, and to the protection and vindication of the human rights of all.

3. We are committed to partnership, equality and mutual respect as the basis of relationships within Northern Ireland, between North and South, and between these islands.

4. We reaffirm our total and absolute commitment to exclusively democratic and peaceful means of resolving differences on political issues, and our opposition to any use or threat of force by others for any political purpose, whether in regard to this agreement or otherwise.

5. We acknowledge the substantial differences between our continuing, and equally legitimate, political aspirations. However, we will endeavour to strive in every practical way towards reconciliation and rapprochement within the framework of democratic and agreed arrangements. We pledge that we will, in good faith, work to ensure the success of each and every one of the arrangements to be established under this agreement. It is accepted that all of the institutional and constitutional arrangements - an Assembly in Northern Ireland, a North/South Ministerial Council, implementation bodies, a British-Irish Council and a British-Irish Intergovernmental Conference and any amendments to British Acts of Parliament and the Constitution of Ireland - are interlocking and interdependent and that in particular the functioning of the Assembly and the North/South Council are so closely inter-related that the success of each depends on that of the other.

6. Accordingly, in a spirit of concord, we strongly commend this agreement to the people, North and South, for their approval.

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

1. The participants endorse the commitment made by the British and Irish Governments that, in a new British-Irish Agreement replacing the Anglo-Irish Agreement, they will:

(i) recognise the legitimacy of whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its status, whether they prefer to continue to support the Union with Great Britain or a sovereign united Ireland;

(ii) recognise that it is for the people of the island of Ireland alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively and without external impediment, to exercise their right of self-determination on the basis of consent, freely and concurrently given, North and South, to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish, accepting that this right must be achieved and exercised with and subject to the agreement and consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland;

(iii) acknowledge that while a substantial section of the people in Northern Ireland share the legitimate wish of a majority of the people of the island of Ireland for a united Ireland, the present wish of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland, freely exercised and legitimate, is to maintain the Union and, accordingly, that Northern IrelandÂ's status as part of the United Kingdom reflects and relies upon that wish; and that it would be wrong to make any change in the status of Northern Ireland save with the consent of a majority of its people;

(iv) affirm that if, in the future, the people of the island of Ireland exercise their right of self-determination on the basis set out in sections (i) and (ii) above to bring about a united Ireland, it will be a binding obligation on both Governments to introduce and support in their respective Parliaments legislation to give effect to that wish;

(v) affirm that whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland, the power of the sovereign government with jurisdiction there shall be exercised with rigorous impartiality on behalf of all the people in the diversity of their identities and traditions and shall be founded on the principles of full respect for, and equality of, civil, political, social and cultural rights, of freedom from discrimination for all citizens, and of parity of esteem and of just and equal treatment for the identity, ethos, and aspirations of both communities;

(vi) recognise the birthright of all the people of Northern Ireland to identify themselves and be accepted as Irish or British, or both, as they may so choose, and accordingly confirm that their right to hold both British and Irish citizenship is accepted by both Governments and would not be affected by any future change in the status of Northern Ireland.

2. The participants also note that the two Governments have accordingly undertaken in the context of this comprehensive political agreement, to propose and support changes in, respectively, the Constitution of Ireland and in British legislation relating to the constitutional status of Northern Ireland.

The Agreement (Belfast, 10 April 1998), "Declaration of Support." Avalon Project, Yale Law School.
https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/good_friday.asp

RELIGION AND THE FORMATION OF BRITISH IDENTITY

David Cameron,
Speech for the 400th anniversary of the King James Bible

Background reading: Factsheet: Establishment and the Church of England (Religion Media Centre):
https://religionmediacentre.org.uk/factsheets/factsheet-establishment-and-the-church-of-england/

David Cameron : ***"We are a Christian country and we should not be afraid to say so"***
Christ Church, Oxford, 16 December 2011

Report by Matthew Barrett for the Conservativehome website

Earlier today, David Cameron gave a keynote speech to Church of England members at Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, celebrating the 400th anniversary of the King James Bible.

It was an unashamedly moral and pro-Christian speech. A flavour of what followed came in the introductory remarks, when Mr Cameron said "we are a Christian country. And we should not be afraid to say so."

His speech touched on some key themes, highlighted below.

Firstly, the Prime Minister paid tribute to the King James Bible's cultural contributions: "Along with Shakespeare, the King James Bible is a high point of the English language... Like Shakespeare, the King James translation dates from a period when the written word was intended to be read aloud. And this helps to give it a poetic power and sheer resonance that in my view is not matched by any subsequent translation."

Secondly, the Prime Minister explained the political legacy of the KJB: "The Bible runs through our political history in a way that is often not properly recognised. The history and existence of a constitutional monarchy owes much to a Bible in which Kings were anointed and sanctified with the authority of God and in which there was a clear emphasis on the respect for Royal Power and the need to maintain political order. Jesus said: 'Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.' And yet at the same time, the Judeo-Christian roots of the Bible also provide the foundations for protest and for the evolution of our freedom and democracy. The Torah placed the first limits on Royal Power. And the knowledge that God created man in his own image was, if you like, a game changer for the cause of human dignity and equality."

…

The Prime Minister then rejected the notion politicians shouldn't "do God", because Christianity has fundamentally shaped British civilisation. The Prime Minister said: "[A]s Margaret Thatcher once said, 'we are a nation whose ideals are founded on the Bible.' Responsibility, hard work, charity, compassion, humility, self-sacrifice, love, pride in working for the common good and honouring the social obligations we have to one another, to our families and our communities these are the values we treasure. Yes, they are Christian values. And we should not be afraid to acknowledge that."

Mr Cameron continued: "But they are also values that speak to us all -- to people of every faith and none. And I believe we should all stand up and defend them. Those who oppose this usually make the case for secular neutrality. They argue that by saying we are a Christian country and standing up for Christian values we are somehow doing down other faiths. And that the only way not to offend people is not to pass judgement on their behaviour. I think these arguments are profoundly wrong. And being clear on this is absolutely fundamental to who we are as a people, what we stand for, and the kind of society we want to build."

…

The Prime Minister concluded: I believe the Church of England has a unique opportunity to help shape the future of our communities. But to do so it must keep on the agenda that speaks to the whole country. The future of our country is at a pivotal moment. The values we draw from the Bible go to the heart of what it means to belong in this country and you, as the Church of England, can help ensure that it stays that way.

ConservativeHome, 16 December 2011. https://www.conservativehome.com/thecolumnists/2011/12/david-cameron-we-are-a-christian-country-and-we-should-not-be-afraid-to-say-so.html

The Oath

Archbishop of Canterbury:

Your Majesty,
the Church established by law, whose settlement you will swear to maintain, is committed to the true profession of the Gospel, and, in so doing, will seek to foster an environment in which people of all faiths and beliefs may live freely.
The Coronation Oath has stood for centuries and is enshrined in law.
Are you willing to take the Oath?

The King:

I am willing.

The King places his hand on the Bible, and the Archbishop administers the Oath.

Archbishop of Canterbury:

Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the Peoples of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, your other Realms and the Territories to any of them belonging or pertaining, according to their respective laws and customs?

The King:

I solemnly promise so to do.

Archbishop of Canterbury:

Will you to your power cause Law and Justice, in Mercy, to be executed in all your judgements?

The King:

I will.

The wording before the Oath explains that the Church of England seeks to foster an environment where people of all faiths and beliefs may live freely. In the words of Her Late Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, "gently and assuredly, the Church of England has created an environment for other faith communities and indeed people of no faith to live freely". King Charles III, at a reception at Buckingham Palace days before his late mother's funeral, drew attention to this same fact. He reflected that his Anglican Christian confession committed him to the common good of freedom for all faith and belief traditions, as articulated in this wording.

An oath or promise made by the monarch has always been part of the Coronation Rite. In 973 King Edgar's promise was to defend the church in peace, to forbid extortion and crime, and to be equable and merciful in his judgements. King Edgar's promise was largely unchanged for three hundred years, when a fourth clause was added. In 1689 the Oath was expanded and reformulated for the joint Coronation of William and Mary.

This Oath is prescribed by the Coronation Oath Act 1688, an Act of Parliament. An innovation in this service is that the Oath is preceded by a short paragraph in which the Archbishop reflects that the church will continue to seek to foster an environment where all people may live freely. This reflects the words of Her Late Majesty in 2012, when she said 'The concept of our established Church is occasionally misunderstood and, I believe, commonly under-appreciated. Its role is not to defend Anglicanism to the exclusion of other religions. Instead, the Church has a duty to protect the free practice of all faiths in this country.'

Archbishop of Canterbury:

Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the Laws of God and the true profession of the Gospel? Will you to the utmost of your power maintain in the United Kingdom the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law? Will you maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, as by law established in England? And will you preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of England, and to the Churches there committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain to them or any of them?

The King:

All this I promise to do.

The things which I have here before promised I will perform and keep. So help me God.

Archbishop of Canterbury:

Your Majesty, are you willing to make, subscribe and declare to the statutory Accession Declaration Oath?

The King:

I am willing.

The King:

I Charles do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare that I am a faithful Protestant, and that I will, according to the true intent of the enactments which secure the Protestant succession to the Throne, uphold and maintain the said enactments to the best of my powers according to law.

A short anthem is sung during the signing of the Oath.

Church dissent over Blair's bishops veto

Jonathan Petre

"Church dissent over Blair's bishops veto"

The Telegraph, 3 September 2000

SENIOR Churchmen have launched a campaign to end the Prime Minister's central role in the appointment of bishops.

In a move that would unravel the Church of England's links with the State, a diocese has tabled a General Synod motion urging that Tony Blair's power of veto over the Church's candidates to be removed.

Similar calls have been made in the past by individuals but have been brushed aside as unrepresentative. The latest move, however, has the support of a growing number of Church leaders because it comes after proposed reforms to the House of Lords which will undermine the Government's traditional role. It also comes amid renewed controversy over Mr Blair's intervention in Church politics after the reform of the House of Lords.

The Prime Minister has historically justified his power of veto over the two names put forward by the Church by arguing that he has the constitutional responsibility to appoint all members of the Lords, both temporal and spiritual. In the spring, however, the Government signalled that it planned to set up a statutory appointments commission, effectively ending the Prime Minister's right to appoint peers.

Canon Christina Baxter, the chairman of the Synod's influential House of Laity, said yesterday that changes to the Church's system were "well overdue" and that the issue was certain to be raised by the Synod later this year. She said: "I would be much in favour of removing any political influence from the appointment of bishops." David McClean, a professor of law at Sheffield University and Ms Baxter's predecessor as Laity chairman, said: "The intervention of the head of a political party in the appointment of bishops is no longer acceptable."

The Bishop of Woolwich, the Rt Rev Colin Buchanan, an outspoken campaigner for disestablishment, said that the Lords reforms destroyed the basis on which Lord Callaghan, the former prime minister, established the present system in the Seventies. Bishop Buchanan, who is behind the diocese of Southwark motion, said that he hoped it could be debated by the Synod later this year or early next year, to coincide with an official review of the system which is underway.

Mr Blair has privately made clear that he cherishes the status quo, and a Downing Street insider said: "He would be very reluctant to relinquish any powers." He has recently been embroiled in controversy after reports that he overruled the Church's first choice of bishops for several posts, most significantly in the key diocese of Liverpool.

Frank Field, the former Labour minister who is a prominent Anglican, said: "Logically, the Southwark diocese is right, but in practice the present system has turned out well for the nation. It is to everyone's advantage to have a court of appeal."

Under the present system, the Prime Minister is given two names by the Crown Appointments Commission, the body chaired by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York which vets candidates for diocesan posts. The Prime Minister, who recommends names to the Queen, can accept the commission's first preference, select the second name or, in extreme circumstances, reject both, forcing the commission to come up with two more names.

Baroness Thatcher, when she was prime minister, reportedly vetoed the appointment of the Rt Rev Jim Thompson, a Left-winger, as Bishop of Birmingham. She was also determined to prevent Dr John Habgood, the then Archbishop of York, being elevated to Canterbury.

Within the Church, however, there is strong resentment towards political interference and many are calling for a more transparent way of appointing bishops, perhaps by allowing dioceses to elect them. Some want the Prime Minister to be handed only one name to rubber stamp. Others, including Ms Baxter, want Downing Street bypassed completely, with the Church's choice given to the Queen directly by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Rev Stephen Trott, a Church Commissioner and member of the Synod, said: "The way the appointment of bishops is organised should be transparent rather than masonic, as it is now. There should be a Church appointments commission free of political interference, but at least half of it should be drawn from the diocese in question and the other half should be elected members from the Synod. Things should change, and quickly."

The Telegraph, 3 September 2000.

Margaret Thatcher's Speech to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, May 1988 (also known as "The Sermon on the Mound[1]")

Moderator, recently there have been great debates about religious education. I believe strongly that politicians must see that religious education has a proper place in the school curriculum. *[Applause]*

In Scotland, as in England, there is an historic connection expressed in our laws between Church and State. The two connections are of a somewhat different kind, but the arrangements in both countries are designed to give symbolic expression to the same crucial truth: that the Christian religion—which, of course, embodies many of the great spiritual and moral truths of Judaism—is a fundamental part of our national heritage. And I believe it is the wish of the overwhelming majority of people that this heritage should be preserved and fostered. *[Applause]* For centuries it has been our very life blood. And indeed we are a nation whose ideals are founded on the Bible.

Also, it is quite impossible to understand our history or literature without grasping this fact, and that's the strong practical case for ensuring that children at school are given adequate instruction in the part which the Judaic-Christian tradition has played in moulding our laws, manners and institutions. How can you make sense of Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott, or of the constitutional conflicts of the 17th century in both Scotland and England, without some such fundamental knowledge?

But I go further than this. The truths of the Judaic-Christian tradition are infinitely precious, not only, as I believe, because they are true, but also because they provide the moral impulse which alone can lead to that peace, in the true meaning of the word, for which we all long.

To assert absolute moral values is not to claim perfection for ourselves. No true Christian could do that. What is more, one of the great principles of our Judaic-Christian inheritance is tolerance. People with other faiths and cultures have always been welcomed in our land, assured of equality under the law, of proper respect and of open friendship. There's absolutely nothing incompatible between this and our desire to maintain the essence of our own identity. There is no place for racial or religious intolerance in our creed.

[1] The Mound is the name of the hill on which the Church of Scotland's Assembly Hall stands in Edinburgh.

19th Century Anti-Catholicism

Background reading: The Re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in England, 1850 (Victorian Web): https://victorianweb.org/religion/Hierarchy_Reestablished.html

The Blight of Popery

The Bulwark or Reformation Journal*, first issue, June 1851, pp. 41–33*

When an enlightened traveller passes from the domains of Protestantism to those of the Romish Church, he immediately perceives that he has entered upon a strange territory, over which a base and gloomy genius seems to preside. The mental, moral, and social aspect of mankind are in many respects changed. ... Signs of a degrading superstition force themselves upon the attention at every turn. Images of virgins and other tutelar saints appear to demand the homage of those who pass along the street; whilst the churches and their gaudy shrines are decked with the costly gifts of servile worshippers. We do not wonder that the Romanist can hardly attain to any spiritual views and feelings of religion amidst this grossness of creature-worship, which materializes the perceptions of the soul, and prevents its realizing the feeling of an omnipresent Deity. The spiritual senses are effectually blunted, and grovelling images destroy the purity of worship, and humanize those affections which ought to be divine. Every feature of Christianity is presented to the people in a debased form, which reacts upon their minds, and makes their ideas of religion mean and carnal.

The public streets swarm with clergy and soldiers, in their respective uniforms, as parasites of a despotism which controls the liberty of thought and action. The ubiquitous priests and monks furnish a constant memento that conscience is under the yoke, and that no freedom of judgement is allowed. The armed police announce that a watch is placed over every movement, that speech must be restrained, and that the press is under strict censorship. The development of mind is thus painfully cramped, and the range of mental acquirements is contracted within a narrow compass. Genius languishes, thought refuses to soar, and the intellectual faculties are forbidden to expatriate. … But the powers of human nature cannot be altogether repressed; and when checked in one direction they will expand in another; when prevented from following after what is noble and excellent, they will infallibly pursue what is sordid and vicious. …

With the advancement of popish power and influence there has always been a retrograde movement in virtue and civilization. The moral and social aspect of the people is more unpromising than in the days of heathenism. Intellect has become dwarfish, enterprise languishes, trade fails, poverty and rags abound, the streets swarm with beggars, filth and meanness prevail, indolence and vice are depicted in the countenance, profligates flaunt about without any apparent sense of shame. … Spain, Portugal, and other lands where Popery has been all-prevalent, would tell the same tale of moral and civil degradation. A comparison of the Romish and Protestant cantons of Switzerland, or of the northern and southern counties of Ireland, would attest the same melancholy truth. ... The very principles of Popery, since it reached the zenith of its power, and obtained a perfect organization, are such as must work for evil to the mass of a population. As its power rises, the people must fall. It is in direct antagonism to the free and healthful play of the human faculties, to mental enlightenment, to civil progression, to social worth and domestic happiness. It is not from an accidental failure of Roman

counsels that these countries have receded in the scale of civilization, nor from an outward pressure of foreign hostility, nor from any national calamity having befallen them; it is the necessary fruit of a corrupt and heartless system of priestcraft, which shrinks from no means to accomplish its ambitious purposes, and which is willing to sit enthroned upon the wrecks of humanity, provided it can achieve its own aggrandizement, and fill itself with the spoils of passive adherents.

Reproduced by Anthony S. Wohl, Victorian Web; original in E. R. Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England (1968), pp. 183–185. https://victorianweb.org/religion/The_Bulwark.html

Remember, Remember? Why we shouldn't forget the history surrounding the Gunpowder Plot

Josephine Warren / 05 November 2024, The Tablet /



Revellers at Lewes-Gunpowder parade.

Credit: Peter Trimming

Like many people, every year on 5 November, I find myself muttering the words of this familiar rhyme, so deep is it ingrained in the public consciousness. Most of us will be vaguely aware that the plot of the rhyme was carried out by the shadowy Guy Fawkes, and he tried to blow up parliament and the King – James I of England and VI of Scotland. But it is worth digging into the details.

The recent series *Gunpowder* (BBC – now on Netflix) went some way to telling the true story of the plot. The real ringleader was Robert Catesby. But the series should be watched with caution because it has the usual sprinkling of artistic licence, with invented characters and scenes.

None the less, the real story is much more interesting. When James I ascended the throne, Catholics in this country had survived a number of increasingly harsh penal laws under Elizabeth I from the Act of Uniformity in 1559 which mandated attendance at Church of England services, to the 'Jesuits Etc' Act of 1584 which commanded Catholic priests to leave the country within 40 days or swear allegiance to the Queen. If they did not, they would face arrest for treason, and quite probably a horrible death. Anyone protecting or hiding priests could be imprisoned (or worse). 'Recusants' – the word coming from the Latin to 'reject' or 'oppose' – is the term used for Catholics in this period who refused to comply with the law and were liable to pay increasingly heavy fines as well as being prevented from holding public office or attending university in England.

The new King was son of – the Catholic – Mary Queen of Scots, and at his accession to the throne in March 1603, a nascent hope began to gain momentum in the English Catholic community that better and easier times were on the horizon. They were, however, to be sorely disappointed, and desperation and resentment began to simmer.

Robert Catesby took it upon himself to do something about this. He gathered a group of co-conspirators around him and hatched a plan. Catesby's brothers in arms were Thomas Wintour, Thomas Percy, Guy Fawkes, and were later joined by Robert Keyes, John and Christopher Wright, Robert Wintour, Thomas Bates, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, Sir Everard Digby and Francis Tresham. Percy rented a cellar beneath the House of Lords with a plan to fill it with gunpowder and blow the King and his parliament sky high before placing his nine-year-old daughter, Princess Elizabeth, on the throne. The plotters decided that the potential loss of life was justifiable if it meant the restoration of the Catholic faith.

Life in England at the beginning of the 17th century could be brutal and short. Add to this the targeted persecution and oppression of Catholics, and one might begin to understand the context for the Plot and why the plotters took the risks they did. Guy Fawkes was an experienced soldier and understood how to use gunpowder. Born and raised in York, his stepfather was a recusant Catholic, and he ultimately converted. Fawkes would have been at school in York when Saint Margaret Clitherow was arrested for harbouring Catholic priests and was tortured to death whilst pregnant with her fourth child. We don't know, but perhaps he had witnessed the execution and this had brutalised a young Guido Fawkes and led him to justify his later.

Fawkes was tasked with hiding the gunpowder in the hired cellar. There was sufficient to destroy a large part of Parliament and kill the King and those gathered round him. The conspirators met in various taverns to finalise the plot, but concern amongst the group had began to grow that the safety of some of the Catholic peers might be at risk. On 26 October 1605, an anonymous letter was received by William Parker, the 4th Baron Monteagle, warning him to avoid the opening of parliament. Monteagle delivered the letter to Robert Cecil the King's trusted Spymaster (his portrait is rumoured to still hang in the headquarters of MI6). Cecil informed the King, who ordered a search, and on the evening of 4 November, Guy Fawkes was discovered in the under croft near the barrels of gunpowder, wearing traveling clothes and with matches and a pocket watch to time the fuse for the blast. He was arrested and under questioning initially claimed he was 'John Johnson' but soon confessed to the plot under torture. Authorities quickly apprehended other conspirators, who had scattered upon learning of Fawkes' capture.

The remaining plotters, including Catesby, Percy, and Wintour, attempted to rally support for an armed Catholic rebellion in the Midlands. Their efforts failed, and they were eventually cornered by government forces. In a final stand at Holbeche Hall in Staffordshire, Catesby, Percy, and several others were killed in a shootout, while the rest were captured and taken to London for trial.

In January 1606, the main conspirators were put on trial for treason. All were found guilty and sentenced to public executions and hanged, drawn, and quartered. The fate of Fawkes and his fellow conspirators was intended to serve as a cautionary tale, reinforcing the government's resolve to suppress Catholic resistance. The 5th of November became an official day of national thanksgiving, with fireworks to remember the gunpowder, and fires burning effigies of Guy Fawkes to remember the infamous plotter.

The impact was long and far reaching. In the short term, the anti-Catholic feeling in England was stronger than it ever had been, and the plot was used to justify the continued use of the anti-Catholic legislation and deepened religious division.

So, as Catholics, should we remember 5 November? The plot was widely condemned by contemporary Catholics, and also had a significant impact on ideas around politics and religious tolerance in this and later periods, cementing the centralisation of government authority and the expansion of state monitoring of political and religious dissenters. Catholic emancipation did not happen until 1829 and was not universally welcomed. The earlier Gordon Riots, after the Catholic Relief Act of 1778 had left at least 400 people dead.

It is possible to condemn the actions and remember the history. The Plot and Fawkes have left an indelible mark in the culture and memory of the country – whether this be through historical drama or events in Lewes and surrounding villages every 5 November where parades attract thousands of people with a parade of torches and the burning of an effigy of Pope Paul V (pope at the time of the plot).

The plotters believed they were freedom fighters but were then as now widely condemned as terrorists. Many groups through history have been oppressed, whether the Catholics of 17th Century England or some of the many minorities oppressed in a range of different ways today. Indeed, there are many places today where allegiance to a particular faith may still lead to death. Desperation motivates some people to desperate measures, even if they cannot be justified. Emancipation took over 200 years from 1605, and the plot might well have delayed that moment. As we move towards the bicentenary of Catholic emancipation in 2029, the fated plot acts a serious reminder of the importance of religious freedom today.

Things to see and places to visit

Not all of the places associated with the plot survive, but here are some things to do and places to visit to learn more about this fascinating period of English history:

The **Tower of London**: There is a range of graffiti left by prisoners in the Tower, including an inscription attributed to Thomas Bates in the Beauchamp Tower. https://www.hrp.org.uk/tower-of-london/whats-on/imprisonment-at-the-tower-exhibition/#gs.gvb0fx

The lantern carried by Guy Fawkes at his arrest can be seen at the **Ashmolean Museum** in Oxford. https://www.ashmolean.org/guy-fawkes-lantern

Coughton Court in Warwickshire, now managed by the National Trust, was home of the Catholic Throckmorton family and it became a hiding place for Catholics after the plot. https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/visit/warwickshire/coughton-court

Harvington Hall, about 20 miles away from Harvington was also owned by the Throckmortons, and has seven priest hides concealed inside. Guided tours are available. The Hall hosts many events, including a history festival in the summer, and an immersive Gunpowder Plot experience (sold out for this year, but tickets for 2025 are on sale from 5 November 2024). https://www.harvingtonhall.co.uk/

Another moated manor house, **Baddesley Clinton** was owned by Henry Ferrers, who also owned the house near the Houses of Parliament that the plotters rented. At the time of the plot, Baddesley was rented by the Vaux sisters, who used it to hide Catholic priests. It is also managed by the National Trust.https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/visit/warwickshire/baddesley-clinton

The **Guy Fawkes Inn**, close to York Minster is supposedly the birthplace of Fawkes, and has displays dedicated to the Plot. It is also possible to visit the **shrine of Saint Margaret Clitherow**, in the Shambles in York. https://www.guyfawkesinnyork.com/ and https://www.yorkoratory.com/shrine

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THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION
AND THE BRITISH POLITICAL SYSTEM

Asquith's speech introducing resolutions prior to the Parliament Bill, 29 March 1910

The Parliament Bill, which became the Parliament Act, 1911, was about abolishing the absolute veto of the House of Lords, replacing it by a 2-year veto. Since 1911, when the Act was passed, the House of Lords has not been able to block legislation from the Commons, but only to delay it.

It was told of a new Member of the then House of Commons that in 1906 he witnessed for the first time the ceremony of opening Parliament. He saw gathered in the other Chamber at one end the King sitting on his throne, at the other end Mr. Speaker standing at the Bar. In between there was that scene of subdued but stately splendour, bringing and making alive to the eye and the imagination the unbroken course of centuries during which we alone here, of all the peoples of the world have been able to reconcile and harmonise the traditions of the past, the needs of the present, the hopes and aspirations of the future. He was a man of very advanced views, and as he gazed upon that unique and impressive spectacle, felt constrained to mutter to a neighbour, a man of like opinions with himself, "This will take a lot of abolishing." So it will. It was a very shrewd observation. But I am not sure that he had mastered the real lesson of the occasion. So far as outward vision goes, one would seem, no doubt, in the presence of such a ceremony as that, to be transplanted to the days of the Plantagenets. The framework is the same; the setting is almost the same. The very figures of the picture—King, Peers, Judges, Commons— are the same, at any rate, in name. But that external and superficial identity masks a series of the greatest transformations that have been recorded in the constitutional experience of mankind. The Sovereign sits there on the Throne of Queen Elizabeth, who, as history tells us, on one occasion, at the end of a single Session, opposed the Royal Veto to no less than forty-eight out of ninety-one Bills which had received the assent of both Houses of Parliament. That Royal Veto, then and for long afterwards, an active and potent enemy of popular rights, is literally as dead as Queen Anne. Yes, Sir; and has the Monarchy suffered? Has the Monarchy suffered? There is not a man among us, in whatever quarter of this House he sits, who does not know the Crown of this Realm, with its hereditary succession, its Prerogatives adjusted from generation to generation to the needs of the people and the calls of the Empire, is held by our Gracious Sovereign by a far securer tenure than ever fell to the lot of any of his Tudor or Stuart ancestors. The liberties again of the Commons, which you, Sir, only a month ago once more claimed and asserted at the same Bar, in time-honoured phrases which carry us back to the days when those liberties were in jeopardy from the Crown— the liberties of the Commons, slowly and patiently won, in these days newly threatened and invaded—not, indeed, through the Crown, but from another quarter—are only in danger if, unlike our forefathers here, we refuse to take the necessary steps to make them safe. But there is one factor in the Constitution which, while everything else has changed, remains, sterilised in its development, possessing and exercising power without authority, still a standing menace and obstacle to progressive legislation and popular government. The absolute Veto of the Lords must follow the Veto of the Crown before the road can be clear for the advent of full-grown and unfettered democracy.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 5th series, XV, cols 1181-1182

The British Constitution in Practice

Background reading: What is the UK constitution? (UCL Constitution Unit):
https://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/explainers/what-uk-constitution

UK Supreme Court

Press Summary — R (Miller) v The Prime Minister; Cherry v Advocate General for Scotland
[2019] UKSC 41, 24 September 2019

JUSTICES: Lady Hale (President), Lord Reed (Deputy President), Lord Kerr, Lord Wilson, Lord Carnwath, Lord Hodge, Lady Black, Lord Lloyd-Jones, Lady Arden, Lord Kitchin, Lord Sales

In giving the judgment of the Court Lady Hale said:

… On 15th August, Nikki da Costa, Director of Legislative Affairs at No 10, sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister, copied to seven people, civil servants and special advisers, recommending that his Parliamentary Private Secretary approach the Palace with a request for prorogation to begin within 9th to 12th September and for a Queen's Speech on 14th October. The Prime Minister ticked 'yes' to that recommendation.

On 27th or 28th August, in a telephone call, he formally advised Her Majesty to prorogue Parliament between those dates. On 28th August, Mr Jacob Rees-Mogg, Leader of the House of Commons and Lord President of the Privy Council, Mr Mark Spencer, Chief Whip, and Baroness Evans of Bowes Park, Leader of the House of Lords, attended a meeting of the Privy Council held by the Queen at Balmoral Castle. An Order in Council was made that Parliament be prorogued between those dates and that the Lord Chancellor prepare and issue a commission for proroguing Parliament accordingly. A Cabinet meeting was held by conference call shortly after that in order to bring the rest of the Cabinet "up to speed" on the decisions which had been taken. That same day, the decision was made public and the Prime Minister sent a letter to all Members of Parliament explaining it. As soon as the decision was announced, Mrs Miller began the … proceedings challenging its lawfulness.

Parliament returned from the summer recess on 3rd September. The House of Commons voted to decide for themselves what business they would transact. The next day what became the European Union (Withdrawal) (No 2) Act passed all its stages in the Commons. It passed all its stages in the House of Lords on 6th September and received royal assent on 9th September. The object of that Act is to prevent the United Kingdom leaving the European Union without a withdrawal agreement on 31st October.

…

The first question is whether the lawfulness of the Prime Minister's advice to Her Majesty is justiciable. This Court holds that it is. The courts have exercised a supervisory jurisdiction over the lawfulness of acts of the Government for centuries. As long ago as 1611, the court held that "the King [who was then the government] hath no prerogative but that which the law of the land allows him". …

The second question…. is what are the limits to [the prerogative] power [to prorogue Parliament]? Two fundamental principles of our Constitution are relevant to deciding that question. The first is Parliamentary sovereignty - that Parliament can make laws which everyone must obey: this would be undermined if the executive could, through the use of the prerogative, prevent Parliament from exercising its power to make laws for as long as it pleased. The second fundamental principle is Parliamentary accountability: in the words of Lord Bingham, senior Law Lord, "the conduct of government by a Prime Minister and Cabinet collectively responsible and accountable to Parliament lies at the heart of Westminster democracy". The power to prorogue is limited by the constitutional principles with which it would otherwise conflict.

For present purposes, the relevant limit on the power to prorogue is this: that a decision to prorogue (or advise the monarch to prorogue) will be unlawful if the prorogation has the effect of frustrating or preventing, without reasonable justification, the ability of Parliament to carry out its constitutional functions as a legislature and as the body responsible for the supervision of the executive. In judging any justification which might be put forward, the court must of course be sensitive to the responsibilities and experience of the Prime Minister and proceed with appropriate caution.

If the prorogation does have that effect, without reasonable justification, there is no need for the court to consider whether the Prime Minister's motive or purpose was unlawful. The third question, therefore, is whether this prorogation did have the effect of frustrating or preventing the ability of Parliament to carry out its constitutional functions without reasonable justification. This was not a normal prorogation in the run-up to a Queen's Speech. It prevented Parliament from carrying out its constitutional role for five out of the possible eight weeks between the end of the summer recess and exit day on 31st October. Proroguing Parliament is quite different from Parliament going into recess. While Parliament is prorogued, neither House can meet, debate or pass legislation. Neither House can debate Government policy. Nor may members ask written or oral questions of Ministers or meet and take evidence in committees. In general, Bills which have not yet completed all their stages are lost and will have to start again from scratch after the Queen's Speech. During a recess, on the other hand, the House does not sit but Parliamentary business can otherwise continue as usual. This prolonged suspension of Parliamentary democracy took place in quite exceptional circumstances: the fundamental change which was due to take place in the Constitution of the United Kingdom on 31st October. Parliament, and in particular the House of Commons as the elected representatives of the people, has a right to a voice in how that change comes about. The effect upon the fundamentals of our democracy was extreme.

No justification for taking action with such an extreme effect has been put before the court. The only evidence of why it was taken is the memorandum from Nikki da Costa of 15th August. This explains why holding the Queen's Speech to open a new session of Parliament on 14th October would be desirable. It does not explain why it was necessary to bring Parliamentary business to a halt for five weeks before that, when the normal period necessary to prepare for the Queen's Speech is four to six days. It does not discuss the difference between prorogation and recess. It does not discuss the impact of prorogation on the special procedures for scrutinising the delegated legislation necessary to achieve an orderly withdrawal from the European Union, with or without a withdrawal agreement, on 31st October. It does not discuss what Parliamentary time would be needed to secure Parliamentary approval for any new withdrawal agreement, as required by section 13 of the European Union (Withdrawal) Act 2018.

The Court is bound to conclude, therefore, that the decision to advise Her Majesty to prorogue Parliament was unlawful because it had the effect of frustrating or preventing the ability of Parliament to carry out its constitutional functions without reasonable justification.

… This means that the Order in Council to which it led was also unlawful, void and of no effect and should be quashed. This means that when the Royal Commissioners walked into the House of Lords it was as if they walked in with a blank sheet of paper. The prorogation was also void and of no effect. Parliament has not been prorogued. This is the unanimous judgment of all 11 Justices.

It is for Parliament, and in particular the Speaker and the Lord Speaker to decide what to do next. Unless there is some Parliamentary rule of which we are unaware, they can take immediate steps to enable each House to meet as soon as possible. It is not clear to us that any step is needed from the Prime Minister, but if it is, the court is pleased that his counsel have told the court that he will take all necessary steps to comply with the terms of any declaration made by this court.

Full text at
https://supremecourt.uk/uploads/R_on_the_application_of_Miller_App_v_The_Prime_Minister_Resp_PS_5bceabae20.pdf

Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, 1867

BAGEHOT ON THE DIGNIFIED AND EFFICIENT PARTS OF THE CONSTITUTION

We have in a great community like England crowds of people scarcely more civilised than the majority of two thousand years ago; we have others, even more numerous, such as the best people were athousand years since. … Great communities are like great mountains--they have in them the primary, secondary, and tertiary strata of human progress; the characteristics of the lower regions resemble the life of old times rather than the present life of the higher regions. … When a State is constituted thus, it is not true that the lower classes will be wholly absorbed in the useful; on the contrary, they do not like anything so poor. No orator ever made an impression by appealing to men as to their plainest physical wants, except when he could allege that those wants were caused by some one's tyranny. But thousands have made the greatest impression by appealing to some vague dream of glory, or empire, or nationality. The ruder sort of men--that is, men at ONE stage of rudeness--will sacrifice all they hope for, all they have, THEMSELVES, for what is called an idea--for some attraction which seems to transcend reality, which aspires to elevate men by an interest higher, deeper, wider than that of ordinary life. But this order of men are uninterested in the plain, palpable ends of government; they do not prize them; they do not in the least comprehend how they should be attained. It is very natural, therefore, that the most useful parts of the structure of government should by no means be those which excite the most reverence. The elements which excite the most easy reverence will be the THEATRICAL elements--those which appeal to the senses, which claim to be embodiments of the greatest human ideas, which boast in some cases of far more than human origin. That which is mystic in its claims; that which is occult in its mode of action; that which is brilliant to the eye; that which is seen vividly for a moment, and then is seen no more; that which is hidden and unhidden; that which is specious, and yet interesting, palpable in its seeming, and yet professing to be more than palpable in its results; this, howsoever its form may change, or however we may define it or describe it, is the sort of thing--the only sort--which yet comes home to the mass of men. So far from the dignified parts of a constitution being necessarily the most useful, they are likely, according to outside presumption, to be the least so; for they are likely to be adjusted to the lowest orders--those likely to care least and judge worst about what IS useful.

There is another reason which, in an old constitution like that of England, is hardly less important. The most intellectual of men are moved quite as much by the circumstances which they are used to as by their own will. … It is the dull traditional habit of mankind that guides most men's actions, and is the steady frame in which each new artist must set the picture that he paints. And all this traditional part of human nature is, ex vi termini, most easily impressed and acted on by that which is handed down. Other things being equal, yesterday's institutions are by far the best for to-day; they are the most ready, the most influential, the most easy to get obeyed, the most likely to retain the reverence which they alone inherit, and which every other must win. … We must expect what is venerable to acquire influence because of its inherent dignity; but we must not expect it to use that influence so well as new creations apt for the modern world, instinct with its spirit, and fitting closely to its life.

BAGEHOT ON PARLIAMENT AND THE CABINET

The efficient secret of the English Constitution may be described as the close union, the nearly complete fusion, of the executive and legislative powers. No doubt by the traditional theory, as it exists in all the books, the goodness of our constitution consists in the entire separation of the legislative and executive authorities, but in truth its merit consists in their singular approximation. The connecting link is the Cabinet. By that new word we mean a committee of the legislative body selected to be the executive body. The legislature has many committees, but this is its greatest. It chooses for this, its main committee, the men in whom it has most confidence. It does not, it is true, choose them directly; but it is nearly omnipotent in choosing them indirectly. A century ago the Crown had a real choice of Ministers, though it had no longer a choice in policy. During the long reign of Sir R. Walpole he was obliged not only to manage Parliament but to manage the palace. He was obliged to take care that some court intrigue did not expel him from his place. The nation then selected the English policy, but the Crown chose the English Ministers. They were not only in name, as now, but in fact, the Queen's servants.Remnants, important remnants, of this great prerogative still remain. The discriminating favour of William IV. made Lord Melbourne head of the Whig party when he was only one of several rivals. … But, as a rule, the nominal Prime Minister is chosen by the legislature, and the real Prime Minister for most purposes--the leader of the House of Commons--almost without exception is so. There is nearly always some one man plainly selected by the voice of the predominant party in the predominant house of the legislature to head that party, and consequently to rule the nation. … The legislature chosen, in name, to make laws, in fact finds its principal business in making and in keeping an executive.

BAGEHOT ON THE USE OF MONARCHY

The best reason why Monarchy is a strong government is, that it is an intelligible government. The mass of mankind understand it, and they hardly anywhere in the world understand any other. It is often said that men are ruled by their imaginations; but it would be truer to say they are governed by the weakness of their imaginations. The nature of a constitution, the action of an assembly, the play of parties, the unseen formation of a guiding opinion, are complex facts, difficult to know and easy to mistake. But the action of a single will, the fiat of a single mind, are easy ideas: anybody can make them out, and no one can ever forget them. … The characteristic of the English Monarchy is that it retains the feelings by which the heroic kings governed their rude age, and has added the feelings by which the Constitutions of later Greece ruled in more refined ages. We are a more mixed people than the Athenians, or probably than any political Greeks. We have progressed more unequally. The slaves in ancient times were a separate order; not ruled by the same laws, or thoughts, as other men. It was not necessary to think of them in making a constitution: it was not necessary to improve them in order to make a constitution possible. The Greek legislator had not to combine in his polity men like the labourers of Somersetshire, and men like Mr. Grote. He had not to deal with a community in which primitive barbarism lay as a recognised basis to acquired civilisation. WE HAVE. We have no slaves to keep down by special terrors and independent legislation. But we have whole classes unable to comprehend the idea of a constitution--unable to feel the least attachment to impersonal laws. Most do indeed vaguely know that there are some other institutions besides the Queen, and some rules by which she governs. But a vast number like their minds to dwell more upon her than upon anything else, and therefore she is inestimable. A republic has only difficult ideas in government; a Constitutional Monarchy has an easy idea too; it has a comprehensible element for the vacant many, as well as complex laws and notions for the inquiring few.

BRITAIN'S IMPERIAL LEGACY

Britain’s imperial heritage

Salman Rushdie, ***“The New Empire Within Britain”***

New Society, 9 December 1982

Racism is not a side-issue in contemporary Britain: it is not a peripheral minority affair. I believe that Britain is undergoing a critical phase of its post-colonial period, and this crisis is not simply economic or political. It is a crisis of the whole culture, of society's entire sense of itself. And racism is only the most clearly visible part of this crisis, the tip of the kind of iceberg that sinks ships.

You may not think of the British Empire as a subject worth losing sleep over. After all, surely the one thing one can confidently say about that roseate age of England's precedence, when the map of half the world blushed with pleasure[1] as it squirmed beneath the Pax Britannica, is that it is over, isn't it? Give or take a Falkland Island, the imperial sun has set. And how fine was the manner of its setting; in what good order the British withdrew. Union Jacks fluttered down their poles all around the world, to be replaced by other flags, in all manner of outlandish colours. The pink conquerors crept home, the boxwallahs and memsahibs and bwanas, leaving behind them parliaments, schools, Grand Trunk Roads and the rules of cricket. How gracefully they shrank back into their cold island, abandoning their lives as the dashing people of their dreams, diminishing from the endless steaming landscapes of India and Africa into the narrow horizons of their pallid, drizzled streets. The British have got other things to worry about now; no point, you may say, in exhuming this particular dead horse in order to flog the poor, decomposed creature all over again.

But the connection I want to make is this: that those attitudes are in operation right here as well, here in what E.P. Thompson has described as the last colony of the British Empire. It sometimes seems that the British authorities, no longer capable of exporting governments, have chosen instead to import a new Empire, a new community of subject peoples of whom they think, and with whom they can deal, in very much the same way as their predecessors thought of and dealt with 'the fluttered folk and wild', the 'new-caught, sullen peoples, half-devil and half-child', who made up, for Rudyard Kipling, the White Man's Burden.[2] In short, if we want to understand British racism -- and without understanding no improvement is possible -- it is impossible even to begin to grasp the nature of the beast unless we accept its historical roots. Four hundred years of conquest and looting, four centuries of being told that you are superior to the fuzzy-wuzzies and the wogs, leave their stain. This stain has seeped into every part of the culture, the language and daily life; and nothing much has been done to wash it out.

For proof of the existence of this stain, we can look, for instance, at the huge, undiminished appetite of white Britons for television series, films, plays and books all filled with nostalgia for the Great Pink Age. Or think about the ease with which the English language allows the terms of racial abuse to be coined: wog, frog, kraut, dago, spic, yid, coon, nigger, Argie. Can there be another language with so wide-ranging a vocabulary of racist denigration? And, since I have mentioned Argies, let me quote from Margaret Thatcher's speech at Cheltenham on the third of July, her famous victory address:[3] 'We have learned something about ourselves,' she said then, 'a lesson which we desperately need to learn. When we started out, there were the waverers and the fainthearts, the people who thought we could

no longer do the great things which we once did, that we could never again be what we were. There were those who could not admit it, but -- in their hearts -- they too had their secret fears that it was true: that Britain was no longer a nation that had built an Empire and ruled a quarter of the world. Well, they were wrong.'

... Now if such a leader at such a time felt able to invoke the spirit of imperialism, it was because she knew how central that spirit is to the self-image of white Britons of all classes. I say white Britons because it is clear that Mrs. Thatcher was not addressing the two million or so blacks, who do not feel quite like that about the Empire. So even her use of the word 'we' was an act of racial exclusion, like her other well-known speech about the fear of being 'swamped' by immigrants. With such leaders, it is not surprising that the British are slow to learn the real lessons of their past.

Notes

1. Rushdie refers to the colour pink in which the British Empire was usually painted on British world maps.

2. In 1899 Rudyard Kipling wrote the famous poem “The White Man's Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands at the time of the Philippine-American War,” in which he invited the Americans to imitate the British and other European Empires, and take up the White man's responsibility towards colonised people.

3. Rushdie refers to the British victory in the Falklands War (April–June 1982). The military Junta in power in Argentina at the time invaded the Falklands, which were a British territory off the coast of Argentina. They did not expect Britain to react militarily given the distance and the fact that the Falklands were not an obvious economic or military asset. But Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister at the time, saw this as an unbearable breach of the international order and an affront to British sovereignty. Against the advice of Foreign Office officials who were in favour of negotiating with Argentina, she sent troops to the South Atlantic and after a short, ruthless war, the Falklands were conquered back.

Ending Empire

Radio interview : Ari Shapiro, Ashley Westerman and Sarah Handel

"Barbados has removed the Queen of England as head of state and is now a republic"

NPR, 30 November 2021

Audio available on the course webpage.

ARI SHAPIRO, HOST:

Let's head now to the world's newest republic. The Caribbean island of Barbados made history today. In a lavish ceremony full of dignitaries, politicians and Rihanna, Barbados removed the Queen of England as its head of state. Here is the nation's first president, Dame Sandra Mason, at that ceremony.

(SOUNDBITE OF ARCHIVED RECORDING)

PRESIDENT SANDRA MASON: We the people must give Republic Barbados its spirit and its substance. We must shape its future. We are each other's and our nation's keepers. We the people are Barbados.

SHAPIRO: Kareem Smith is a reporter for the online outlet Barbados Today, and he joins us from Bridgetown. Welcome.

KAREEM SMITH: Thank you for having me.

SHAPIRO: What did it feel like to be at that ceremony?

SMITH: Wow. It was really a rush of excitement. You went through so many different emotions from very early on in the ceremony, which was filled with cultural celebrations, everything that was Barbadian. That touched on our African heritage, our links with Britain, our minority populations that include persons from the Asian continent. So it was just a swell of jubilation. And as the ceremony got a bit later in the evening, it took on a much more solemn character when we saw the arrival of Prince Charles spending the last moment as royalty over Barbados, really, as well as the new president and the prime minister. Mia Mottley was really the mastermind behind this whole transition to a republic. And you really started to get a feeling as though Barbados was truly moving on.

SHAPIRO: Barbados gained independence from Great Britain in 1966, so why did it take so long for the country to take this step?

SMITH: There are many accounts as to why that may have been. We hadn't made a full break like countries like the United States of America and some of the other Latin American countries who are associated with other European powers. But on one hand, it is said that because of the relationship that Barbados had with Britain, those types of reforms - moving towards a full republic - may have been deemed a step too far in terms of the consciousness of Barbadians and their understanding of the Independence Project. But on the other hand, at that point in time, Britain was still very much

trying to cling on to its empire, so to speak. And so I think the process of Barbadians perhaps needed to be a bit more extended to ensure that persons fully understand and could grasp and appreciate the need to fully break away.

SHAPIRO: I'd love for you to tell us a little bit more about the first president, Dame Sandra Mason, because she's a history-making figure as well.

SMITH: First of all, I think what's really exciting about Sandra Mason is the fact that apart from being a born Barbadians who looks like the average Barbadians, she has also been able to identify with the Barbadian struggle. She came up within a working-class family in rural Barbados. She went through the public primary and secondary education systems. And she benefited from the free education that was on offer at the University of the West Indies. She was the first woman to be called to the Barbados Bar as a practicing attorney. She served as the first magistrate to become a diplomat. And really, becoming the first president of Barbados really is the culmination of everything that she stands for. And really, she is a glowing symbol of the Barbadian dream - that despite not being born into some kind of hereditary sovereignty like the queen or inheriting a massive amount of wealth, that you can still aspire to serve within the highest offices of Barbados.

SHAPIRO: So I'm curious. When you walk around the capital Bridgetown today, does it feel different? Like, are there flags and banners out? Are people in the streets? Like, what's the vibe?

SMITH: Yeah. Well, I really don't think that it is as festive as perhaps we would have wanted it to be because we are still currently in one of the most infectious, one of the deadliest waves of COVID-19 that has been a source of economic hardship and a feeling of depression throughout the country. And I think that these republic celebrations really have done quite a bit to renew a sense of hope within the average Barbadian.

Prior to the transition, I must admit that there were many persons who were still wondering, you know, what does this really mean for me, you know? But I think having gone through the ceremonial aspect of it, again, being able to see a daughter of this, I mean, in Robyn Rihanna Fenty - also from a working-class background - rise to become one of the national heroes of Barbados, it really gives an air of hopefulness about what's ahead.

SHAPIRO: I'm thinking, you've got this trio of women - the prime minister, the president and Rihanna. That pretty much says it all.

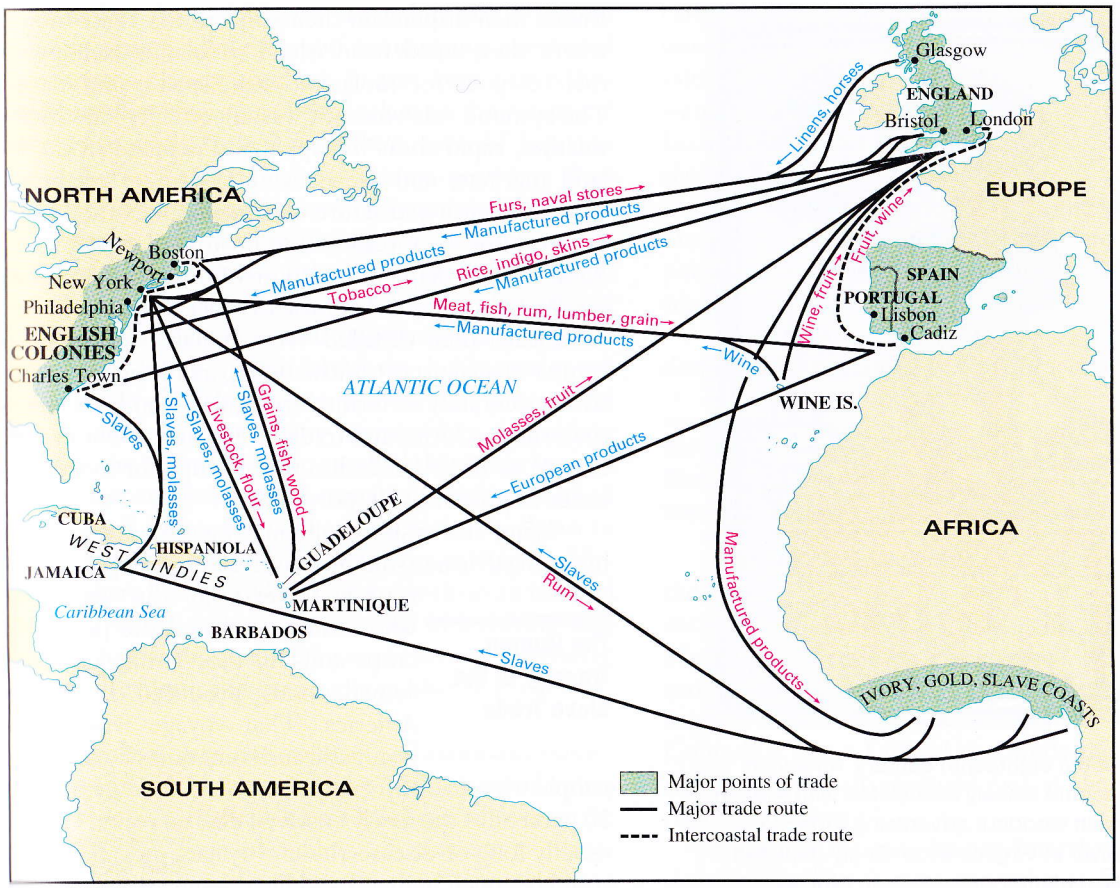
SMITH: Yeah, I remarked quite lightheartedly that we now have three of the most powerful women in the world. And I think all three of those women encapsulate something very, very special about Barbados and about the progressive direction in which we want to go.

SHAPIRO: Kareem Smith is a journalist with Barbados Today. Thank you for talking with us.

SMITH: Thank you.

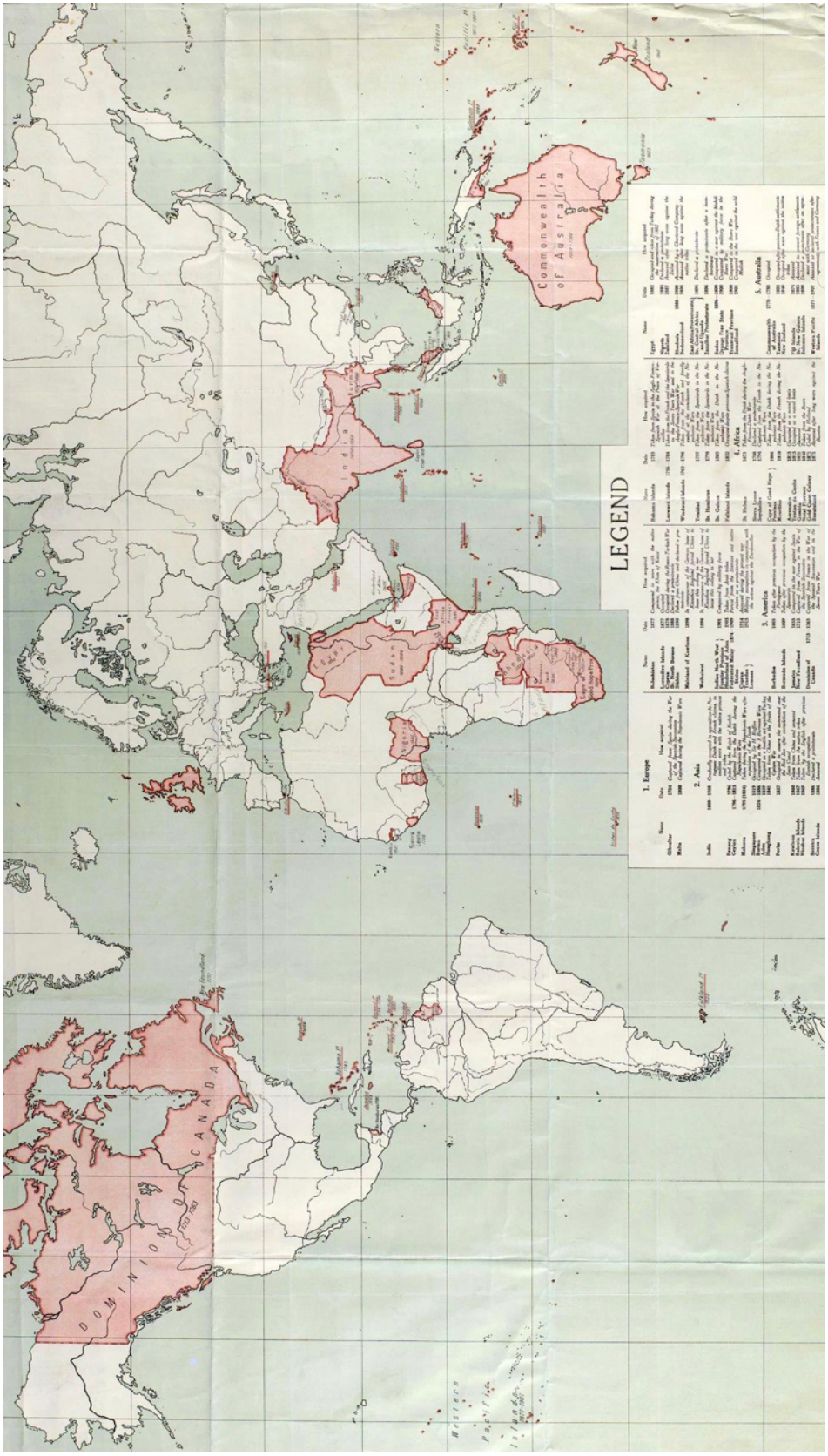
NPR, 30 November 2021. [*https://www.npr.org/2021/11/30/1060185908/barbados-has-removed-the-queen-of-england-as-head-of-state-and-is-now-a-republic*](https://www.npr.org/2021/11/30/1060185908/barbados-has-removed-the-queen-of-england-as-head-of-state-and-is-now-a-republic)

17th and 18th-Century Transatlantic Trade



Map 3.4 Atlantic Trade Routes By the late seventeenth century, an elaborate trade network linked the countries and colonies bordering the Atlantic Ocean. The most valuable commodities exchanged were enslaved people and the products of slave labor.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE 20TH CENTURY




UNITED KINGDOM
AND IRELAND
Scotland
England
Wales
Northern Ireland
Republic of Ireland
International Boundary
N
Shetland Islands
Orkney Islands
Outer Hebrides
Inner Hebrides
Inverness
Aberdeen
SCOTLAND
Dundee
Edinburgh
Glasgow
North Sea
Atlantic Ocean
NORTHERN IRELAND
Belfast
Newcastle upon Tyne
Irish Sea
Dublin
IRELAND
(Republic of Ireland)
Manchester
ENGLAND
Birmingham
WALES
Cardiff
London
Celtic Sea
English Channel
FRANCE
0 100 200 300 400 km
0 100 200 300 miles