A

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

PRINCIPALLY

IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY

LEOPOLD VON RANKE

VOLUME III

CONTENTS.

BOOK XI.

THE COMMONWEALTH IN ENGLAND, 1649—1653.

PAGE

CHAP. I. Republican ideas and institutions in England. The Levellers 3
„ II. Rinuccini and Cromwell in Ireland 22
„ III. Charles II and Cromwell in Scotland 37
„ IV. Growth of the power of the Commonwealth by land and sea 58
„ V. Dissolution of the Long Parliament 71
„ VI. The Little Parliament 85

BOOK XII.

THE PROTECTORATE OF OLIVER CROMWELL, 1653—1658.

CHAP. I. Oliver Cromwell and his elevation to the Protectorate 101
„ II. Embassy to Sweden. Peace with Holland . . 119
„ III. The Parliament of 1654 129
„ IV. Military government. Religious tolerance . . 140
„ V. Rupture with Spain 154
„ VI. The Parliament of 1656, 1657. Idea of a Cromwellian Monarchy 166
„ VII. The general position of the Protectorate at home and abroad in 1657 and 1658 185
Alliance with France and Sweden 185
The Parliament of 1658 191
The War in 1658. 200
„ VIII. Death of Oliver Cromwell 204

BOOK XIII.

FALL OF THE PROTECTORATE AND THE COMMONWEALTH. RESTORATION OF THE MONARCHY, 1658—1660.

PAGE
INTRODUCTION 219
CHAP. I. Attempt to continue the Protectorate 222
„ II. Attempt to form a Commonwealth on a new basis . 234
„ III. Royalist movements in the summer of 1659. . . . 242
„ IV. Supremacy and constitutional projects of the Army . 251
„ V. Lambert and Monk. Restoration of the Rump Parliament 261
„ VI. Anti-republican movement. Monk in the City . . 273
„ VII. Recall of the King 288

BOOK XIV.

THE FIRST FIVE YEARS UNDER CHARLES II. THE RESTORATION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

CHAP. I. The state of affairs at the Restoration 311
„ II. The Convention Parliament in the summer of 1660 . 322
„ III. Foreign policy. Marriages in the Royal Family . 335
„ IV. Religious differences. The Coronation. A new Parliament 348
„ V. The first two years of the Long Parliament of the Restoration. The Act of Uniformity . . . 365
„ VI. Relations with France. Sale of Dunkirk . . . 380
„ VII. A scheme for reunion with Rome. Claim to the dispensing power. Personal relations in Court and State 393

BOOK XV.

THE DUTCH WARS OF CHARLES II. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROTESTANT AND PARLIAMENTARY CHARACTER OF THE CONSTITUTION 1664—1674.

PAGE
INTRODUCTION 415
CHAP. I. The first war with Holland, in the year 1665 . . 417
„ II. Influence of France upon the continuation of war and upon the peace 431
CHAP. III. Fall of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon . . . 447
„ IV. Convention at the Hague in January 1668. Triple Alliance 464
„ V. Government and Parliament in the year 1668 . . 479
„ VI. Secret alliance with France, 1669, 1670 . . . 491
„ VII. Parliamentary sessions from 1669 to 1071 . . . 505
„ VIII. The second war against Holland, 1672 . . . 515
„ IX. Origin of the Test Act 531
„ X. Peace with Holland 542
„ XI. Union of Parliament with the Prince of Orange . 560
„ XII. Movement in literature 572

BOOK XI.

THE COMMONWEALTH IN ENGLAND, 1649—1653.

CHAPTER I.

REPUBLICAN IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS IN ENGLAND. THE LEVELLERS.

It was not in any old parliamentary pretensions, which had gradually risen higher and higher, that the English Republic had its origin, but in a different group of ideas, no less decidedly opposed to the Parliament, such as it had hitherto been, than to the monarchy itself.

In order to understand both the events of the time and the consequences which followed, it is indispensable to realise clearly this opposition. For those motives which give the impulse at the foundation of a new state of things incessantly react upon it.

At the moment when a union appeared possible between the King, the Parliament, and some of the leading officers, on the basis of the old constitution (October 1647), the Agitators in the army conceived the plan of actually carrying out the idea of the sovereignty of the people, so often invoked before, and of building up anew the constitution of the country on that basis. This plan is undisguisedly and expressly stated in the petition which was presented at the time to the council of officers, in the name of five regiments of cavalry. 'Forasmuch,' so runs the petition, 'as all power is originally and in reality vested in the collective people of this nation, the free choice of their representatives and their consent is the sole basis of a lawful government, while the end of government is the common weal.' Conformably to this, it demanded next the dissolution of the Long Parliament, which had not been derived from these principles, and in its stead the complete establishment of a fair and equal representation. The election, as a second document explains, was to be according to manhood suffrage, and was to take place every two years. The representatives were to have the right to enact laws, to alter them, and to repeal them; to appoint magistrates of all grades, to call them to account and to depose them; to negotiate with foreign powers, and to decide on peace and war. Thus not only legislation and administration, but also foreign relations, were to be in their hands. Still they are not on that account to enjoy any absolute power, but to confine themselves within the limits marked out by those from whom their power comes. Three fundamental demands were expressly made at the time: first and foremost, equality before the law, with the inviolable maintenance of the rules of judicial procedure; further, a remarkable demand enough, that no one should be obliged to serve against his will in the army. Lastly, the representatives are not to have the decision in matters of religion. The proposed reform was regarded rather as an obligation imposed by religion; for lawful authority can come from God alone, but the supreme power is entrusted by God to the people, and by them it is handed over to their representatives[1].

They were Independents of strong religious convictions from whom these proposals emanated. They wished to constitute the state according to their own liking, without being restricted either in their religion or in their personal freedom. They expressly took their stand on the principle that the people can be subjected to no single person, and that the authority of the Lords, which does not come from the people, is invalid. In a petition professedly of thousands of well-affected persons in London and its suburbs, but emanating also from one of the most prominent Agitators, Lilburne, it was sought to point out to the Parliament that its whole procedure presupposed, though it had not expressed, these principles. For how otherwise should it have ventured

---

[1] In the letter to the Commons we read, that the simple way to peace was 'the making clear and secure the power that you betrust to your representatifs, that they may know their trust, in the faithful execution whereof you will assist them. Parliaments are to receive the extent of their power and trust from those that betrust them.'

to raise war against the King, which according to the existing laws was the foulest treason, had it not assumed that the King was merely a servant of the people[1].

Parliament at the time expressed its displeasure at these proposals; it declared that they were contrary to the essence of the parliamentary constitution, and tended to destroy the government of the kingdom. For a long time nothing was said about them. When however, towards the end of the year 1648, the rupture between the King and the Parliament was imminent, they were revived in full force. In the council of officers held at St. Albans there were still some votes in favour of a reconciliation, but an address from the officers of Rich's and several other regiments gave expression to counter proposals of a totally different import. They urged that the authors of the war should be punished, that a speedy termination should be put to the existing Parliament, and that the supreme power, including also the relation between the people and its representatives, should be clearly defined[2]. And these proposals were carried. In the Remonstrance, which opened the great drama that led to the execution of the King, the army demanded not only his punishment but also the immediate dissolution of the Parliament. It was to surrender back its high commission into the hands of the people, from whom it had received it, so soon as this could be done with any safety, and to pledge its word that the government of the state should be based upon grounds of common freedom and security. The House of Commons was to be a true representation of the people, and as such to possess the supreme power in all that concerned legislation, war and peace, and even the administration of justice[3]. Every one was to be subject to its authority.

---

[1] The humble petition of thousands of well-affected persons inhabiting the city of London, Westminster, the borough of Southwark, Old Parl. Hist. xvii. 451, copied from the original. It is there ascribed to Henry Martin. But from Lilburne's pamphlet 'England's new chains discovered,' it is clear that it comes from his hand.

[2] The representations and consultations of the general council of the officers at St. Albans.

[3] The highest and final judgment in all civil things without further appeal to any created standing power.

Now that the army was unanimous and proceeded at once to those forcible measures by which the Lower House was purged of its refractory members, all resistance was at an end. In the proceedings against the King the sovereignty of the people was assumed as the fundamental principle. In their very commencement their issue was already involved. This is clear from the resolution passed on the 9th of January, according to which for the future in all commissions and legal transactions under the Great Seal the name of a single person was no longer to be mentioned: at the same time the design for another seal was brought forward, bearing on one side a map of England and Ireland, and on the other a picture of the House of Commons, with the inscription 'In the first year of freedom by God's blessing restored [1]'. From this moment the Commonwealth was virtually in existence.

Now however that their adopted principle had acquired so prodigious an efficacy, it is plain in what a contradictory position the Parliament found itself. It claimed, as it then existed, to be the lawful representative of the people, and the army acquiesced in the claim, because in no other way could it have gained its end. On this false assumption rested the whole procedure. That it was really untenable was obvious. The idea of the sovereignty of the people was from the first hostile to the Parliament no less than to the King, and might at any moment be used as a weapon for its destruction.

In the course of January, in the general council of the officers, the representations to be made to Parliament respecting the constitution and the government were once more considered in detail. The officers avoided repeating a number of the original proposals, those namely which referred to a radical reform of the administration of justice or to the abolition of oppressive burdens: they considered that they ought not to forestall the future legislative authority. So far, on the contrary, as the representation was concerned they assumed the same principles. The representative body was to consist

---

[1] In the first year of freedom by God's blessing restored, 1648. According to Whitelocke it was the work of Henry Martin. But men were not yet prepared to adopt a new era.

of 400 members, to be elected for two years, and to meet always on the second Thursday in June. It was to possess nearly the same rights, and to be subject to nearly the same restrictions that had been formerly proposed; all their resolutions were to be valid without assistance or confirmation from persons outside. For the conduct of public business they were to elect a state council, this council however to be bound by their instructions. On the day on which the trial of the King began, this scheme, entitled 'Agreement of the People of England,' was laid before the Parliament [1]. Had Parliament accepted it, it would have signed its own death-warrant. Nor indeed was it part of its proposers' intention to force it to do so. They were satisfied with having laid down a republican programme which in some degree met the wishes of the army and the needs of the people, without for the present insisting on its execution. The officers could not have ventured to break with the Parliament, whose name and outward authority were essential to them for all they had done and intended to do.

The idea of the sovereignty of the people was not embraced in England with the enthusiasm that it afterwards evoked in another nation: among the members of Parliament many may have shared it; others acquiesced in it as necessary to the assumption and maintenance of the supreme power without the King, and since the troops were determined to be rid of him. There was no thought of constructing a government from the foundations upwards conformably to theory. The real issue lay rather in the fact that the leaders of the army and the Parliamentary chiefs in league with them—those Grandees who since the first advantages gained by the army over the Parliament had played the most prominent part—now seized the sovereign authority for themselves, the latter as claiming themselves to represent the idea of the sovereignty of the people, the other with the concealed purpose of at some future time realising the idea in yet another fashion.

---

[1] Agreement of the people of England upon grounds of common right, freedom and safety. Old Parl. Hist. xviii. 519; 15th January.

These were differences destined hereafter to produce manifold discussions, but which were purposely disregarded at the time, because it was necessary to avoid all open opposition in order to establish under republican forms the supreme power, as it had now become.

The first blow fell on the House of Lords, the resistance of which to the impeachment of the King was the immediate ground on which the principle of the sovereignty of the people was accepted.

After the execution of the King, the Lords reassembled and named a committee to deliberate with a commission of the Lower House on the new constitution of the state. Apparently they cherished the intention of proposing the recognition of the Prince of Wales, though with severe limitations. On the 5th of February they added to the number of the committee and proposed a conference with a committee of the Commons on the following morning at nine. The Commons however were as determined not to let themselves be fettered by conferences with the Upper House. On the same morning they on the contrary embraced the resolution to pay no further regard to the Upper House in the exercise of their legislative authority. This involved a second resolution. The House of Lords was declared useless and dangerous: it therefore deserved to be abolished. On this the House of Lords, during this stage of public affairs, ceased to assemble[1].

On the 7th of February followed the abolition of the monarchy. According to the testimony of experience, so ran the resolution, the office of a king, or the exercise of his power by a single person, is not only useless and troublesome, but moreover dangerous to the freedom and security, and to the public welfare of the nation, and should therefore be abolished[2].

The constitution had consisted hitherto of King, Lords and Commons: the last now took it entirely into their own hands. In the fact that the royal authority was no longer necessary to give the force of law to their decrees was involved the introduction of the Commonwealth in England. The transition was not very surprising, since for some time past the King had been dispensed with. To laws succeeded ordinances, and to ordinances acts of Parliament, obedience to which was equally required.

At the same time it was not perfectly certain whether they would meet with it. The lawyers for instance, who were committed by their profession to the maintenance of existing forms, would they accept the setting aside of the kingly name so quietly? Yet the nation was accustomed to follow their lead, and a standstill in the judicial procedure would have caused a general disturbance. The difficulty became apparent even during the trial of the King, because that trial rendered necessary an extension of the old law term. The judges considered that they ought not to allow this, unless according to precedent they were also authorised to do so by the Lords. The Lords were quite prepared to agree; but the Commons wished to avoid recognising their assistance, now that they had taken the highest power into their own hands. At last two of the commissioners, to whom the Great Seal was entrusted, declared themselves ready at the express command of the House, of which they were members, to publish the necessary documents under their sole authority.

The most prominent of them was Bulstrode Whitelocke, one of Coke's school of parliamentary lawyers, a friend and pupil of Selden, who never it is true went so far as to commit what was actually illegal, but easily acquiesced in it when it was once done. He had an irresistible tendency to attach himself to the ruling powers, and to accept personal promotion from them, provided they allowed the system of English law to remain as a whole such as it had once been established. With his colleague Widdrington he left the city at the time, in order not to take part in the trial of the King: this over however, they returned without a long struggle and resumed their seats on the woolsack. By order of the Commons they brought out the Great Seal stamped with the royal arms, and allowed it to be broken in pieces before their eyes in the House. One of the two,

---

[1] Journals of Lords, 5th February (vol. x.) Journal of Commons, 6th February (vol. vi.)

[2] The office of a King in this nation, and to have the power thereof in any single person.

Widdrington, then retired, Whitelocke however considered himself bound to serve also as commissioner for the administration of the new seal.

His co-operation was of the greatest service in advancing matters. When the adjourned proceedings should have recommenced, on February 9, six of the twelve judges refused to continue in office under the altered conditions. The other six declared themselves ready to do so, but only after a formal abrogation of their oath of allegiance to the King, and on the condition that the House first declared that the fundamental laws of the state should be maintained intact and justice administered according to them.

Thanks to Whitelocke's energy the matter was carried through the Commons the same day, for on him it depended that the administration of justice should not be interrupted for a single day longer: he considered that in securing this he had rendered no slight service to the Parliament [1].

It is clear from Whitelocke's Memorials that he was not without scruples as to his conduct. By the administration of justice, he declared, he had thought to do the best service to God and his country: God had set him in this way and he must go on in it, so long as it was permitted him. He mentions this consideration in a conversation with Lenthall, who had expressed his opinion that the soldiers would treat everything as theirs by right of conquest [2]. The participation of the lawyers in the Republic was a sort of protection against the tendencies of the agitators. Then appeared the declaration of Parliament, that it was fully resolved to maintain intact the fundamental laws of the nation for the public good, and expected that the law courts would proceed in accordance with them.

We may connect with this tendency, so hostile to a general convulsion, the fact that at the election of the State Council which followed, men of such radical views as Harrison and even Ireton, though proposed were not carried.

---

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials 374.

[2] 'To claim all by conquest.' Whitelocke 363. In the same place he also mentions 'the perplexed thought in sober men, who resolved to depend on God and to go on in the way wherein he had set them.'

The Council of State elected on February 14 was entrusted with powers very extensive, but most carefully defined. It was to resist all attempts to restore the monarchy, to maintain peace at home, to reduce to subjection Ireland and the islands which had not yet submitted, to preserve a good understanding with foreign powers, to protect Englishmen abroad and to promote their trade. For these purposes it was entrusted with the command of the land and sea forces, together with their organisation, and with the right to draw from the public revenue the sums necessary for the public service, for instance for negotiations with foreign powers; but over and above this the right also to imprison refractory persons, and to administer to them an oath in time of danger in order to discover the truth [1].

A sufficiently remarkable combination was this of military, diplomatic, police and judicial powers. It comprised all executive authority, to a larger extent than any King had ever enjoyed it, through its connexion with Parliament and the influence it in its turn exercised upon that body. The Council of State acquired the appearance of a compact authority invested with absolute powers.

At its first establishment it was thought advisable to include a number of peers as well as several others who had taken no part in the late proceedings, with the view, it might be supposed, of binding them completely to the Commonwealth. At this point an unexpected difficulty again occurred. Of those who were selected more than half refused to take the prescribed oath, since this contained a formal approval of the execution of the King, of the abolition of the kingly power and of the Upper House, and of the supreme authority as resident in the Lower House [2]. They declined to countenance proceedings, the greater part of which had been carried out in opposition to them. The House was obliged to content itself with their taking an oath to stand by the existing Parliament in defence of the republican government, without King and Lords, and to follow its instructions. To this they all pledged themselves by their signatures. For the past they refused to be responsible, but bound themselves to uphold against every one, by all means, the established order. Still it is very remarkable to notice how various were the elements out of which the supreme authority of the new Republic was composed. Not once did those into whose hands the executive power passed recognise the lawfulness of the acts on which their own existence depended. The principle of the sovereignty of the people was invoked, but no party was willing to carry it out literally. To those who were ready to go to the greatest lengths in doing so the rest opposed a recognition of the existing laws, which necessarily put a limit to their reforms. It resulted however from the nature of the case, that the great motive power which had brought about the new order of things kept the upper hand in the subsequent proceedings as well. The moderation of individual members could not prevent the severest measures from being carried for the defence of the Commonwealth.

---

[1] Old Parliamentary History xix. 9 sqq.

[2] The oath was 'that they approved what the House of Commons and their high court of justice had done against the King, and of their abolishing of kingly government and of the House of Peers, and that the legislative and supreme power was wholly in the House of Commons.' From the Journal (vi. 146) it appears that Grey of Wark was willing to bind himself to obey both Houses, but not to one only: in the Order Book, No. 2, we find further, 'Mr. Whitelocke saith, he likes the main of it, but excepts of those words which concern the court of justice: James Harrington excepts only at the word fully' (wholly).

A list was published of those who were to be treated as traitors and as enemies of the Commonwealth; at their head stood the names of the two sons of the murdered King; they were to die without mercy should they cross the frontiers of the state.

In the last campaign some well-known leaders of the Presbyterians had fallen into the hands of the Parliamentary army. All had surrendered conditionally, and considered themselves prisoners of war whose life was secured. Parliament too, at the time of the negotiations at Newport, had determined not to visit them with any severer penalty than banishment or a fine. But after the violent reconstruction of Parliament this resolution also was recalled, and the declaration publicly made that the prisoners were secured against a military execution only, not against legal proceedings. They were summoned before the Commission which had

condemned the King,—they were Hamilton, Lords Capell and Goring, who had been taken prisoners at the storming of Colchester, and Lord Holland. It is remarkable that the only one of all to find mercy was the determined Royalist, Lord Goring Earl of Norwich. No one regarded him as individually dangerous, but no pity was shown to the rest who for a long time had gone along with the Parliamentary movement, and had afterwards opposed it[1]. For Lord Capell, who had once voted against Strafford, had sided with the King at the time of the great secession, and had since supported him with the weight of his name and advice—one of the few whose moral conduct impressed even his enemies—a favourable feeling was prevalent in Parliament. Cromwell declared that the man would always be a thorn in the side of the Parliament. The Duke of Hamilton observed that they could not wish to take his life, because he, a Scot, at the bidding of his country had led an army over the English border. In the year 1640 a similar act, undertaken for no better an object, had actually counted as a good service. The court of justice however resolved, though his naturalisation was not proved, to treat him as an Englishman. In the records he appears not as the Duke of Hamilton, but (under the English title which he had inherited from his father) as Earl of Cambridge. It was said that, even had he been a foreigner, that could not shelter him from condemnation, as the precedent of Queen Mary Stuart showed. People even went so far as to speak of the subordination of Scotland to England[2]. While Hamilton had been the King's most trusted friend, Holland had been in higher favour with the Queen. She would once have gladly raised him to be the first minister of England. For a long while however he had been kept out by other favourites. His desire to overthrow these and render himself necessary was the strongest motive for his alliance with the leading Parliamentary Puritans, in dealing with whom he still reserved to himself the power to retract everything in which he might have gone too far. Both Hamilton and Holland were men of many and high intellectual gifts and of moderate religious convictions: politically Holland was the more important, in so far as he possessed greater originality of thought and conception. In connexion with the French ambassador he was one of the most prominent founders of the party opposed to the Independents, which embraced both domestic and foreign relations: for this he was now to die. Hamilton was so far less dangerous that he easily allowed himself to be determined by personal fears: it was rather that he was urged forward by those who surrounded him, than that he had given the impulse. He played only the second part. Mercy however was refused him, because he was the natural head of a Scotch party, which though vanquished for the present might at any moment revive. That which he expected would save him, his position as a Scot, actually led to his ruin. It was commonly reported at the time, that to both the hope of pardon had been held out on condition of their naming their accomplices, the confederate promoters of the last outbreak; but they felt sure that the intention was to rob them first of their honour and then of their life. Those in power appeared to have formed the resolution to rid themselves of all men of mark who might ever be capable of resisting them[1]. Their position always implied a continued state of war and a forcible seizure of power.

---

[1] Clarendon iv. 550 (ed. 1849).

[2] Some particulars supplementary to the very defective accounts of the trial in Whitelocke, and from him in State Trials iv, are supplied by Burnet, Hamiltons 394.

The number of the discontented was greater than ever[2], but they were held in check both by the risk of the severest punishment and by actual repression. The sharpest watch was kept over the press: the Council of State appointed censors who caused seditious pamphlets to be examined; their authors were threatened with money fines and even with corporal punishment: the inns were under inspection: every word spoken against the Commonwealth was punished. The secret service involved considerable expenditure.

But it was not from this quarter that fears were generally felt for the new institutions. It was not so much from their opponents in England that resistance threatened them, but far more from their warmest champions, those Agitators, namely, who had contributed most to the establishment of the Commonwealth, but saw their ideas by no means carried out. They already regretted the proposals passed in the council of officers which did not correspond with their own, and they regretted still more the institutions set on foot since then, especially the establishment and omnipotence of the Council of State. It inherited, they said, the corrupt blood of the old courts of justice, such as the Star Chamber and the High Commission. In such hands now rested the land and sea forces, the giving of laws, the carrying them into execution, and lastly the administration of justice. They disapproved of the procedure to which the distinguished accused were subjected: already the privileges secured by Magna Charta were appealed to against the Council of State and the officers[1].

The next occasion for an outbreak of the discontent was a second time afforded by the attempt to send a portion of the army to Ireland. We shall consider more closely to what turn of events it was owing that at the moment of the King's execution a strong Royalist party was formed in Ireland which was then aiming at seizing Dublin and making it the head-quarters of a reactionary movement. It was absolutely necessary for the Commonwealth to strengthen their forces there by a part of the unemployed army in England: lots were drawn to decide which regiments should be sent over: how great was the astonishment to find that the lot fell upon the very regiments in which the Agitators predominated. The common belief was that the chances of lot had been continually tried until they were brought into conformity with the wishes of the leading men.

---

[1] 'Pour se défaire de tous ceux qui ne sont point de leur parti ou qui sont capables par leur naissance ou par leur credit de s'opposer à leur desseins.' Grignan, March 22.

[2] Grignan, February 22, says expressly 'les mécontents de ce pais sont en plus grand nombre que jamais.'

---

[1] England's new chains discovered, or the serious apprehension of a part of the people in behalf of the Commonwealth. February 26, 1649.

Two years before, when a like expedition was planned, the army had demanded Cromwell as their general. After some hesitation he now declared himself ready to undertake the command. But his name no longer had power to win their affections. In the pamphlets of the Agitators he was himself singled out for attack as the head of the party opposed to their aims, just as at the time when he appeared to be in league with the King. But Oliver Cromwell was now too powerful to let himself make such a mistake. He would have no more conditions prescribed for him; whoever was unwilling to go with him was at once discharged. Many who left their regiments were mulcted of their arrears of pay. Lilburne and some other spokesmen were arrested. It was easy, thanks to the lack of profitable trade and commerce, to fill up the gaps with new levies.

On this however an increased disturbance occurred among the rest. The arguments with which they had encountered the blandishments of the Parliament on former occasions they again brought forward now that it was in league with the officers.

The army, they urged, had taken up arms from a sense of duty and in defence of the rights and liberty of the people. It was now wished to transform them into an army of mercenaries, and blind obedience was required of them. The aim for a long time past had been to remove all those in whom any sympathy with the common rights was observed. It was now maintained that the service in Ireland should come before the restoration of freedom in England, and all were discharged who would not pledge themselves to acts of bloodshed, before their consciences were quieted or any real fruit of their previous labours had appeared. The design was to fill the regiments with ignorant, needy and servile men[1]. An assembly in Oxfordshire (May 1649) put forth a proclamation, in which the confederates expressed their views in determined and menacing language[2]. Should a single hair of the prisoners be singed, it would be avenged

---

[1] Paper scattered about the streets. April 26, 1649, in Walker ii. 159.

[2] England's standard advanced 168.

sevenfold upon the men who under the name of the Parliament oppressed the people, who recognised neither law and justice nor freedom, listened to no cry from the army and redressed no grievance. For their own part they were resolved to die as free men rather than live as slaves. It was and would ever be their purpose to provide a real relief for the unhappy nation; amongst other things not to allow the assessed taxes and excise to be any longer paid. They promised to lay down their arms forthwith, and to return home so soon as the constitution should be established in conformity with the new design of Lilburne and his friends.

This design, judged by its fundamental ideas and by past experience, is a great improvement on the former one. It provided that the representatives of the people should be elected for one year, that at its expiration a fresh set should immediately come in, among whom no member of the old body was to be admitted. This body alone was to have the right of setting on foot an armed force: no paid magistrate should be allowed a seat in it. But though the genuinely representative character of the assembly was thus secured, its powers were confined within narrow limits.

It was still insisted that no coercion was allowable in religious matters: no one ought to be forced to serve in the army against his conscience. With reference especially to the administration of justice, they refused to be dependent on the caprice of a Parliament. No sentence was to be pronounced which did not rest on a recognised law: some old English legal usages were expressly confirmed; excise, tolls, and especially tithes, were immediately or at least very shortly to be abolished; the counties were to elect their magistrates, the parishes their clergymen[1].

The scheme was one which proposed to reconcile the representative system with individual and local rights. It holds fast to the idea of property, but it is clear what enormous changes it also contemplated, and that at once. The Parliament was to end in August 1649, and the people were to proceed to election without waiting for its summons.

---

[1] The agreement of Lilburne, Walwyn, Prince, Overton, in Whitelocke 385.

It was asserted at the time that the troops who were united in this view entertained the fixed purpose and hope of occupying some of the principal towns, York, Oxford, Gloucester and Bristol, and meant then to raise a green flag at some one of them, and prepare for the execution of their plans in a general assembly.

Already armed bands were seen perambulating the country with this object: Captain Thomson with 200 horsemen, and his brother Cornet Thomson with a band of 1000 men. In the regiments of Scroope, Reynold, Harrison and Skippon, many were still found who refused to go to Ireland unless Parliament first made good its promises.

The Parliament declared Captain Thomson and his adherents, and generally all those who had taken up arms without orders from the Parliament, to be traitors, and prepared, as formerly against the clubmen, to put an end to their resistance. But how could single troops have resisted the combined forces of the state? They were scattered and disarmed[1]. Some of their leaders showed repentance; most died with the courage which a strong conviction usually supplies. Captain Thomson, who had taken refuge in a wood, preferred to be shot rather than surrender. He was one of the first who shed their blood for the democratic republic.

But these ideas already showed themselves in a movement which went still greater lengths—the Levelling movement properly so called. Pamphlets are extant in which, to those who would give in their adherence to the new schemes—the mass of Englishmen it was hoped—promises reaching far beyond these were made. There was to be freedom from all taxes, and care for the personal sustenance of all who would work[2]. A saying of Lilburne's went furthest in its aims. He was charged with trying to make all things equal, property included. He replied that the representatives of the people could not decree that even if they wished, it would only be

---

[1] Journals of Commons, May 11, 1649. 'A great fight between the Parliament forces and Levellers on Monday last.' Dated Andover, May 14, 1649.

[2] The remonstrance of many thousands of the free people of England, together with the resolves of those called Levellers, 1649.

possible when all and each were agreed upon it: desirable it certainly seemed to him to be.

One day on some hills in Surrey, which were part of the common land, a number of persons were seen to make preparations for cultivating the soil. The owners of the neighbouring estates resisted them: finally some of Fairfax's soldiers appeared and drove off those who had set to work. Quite as remarkable as the proceeding itself is the justification that was offered for it. It is twofold.

On one hand its advocates appealed to the right of the English against the Normans. The old laws which were invoked against them were merely a result of the Norman Conquest—fetters imposed upon one portion of the people in order to render them the slaves of the other. The Norman conquerors had violated common freedom and individual rights. The owners of estates were the descendants of the Conqueror's captains, just as the last King had derived his race and his right from this same Conqueror. To resist that very King the Parliament had called on the people with the promise that it would make them free. The people had spent money and blood in the cause; it had a right to ask that Parliament too should now fulfil its word and rid it of the arbitrariness of those laws. They did not wish to touch the enclosed property; let that remain if it was desired under the shelter of the existing laws, but the unenclosed lands they demanded should be restored to the people.

Nor was it their wish, they continued, to redistribute it as private property once more. This idea they condemned still more strongly, because the earth was created for all. The soil that is bought and sold might belong to any third person by as good a right as to the buyer and seller—he who will possess it let him draw the sword and claim it for himself alone[1]: but the land which was now to be cultivated and made fruitful was to remain common with all the fruit it bore; for the earth is ordained by the Creator to be a great storehouse of nourishment, for one as much as another, without respect of persons. In this case there can be no talk of buying and selling, and of all the laws connected with them.

---

[1] An appeal to the House of Commons, desiring their answer, whether the common people shall have the quiet enjoyment of the commons and waste land, or whether they shall be under the will of Lords of Manors. By Gerard (or Jerard) Wistanley, John Barker and Thomas Star, in the name of all the poor oppressed in the land of England.

It is especially on religious reasons that they rely.

As in each heart, so throughout the earth, love and self-seeking strive against each other: it is the war of the lamb and the dragon; between them must each man choose. They for their part were determined to honour the spirit from whom they sprung, their sire and their mother the earth, and to free her from the serfdom and the bonds in which creation was confined. God, they said, has ordained the race of men everywhere to be lords of the earth and the beasts, but not some men to be lords and the rest slaves. That was the point in dispute between Cain and Abel, but Abel must not always be slain.

These Levellers refuse to be referred to Holy Scripture, since it deals with examples since the Fall; but they take their stand on the Word of God, that was in the beginning, which dwells in man's heart and by which he was made, even the pure law of creation, unto which the creation is to be restored[1].

Once already in the fourteenth century had tendencies towards a social revolution subversive of society been active in England. They were then embraced by the Taborites in the wildest manner; they filled the mind of Thomas Münzer, and afterwards reappeared among the German Anabaptists in the form adapted to city life. It is in the highest degree remarkable what a shock the idea alike of individual and of corporate property received at the time in that very nation whose circumstances were so peculiarly interwoven with it. In its account of a raid that had occurred on the Scottish border, the paper which then had the widest circulation remarked not merely how lamentable it was that care for the necessities of human life should come into collision with law and cause danger to life, but also that property was in reality

the origin of all sin. Now that the tyrant was executed, it might be hoped that despite all opposition from those in power, this fact would be generally acknowledged, at least in a few years time, and that the people would perceive its past perverseness[1].

We may observe in passing that amid these struggles a theory of great celebrity arose. Thomas Hobbes started from the opposite principle to the Levellers, with their rejection of the written letter, and their appeal to things as they were at the beginning. He had inquired, he said, for what end it was that man made separate estates and enclosed property within boundaries, and had discovered that the cause lay in the nature of men. The innate desire of each man to possess something for himself is approved by reason. Community of goods would bring about a dissolution which would be the greatest misfortune that the natural order could suffer. From this assumption he proceeds to assert that the security of property and the practice of justice, which protects the relations of meum and tuum, render necessary a strong government, the concentration of power in a single hand.

And how mistaken were those who thought they saw in Cromwell a patron of those attempts—who expected in him a second John of Leyden. If it be true that in great convulsions destructive tendencies necessarily make their appearance at the same time, it is also true that such epochs beget forces capable of resisting them. Cromwell had the instinct if not the theory of power. Without destroying the independent attitude of the army, he put an end to the levelling impulses of the Agitators. In their very struggle with them the army rallied round him in renewed personal dependence. They were perfectly ready after this to encounter the enemies of the Commonwealth in Ireland under his leadership.

---

[1] A letter to the Lord Fairfax, printed in the Harleian Miscellanies xi. 492.

[1] The Moderate, July 31. 'That the propriety is the original cause of every sin, that since the tyrant is taken of, so ought it really to redound to the good of the people.'

CHAPTER II.

RINUCCINI AND CROMWELL IN IRELAND.

WE must first describe the alterations of fortune in Ireland, and their connexion with those in England.

Among the Catholics, no less than among the Protestants of that country, there were two distinct parties, one of which, consisting of the original English colonists adhered to the institutions introduced under the kings of England, even those of the schismatic Henry VIII; while the other, which included the native Irish, desired to restore the absolute supremacy of Catholicism in the island, and would even have lent its aid towards a separation from England.

In order to win over the latter Charles I had allowed offers to be made to them through Glamorgan, which he dared not own to in England. They did not however give satisfaction even in Ireland, either in form or in substance: it was noticed as an omission that neither the restoration of the monastic estates confiscated by Henry VIII, nor of the bishoprics which had passed into the hands of the Protestants, was distinctly promised. Fault was found with Glamorgan's powers, because they were issued under the lesser seal only, and the King consequently remained free to do what he liked.

Before this time the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, James Butler Earl of Ormond, had already negotiated a treaty, in which he refused to agree to concessions so extensive as those granted by Glamorgan. After the latter's attempted compromise had miscarried, through becoming publicly known, Ormond virtually concluded his in the summer of 1646. The Catholics of the original English colony contented themselves with verbal assurances, for instance, that the penal laws which Ormond gave should be repealed. The conclusion of this

treaty is connected with that combination between the French and the Presbyterians by which Scotland was to be freed from English influence, the Presbyterian party reconciled with the King, and a limit put to the overweening power of the Independents. By its aid the French endeavoured to anticipate such an alliance of the strict Catholic party with Spain as they encountered elsewhere.

But it was the misfortune of Charles I that he failed to win over to his side the religious convictions of his different territories in Ireland no less than in Scotland.

An assembly of the Catholic clergy in Waterford not only found the terms of the treaty unacceptable, since it contained no certain security for the freedom of the Church, but even called to account the members of the government which had concluded it. Dissatisfied with their explanations the assembly declared its consent to a violation of the oath taken to the Irish confederacy, and visited them with spiritual censures. The herald, who was to proclaim the peace, was repulsed from Waterford: even in Kilkenny the proclamation was only made in open opposition to the bishops with whom the people sided.

All this was mainly the work of the Papal Nuntio, Giambattista Rinuccini, who as early as the year 1645 arrived unnoticed in Ireland, provided with money and arms, and at first cherished the design of rendering Glamorgan's treaty entirely conformable to the Catholic interests, which were at the same time those of the Papacy [1].

Immediately on his arrival he was struck with the distinction between the two parties as well as between the two races. By the one, the stalwart, uncultivated, confiding natives, he was, as he tells us, received as a messenger from God. They flocked around him and spoke to him always of the speedy restoration of the Church, and the observance of the oath of the confederation. The others, men of less conspicuous stature, but keener intellects, saw in him the treasurer of a prince. They consulted him only in matters of business, and then spoke incessantly of the necessities of war, and of the authority which rightly belonged to the King. To them he mainly attributed the Ormond treaty, which had already long been agreed upon. Its conclusion, he thought, had only been delayed in order to get the money which he had brought with him. With a share of that even Ormond would be contented.

---

[1] Nunziatura in Irlanda di Msgr. G. Battista Rinuccini negli anni 1645 a 1649, pubblicata da Aiazzi 1844.

Rinuccini's mission so far bears upon the general situation of Europe, that Pope Innocent X, who sent him out, in opposition to his predecessor, again inclined to the side of Spain, and entered into the closest alliance with the Italian princes. He nevertheless avoided entrusting this nuntiature to a subject of the King of Spain, who was proposed for that post, because it would have clearly proved his partisanship:—Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, was a subject of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who had contributed most to the election of the Pope. The first step on his journey secured the confirmation of the good understanding between the two courts. It was the Nuntio's plan, while promoting the purely Catholic interests, at the same time to withdraw Ireland from French influence. In doing this he reckoned upon the assistance of the King and Ormond. These however had never maintained more intimate relations with French policy than at that very moment; and on their side were the adherents of the Episcopal Church, and by far the greater part of the nobility of the old English colony. If Rinuccini wished to effect anything, it was essential to attach the old Irish party to himself. He was an ecclesiastic in mind, an old pupil of the Jesuits, the warmest champion of the Papal prerogative, but at the same time in secular affairs enterprising and much more ambitious than suited the Curia: he now appeared as a great party leader in the country.

In his letters he cannot lay sufficient stress on the advantageous impression which the open rejection of Ormond's treaty at Waterford had made in the country: in a moment the clergy had acquired the mastery, even the soldiery had sought service with the Nuntio. An attack on Dublin in the autumn of 1646, which he planned, failed, as he maintains, through the treachery of Preston, who belonged to the

old English colony: still as yet the failure did no harm to his prestige. In the general assembly of the laity, held at Kilkenny in the early months of the year 1647, he had completely the upper hand. They even rejected Ormond's treaty; the members of the former government who had taken part in concluding it were arrested. Conditions were fixed without the fulfilment of which no treaty could be concluded, and which moreover included the restoration of the Irish hierarchy as it had been before the schismatic innovations of Henry VIII. The passing of a definite arrangement with respect to the monastic estates was further postponed, but in behalf of the secular clergy a claim was advanced for all the rights which they had enjoyed under Henry VII, and before his time, as well as for the Church estates, which had passed into Protestant hands. They hoped to restore the splendour of the Catholic Church in Ireland. A new association was formed with this object, and a new government established by election, composed almost exclusively of clerical members. On account of its clerical character, the Nuntio thought it expedient to undertake the presidency. He united at the moment in his own hands the clerical, civic, and even military authority of the Irish confederation. All his schemes were again directed against Dublin, which, owing to the inability of Ormond to pay his troops, and the reluctance of the exhausted citizens to make any further contributions, could not apparently hold out long. But what his further aims were is not so clear.

It is palpable that he wished to separate Ireland as completely as possible from England. He condemned the oath of allegiance which the clergy took to the crown, and regretted that he had ever used a word which contained an approval of it[1]. Among the priests the doctrine gained ground that the crown had long ago forfeited the rights over Ireland once offered it by the Popes, and that the supremacy over the island rightly belonged to the Roman see itself. Now that the King was finally a prisoner, men spoke without reserve of calling in another prince as Protector of Ireland. The old English colony thought of the King of France; the French considered that the Nuntio would prefer Spain. Yet that was not precisely his intention or his position. He would have liked to secure the protectorate for the Pope himself. And since there was some hesitation in Rome about seizing it so directly, the idea occurred to the Nuntio that one of the brothers of the Grand Duke of Tuscany might come to Ireland to act there as the deputy of the see of Rome. He cherished the hope that he might one day obtain also the crown of Ireland, and then be recognised by the two Catholic powers[1].

---

[1] Rinuccini to Cardinal Pamfilio, March 2, 1647: 'Di non astenermi da quelle frasi,—dicendo per esempio che bisognava sollevare, ajutare il re, mostrarsi buoni sudditi—veggo molto bene, che doveva lasciar di sottoscrivere.' Nunziatura 205.

It is singular to what extremes his ambition for his country and dynasty led him. His great idea seems to have been in combination with the native party to win Ireland in its whole extent for the Catholic world.

Very unexpected however was the effect of his scheme. In the face of this danger, Ormond, who had been all his life an Episcopalian and a Royalist, forced himself to hand over the capital which he could no longer defend, to the Parliamentary troops, Presbyterians though they were. The blood which flowed in his veins, and his Protestant sympathies (for he would not allow Ireland ever to come into the hands of the natives and of the Nuntio)[2], enabled him to enter into alliance with a party which he had opposed all his life, but with which he stood on common ground in these respects. He betook himself to the King to justify to him his determination.

It would be scarcely too much to say that on this act depended the preservation of Ireland for the Protestant and English interest.

The Parliamentary troops, to whom Ormond handed over Dublin, knew thoroughly how to defend it. The Irish bands that were pressing forward suffered a decisive defeat at Trim,

and another in Munster. This disaster, which clearly showed the impossibility of attaining their proposed end, reacted generally on the Nuntio's prestige. In the next assembly at Kilkenny, a complete reaction against him took place: a government was installed, from which the clerical element was excluded. The Catholics of English descent and moderate sentiments had the superiority over the allied natives and priests in opposition to the Nuntio, who insisted on the prosecution of the war. A truce was concluded with Lord Inchiquin (who commanded in Munster, and who now passed over again from the Parliament to the King) which led at once to a close agreement. In consequence, Ormond was recalled by Catholics and Protestants, and the Nuntio, who would not treat with a government at whose head stood a Protestant, thought it prudent to leave the country. He retired home to his archbishopric at Fermo.

The return of Ormond, who once more in virtue of his old patent entered Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, and his activity there, are connected with the Presbyterian rising in 1648. While the latter depended on the agreement that the most extreme demands of the Covenanters should no longer be pressed upon the King, Ormond aimed at bridging over the gulf which separated Catholics and Protestants in Ireland. He conceded that the Catholics should be relieved from the penal laws which oppressed them, and should not for the future be restricted in the practice of their religion. They were to be left in possession of the churches which they then held, and of the estates connected with them. The Catholics, on their part, gave up the design of replacing their religion in its old supremacy over the island. They merely demanded, and to this Ormond agreed, that a commission should be appointed to secure the observance of the treaty until it could be confirmed in a formal meeting of Parliament. After the various attempts that had been made to raise one or the other of the two religions to an exclusive supremacy, recourse was had in this treaty to an equalisation of their respective claims, which deserves greater attention than it has hitherto met with. At Kilkenny Castle, seated in his chair of state, Lord Ormond, as the King's representative, announced the royal command to recognise this treaty as valid and to proclaim it.

---

[1] Rinuccini to Cardinal Paucirolo, November 1647, Nunziatura 266: 'Le quali dovrebbono concordemente aver caro, che questa pezza si smembrasse del parlamento e cadesse in un principe oggi indifferente.'

[2] Brienne, from the reports of the Commissaries Talon and du Moulin. 'Le M^{s} d'Ormond est seul qui empêche l'Irlande tomber entre les mains des Espagnols.'

Ormond had hopes at this time of being still able to effect something for the King's deliverance, with help of the now united Irish. He said indeed, that hell itself could add nothing to the designs which were now formed in England against Charles I, but also that never was there a nobler or a more glorious path of action than that which was now open to the Irish, provided they were united among themselves.

At that very time the King, for whose defence these plans were laid, was already executed. It appears however that the effects of this event were favourable rather than otherwise to the confirmation of the peace and to the prevailing tendencies in Ireland. In the English and Irish provinces and towns alike Charles the Second was proclaimed with an enthusiasm heightened by sympathy for the executed King. The treaty was carried out despite the opposition of a party still constantly devoted to the views of the Nuntio. The Protestants who adhered to the King returned to their deserted estates. Ormond even thought that Jones and Monk, who commanded the Parliamentary forces, might be induced to come over to his side: many deserters from their regiments had reached him already. In all the garrisons a strong leaning towards the King showed itself. Ormond openly expressed the hope of shortly reducing the whole country to obedience to Charles II, should he himself appear in the island.

In May 1649 Ormond had 8000 infantry and 3000 cavalry under arms. He praises the emulation of the English and Irish in the royal cause, which had now taken the place of the old feud. He warns the young prince against making concessions to the Catholics which might bring him into collision with the Protestants. He hopes to carry the matter through with the help of both alike, provided he is supplied with arms, to procure which negotiations were opened with Sweden, and with the necessary money. His grand idea was to make the reduction of Ireland the basis of a general restoration. The King might prepare the way for it by foreign alliances and by employing his influence in England.

He thought that he might reckon upon the probability that if Dublin, which was now the centre of attention[1], were won for the King, a large number of rich traders there would then join him and support with their money an expedition against the Commonwealth[1].

It seemed as if a favourable breeze were filling the sails of reviving Royalism.

Now however all the evil results to the royal cause of that forced surrender of Dublin to the Parliamentary forces first became evident. The generals remained unshaken in their adherence to their party. Ormond's summons to join the King's side was met by Jones with so determinedly republican an answer, that Parliament thought good to publish it. George Monk indeed entered into negotiations with the native Catholics, and promised them concessions which Parliament could not accept on account of their Catholic tendencies. So far were both of them from raising the standard of Charles II. An attempt to take Dublin by force was repulsed by Jones, who had meanwhile received reinforcements.

But Ormond did not lose courage. He occupied Drogheda and Trim, which had already fallen into his hands, thinking that, could he only hold these throughout the summer, he would have made a successful campaign.

The Royalists were still by far the strongest party in the country. Owen O'Neal, who was deeply injured because, in spite of the real services he had rendered, Parliament nevertheless now rejected his offers, made advances to his old enemy Ormond. The officers too of his army, now that the Bishop of Clogher had declared the Nuntio's condemnation to be invalid, were prepared to accept the Kilkenny agreement. For the moment Ormond had really united the two nationalities and religions, with the exception of the Independents, and in opposition to them. He was master of

---

[1] Carte's Ormond iii. 446: 'The expectation whereof (of the taking of Dublin) kept the royalists and all that detested the King's murder as yet in quiet.'

[2] He prays, June 28, 'that your Majesty would consider how the total reduction of this kingdom may be best improved and made use of towards the regaining of your other dominions.' (Carte's Letters ii. 384.)

Connaught through Clanricarde, of Ulster through O'Neal, of Munster through Inchiquin. The Catholic and Protestant inhabitants of Leinster were equally on his side. Nine-tenths of Ireland were subject to him, nor was he entirely powerless by sea, since Rupert's fleet lay at anchor off Kinsale. How could he avoid believing it possible to overcome even now the comparatively small forces of the Independents?

It is clear enough that the first object of the English Commonwealth must have been to put an end to this powerful and dangerous formation of a combination of Royalist forces so thoroughly hostile to itself.

The supposition on which all Ormond's hopes rested, was that the army would not so easily become master of England as to make any important effort against Ireland. Ormond dreaded the arms but still more the money of the Parliament, and the influence it would exercise upon the Irish nation. Already however, in May and June 1649, affairs had reached this point. Cromwell had defeated all his opponents and formed an army devoted to himself. Without any regard having been paid to Fairfax, on the proposal of the Council of State, he was appointed not merely Commander-in-Chief of the forces, but also Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The military and civil power were united in his hands[1]. Means had been discovered (among others the sale of the estates of the chapters, which actually found purchasers at fair prices) to furnish him with very considerable supplies of money. It is certain that a large sum was handed over to him for private purposes, which he was to have the power of spending without rendering any account of it.

In real truth it was not the case that the expedition was directed against the Catholics as such. The confederacy which was to be the object of attack was thoroughly Royalist, and was actually hostile to the strong Romanising tendencies represented by the Nuntio. The late treaty contained a partial recognition only of the Catholic claims, and was rejected by the Nuntio as ruinous.

---

[1] Scott, Report from the Council of State: 'The commission of Lieutenant-General Cromwell to be Commander in chief over the forces in Ireland and Governor-General of Ireland.' Journal of Commons, June 22.

But since there were Catholics as well as Protestants serving under Ormond, the strongest impulse now as ever was supplied by religious hatred.

On the morning of the 10th of July the standards under which the army was to march were consecrated by several ministers to the war of God against the deluded Catholics of Ireland. Officers of the army, and even Cromwell himself, expounded the Scripture 'exceeding well and suitably to the occasion,' as the old chronicle tells us. Cromwell then mounted his state-carriage, drawn by six Flemish horses. A body-guard, consisting of old officers, rode at his side. At Charing Cross his trumpets were loudly sounded. He appeared already with the insignia of an office at once priestly and military—and thus he set out for Milford Haven, whence he meant to cross over to Ireland.

While he was making preparations for starting, news reached him of Ormond's defeat before Dublin. Cromwell announced it as a special mercy of God, for which it was impossible to be too thankful in word and deed. 'Might he,' such was his prayer, 'be found worthy by the Lord in whatever he might call him to do.'

In the middle of August Cromwell arrived in Dublin with a hundred sail. This numerous fleet, to oppose which the Royalists had only Rupert's few vessels, made no less impression than the army, which, including the troops already in Dublin and those he brought with him, made up a formidable array: it amounted to 10,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry.

Cromwell's first step was to bind them to the strictest discipline—even his military orders are religious in their tone. He enjoins them to avoid all that is contrary to God's law. The officers are held responsible for the maintenance of the most rigid discipline and order. The troops were for the most part veterans: the fame of their former victories made them doubly formidable.

Ormond had fortified and provided with good garrisons the nearest positions, such as Drogheda (which he still successfully defended against Jones), Trim, and Dundalk. He wished to hold himself in readiness to come to the assistance of those places which might be attacked. Against Jones these tactics might perhaps have answered. That they would be successful against Cromwell was regarded as uncertain by the Royalist leaders themselves. It was then debated whether they should not rather at once give up these positions, Drogheda included. The decision of the council of war was that the latter place must be held, and defended to the last by a sufficiently strong force. The best soldiers, about 2500 in number, were thrown into it, under a tried and trustworthy leader, Arthur Aston, who was confident of being able to hold out against all attacks until the Royalist army should again be strong enough to face the enemy in the open field.

There is good reason for doubting whether this plan was the best-considered. In a half-barbarous country, in a popular and irregular warfare, trustworthy and proved men possess a value inestimably higher than is represented by their mere numbers. To shut up the flower of the army in a single place, as was done here, is equivalent to making the issue of the whole struggle dependent upon a single great blow. Cromwell found the troops, on whose destruction everything depended, concentrated in Drogheda.

On Monday, September 3/13, he appeared before the city. A whole week passed before he had brought up the heavy artillery from the ships, and planted the batteries. The Monday following they opened fire: by the Tuesday, September 11/21, two large breaches had been made, and towards evening, about five o'clock, the troops advanced to the assault. The Royalist defence was throughout obstinate, and at first successful; but afterwards, as they were gradually weakened and thrown into confusion, though not disheartened, by the death of one of their commanding officers, they retired from the outer entrenchments, which they gave up to the enemy, into the strongest part of the fortress, a steep height fortified with palisades. 'The governor,' writes Cromwell, in his account of the battle, 'and divers considerable officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town[1].' The Sunday before, mass had been said for the Catholic soldiers in the great church of the town. Cromwell relates with a sort of satisfaction how a thousand of them now took refuge there and were put to the sword. The tower of the church was set on fire, and they perished with shrieks in the flames. Scenes like this are hardly to be explained even by fanaticism. Did Cromwell really imagine that he was executing the justice of God on these people, whose hands were embrued with innocent blood? Did he believe that he was, as he expresses it, urged on by a higher divine spirit? But with the heat of his zeal there are throughout mingled a cold-blooded calculation and a violence which is deliberate. In this mixture lies the force and energy of all his actions. It was necessary that these men should perish, since on them the defence of Ireland depended: it was necessary to revenge upon them their refusal of his first summons: so horrible a punishment would prevent bloodshed hereafter. Thus it was that Cromwell excused an act for which nevertheless his conscience would otherwise have smitten him.

At Wexford, against which the next serious attack was directed, the same tragedy was repeated, though not by his orders.

The negotiations were still going on when the citadel was surrendered unconditionally, and immediately the republican soldiery pressed into the town. In the market-place the last resistance of the defenders was crushed, and then rapine and murder spread pitilessly through the streets and houses. Here too Cromwell sees a righteous judgment of God upon the inhabitants who had practised the harshest cruelties against the poor Protestants. Now, he adds, are they all either destroyed or fled; the houses are empty: it is a place strong in itself, admirably situated for trade and fishery, where better men can now settle down[1].

---

[1] Ormond, writing to Byron, September 29 (Carte's Letters ii. 412), mentions the story, which has been often repeated since, that quarter was promised: 'Officers and soldiers promising quarter to such as would lay down their arms; but, when they had once all in their power, the word no quarter went round, and the soldiers were many of them forced, against their wills, to kill the prisoners.'

[1] Oliver Cromwell to the Speaker, Oct. 14, in Cary's Memorials ii. 174. In Carlyle ii. 60 remarks are inserted in the letter.

No doubt the cruelty with which these conquests were accompanied impelled commanders or garrisons in one or two fortified places to a speedier submission; but these bloody hostilities had yet another unlooked-for result. The religious and national hatred between English and natives, which seemed destined to disappear—thanks to their union under the Royal standard—now revived in its full strength. The English troops under Ormond were alienated by a sort of involuntary instinct from the army which contained so many Irish elements, and were attracted to the other, which was formed of their own countrymen, and had now gained the victory. Their loyalty was not strong enough to resist the impulse. Before starting Cromwell had already won over Lord Broghill to his side by various promises, and, above all, by the assurance that he should be required to draw his sword against Irishmen only. Broghill now exerted his influence over the Protestants of Munster, who were already weary of their alliance with the Confederates. The garrison of Youghall and most of the others deserted Inchiquin, who was all but taken prisoner himself, and declared for the Commonwealth. Even in the open field the English crossed over to Cromwell when they encountered him. During the struggle itself he expanded his Independent cause to a Protestant and national one. But on the other side similar feelings were now at work among the Irish. They believed that so long as they were drawn up under Calvinist leaders God would not bless their arms: they began to suspect these leaders themselves: they would scarcely endure their presence among them. An indication of this feeling is afforded by a manifesto, put out from the abbey of Clonmacnoise towards the end of 1649. In it the clergy summoned all the faithful to the closest union against the English, from whom there was nothing to be expected but the massacre and destruction of the faithful and the extirpation of religion. I do not believe that a counter-declaration which Cromwell published, forcible and energetic as it is, changed the convictions of a single person. It first placed in its true light the opposition which lay deeper than any temporary conflicts. Ormond himself often thought that he must leave Ireland, where he no longer met with obedience. The fortified places refused to receive his garrisons: they preferred to govern themselves as free towns. The heads of the different provinces felt themselves independent: here and there the bishops appeared as generals. At last an agreement was made that Limerick and Galway should receive Ormond's garrisons, and that on the other hand all the English troops forming part of them should be dismissed. The remnant of Inchiquin's troops now went bodily over to Cromwell; for the rest a free passage out of the island was secured. Only three or four trusted officers were tolerated in attendance on Ormond: to compensate for this he was obliged to allow the bishops seats and votes in his council.

It is surprising enough, yet easy to explain, that after all this the Republicans again met with obstinate resistance. In the defence of Clonmel Hugh O'Neal outdid all the commanders of other places. The heat of the assault lasted for four hours, but it was repulsed. Cromwell was forced to consent to a treaty which provided for the safety of the town, while O'Neal withdrew unmolested [1].

Cromwell was preparing to besiege Waterford, when he was called away to an expedition against Scotland which was now considered more pressing.

It cannot be said that he was already master of Ireland. The three places mentioned above, Galway, Limerick, and Waterford, were among the strongest in the country. Besides these, Sligo, Duncannon, Athlone, and other fortresses which had gained a name in the local war, were also in the hands of the natives. And in every province strong forces were assembling: in Connaught under Clanricarde, who put 4000 men of his own in the field; in Ulster under MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher, who had 6000 men with him, with whom he took castles and overran the country; under Lord Castlehaven and Hugh Macphelim Bishop of Drummore in Wicklow and Clare.

The army, which a few months before had crossed over in excellent condition, was greatly reduced by the hardships of the campaign, by sickness and war. Ireton, who succeeded to the command, was likely to find much to do.

---

[1] Ludlow 307. 'Cromwell himself said he doubted of getting on the soldiers next day to a fresh assault.' Dillingham in Cary 220.

Still Cromwell had achieved an important and decisive result. He had united on the side of the Commonwealth the English and Protestant population which, through their reverence for the royal name, had been ranked on the opposite side. It was something that he should be able to think of introducing fresh colonists into the large portion of the country of which he was master, and thus to imitate and surpass the example set by Queen Elizabeth and King James[1]. A reaction which could prove dangerous to the Commonwealth was no longer conceivable in Ireland; but it was no less necessary to provide against such a danger from the side of Scotland.

---

[1] 'Fare un intero conquisto di quel regno, cosa che la regina Elisabetta non potè fare.' (Disp. Romano. 1/11 Marzo, 1650.)

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES II AND CROMWELL IN SCOTLAND.

IT forms at once the charm and the difficulty of this history to trace out the independent movements which, under the most varying forms but following always the old lines of historical development, come to the surface within the limits of Great Britain, and engage with each other in a struggle for life and death.

At the Hague, where the young King had found refuge and a welcome with his brother-in-law, William II of Orange, and had gathered round him the adherents of his father and of the monarchy, and all the leaders of the vanquished parties, whither too now the new Commonwealth sent its representatives, a horrible event occurred, which revealed all the vehemence of the Royalist passions.

A native of Holland, by name Dorislaus, who had distinguished himself in England as a lawyer, had embraced the opinions of the Independent-Republican party, and had rendered legal assistance at the trial of the King, had at this time been sent by the Commonwealth to the Hague to act as colleague with the existing ambassador. He was there regarded as representing that regicidal sentiment which, in Holland as elsewhere, excited general abhorrence. In the breasts of some of the Scots there those feelings were awakened which knit together the clans in the closest alliance with each other and with their chieftains. They determined to take blood-revenge upon the representative of the regicides. Masked, and effectively disguised, they entered one evening the hotel where he lived, extinguished the lights in the entrance, and forced their way into the room where he was dining with others: they bade the rest keep quiet, murdered him, and went their way.

This took place in May 1649. In May 1650 something very similar happened in Madrid. An agent of the Parliament on a mission to the King, Antony Ayscam (Ascham) was attacked as he sat at table in his hotel with a pair of pistols by his side, and murdered before he could seize his weapons. This time they were Englishmen who committed the murder[1], and the act was the more detestable because Ascham had taken no direct part in the King's execution. The interpreter who accompanied him was killed at the same time.

In Spain even more energetic measures were taken than in Holland for the punishment of the murderers: but even in Spain only the one Protestant of their number paid for his crime with his life; the Catholics were claimed by the Church. The public voice indeed approved of their act: they were almost envied the honour of having been able to avenge the murder of their King. 'Ha!' exclaimed Don Luys de Haro, 'had my king such subjects, he would have conquered the world with them.'

In no man of his time was the sentiment of personal devotion to his native prince stronger than in James Graham, Marquis of Montrose. We recall to mind that brilliant moment in his life, when in 1646 men could look to his arms for the restoration of the monarchy. But he was defeated, and immediately left Scotland at the order of the King himself. Even in exile he had still no other thought than once more to collect an army, by the aid of which he might restore his King. From France, whose conciliatory policy was hateful to him, he turned to the Emperor Ferdinand III, from whom at Prague he procured a commission which gave him full powers. He intended, on the strength of this, to raise two regiments, and with these once more to try his fortune in Scotland. He was on his way from the Spanish to the United Netherlands, which were at peace

at the time, in order to prepare for the execution of his plan, when he received the news of the King's execution. His first feeling was that he had lost the object of his life, which would henceforth be a burden to him. 'How!' said his chaplain, 'die, my Lord! All brave men must unite to avenge the blood of their royal master on his wicked murderers.' This thought seemed to give Montrose new life. He swore before God, angels, and men, that henceforth he would dedicate himself to this end. He exclaims in a poetic vow—

> 'I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet's sounds,
> And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds.'

In the combined scheme, which was deemed practicable in the summer of 1649, for exciting from Ireland as the starting point a reaction in favour of monarchy, Montrose was to take an active part. Appointed once more to the chief command of the Royal forces in Scotland, he formed the design of collecting, by the help of the northern powers and the German princes, an army which, on its appearance in Scotland, would attract the whole nation to its side. The German princes, to whom Montrose appealed, received him with sympathy, the Queen of Sweden with that enthusiasm which she always lavished upon men of reputation and merit; but even they had neither the means nor the fixed purpose to afford him much assistance. His hopes chiefly rested upon the High Steward of Denmark, Corfitz Ulfeld; but his support too proved ultimately unimportant. It was a force of not more than two hundred men that Montrose, as late as the spring of 1650, brought over from Gothenburg to the Orkneys, and there awaited the assistance, trifling as it was, of his friends. But what is more impossible to shake than the confidence of an exile? Montrose disregarded the advice that Charles I had sent him, when recommending him to leave Scotland, that he must either conquer the whole country or be ruined. Or rather he was determined to risk this danger. On his standard were inscribed the words 'Nil Medium,' no middle course. He would have been disgraced in his own eyes, and in the eyes of all who expected something from him, had he retreated. In spite of the most unfavourable conditions he ventured, not without an eye to Ireland, to land in Caithness; but no one obeyed his summons. His tiny army was scattered in the first encounter with a troop of Parliamentary horse, April 16, 1650. The Germans, who had accompanied him, determined to re-embark: Montrose himself escaped in the confusion, but the first Scot with whom he sought shelter gave him up to his enemies for a small reward. But Montrose is of the number of those who are raised above the misfortune that befalls them by the idea for which they are fighting. The shameful procession in which he was led through the country, and then through the streets of Edinburgh, was in his eyes a sort of triumph. As he passed in front of Argyle's house, his enemies, who were collected there, shrank back before the accusing loftiness of his look. To the charge that he had broken the sworn Covenant, he replied that on the contrary it was the Scots who had transgressed the agreement, while he had held fast to it. He steadily asserted that all his crime was that he had feared God and honoured the King. But he was forced to drain the cup to the dregs. The fanatical Covenanters refused him even a knightly death. In the sight of all, Montrose, in his scarlet doublet, ascended the steps of the gallows, which had been raised higher than usual. The head and arms of the dead man were severed from the body and exhibited in the chief towns of the country[1].

---

[1] Whitelocke 444. Cp. Guizot, Histoire de la République et de Cromwell, i.

The feeling to which Dorislaus had fallen a victim was punished in Scotland by the vilest death: with the King himself the Scottish leaders had no intention of breaking on this account. Let us now consider carefully the direction which their policy was then following.

In Edinburgh the party still ruled which had come into power through Hamilton's defeat. In May 1649 a general thanksgiving for it had been celebrated; the whole year was occupied with the execution of the punishments imposed upon the malignants. Whoever refused to sign a prescribed declaration was excommunicated. How many were refused

---

[1] Fraser's account of the conducting Montrose in Edinburgh, in Napier, Memoirs of Montrose ii. 733. Diary of Lamont 17.

the Sacrament on this ground! It was now that the Church made an attempt to withdraw the ministers from lay patronage. It was the era of the most avowed supremacy of the extreme Covenanting clergy.

Though however they owed their position above all to the victories of Cromwell and his army, yet the proceedings of these last against the King they by no means approved. The Scottish commissioners who were sent to England, were it is true by no means themselves contented with the concessions made at Newport, especially because a portion of his power was restored to the King before he had given full satisfaction to his kingdom, but still they openly disapproved of the treatment which he met with from the army. They condemned his execution. They even declared it to be a breach of the agreements made at the time of the transfer of the King from Newcastle to Holmby[1].

This difference of opinion has a theoretical significance as well. The Scottish idea of the sovereignty of the people, which, while securing to the nation as such a high standard of ecclesiastical and political independence, at the same time admitted in the case of the throne a divine right transmitted through a regular succession, a right which alone gave complete validity to the decrees of a nation, came into open collision with the idea of the sovereignty of the people, as it had come to be understood in the army, according to which all power was originally derived from the people, and was dependent upon them. The former is more constitutional in its nature, the latter is in its very essence republican. This difference was clearly at the time as much ecclesiastical as political. The toleration which the Independents demanded was an abomination to the Presbyterians. They maintained that to them belonged the well-earned right to establish in England their own ecclesiastical constitution. They insisted continually upon the carrying out of the Covenant, and of the decrees of the Westminster Assembly.

As soon as the news of Charles I's execution arrived,

---

[1] The Scots commissioners letters Jan. 6, 22, 1648/9. Parl. Hist. xviii. 497, 522.

Charles II was immediately proclaimed in Edinburgh as King of Great Britain, and also of England, France, and Ireland. They did not hesitate to send an embassy to him, and to invite him to return to his kingdom. But at the same time they were fully resolved that he could not be admitted to the exercise of his authority, before he had recognised the existing order of things in Church and State. They gave the ambassador all the documents which expressed their views, bound together in a single volume—the original Scottish Covenant, that between the Scots and the English, and the decrees of the Westminster Assembly as to doctrine and ritual. Charles II was required to accept these beforehand. For in them were contained, they said, the true means of confirming throne and religion, and restoring the kingdom to its former happy state. When they requested Prince William of Orange to support their proposals, he made them remark that his brother-in-law might pledge himself so far as Scotland was concerned, but could not enter into engagements which would make all non-Presbyterians in England and Ireland his enemies, and would alienate the Catholic powers. To this the minister, William Spang, who was discussing the matter with the Prince, replied that it was these very arguments which brought Charles I to his ruin. Charles II had only to place himself at the head of the Presbyterian league, and then Scotland would be on his side as one man: in England he would assuredly defeat the Independents, since for one Independent there three Presbyterians could be counted, and for the rest, no one would side with the traitorous sectaries: only in this way could he hope to become once more King of Great Britain and Ireland[1].

The young King's answer turned out to be just what the Prince had expressed. He reserved the right to lay the Covenant before the English Parliament, if he ever got so far as to be able to summon one. The Scots regarded this

---

[1] May 23, June 2, 1649. Report of the Commissioners of the Church in Baillie iii. 519. In a letter to Queen Christina, Charles II mentions these negotiations. He stigmatises the demands as 'iniqua, indigne admodum a subditis a legitime rege suo exigenda.'

as almost an affront, since both League and Covenant had been accepted long before by the English Parliament.

The truth was that Charles II dared not go further at the time. A union with the Scots, agreeably to their extreme Covenanting views, would have for ever alienated from him the Irish, whether Episcopalians or Catholics, to whom he was then chiefly looking for his restoration.

But in 1650 Cromwell had already broken the power of the Irish. To save them from entire and complete destruction, those who before were strongly opposed to it[1], now advised him to come to an agreement with the Scots. Nothing, it seemed, but a diversion from Scotland could sustain the remaining Irish Royalists and revive the zeal of those in England. The same advice was given by the English Royalists, even by those who were known to be sober and cautious men. The claim made by the Scots on the strength of old agreements for the execution of the Covenant was not distasteful to them, since it afforded a legitimate pretext for the expedition. The Queen-mother was decidedly in favour of the plan. With the advice which she had once given her consort, namely to subscribe the Covenant as the only means of regaining a strong position and an army, she now approached her son: at the same time the Prince of Orange expressed a similar opinion. The good understanding existing between the Independents and the Spaniards, who were now once more in alliance with the Fronde in Paris, rendered such a combination desirable from a European point of view[2]. There is evidence, if not of a treaty, yet of a proposal for a treaty, with this object, which was negotiated between Mazarin and the Prince, and which expressly stipulated for the restoration of Charles II[3].

---

[1] Secretary Long to the Marquis of Ormond, March 20, 1650. 'There appears to me no imaginable way how His Majesty can make a diversion of the rebels' forces from Ireland but by a conjunction with the Scots.' (Carte's Letters ii. 373.)

[2] Dispaccio Romano di Londra, 15 Giulio, 1650. 'Il solo ambasciatore di Spagna tra tutti i ministri di principi e favorito e rispettato nella sua casa nei suoi preti nelle sue lettere.'

[3] Projet de traité. Art 3. 'Que le roi et M. le Prince de Orange romperont en même tems avec Cromwell, et tenteront par toutes sortes de voies de rétablir le roi d'Angleterre dans ses royaumes.'

For his own sake too William II was desirous that any one should make head against the dominant faction in England, whose influence was reviving the opposition of the States of Holland to himself. The closer relations at the time between Holland and Denmark may have been the reason why Montrose, who was then starting for Scotland, obtained support from Ulfeld. For efforts were made to link together the most distant powers, those most antagonistic were to unite in a common course of action.

It was under the pressure of these influences that Charles II, in the negotiations with a view to which the Scots had sent a fresh commission to Breda, complied with the demands which he had previously rejected, and consequently accepted the invitation to return to the throne of his fathers. Above all it was William II's support, of the extent of which he once expresses himself ashamed, which enabled him to meet the cost of the undertaking.

But the King was kept very close to his engagements: at the mouth of the Spey, while still on board the ship that had carried him over, he was obliged to swear to the League and Covenant. He was anxious to add some words in explanation, but the ministers present signified to him that in that case his oath would be declared worthless. The day following, June 24/July 4, 1650, he landed on the coast. His first resting place was an old castle of the Huntlys, held by a Parliamentary garrison. Here a committee of the Estates received him, and conducted him to Aberdeen : opposite the house in which he took up his residence, was nailed up a hand of the unfortunate Montrose. It was necessary for the King to disown all connexion with him. The great persons who had come over with him hastened to make satisfaction to the Church for their share in the last campaign. In the towns which the King visited on his way, the keys of the gates were handed over to him, but at the same time addresses were read to him on his duties as Prince which were understood to consist especially in his consenting to be guided, in secular matters by the advice of the Parliamentary Committee, in ecclesiastical by that of the Assembly, and to carry out the provisions of the League and Covenant, which

should include the three kingdoms. In this sense his proclamations were actually composed [1].

Thus it was that Scottish Presbyterianism set itself once more in complete antagonism to the supremacy of the Independents and to the Commonwealth in England. The indignation of the latter was naturally roused. In the proceedings of the Scots they saw rightly enough an enmity of a very dangerous sort. Cromwell was recalled from Ireland, where the most important part of the task was already done, and placed as Lord-General at the head of the army which was to humble the Scots. It was now that Fairfax finally retired before the comrade who had already thrown him into the shade. He found himself in the unhappy position of a man who has allowed himself to be used as a tool, and is at last obliged to condemn the results of his own acts. The great drama now logically developing itself, passed over his head to its natural issue. All the other elements inclined to Presbyterianism were ejected from the army, for it was against their very birthplace that war was now preparing.

It is usual for the opening of a campaign to be inaugurated by manifestos from the governments or the generals. What happened on this occasion was in the highest degree extraordinary. Besides the Parliament and the general, the army too had its word to say; and it cannot be said that this was a mere formality: it was a time in which armies deliberated, they had an opinion of their own and they expressed it. In an appeal addressed to all who share in the faith of God's elect, the army declared that they entered on their campaign in the fear of God, and with a heart full of love and compassion. They complained that the Scots had not only welcomed among themselves, but had further promised to restore to England, the young prince who, well as he might play his part, would still be guided by his father's example, and by the influence of his papistical mother. They emphatically denied that the treaties had been broken by England; on the contrary, by the abolition of the monarchy the army had observed the spirit of the Covenant; for that act had been done solely for the good of the people, of their religion and their liberty.

---

[1] Walker, Journal of several actions performed in the kingdom of Scotland, 1650. Historical Discourses 159.

It made a very deep impression upon the Scots that they were accused of having in their political conduct sullied the purity of their religious motives. The ecclesiastical commission first of all declared that Scotland only defended the King's cause so far as he made God's cause his own, and renounced the perverseness of his father in opposing the work of God. The officers of the Scottish army next raised their voice; for it specially concerned them, since they were on the point of risking their lives in opposing with the help of God a treaty-breaking invasion. Their intention was to fight not for the interests of any person whatever, but solely for the principles hitherto established, for the Covenant and the kingdom. They propose the purging of their regiments, of the court, even of the country, of the malignants and enemies of God, who would draw down upon them God's anger. Already in the nation and church the anxiety had spread lest the King's intentions should not be honourable. He was required to give a declaration that he made common cause with them, plainer and fuller than that which was implied in his acceptance of the conditions prescribed him. He showed reluctance. He was told that, if he would not completely attach himself to the Church, the Church in her turn would separate herself from him. At one moment it appeared as if in the event of his refusal an agreement to his detriment was impending. Cromwell was reported to have said that he did not wish to quarrel with the Scots, but that he desired the surrender of the King. In prospect of this danger, and hard pressed on all sides, Charles II resolved to subscribe the declaration which was laid before him. In it he condemned not merely his own delay in rendering the satisfaction due to the kingdom and Church of Scotland, but also with deep sorrow lamented his father's perverse resistance to the work of God, and the idolatry of his mother, which had drawn down upon his family the anger of God, who is a jealous God. All the views of the zealous Churchmen he adopted as his own: he stigmatised as unprincipled the preferring the interests of the King to those of the Church. Such a declaration as this undoubtedly tended to maintain the alliance between the throne and the nation, but what a position was it for the young prince who accepted outwardly the extreme views of the Church, while he hated them in his heart[1]. A letter from him written during this time is extant in which he asserts his unalterable attachment to the English Church. It is difficult to know whether to condemn or to pity him. He felt the necessity which pressed upon him to be a most galling restraint, from which he was ready at any moment to escape, but to which he forced himself to conform.

Thus confirmed in their purpose, the Scots formed their army in the strictest accordance with their religious ideas. All who on account of their participation in the former campaign were objects of suspicion, were discharged; their numbers are estimated at 4000 men—officers and privates. No regard was paid to the consideration that probably among them were the bitterest enemies of Cromwell. Their services were rejected because their religious creed was not found decided enough to ensure the assistance of God for a cause of which they were to be champions.

They were not ordinary armies, but two politico-religious sects which now encountered each other. Their quarrel was not about faith and doctrine, for both were alike zealous Protestants, but about the constitution in Church and State—whether there should be a King or not, whether there should be a ruling Church or not, this was the question in suspense between them. Both entertained an equally sure conviction of the immediate interference of the Deity in human affairs: their existence as sects depended on their being anxious to render themselves as worthy as possible of the divine support.

Cromwell maintained that the cause of the Scots, through the man who lived among them, was bound up with unholy and malignant interests. 'If you resolve to fight our army,' he said, 'you will have opportunity to do that, else what means our having come here. We commit both you and ourselves to him who knows the heart and tries the reins.'

---

[1] Walker gives the different declarations in full.

The advantage at first inclined to the side of the Scots. Cromwell had invaded Scotland from Berwick. He now advanced from Dunbar against Edinburgh; intending at the same time to attack Stirling. The Scots however held strong positions, by means of which they protected their principal towns. They made the best use of the advantage which the country gave them. Cromwell found himself compelled by want of provisions and by increasing sickness to fall back upon Dunbar. The Scots followed him without delay. Nothing but the mist and darkness of the night saved the cavalry of the English rear-guard from a decisive loss at Haddington. It was with a discouraged, hungry, scattered army[1] that Cromwell reached Dunbar. He encamped on the open ground close to the town. The Scots took up a strong position on the neighbouring hills; they were far superior in numbers, and thought that victory was certainly in their hands.

There were however among them two conflicting opinions. The one party were in favour of facilitating rather than obstructing the retreat of the enemy's army, which they seemed to be resolved upon. They might let them return home with shame for their breach of covenant, and then pursue them in order to exact compensation for the summer-quarters which the English had enjoyed in Scotland, by wintering the Scots in England. The others on the contrary recommended that they should be surrounded still more closely. God had delivered the enemy into their hands, as he had delivered Agag the Amalekite into the hands of King Saul, they would have to give an account for it should they let them escape[2]. The Scottish general, David Lesley, inclined to the first opinion. He would rather have maintained his position; in the Committee however the others

---

[1] Hodgson: 'a poor, scattered, hungry, discouraged army.'

[2] It is singular that Waller, usually no friend to the clergy, ascribes to them the milder counsels, 'seeing the next day they were like to fall into their hands, it were better to get a dry victory and send them back with shame for their breach of covenant.'

gained their point, and the orders of the Committee were law. Military considerations were obliged to yield to spiritual impulses[1].

In the Independent camp too these spiritual impulses ruled supreme, but with this difference, that the generals themselves performed spiritual functions, and were the most zealous believers. With his faith Cromwell united both military promptitude and great strategic skill. When in danger of being surrounded, he expected, as he tells us, a manifestation from God for the deliverance of His own; but at the same time he himself perceived the advantage which the movement resolved upon in the Scottish camp offered him. On the edge of the marshy glen which separated the two armies from each other, the Scots appeared with their line widely extended, now, as formerly at Preston, not without leaving such gaps between the divisions of the army as allowed them to be attacked separately, and with too as little regard for consequences as they showed there. The general welcomed as a confirmation of his view and as an omen of success[2], the fact that Major-General Lambert had noticed the same thing. Lambert then convinced the chief officers of the practicability of an attack, and of the probability of its success.

In the evening the regiments took up the positions allotted to them. Sermons were preached in the open plain, some by an enthusiastic cornet, whose confident predictions of victory inspired all with a like feeling.

The plan was by a cannonade to direct the attention of the Scots to their left wing, which was separated by a good English mile from the right, and at the same moment to attack the latter in full force. In the grey of the morning the attack began simultaneously upon the flank and the front of the right wing: the Independents were already gaining the advantage when the sun rose over the sea: 'Now,' exclaimed Cromwell at the sight, 'let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered.' Among the Independents the old thirst for battle, stimulated by success, was redoubled by a sense of the dangers in which a defeat would have plunged them. The Scots too were full of determination and zeal. But as the regiments of the left wing were set in motion to go to the assistance of the right, they found themselves in disorder on the narrow space between the heights which they had first occupied and then left, and the ravine. If they tried to turn aside to the hills, the victorious English troops at once broke through their ranks. They were unable to form into a compact body; and so it happened that panic retreat and rout spread along the whole line, now attacked on the other side as well. Men usually brave were seen throwing away their arms; they dispersed in the most opposite directions, not only to Haddington but to Dunbar. As many as 3000 were killed, and 9000 taken prisoners. 'But we,' writes Hodgson, 'returned back to our tents, like Issachar, to return thanks for the deliverance vouchsafed to us on this day by God.'

---

[1] Cp. Baillie iii. 111.

[2] So he gives the account himself, and we may therefore accept it. It is mere embellishment to make him exclaim, as other accounts do, on seeing the Scots descend from their hills, 'God has delivered them into my hands;' or, as the Venetian ambassador was told, 'that he told the army of a divine voice which awoke him out of sleep, and foretold the victory to him.'

Very remarkable is it how completely these races of Western Europe have made their own the records of the ancient Eastern world. Their Celto-Germanic traditions and legends are forgotten. For those Eastern records contain at once the history of religion and the history of the human race, before which national differences fade into nothing. Nowhere have the books of the Old Testament exercised a more powerful influence over individuals. The God of Israel is for them their own God, under whose eyes they believe themselves to fight as a second chosen people.

After the battle, Leith, Edinburgh and Linlithgow fell into the conqueror's hands. Edinburgh Castle was then for the first time reduced by a hostile force. Cromwell considered that by this success the great contest was decided theoretically as well as actually. Both sides had appealed to God, who had now manifested himself through the issue of the battle. He required the Scots to recognise the mighty hand of God, and to bow to the decision that had been given.

The Presbyterians maintained consistently that religious

truth is not discoverable by a contest with sword and pistol. In the pulpits the preachers were heard remonstrating with God, because he had given the bad cause the advantage over the good, which yet was his own. Still the event had a great effect on the religious opinions of the Scots. It caused a fresh division among them. There were many too among them who, while searching for the causes of the defeat, found no other than their alliance with a hypocritical King, a malignant at heart, and with his adherents. It was precisely the ministers of the strictest Covenanting opinions, such as James Guthrie and Patrick Gillespie, who were generally discontented at the calling in of the King[1]. They set on foot in the western counties an armed association, at the head of which appear some zealous officers, such as Strachan and Ker, who refused to serve any longer under David Lesley. It is possible that there may have been adherents of Cromwell among them, but generally they were but little inclined to him, and their troops were dispersed by Lambert in a few weeks. In their Remonstrances, from which they derived the name of the Remonstrants, we meet with sentiments in which they agree with Cromwell. For instance, it did not satisfy them that hitherto the Scots had resolved to be content with the King's taking the Covenant before his recognition by the nation. Their wish was that he should be required to have given trustworthy proofs of repentance and inward agreement before he could be obeyed: and this they demanded on the same religious grounds that Cromwell had put forward. And if, they added further, there is already sin even in recognising such a King, how far more sinful is it to wish to force him upon another nation over which they have no authority[2]. They withdrew from the principles of the old League. England they wished to leave to herself. Scotland was to be ruled indeed in the King's name, but by the Committees of the State and the Church, without his having any personal share in the government, and these Committees were to be formed in accordance with their sentiments. A characteristic feature in the new party is the aversion it showed towards the nobility and gentry: all active members of those orders would have been excluded, neither Argyle nor Loudon would have found a place among them. They would have established an ecclesiastical community composed of the people, the tendency of which had already shown itself in the proposal for the abolition of patronage[1].

---

[1] From Livingstone's Memoirs (Tweedie's Select Biographies i.) it is clear that he took part in the first assembly at Kilmarnock.

[2] The remonstrance of the gentlemen, commanders, and ministers attending the forces of the West. Balfour iv. 141.

But these proposals were not accepted by the majority of the clergy. The Remonstrance was rejected by the Ecclesiastical Commission, which adhered to the sworn Covenant between the two nations. Still less could the nobility, who saw their ancient influence over the nation endangered, give their assent to it. The effect of these agitations was rather to drive them over to the King's side—they now regarded a King as necessary for the maintenance of the existing régime: Argyle himself turned royalist. Charles II, who had once in his difficulties made an attempt to escape, met with better treatment. He was allowed to take part in the deliberations on affairs of state and in the sittings of Parliament. He now made his first speech from the throne. And this party drew a totally different conclusion from the defeat they had suffered from that drawn by the other; it was ascribed not to the admission, but to the exclusion, of the Royalists. The Ecclesiastical Commission consented that in order to repel the hostile invasion of profligate sectaries the existing restrictions on admission to military service should be abolished. Those too now reappeared in the army who had taken part in Hamilton's campaign; the common soldiers after a slight, the nobility and officers after a somewhat more conspicuous reparation towards the Church. The Chancellor remarked that the term 'malignants' referred to the fact that the adherents of the King had been

enemies of the Covenant: since the King had declared his accession to the Covenant the Royalists were no longer malignants.

On New Year's day 1651 the coronation of Charles II took place at Scone. It was performed in the ancient manner, in which so many kings renowned in legend and history had been crowned. Charles II however was obliged to swear to the Presbyterian dogmas. The High Constable handed him the sword, with the requirement that he should use it for the defence of the true religion as it was now acknowledged in the kingdom. Over the crown a prayer was first offered up that it might be purified from the transgressions of those who had formerly worn it: and then the Marquis of Argyle placed it on the King's head.

It is a misconception to regard this act as the climax of the pride of the Presbyterian clergy. The officiating minister did not belong to the extreme party, which certainly rejected this King, but to the moderate party which adhered to the Resolutions of the state: the great struggle was now between Resolutioners and Remonstrants.

How completely different might the course of events have been had this resolution been embraced at first, and the Royalists of 1648 not been ejected! Now that they were received back again, resistance at any rate became possible. In the spring of 1651 a considerable army assembled under the leadership of the young King himself, in which there were as many Royalist as Covenanting officers. The hate which they both cherished against the Independents, the former on account of their republican, the latter on account of their religious tendencies, made them feel that they were serving a common cause. For some time, that is during Cromwell's illness, they had the superiority in the field. Even when the General was again able to take his place, they held their ground against him. They took up so good and strong a position at Stirling that Cromwell could not have attacked them without risk.

With this bolder attitude however was connected a scheme of general importance.

William II had been carried off by sudden illness in the autumn of 1650, but the schemes originated by him were not therefore given up. In Utrecht first of all, and then at the Hague, associations were formed of English Royalists, which were in continual communication with those of the same way of thinking in England. We meet with similar associations in England, where the Royalists promised to take up arms as soon as Charles II appeared in the country even with only two thousand men. This movement was to be supported by two regiments from Holland, which were to land on the Kentish coast. Ireland too was drawn into the combination. The ever-restless Duke of Lorraine promised assistance there, and Limerick still held out. All flattered themselves that the mere appearance of the King in person would be enough to set in motion for the royal cause the Catholics in Ireland, no less than the Presbyterians and Cavaliers in England. The question was seriously asked whether it were not most expedient for Charles II at once to carry out the plan which had mainly brought him to Scotland, and to attempt an invasion of England with the forces which he had collected. This idea was strengthened by a second defeat which the Scots sustained in an engagement with the Republican troops in the county of Fife. Cromwell had occupied Perth. They could scarcely hope to conquer him where he was in a pitched battle. How much better by a rapid march into England at once to extricate themselves from this difficult position, and to give an entirely different turn to the war. To the young King there was something extremely seductive in the plan of bravely trying his fortune on a large scale. There were many English Royalists in his camp. They all in a body urged the undertaking, and left the Scots free to accompany the King or not as they liked. Among the majority Royalist sentiments prevailed. To those who went it appeared that not much was lost in those who remained behind.

---

[1] 'So many and grosse faults was pressed against Argyle, the Chancellour, Louthian, Balcarras and others, that in all reason they behooved to be laid aside and our state modelled of new, so that no active nobleman should have had any hand therein, and as for England they might rest secure of our armies.' Baillie iii. 119.

On August 7 Charles II, who had met with no opposition on his march through the western counties, crossed the English border at Carlisle with an army of about 11,000 men. A herald, an Englishman appointed for this purpose, proclaimed him King of England on English land and soil.

And to many it seemed that this expedition afforded well-grounded hopes. It had been necessary to suppress by force the movements of the Royalists and Presbyterians: it was reasonable to expect that on the King's return these agitations would revive with double strength. A Howard of Escrick was the first who presented himself with a few trusted followers. But the greatest hopes were raised by the news that one of the foremost English magnates, James Stanley Earl of Derby, who held the Isle of Man, which belonged to him, with defiant independence, was preparing to support the expedition. Would not his example have its influence on the districts in which his possessions lay. It was hoped that the nobility in Lancashire and Cheshire, and indeed throughout the North, would rise [1]. The King's arrival, it was said, would produce a general desertion from the Parliament, just as the arrival of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany with a smaller force had once drawn men away from the Emperor.

There were others who took a less hopeful view of affairs. If indeed Scotland had been relinquished only because it could no longer be held, was it not absurd still to grasp at the highest prize of the war; yet while aiming at all it was possible to lose all. 'I do not know,' exclaimed one of the generals, 'which is the greater, our hope or our fear: our strongest argument is despair: we must try the fortune of battle or die [2].'

Charles II pressed on almost unopposed as far as Worcester, where a majority in town and council declared for him, and admitted him. Many were anxious that, as his father had so often done, he should direct his course to London, where the Presbyterian preachers entertained a favourable disposition towards him. But that which previously could not be carried out, could not now be undertaken at all. Everywhere during the civil war a complete military organisation had been established under the leadership of Parliamentary and Independent commanders: the first risings, such as that headed by Lord Derby in Lancashire and Cheshire, were at once crushed. But who would join himself to a power which demanded protection but could afford none, in opposition to one which possessed an enormous superiority, and which punished every act of disobedience to its orders with loss of property or of life? Cromwell too now appeared; the adventurous expedition had come upon him unexpectedly, but he could have wished for nothing better. It was clear that he would much rather find the enemy in an unfortified English town in the middle of a territory subject to his own authority than to be forced to seek him out in the strong camp at Stirling or in the Highlands. On his march he effected a junction with the troops raised in England. He rushed upon his prey, sure of securing it. At Dunbar he had fought for his existence and his honour. At Worcester his victory was decided beforehand. It is scarcely worth our while to linger over the battle. Charles II did all that could be expected of a young prince: riding from regiment to regiment he encouraged the troops, and these showed no want of bravery, but they were no match for the enemies who advanced on all sides as if to storm the town: in front of the gates and within the town three thousand fell by the sword, more than six thousand were taken prisoners, among them all the best-known generals; the King barely escaped with about sixty followers[1].

---

[1] Robert Lilburne mentions a 'wicked design, which was laid and hatched throughout the whole north of England.' Cary ii. 342.

[2] Hamilton to Crofts, August 8. Cary ii. 305.

He was soon obliged to dismiss even these; in one way or another they fell into the conqueror's hands. The most important question now was whether, since he was thus placed in a position in which the hostile forces were closely encircling him in their toils, he would escape himself, or whether he would meet with the fate of his father.

Had the popularity of the Commonwealth been universal he must have been lost. A high price was set upon his head. For six weeks of unparalleled adventures and dangers he remained in England. About fifty persons distinctly recognised him; but the words 'the King our master' exercised a magic influence over men of all ranks[1]. At last he found a vessel, which conveyed him to Normandy; to that spot whence once William had set sail for England with the most splendid fleet of the time — a complete contrast to what was now happening. The Independent army, before which Charles II retreated, had often proclaimed its intention of putting an end to that constitution of the state which dated from the Conquest.

---

[1] 'Letter written from a prisoner at Chester,' the best account from the Royalist side. Clarendon Papers ii. 562.

[1] 'The King of England, my master, your master, and the master of all good Englishmen, is near you and in great distress: can you help us to a boat?' 'Is he well, is he safe?' 'Yes.' 'God be blessed!' Narrative of the escape of Charles, in Cary 435.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GROWTH OF THE POWER OF THE COMMONWEALTH BY LAND AND SEA.

THE authority of the Commonwealth was now supreme in the three kingdoms: everywhere it had overpowered, at the very moment when they were anxious to be reconciled to each other, the two forces between which the war had originally broken out, that of the royal authority and that of local, parliamentary or religious independence. In England the Parliamentary party with its Presbyterian impulses was ruined from the time that it attempted to make its peace with Charles I. In the same way Scotland was conquered just when the strict Covenanters had made such an agreement with Charles II as could satisfy them. The moment in which they imagined that they had for ever ended their old quarrel with the monarchy, and with the episcopacy which it protected, brought about their ruin. In Ireland the hostility between the Protestant and the Catholic population was in the greater part of the country as good as laid aside at the moment when Cromwell crushed them both. It is impossible not to see that it was above all things the fear of the preponderance of the Republican faction which evoked those approaches to union, approaches which did not lead to any deeper reconciliation, precisely because they were merely brought out under the pressure of this sentiment. The result was that the predominance which it was wished to avoid, now first became fully evident.

In the history of Great Britain this age of the Commonwealth forms one of the great links which bind together the general historical development. The fact that Cromwell struck the

decisive blows in the three countries, and secured the victory for the Commonwealth, gives him an importance for Great Britain which secures for him an imperishable memory, whatever judgments may be passed upon his personal services and qualities.

By his march on Worcester Charles II had staked the fate of all three kingdoms as it were upon a single throw. After the Republic by its victory had taken up a position of supremacy, it was inevitable that the local efforts at resistance which still continued, should succumb.

One result among others of the battle of Worcester, so far as regards England, was the union of the Isle of Man.

We are strangely reminded of the state of affairs in the middle ages, by the manner in which in that island the insignia of an independent authority, shared with two estates of clergy and laity, were handed down in regular succession from one lord to another. The existing lord, James Stanley, seventh Earl of Derby, and his wife, had fought bravely for the cause of the King their liege lord, and after that cause was lost in England had maintained themselves in independence on their island.

No sooner was the royal standard again unfurled in England than the Earl held himself bound by his allegiance to join it, but at Worcester he fell into the hands of those enemies whom he had often proclaimed to be rebels. He was punished by them with death: at his execution the antagonism of ideas was brought into striking prominence. He said that he felt at peace since he was dying for the King and the laws. A soldier from the crowd replied, 'We have no king, and will have no lords[1].' The ambition of his wife, the defender of Lathom, would now have been to hold the island, or at least Rushin Castle, where the leaden crown of Man was kept: but the opinions to which she was most opposed had already many adherents among her own people. At the first appearance of the Republican troops the castle and island both fell into their hands. Lady Derby was forced first of all to submit to imprisonment, and then compelled to live for some time on the charity of her friends.

---

[1] 'Passages in my Lord going to the scaffold,' in Collins' Peerage, ed. Brydges, iii. 88.

The whole royalist nobility were now included under the fiscal regulations. Lists are extant of an appalling length, containing the names of those who were punished with confiscation. Those were fortunate who had made a tolerable composition in time.

It was necessary that the old estates of the crown should serve for carrying on the war against it. The royal gardens and castles were sold. The incomparable collection of works of art, which Charles I had got together with judgment and success, was alienated and broken up[1]. Especially in Spain advantage was taken of so favourable a moment for acquiring on easy terms such invaluable treasures. A train of eighteen mules conveyed the purchased works of art from Corunna to Madrid. In England at this time nothing was cultivated but a taste for power and war. Since many cathedrals stood empty, an inquiry was made as to how many could be dispensed with. It was resolved to pull them down and to sell the materials. The bells were recast for ships' cannon.

The effects of the disaster at Worcester could not be otherwise than ruinous to the independence of Scotland. Charles II had carried off the best men to England. Cromwell had left there a far stronger force, and moreover under a general fully equal to his task, George Monk, whom he had brought with him to Scotland from Ireland. Before matters were decided in England Monk had already made himself master of Stirling Castle, where the Scots had the bulk of their military stores. He next succeeded in surprising Eliot in Angus, at the very moment when the two Committees of the State and the Church were assembled there to discuss the means of resistance. Those who fell into his hands there were among the principal men in the country: they were shipped off in a body to England. Following Cromwell's example Monk gave over Dundee, which he had taken by storm, to plunder and a monstrous massacre: and the same results followed. Thenceforth no other town ventured to offer serious resistance to him. The year following General Deane undertook an expedition into the Highlands, in order to reduce these as well. He advanced with three brigades, horse and foot, which first dispersed the bodies of armed men. Those who escaped one fell inevitably into the hands of the others. Among the mountains the English suffered more from the climate and the nature of the country, from the sudden alternations of heat and cold, and from the want of fodder for the horses, than from actual resistance. It actually happened that the Scots surrounded on all sides a pass through which the English could only pass in single file, and then let them go through without having inflicted any loss upon them. It seemed as if they cared only to secure that one of their leaders, perhaps Argyle himself, should not be carried away. Forts were built on the most important points on the coast to keep the country constantly in check on the side of the sea as well.

Simultaneously with that of Scotland went on the further reduction of Ireland. Under Ireton all the military superiority of the English Republican troops again displayed itself. The Irish never ventured to resist the onset of the English cavalry, with their even step, in which the magnificent horses and their riders trained to the use of the carbine moved together. The saying ran that the neighing of an English horse would put them to flight. Added to this came the reactionary influence of the events in England and of the politico-religious schism. Since too Rinuccini and shortly after him Ormond had left the island, the old feud had revived between their adherents. The alliance between the native and clerical parties had been renewed and had opened war upon the partisans of legitimacy and of England. Letters have been found in which the leaders ascribe all the misfortunes of the country to a foolish loyalty. In this distracted state of affairs neither Waterford nor even Limerick, upon which all eyes were turned, offered a prolonged resistance. Within six weeks after the battle of Worcester, Limerick was taken, and in May 1652 Galway[1], which at that time held a high rank among the ports of the world, fell with all its wealth into the hands of the Republican generals. All the forces still in arms now showed an inclination to capitulate. The Republicans refused on the ground that each and all owed obedience to the Parliament, but they offered pardon to all who had neither sat in the High Council of Ireland, nor were guilty of the death of an Englishman, with the permission either to remain in the country or to enter a foreign service, under conditions which secured their property. On one occasion a somewhat more liberal agreement was obtained. Lord Muskerry held out in Ross, an island-like fortress surrounded by lakes and marshes. The Republican general Edmund Ludlow did not hesitate to seek him out there, and prepared to effect a landing on the Earl's territory in large boats. The latter on this declared himself ready to submit if the free exercise of his religion were secured to him. Ludlow replied that the authority which he represented had no thought of enforcing its own religious opinions upon others. On these terms, which certainly implied but little, Muskerry laid down his arms. Others still retained them: we even hear occasionally of petty battles. Ludlow relates how by pouring in smoke he gained possession of a cave, in which a number of unsubdued Irish believed themselves safe: all in it were stifled except a few, who then came out with crucifixes in their hands.

---

[1] I ought to mention that this was not the original intention of the Council of State. We read in the Order Book, February 22, 1649, 'that it be reported to the House that the statues, pictures, and public library be referred to the general care of the Council of State to preserve and to dispose to the use of the public.' The erection of a national museum was also thought of.

In the mountain passes, wastes, forests and marshes, some bands of outlaws still held out, and rendered the whole country insecure. They form a parallel to the Bandoliers, Heiducks, and Klephts of southern Europe. In Ireland they received the name of Tories. Many resolved to leave their fatherland and seek foreign service. Among their number was Clanricarde, who after Ormond's removal had continued for a time to represent the royal authority.

---

[1] Bates: 'Emporium totius Hiberniae nobilissimum, operibus munitissimum, structura, divitiis incolarum, frequenti maris liberi commercio perinsigne.'

More than a hundred persons of high rank, specially mentioned by name, including in particular those who owned the largest estates, were excluded from all pardon. The confiscation of their estates and many other acts of deprivation which followed on later sentences, enabled Parliament to satisfy with the vacant lands the claims of the victorious soldiery, and of all those who in hope of this had advanced money for the war. The richest booty fell to the share of those who had taken part in the last actions. It was a colonisation on a great scale, which finally established the predominance of the English population over the Celto-Irish.

Still, in spite of all, the war of the two parties was not yet ended. Defeated by land, the Cavaliers once more acquired a considerable strength by sea.

In Jersey, the Governor, George Carteret, collected a squadron, built on the model of the privateers of St. Malo, for sailing in the narrow seas; he was victorious far and wide. In the Scilly Islands John Grenville unfurled the standard of Charles II. Here he was reinforced by Prince Rupert, who hoped to create a second Venice in St. Mary's, strong as the place was from its natural position, and the works erected by former kings. The Prince himself we have already met with in Kinsale: under his command at the time was that portion of the English fleet which had gone over from the Commonwealth to the King. He secured the wavering fidelity of the crews by giving them as captains Cavaliers who had served with him throughout the war in England: for in those days the change from the land to the sea service was easily enough made. It is known that Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia pawned her jewels in order to enable her son to take up this new position. Thus from these three points this robber warfare was opened against the trade of the English Republic. Whatever sailed to or from England, or lay off its coast, was declared fair spoil, let the owners be who they might. The communication between Ireland and England was rendered insecure and sometimes completely interrupted by royalist privateers.

For such a power as England, devoted to the sea by nature, this was an intolerable state of affairs. How the Commonwealth encountered these fresh enemies is the more deserving of mention because she thus at the same time entered into new relations with other maritime powers.

The man who now performed the most distinguished services was Robert Blake, one of those characters otherwise rare but not uncommon in this period, in whom considerable learning and pronounced religious convictions were combined with great military ability and indomitable energy. He had particularly distinguished himself in the western counties; for example, by the defence of Taunton: he was already fifty when he first trod the deck of a man-of-war, and along with him a number of tried officers from the land forces transferred themselves, as the Royalists had done, to the naval service. It cost some trouble to get the vessels once more into a seaworthy condition. The reasonable demands of the crews were satisfied, and the gaps were filled up with the skilful and experienced watermen of the Thames.

When the newly-formed fleet appeared on the sea, and Cromwell became at the same moment supreme in Ireland, Rupert felt that he could no longer maintain himself in Kinsale. With his brother Maurice, now his companion on the sea, as in former days by land, he resolved to carry on his piratical war against the vessels of the Commonwealth in foreign seas, where he counted upon the support of friendly princes and powers. He steered first of all for the Pyrenean peninsula: many an English merchant vessel sailing from San Lucar to London fell into his hands. Blake without delay followed him. Cavaliers and Roundheads carried on their war, already decided in England, in the waters of southern Europe.

Blake overtook his enemy on the coast of Portugal. But when King John IV, remembering his friendly relations with Charles I, had promised the two princes security in his harbours according to the law of nations[1], Blake denied that the law of nations applied at all in the case, inasmuch as not a single square foot of land belonged to the princes, and their ships were the property of the English Commonwealth. For some time the Portuguese adhered steadily to Rupert; they even ventured on a hostile encounter with the Republican fleet; but the latter, which had been reinforced from home, gained the advantage. In particular it derived great weight from the support it had in the actual holders of power in England. The King was forced to submit to the concession that the Prince's fleet should find no further protection in his territories.

---

[1] 'Being assured from his Majesty we should have the law of nations made good unto us in his ports.' Warburton, Memoirs 300.

Leaving Portugal, Prince Rupert endeavoured to make good on the coast of Spain his profession that he was pursuing rebels, accomplices in the death of Charles I. In the harbour of Velez-Malaga he actually set fire to two English ships, and there, in the neighbourhood of the straits, he might have proved seriously dangerous to English commerce. Among others he captured a large merchantman, sailing between Archangel and Leghorn. But it was not long before Robert Blake, with full powers, appeared in his rear. For the first time since the days of the Plantagenets an English fleet was seen in the Mediterranean; and it appeared now with the most completely different intentions. The ideas of Church and State which were then dominant were now rejected and contested. Blake, while protecting English trade, at the same time obtained for his Republic the recognition which she required. In the harbour of Carthagena he destroyed the greater part of the fleet of the Palatine Princes which lay at anchor there. The Spaniards accepted the interpretation of the law of nations which Blake prescribed. Not only did they not venture to offer any opposition, but they handed over to the conqueror[1] the cannon which had been saved and brought ashore. The Princes, with the remnant of their squadron, which had accidentally not been at Carthagena, retired to Toulon in order to sell the booty which they had on board. But the French were as unwilling as the Spaniards had been to break on their account with the English Commonwealth. The Princes became aware that it was no longer possible for them to remain on the coast of Europe. We find them subsequently off the Azores, in the African, and finally in the West Indian waters; where Maurice perished in a shipwreck.

---

[1] 'Contrary to the law of nations the Spaniard suffered the enemy's fleet to take their advantage.' Journal of the Fleet, 317.

Blake, after having driven his most important enemy out of Europe, returned to Great Britain, where his presence was absolutely necessary; for the piratical war carried on there under royalist colours had grown to large dimensions. It was carried on at once from Galway and the Isle of Man, before they were conquered, and from Scilly and Jersey. It was estimated that there were twenty-eight ships of war belonging to various stations. Carteret's frigates made themselves especially dreaded. Within sight of Plymouth, under the very guns of Dartmouth, they carried off richly laden merchantmen. The Scots who were as yet unconquered followed this example: they sent out vessels of war which inflicted serious damage on the fisheries and trade of the English[1]. And as can well be imagined, it was not the English only who were aggrieved by these disorders. The Dutch entertained the idea of taking vengeance for the loss which they suffered from the Scilly Islands by occupying them.

It was against this group of rocks that Robert Blake now first turned his arms. He is famous as having been the first practically to refute the idea, till then generally accepted, that it was impracticable for vessels of war to undertake an attack upon strong forts on the coast. It was against St. Mary's, in Scilly, that he first put his maxims into practice[2]. At the very outset, with the guns of the light frigates which he brought up in front of the fortress, through the windings of the channel, he effected a breach in the walls, upon which the gallant Cavaliers and their commander John Grenville surrendered, on conditions which proved to be sufficiently endurable. The English seemed now to become aware for the first time how important these islands were for their trade. Blake garrisoned them with trustworthy troops, and stationed a squadron off the Land's End.

George Carteret still maintained himself at Elizabeth Castle, in Jersey, with a gallant force picked from many different nationalities, and hoped to hold out till a brighter fortune should shine upon his Prince. The castle was considered to be the strongest fortress on British soil. On the side of the sea it was inaccessible. Carteret however was not strong enough to prevent the Republicans from landing. Mortars of the heaviest calibre were then brought from Plymouth, guns very different from those which this fort was originally built to resist. They destroyed the houses, the church, the magazines. Even Carteret found himself forced to surrender; yet he did not do so till he had first consulted his King. The Commonwealth sent a commission to settle the Channel islands after its own model.

In the British world, just as recently in the French, the action of artillery was decisive. All those castles in which an independent power could offer resistance to the authority of the state, whether on the coast or inland, succumbed to the irresistible cannon. The only difference is that the state-authority which availed itself of them was in France that of the King, in England that of the Commonwealth. The crown and its adherents were condemned in England to such a mode of resistance as was elsewhere confined to rebels. In this resistance they failed, as was inevitable.

Thanks however to these victories, the Republican power now finally assumed that position of superiority which we have indicated. The union for which the Stuart kings had prepared the way by their hereditary right, and which they had endeavoured to establish by means of ecclesiastical and feudal institutions, was completed by arms, and in direct opposition to them. Henceforward throughout the whole territory all differences of descent, of religion, and of established custom, disappear: for the first time Great Britain was governed by one single mind over the whole extent of her ancient boundaries. But at the same moment she awoke more clearly than ever before to a consciousness of the advantage of her geographical position, of the fact that a maritime vocation was that to which she was called by nature herself. In a spirit of self-assertion and conscious power she now faced the whole world.

---

[1] Whitelocke, March 15, 1654. Letters that divers Scotsmen of war are set out to the great damage of trade.

[2] Dixon: Robert Blake, preface and chap. v.

As an expression of this proud self-consciousness we may take the Navigation Act, passed by Parliament in the course of these struggles (October 9, 1651). By this it was especially provided that all goods from countries beyond Europe should be imported into England in English ships only; and all European goods either in English ships or in ships belonging to the countries from which these articles originally came. Of all the acts ever passed in Parliament it is perhaps the one which brought about the most important results for England and the world. Its origin must be sought in the dissensions of the time.

The Carribee Islands, Barbadoes especially, had attained a high degree of prosperity through their sugar plantations; but like Virginia they remained faithful to the King; in Barbadoes the adherents of the Commonwealth were driven out. The inhabitants formally adopted a resolution giving the Dutch the preference in all commerce and exchange. Similarly the products of Virginia were conveyed to all parts of the world, even to England, in Dutch ships. It was precisely against this alliance of royalist and Dutch interests that the provisions of the Navigation Act were in the first instance directed. They had however a more general aim: the English traders, to whom even English merchants reluctantly entrusted their goods, since the Dutch vessels promised greater safety, had long prayed for some protection against the exportation of goods in foreign ships; such a protection the Act now gave them. It contains a direct attack on the supremacy of the Dutch, who were then masters of the carrying trade of the world. The British Commonwealth wished first of all to shake itself free from their yoke, and then to keep its commercial relations exclusively in its own hands. It is palpable that this could not be done without giving provocation. As early as January 1652 matters had come to an open breach. A number of Dutch vessels which were attempting to import foreign goods into England were declared lawful prizes. The expedition sent out to Barbadoes under George Ascough captured there at one blow thirteen Dutch ships. In fact it was almost inevitable that, if the maritime power of the English was to increase, it should come into collision with the Dutch marine, which then enjoyed the supremacy in every sea.

Independently of this, the understanding between the two Republics was far from good. Inasmuch as Charles II was mainly supported by the house of Orange, the English demanded from the States-General such a strict repression of these attempts, should they be repeated, as they neither would nor could promise; they even required punishment by confiscation[1]. And to this was attached another demand of general importance. The English, who claimed to have suffered great damage from the transport of necessaries of war for the royalists, demanded the right to search for their enemy's goods in Dutch vessels, even in the ships of war. The Dutch on their side took their stand on the principle of free ships, free goods. They urged that the right of search would lead to the injury of their trade and the dishonour of their flag. Both this point, and the disputed questions arising out of the Navigation Act, were keenly discussed. It was believed that matters could be amicably arranged. Meanwhile however the bitter feeling on both sides increased from day to day. The Dutch determined to send to sea 150 men-of-war under Admiral Tromp, to assert their freedom of traffic. In his turn Admiral Blake set out to secure the exercise of his right of search. These measures, in May 1652, brought about an engagement, the blame of which each of the admirals laid on the other. As yet peace was still considered to exist. It was only the actual outbreak of hostilities that brought about the declaration of war.

The wide extent of the Dutch trade gave at the outset a great advantage to the English. Everywhere, in the Baltic and in the Sound, on the coasts of Portugal, on the routes to the East Indies or to America, even in the Mediterranean, numberless Dutch trading vessels were captured. They are estimated at more than a thousand; so that business in Amsterdam came for the time to a standstill. Meanwhile the fleets in the channel had on three occasions consecutively come into collision; in August off Plymouth; in

---

[1] Negotiations given by Aitzema iii 707.

September off the coast of Kent; in November in the Downs; in February 1563 at Portland. We shall omit any description of these encounters, which would oblige us to enter at too great length into the tactics of naval warfare and their application. A decisive victory on one side or the other nowhere actually occurred, but the superiority of the English was indubitable. Their advantage lay firstly in the superior build of their ships, an art cultivated by them from very old times—they were longer and stouter; but also in particular in the bronze cannon which they carried, which were of longer range than the Dutch guns, and even before the actual encounter inflicted serious injuries on the enemy[1]. As to the tactics of battle, for instance the formation of line, the English it is true learnt much from the Dutch admirals. It is this naval war which has chiefly laid the foundations of the rise and fame of the English navy.

Lord Willoughby, disheartened by the news of Charles II's misfortunes, had been already forced to surrender Barbadoes. Here, as in Virginia, under the impulse of the general crisis, a party attached to the Commonwealth had arisen. Nowhere did the Navigation Act press more hardly than in Virginia. The colony complained that England neither consumed her products nor satisfied her wants; but she was forced to submit.

---

[1] Sagredo's Relatione: 'Mancando le navi Olandesi di cannoni di bronzo e questo soprabbondando agli Inglesi di grandezza estraordinaria nel primo incontro delle flotte prima che venissero all urto, il cannone degli Inglesi di maggior forza, et di maggior portata ferriva la flotta degli Olandesi.'

CHAPTER V.

DISSOLUTION OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

It was still the Republican Parliament under the auspices of which this power, practically absolute at home, and great and dreaded abroad, had been won. A political authority had been created of such concentrated strength and wide extent as the world had seldom witnessed, and Britain had never yet seen.

There is the more ground for wonder when we consider the variety of the elements out of which this authority was originally composed. These were three in number—the old Parliamentarian, the legal, and the military—each of them resting on different principles, but in fact working fairly well together. The army fought under the impulse of their religious and political tendencies; the Parliament had the direction of political affairs and provided the means of war; the participation of the lawyers preserved a state of law and order which first rendered this possible.

As a specimen of their combined action we may take the amnesty which, after long discussions, first took effect in February 1652. Forgiveness was therein proclaimed to the adherents of the King for all political offences previous to the battle of Worcester, provided they in turn pledged themselves to be faithful to the Commonwealth as now established without a King and House of Lords. Without some such agreement the civil war would have been incessantly carried on in secret. It was the condition which had also been imposed upon the conquered in Ireland and Scotland; and on the strength of it a formal union was hoped for. The acceptance of this pledge was the condition under which society existed.

But the union of these elements, the work of circumstances at an urgent crisis, had yet failed to remove their internal differences. Between Parliament and lawyers there was a good understanding. The army was at the first, and remained throughout, of a different mind: it did not please them that the Presbyterian clergy should be protected in the enjoyment of the glebe lands and tithes to which they had succeeded; though Parliament declared that this should only continue till other means for their maintenance were discovered, yet it made no preparations for any such discovery. The chief objection to the existing laws lay in the fact that they were the offspring of the Norman Conquest, and bore throughout the stamp of oppression. Whitelocke deemed it advisable to trace their history back in a detailed inquiry. He brings out clearly the reasons of the hereditary right of succession which William the Conqueror established. He derives the name Conquest from later times. He lays stress upon the continuity of the old national legislation, not altogether without reason, as has been assumed in later times, yet undoubtedly in too strong terms. One point only he conceded, that the law of the land should be drawn up in the language of the land, and should be accessible to all; in the same way had Moses proclaimed to the Hebrews the law which he received from God in their own mother tongue.

But these arguments neither convinced his opponents nor did they satisfy the people, who from the great movement to which it had attached itself expected some general measure of relief, such as could only be reached by a thoroughgoing alteration of the laws. It was to the army that men at once turned with their complaints and petitions.

One of the earliest emanated directly from the prisons of London. It complained of the existence of harsh laws, owing to which it was that the poor especially were cast into prison, and of the yet greater harshness of the treatment to which they were there subjected. For the rich a prison was a place of refuge; for the poor, who could bribe neither judge nor jailer, it was a place of torture: on the very laws themselves was stamped the brand of Norman slavery.

Shortly afterwards a second petition was sent in from several counties, complaining of the pressure of the excise and land-tax, but especially of the numbers, insolence, and avarice of the lawyers and their clerks, and the intolerable burden of the tithes, which, having been introduced merely to serve the ends of the Papacy, robbed the people of the fruits of the land and reduced them to slaves. Cromwell and the officers were required, since God had not given them the sword in vain, to bring about in Parliament the relief of the oppressed.

In February followed another petition, addressed to Parliament from the North. Its import was the same:—'Justice ought not to be bought; it should resemble a stream from which the poorest may draw water, but which the richest cannot turn aside into another channel. Care ought to be taken that each man may reap what he sows, and enjoy for himself the fruits of his own vine.'

In June 1652 we have a petition which adds to these demands others of a more extreme character: the right of primogeniture for example is represented as a mark of the Norman supremacy, and its abolition proposed.

It is obvious at first sight how closely these complaints and proposals accorded with the original ideas of the Agitators in the army, and one can understand that they found an echo among them. They would almost appear to have been called forth by them. Without recurring to the ideas of the Levellers, the troops demanded a radical reform of the legislation, and an establishment of the liberties which each Englishman ought to claim. The officers of the greatest religious zeal, such as Harrison, took the same side.

There were however other grievances which directly concerned the Parliament. Throughout the country two things were especially complained of, the personal advantages which individual members derived from the confiscations, so that their incomes rose in a few years to a thousand, fifteen hundred, and two thousand pounds, while but slight advantage resulted to the Commonwealth from the sale: and secondly, the appointment of unworthy magistrates out of regard to relationship and other ties, so that the country was overrun with self-seeking and tyrannical men[1].

These complaints, like the others, found the more echo in the army because they touched at once religious and political differences. In outspoken addresses the officers demanded the removal of vicious and evil-minded persons from the great influential posts, and their replacement by such as were God-fearing men and strangers to avarice.

To many it gave great offence that the officers interfered in these civil matters and wished to adopt as their own demands of such a kind. Cromwell was once warned that it might even prove dangerous to himself. But he not only disregarded the warning, but attached himself more closely still to the movement. He like the others found the burden of the administrative power which Parliament exercised and allowed others to exercise, its imprisonments and confiscations, intolerable. Not unfrequently a law was passed after acts had been committed, and then made retrospective in its action. He relates that he had once seen a body of forty persons, who had perhaps in justice and reason not forfeited a single shilling, visited with confiscation, and driven forth like a flock of sheep: this had deeply troubled his soul. He considered too that Parliament was far too closely leagued with the corrupt interests of the clergy, which at this time was Presbyterian. Those who did the least were rewarded with the most lucrative posts. In every conversation he expressed himself with vehemence against the leading members of Parliament, their selfishness and ambition, their factious behaviour, the scandalous life of some of the most prominent of their number, but above all against the aim which all cherished of making their power perpetual, while their right to sit at all was doubtful in the extreme. Cromwell, who was incessantly moving about the country, and was in constant communication with the persons of greatest note, professed himself convinced that the nation was weary of the Parliament, and that, if we may say so, not a dog would bark if an end were put to it.

It is easy to see what far-reaching aims were from the first involved in these dissensions. They were no others than those which it had been found impossible to set aside on the first establishment of the Republican power. They reappeared in increasing force as those considerations of caution faded into the background which had hitherto been rendered necessary by the struggle against the common enemy in Britain itself. The army wished to enjoy the fruits of the victory, which they ascribed to their own valour and to a special mission from God, which again itself pledged them to a thorough reform.

From the first they had demanded a speedy dissolution of the Parliament; but it was essential before this could be done that a definite arrangement should be made to replace it; in other words, as to the mode of election for future Parliaments. To this question public attention first directed itself. As early as June 1649 a committee was formed for this purpose, with Henry Vane as its chairman.

Among the revolutionary talents of the time Henry Vane the younger might well claim to hold the second place. He did not possess Pym's power of carrying along with him a great assembly by force of arguments comprehensible by all. He lived absorbed in his own peculiar religious views and his own special political tendencies; but he made an impression, thanks to a singular union of subtlety and depth. In the transaction of business he proved himself assiduous and dexterous. It is to his activity in the committee for the navy that its rapid improvement, and in great measure its successes, are ascribed. It is worth noticing as affecting his position, that he did not as yet take as his starting-point the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people; for he had no share in the condemnation of the King, the justification of which was sought in this idea. On the other hand he accepted the view that the will of the monarch was virtually embodied in the acts of Parliament. He drew a distinction between the constitutional sovereign and the individual king, and held consistently enough that Parliament had not been dissolved by the death of Charles I. After a short absence he resumed his seat in the assembly. Of positive right he had in general but little idea; but with regard to it, he thought that in periods of great change it was impossible to keep exactly to the written laws. He even declared, that when he again took his place he believed himself to be fulfilling his duty to the King and the kingdom. He only acknowledged the Commonwealth so far as he found it 'consonant to the principles which have given rise to the law and the monarchy itself in England[1].' He recognised in a Parliament, conforming in other respects to the ancient laws, the supreme authority in the state, whether there were a king at its head or not. It was now impossible for Henry Vane, if he wished to establish a new method of election, to aim at carrying out the principle of the sovereignty of the people. He would have been satisfied with a reform which should merely have filled up to its full numbers that assembly, now become defective and incomplete, but which still possessed the powers of former days. The introduction of universal suffrage, which if actually realised would have endangered the Commonwealth itself, formed no part of his plan; what he desired was a reform in the franchise which yet should not be able to upset the existing balance of political power.

---

[1] 'There was nothing but a great cry everywhere.' Extract from a pamphlet, May 1609, A seasonable word to the Parliament men.

This scheme ought also to be noticed, because the same principles were unconsciously adopted in a later reform in the nineteenth century. Henry Vane wished to connect the actual franchise with a fixed amount of property. In determining the number of representatives to be sent from each county, the standard was to be the sum total of the contributions which it made to the expenses of the state. A number of existing boroughs were to be disfranchised, and on the contrary the larger towns were to obtain an increased number of representatives. The tendency of the scheme is modern, and points to an increased preponderance of the

middle class. Still, even in this respect, Henry Vane was anxious to prevent any sweeping change. The sitting members were to continue as before to represent the towns and counties for which they had once been elected[1].

The majority of these proposed reforms Henry Vane had already brought forward in a report on the sittings of his committee in January 1649/50. It was resolved at once that the representative body should consist of four hundred members: the arrangement of all further details was reserved for fresh inquiries. The importance of the matter was fully realised; as a rule Wednesdays were reserved and devoted to its consideration. Unfortunately these deliberations are lost to posterity. Still we can perceive that the prevailing intention was not so much to summon an entirely new Parliament as merely to fill up the vacant seats with new members according to the proportions established[2].

We do not imagine that it was merely through love for it that Parliament held fast to this theoretical scheme. In the position in which it then found itself it was equivalent to a loss of power to give it up. Vane would scarcely have remained sure of his influence over the members had he demanded of them such a sacrifice. For his authority it was a vital question whether an entirely new Parliament should be created or whether there should be merely a continuation of the old one.

But it was just on this point that he ran counter at once to the prejudices of the nation, the army, and the General. Cromwell tells us that he was most urgently solicited, and that by some of the most prominent members, to give his

---

[1] True copy of the prisoner's (Sir H. Vane's) own papers, containing the substance of what he pleaded (June 6, 1661, in the State Trials vi. 166). 'So far as I judged the free State consonant to the principles and grounds declared in the laws of England for upholding that political power which hath given the rise in this nation to monarchy itself.'

---

[1] 'That all elections of members which are to be made into this present Parliament shall be made according to the proportion granted and qualifications prescribed in the said act for succeeding Parliaments; that is to say, every county or place authorised to choose by virtue of the said act, shall have their complete number, accounting those members now sitting in Parliament and serving in behalf of their counties and places to be part of the said proportion.' See chap. iv. of the scheme proposed in the name of the Committee, January 9, 1650; Journals of Commons vi. 344.

[2] 'To consider how and in what manner the same (the proportions of elections) may be made practicable for filling the house with members according to those several proportions.' (Ib. 486.)

aid in filling up the vacant places in the way proposed. He was heart and soul opposed to such a course. He refused to confirm in the possession of their power and the enjoyment of their privileges men whose conduct he condemned[1].

The army now put in the foremost place the question, which had been dropped for a time, of an actual dissolution of Parliament at a fixed date. Moreover Cromwell and some of his friends now obtained seats on the Provisional Committee. On November 13 the question was decided in a full house. Not without a severe struggle, after two divisions, and only by a narrow majority, it was enacted that a limit should be fixed to the existence of the Parliament. This victory gained, Cromwell appears to have taken no further part in settling the date. He allowed a very distant one, the 4th of November 1654, to be determined upon. It was enough for him that the long-cherished purpose of the troops to put an end to the Long Parliament was expressly sanctioned by a decree of the Parliament itself.

All the more attention was now attracted to the debate on the law respecting the franchise.

The army was discontented with Vane's scheme, not strictly speaking because it was far removed from the universal suffrage, to which the principles adopted by the Agitators would have led, but on the contrary because it omitted those qualifications by which it had originally endeavoured to limit all participation in Parliamentary functions. It was especially noticed that neither Presbyterians nor neutrals were excluded, nor even such as had been in league with neighbouring nations. With men of such sentiments it would be possible to live in friendly intercourse;—against that there was nothing to be said;—but they could not possibly venture to intrust the welfare of the Commonwealth to those who had been opposed to it at the first. No one would willingly mount his enemies on horseback and then implore their mercy.

The main objection however arose from the readmission of the old members into the new legislature, which had at

---

[1] 'I myself was sounded, and by no mean persons tempted, that the vacant places might be supplied by new elections, and so continue from generation to generation.' Speech XX. in Carlyle iii. 353.

least been silently provided for. Cromwell himself urged a constitutional consideration in opposition to the proposal. He remarked that the new legislature would in that case be merely a continuation of the old, and a succession of power established to which the people would be handed over without further ado[1].

On the same ground he rejected the proposal, that, in the intervals between the sessions, a State Council responsible to Parliament should sit: for, he urged, in that case the highest power would eventually remain with the Parliament in these intervals as well.

It is impossible to deny the truth of these considerations. For though it might be said on the other side that parliamentary power once established ought to be regularly continued, so as to prevent a general disturbance, yet it was not the less true that this power, if it remained long in the same hands, outgrew all restraint, and became a despotic authority and not merely a deputed one. Parliament became itself a government.

But on neither side can we see in these theoretical considerations the ultimate grounds of the antagonism.

The army could not any further go along with the Parliament. The latter openly favoured the navy, which was under its control, in preference to the land forces which it dreaded. Already the proposal had more than once been made for a reduction of the land force. What else could be expected but that such a reduction would be actually decreed by a fresh batch of members elected under the influence of the existing assembly?

But to sum up the case:—the Republican authority had arisen from a union of the military and parliamentary leaders; according to Vane's constitution the parliamentary power would have secured the highest authority, and retained it perpetually in their hands. The army was of opinion, that in virtue of their victory and their divine mission, they had a right if not to the supreme rule yet at least to an independent position.

---

[1] 'What was the business? It was a conversion from a parliament that should have been and was perpetual, to a legislative power always sitting, and so the liberties and interests and lives of the people not judged by any known laws and power.'

Their intentions showed themselves next in the demand that a council of forty persons chosen from the army and the Parliament should be entrusted with the highest power, carry through the necessary reforms, give a durable constitution to the state, and administer the government till a new representative Parliament should afterwards be summoned, consisting of men from whom complete devotion to the Commonwealth might be expected.

Here then, apart from the feuds and various ambitions of individuals, lay the real ground of quarrel. The Parliament wished to maintain the existing order of things with the established administration of justice and the endowment of the clergy, and to carry on the power which it possessed into a new Parliament in which the sitting members also could again find places, and which should represent especially the middle classes. The land forces were to be subordinate to it equally with the navy. The army on the contrary would not listen at all to a further continuation of the Parliamentary authority, either in the existing assembly, or in one to be afterwards convoked.

They were anxious for the establishment of a new sovereign power, in the formation of which the leading part would necessarily fall to themselves, in order to carry through a series of reforms answering to their original ideas; a representative assembly constituted according to their own views was to ratify these reforms. All subordination to the Parliament was directly contrary to their principle.

A struggle was inevitable between these rival powers. Of the higher officers, Lambert and Harrison were among the foremost in pressing for a dissolution of Parliament, though from different motives. Lambert regarded himself as deeply injured by the sitting assembly. As far back as the battle of Wigan, then at Dunbar, and lastly at Worcester, he had rendered services inferior only to those of Cromwell. He might claim to be regarded as the second man in the army, which was devotedly attached to him: a thorough soldier in disposition, little affected by political and

still less by religious ideals, but penetrated with the conviction that the army had struck the decisive blow in the great struggle, and that to it therefore belonged by right the preponderating influence. After Ireton's death he was appointed Cromwell's lieutenant in Ireland in his civil as well as his military capacity. Parliament however seems to have taken offence at his arrogance and love of display[1]: at any rate it hesitated to prolong the extensive powers of the general after the expiration of the period for which they had been granted. It was resolved to renew the military authority only. Lambert however refused to go to Ireland with powers so diminished. Cromwell, of whom many said that out of jealousy towards Lambert he had himself secretly initiated the measure, allowed his son-in-law, Fleetwood, to undertake the post. Thus deeply affected himself by the growing antipathy between the civil and military power, Lambert now became the most determined opponent of Parliament. No one more fervently upheld the idea of a superiority rightfully due to the army.

Colonel Harrison was a fiery enthusiast, of a naturally cheerful and joyous disposition, who had adopted the doctrines of the Anabaptists, and knew how to defend them with eloquence. He was eager for the accomplishment of a radical reform on religious grounds.

Both earnestly solicited the General to break up the Parliament. Though he possessed the power to do so, and had the public voice in his favour, yet he declares that his hair stood on end when he considered the consequences. How should he not hesitate to do away with an authority which by the ancient prestige of its name had rendered possible the existing state of affairs?

But in the spring of 1653 the crisis became more urgent. The House was eagerly engaged in passing the various clauses of the election bill so detested by the army. Remonstrances were no longer of any avail. The sense of an impending danger only urged the members forward in the course they had begun. They let it be understood that they were still the Parliament, still masters over their own aye or no. On the 20th of April the bill under discussion was to pass the last stage.

---

[1] Bates: 'Trajectum parat majore quam pro ratione temporis pompâ:—procuratores aegre ferebant istiusmodi praeeminentiam.'

The army felt that they dare not allow matters to go so far unless they wished to incur the disadvantage of opposing an enactment that had already passed into law.

On the evening of the 19th a council was held in Cromwell's house, to which some of the lawyers who were members of Parliament were also summoned. No agreement was arrived at: still it could not fail to make an impression that even of the lawyers one, St. John, voted in favour of the dissolution. Many thought that he was simply ambitious of filling an office in the new government which was expected. Cromwell at any rate learnt nothing which could have restrained him.

On the morning of the 20th he once more addressed the officers in the Cockpit in the tone most easily understood by them. He began by reminding them that the visible assistance of God, which had been ever present with them, imposed upon them, now that they had beaten their enemies in the field, the duty of undertaking the reform of the realm; but this was out of the question with the present Parliament, which thought only of securing the continuance of its own power. It allowed the oppression of the people to remain unrelieved; iniquity still flourished as before; legislation was in disorder. To suffer the election of a new Parliament was merely to tempt God. The nation would be better served by a smaller number of impartial men, from whom the people of God would receive more complete satisfaction [1].

Shortly afterwards notice was brought that the debate in the Lower House was approaching the decisive point. Cromwell entered the House wearing the ordinary dress of a civilian, but this did not prevent him from surrounding himself with a military retinue which occupied the approaches to the House and the ante-chamber. He sat down in his usual seat, and remained silent for a time, till at length the question was put which was to bring on the final division. At this moment Oliver Cromwell arose. He now told the Parliament itself what he had before reproached it with when addressing the officers, that it was committing iniquities, and serving its own selfishness. But God, he continued, had already chosen worthier instruments to carry out his work. A member now rose in the House to express his astonishment that one who owed so much to the Parliament should dare to use such language towards it. Cromwell however did not regard himself as owing the slightest obligation to Parliament. Was it not rather the interposition of the army that had brought about the state in which the country now was, and with it the absolute authority which the Parliament enjoyed. He became violently excited: the full consciousness of his actual superiority awoke in him. He declared to the assembly that they no longer formed a Parliament. He was seen, with his hat on his head, pacing up and down the centre of the House. From his lips poured abuse against his old friends, the Parliamentary chiefs, whose personal sins had rendered them incompetent to carry on the government. 'God has fixed a bound for you: I tell you, you are no more a Parliament.' At a signal from him two files of musketeers marched into the House, the members deserted it. The Speaker was half forced from, half left his chair. Cromwell himself carried off the bill on which they were to have voted. The House was closed.

He now returned to the officers who were still assembled and awaiting the result, and told them that when he saw that Parliament was designing to spin a thread without break or end, the spirit overcame him: he consulted not with flesh and blood [1]; but both he and they alike would all be utterly ruined if they did not support what he had done: it was necessary that they should go forward hand in hand.

For little as he regarded the laws and forms of the constitution, yet he knew how much was involved in the breach of them. The afternoon following he entered with Lambert

---

[1] We naturally have no regular historical sketch of this scene. Still we find trustworthy notices in Ludlow, Leicester, the French ambassadors, in the official despatches of the time, and the later speeches, such as those of Haslerig. They are not free from contradictions, which however do not concern us here.

---

[1] 'The spirit was so upon him that he was overruled by it: and he consulted not with flesh and blood at all, seeing the Parliament designing to spin an everlasting thread.'

and Harrison the room where the Council of State were assembled, to inform them that they could no longer be regarded as anything but a private assembly, since Parliament was dissolved. They replied that no power on earth had the right to dissolve Parliament, but Parliament itself. With this protest in favour of Parliament and against the power before which it fell the Council of State broke up.

Nowhere however was any attempt made at resistance. Such an attempt was perhaps to be looked for in the fleet, but Cromwell had already attached Monk, the conqueror of Scotland, as a colleague to the Parliamentary leaders. Robert Blake was then cruising in the Scottish waters. When he received the account of what had happened at Westminster, he called together the captains of his squadron: they would have been strongly inclined to protest against it; Blake told them it was not their business to interfere in state matters, their duty was simply not to allow the enemy to defeat them. And as news came that Tromp had appeared off the English coast in increased force, and had even fired upon Dover, Blake at once prepared to go in search of him. He took active part with his artillery in the battle off Newport Head, June 2/12, an engagement which cannot be regarded as undecided. It cost the Dutch twenty ships of war.

The severity of the prolonged naval war prevented the fleet from in any way carrying out their inclination to secede.

As a whole the fabric of the state remained unshaken, even though one of the great elements in it had been overpowered or expelled by the other. But incalculable was now the difficulty of giving it an appropriate form.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT.

How Cromwell wished this act to be regarded, and how he regarded it himself, he showed plainly a few weeks afterwards, when some aldermen and sheriffs from town and country requested him to summon Parliament again. The King, he told them, was not beheaded because he was King, nor the House of Lords abolished because they were Lords; and in the same way Parliament was not dissolved because it was a Parliament, but all this had befallen them because they did not perform their trust[1]. The acts he was speaking of were, he continued, the acts of the army. It was the army that had brought to pass the abolition of the Lords, the execution of the King, and had now dissolved Parliament. What power had it to do this? No other than that which victory gave them. The ruling idea in the army was the one so often mentioned, that God, by the victories which he had granted them, and the power which had thus been put into their hands, had made them responsible for the welfare of the country, and laid upon them the duty not to bear with anything that was contrary to the interest of the people of God[2].

The army did not hold itself justified in seizing for itself the civil administration. Though the council of war found itself indeed compelled to order the continued payment of the war-tax granted by Parliament only for a limited time, yet this was done under the excuse that the persons were not yet assembled who should rightly exercise the supreme power. In the most express terms the principle was stated that the sword ought to have no part in the civil power. Still the army and the council of war regarded themselves almost as a provisional government. They considered themselves not merely entitled, but actually bound to re-establish a civil authority.

---

[1] See notice in Tanner MSS. in Oxford, vol. lii.

[2] 'That God by their victories had so called them to look after the government of the land, and so entrusted them with the welfare of all this people here that they were responsible for it, and might not in conscience stand still while anything was done which they thought was against that interest which they judged to be the interest of the people of God.' Baxter 57.

In the deliberations in which the character and form of this authority were discussed, Harrison, adopting the principle which the General himself had laid down, gained the advantage over Lambert, whose proposals tended in another direction. It was resolved to select the new assembly from among the most zealous believers, the godly in the land. The very successes of the army whose opinions they shared appeared to justify the preference given them. On the proposal of the separatist congregations, particularly the Independent, with whom the council of officers was in correspondence, the members were nominated by this body all 'God-fearing men, who had given proofs of their fidelity, energy, and devoted zeal for the cause of God.' In determining the number, they adopted as their standard, as Parliament had done, the relative amount contributed by each county to the taxes. Yorkshire sent eight members, Devonshire seven, Kent five, Cambridgeshire four, Westmoreland only one. London supplied seven; we find mentioned as seventh in the register Praise-God Barebones[1], after whom the assembly was nicknamed by its enemies. Altogether there were 144, among them six from Ireland and five from Scotland. On the 4th of July they met in tolerably complete numbers in Whitehall. Surrounded by his officers, Cromwell made them a lengthy speech, chiefly on the reasons for the dissolution of the last Parliament, and then committed to them the charge of the peace and safety of the country. He delivered over to them, as the council of officers had decided, the supreme power and control of the Commonwealth. All were to owe obedience to their commands.

This however can only be understood to mean that the army would lend the support of their strong hand to the decisions of the assembly. They seemed to regard themselves as an instrument of God for the convocation of the assembly and the execution of its decrees. The assembly itself assumed the title of the 'Parliament of the English Commonwealth'; they considered themselves the divinely appointed representatives of the nation. In a solemn proclamation they requested all people to pray that God would deign to make use of them for the extension of his kingdom, for the establishment of righteousness, for the breaking of every oppressive yoke. The members felt themselves to be moved by the spirit as they sat together. They are confident that the spirit of God was never so clearly manifested as in this assembly.

The efforts at reform for which they now prepared are remarkable for all time.

We know how vehement and loud had long been the protests against the abuses in the administration of justice. As early as January 1652 a commission was empowered to inquire into the excesses and irregularities which prevailed, and to suggest means for their remedy. That no results followed from this commission was generally attributed to the lawyers, against whose corrupt interests Cromwell himself inveighed. On the basis of the preliminary work done by the old commission, which was handed over to a fresh one, and at once inflamed by the most pressing remonstrances and urged on by its own impulses, the Parliament of the godly now took up the cause with decisive energy.

The English system of justice rests on the common law, which is administered by jury and Courts of Justice, and on the equity procedure, which includes all that the other does not cover, and is represented in the Court of Chancery, the court of justice of the Lord Chancellor. In the assembly then sitting the principle of this arrangement was already contested, for, it was agreed, equity owns neither rule nor law, it depends on the greater or less extent of the Chancellor's knowledge [1]. The remedy, it was further said, owing to the procedure observed in the Court, is becoming worse than the disease. The tediousness and costliness is intolerable. It was asserted that there were suits in the course of which more than five hundred mandates had been issued, and whole properties swallowed up: thirty years was not long enough time to finish them; and thus there were twenty thousand of them still pending. The assembly was convinced that the equity procedure must be carried on in a different fashion. Invested as it was with the supreme power, it deemed it a duty to decree absolutely the abolition of the Court of Chancery [2].

---

[1] Leather-seller Barebones appears in 1641 in a meeting of Brownists, in which he holds forth against the Book of Common Prayer.

But the common and statutory law also seemed to the assembly to stand in need of a thorough reform. Many of the statutes had ceased to be at all applicable since the alteration of the constitution, for example since the abolition of the bishops. Others were contrary to God's law and to sound reason. What could be said in defence of the fact that theft was punished with death, but not murder? A committee was appointed to inquire in each particular what was agreeable to the law of God and to reason, to settle the proportion between the crime and the punishment: in doing which they started with the definition of treason which plays so important a part in English history. The style moreover of the laws was found to be confused, vague, prolix, and unintelligible, and it was consequently resolved to draw up a new code in the English language, short, concise, and intelligible, after the model of that already produced in New England.

The spirit in which they worked is shown by their regulations with respect to debt, in consequence of which several hundred poor bankrupts were set at liberty, and also by the fixing the amount of the fees, the smallness of which has

---

[1] Cp. Exact relation of the proceedings of the late Parliament. 'How did good people rejoyce when they heard of that vote (for abolishing and taking away the Court of Chancery), and how sad and sorrowful were the lawyers and clerks.'

[2] On November 3, after several other previous enactments, the bill 'for taking away the high Court of Chancery and appointing commissioners and judges to hear and determine as well causes now depending as also future matters of equity,' &c., was read the first and second time and referred to the Law Commission, of which Harrison was made a member. Journals vii. 346.

excited the ridicule or indignation of later jurists. They have not however withheld their approval from other schemes, of which it is hard to say to which of the two Committees they belonged. Many improvements in judicial procedure, which have since found their way into the courts, appear here for the first time [1].

We have then no right altogether to reject, as has often been done, the labours of this assembly, but they bear the impress of the politico-religious bias which directed them.

As the ideas which were at the root of the representative constitution were first developed in a believing army, so it is especially striking to find that a Parliament of zealous believers was the first to attempt to introduce reforms of modern liberal tendencies into the home legislation. On the same soil flourished the strictest religious fervour and republicanism; they are fruits of the same tree.

The Little Parliament of 1653 treated marriage merely as a civil contract. The Justice of the Peace was for the future not only to institute the preliminary verifications and inquiries, but also to unite the couple with a very simple formula, by which they vowed fidelity before the all-present God. At the expiration of a fixed period no marriage otherwise concluded was to be held legal within England and Wales [2]. While the Catholics regard marriage as a sacrament, the Independents proceeded to declare all and every participation of clergy in it to be an abuse which had its origin in the imitation of heathen customs, and not in the Bible. Among others John Milton welcomed this enactment with great approval. For Milton regarded marriage as a domestic contract, an institution independent of religion: it needed a priestly benediction as little as the other acts of civil life, which yet ought only to be performed in God's name and for his honour [3]. And so the members of this Parliament assumed that their own spiritual awakening would become general in the nation:—for them the necessity for a priestly order had altogether passed away.

---

[1] The preambles to the 'several draughts,' &c., in Somer's Tracts vi. 178: 'The more easy recovery of rents, the prevention of fraudulent conveyances, &c.'

[2] 'No other marriage shall be held or accompted a legal marriage within England and Wales.' Draughts 180, cp. Parl. Hist. xx. 216.

[3] Milton: The likeliest means to remove hirelings from the Church. Prose Works iii. 22.

For the idea of personal honour and duty, which has through all time given its peculiar character to the Romano-German world, this assembly could feel no sympathy. As civil and priestly legislation have always endeavoured to restrict duelling, so the Parliament of 1653 loaded it with the severest penalties. He who goes the length of a challenge is to lose his right hand; whoever actually fights a duel is in addition to have his property confiscated and to be banished from England for life: but the man who kills his antagonist in a duel must die a shameful death as a murderer and his goods are to be the property of the state.

The assembly forbade all taking of oaths on entering upon a fief or becoming a member of a corporation, such for instance as the Universities. They allowed only the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth, or the oath of office. Affairs of honour were in their opinion to be settled before the magistrates.

They could never in the least understand how the right to appoint to a spiritual office could be regarded as property: and it was proposed in vain to allow the persons presented to be tested by worthy and pious men. They rejected the right of patronage completely and unconditionally.

But above all they were urgent for the settlement of the petition presented long before in reference to the abolition of tithes. They pronounced tithes to be an institution of the old dispensation, which the Gospel had already swept away, and which had only been introduced into England through the avarice of the Catholic clergy.

In the attacks made upon this impost two interests were involved.

In the storms which overthrew bishops and chapters the lower ranks of the church establishment had succeeded in holding their ground. Rectors and vicars, whose livelihood mainly depended on the long-established tithes, lasted through it all. A portion of the livings still remained in the hands of the Episcopalian clergy, who merely abstained from the use of

the Common Prayer Book; the greater part had passed to the Presbyterians. Even under the Republican Parliament the Presbyterians had continued to possess the ecclesiastical authority. The Independent congregations were tolerated and nothing more. But a legislative body sprung from the ranks of these Independents was of necessity bitterly opposed to the supremacy of their old opponents or rivals. It was not their object to intrude their own adherents into the possession of the Church estates: but they would no longer endure the possession of them by others, and wished to destroy and bring to nothing their existence which depended on that tenure. And with this was connected yet another popular political design. They hoped by abolishing the tithes to attach to their side for ever the owners of the tithe-paying estates. As in Scotland among the Remonstrants, so in England among the Independents, democratical and religious tendencies were directly connected. At the very opening of the session the decree was passed that the lands charged with tithes should be exempted from paying them for the future[1].

Not till this decree was in course of execution did its full significance clearly appear. In the course of time many tithes had passed by legal purchase into private property: were these too to be declared abolished? But more than this, it was palpable that the tithes were essential to the maintenance both of the clergy, who still formed an institution recognised by law, and of the Universities which depended in great measure upon them. It was this consideration which chiefly impressed the Committee appointed to investigate the matter. It decided in favour of recognising private rights of property, and steadily maintained that the sustenance of the clergy ought to be drawn from the accustomed sources, according to the existing provisions of the law.

On the 7th of December it laid before the House its report on a definitive organisation of the clergy. Its proposal was that the useless and scandalous members of the body should be ejected, but the meritorious ones kept and their income increased rather than lessened. This scheme assumed that the tithes were to be left untouched, and a proposal for confirming them where they were doubtful was introduced [1], which was based on the principle that their full value should be paid to the clergyman to whom they were assigned.

---

[1] 'That all lands charged with tythes shall be excused from paying any more henceforward.' The only intelligible account I can find of this is in the letter of the Dutch ambassador, July 22/Aug. 1. In Thurloe i. 369.

No more momentous question could have been laid before the assembly. The debate upon it, which lasted several days, was orderly but very earnest. For not a few members of the House were impressed by the arguments of the Commission, others defended the principle previously adopted with the utmost vehemence: it was still uncertain which party would prove the stronger. On the 10th of December a division was taken on the first clause of the bill. It was rejected by fifty-six against fifty-four votes: with it the whole measure fell to the ground. It was clear that the majority of the House adhered to their previous resolution of abolishing tithes.

We shall not be wrong in regarding this as the decisive crisis in the position of affairs.

The enactments of the Parliament had already excited a general commotion in the nation: for the movement, which had hitherto always confined itself to the sphere of political questions, now touched the civil order and the arrangements of society.

Though the decree respecting the Court of Chancery met with approval from the masses, who brought forward numberless charges against it, some well grounded and others not, yet there were several who reminded themselves that it was the highest court in the country, the centre of the whole judicial system; it was being abolished without regard to its ancient renown, to its undoubted services. What would they put in its stead? The whole of the ancient law, for which so much blood had been shed, had thus become but a tottering fabric, threatening to fall in, and which it would be necessary to clear away.

---

[1] 'The value of the said tythes to be paid either in money or land—by him that was to have the said tythes; and in case such approved value be not paid—the tythes shall be paid in kind, and shall be recovered in any court of record.'

The original tendency towards a restoration of the old constitution awoke once more when men saw clearly the abyss into which these interminable innovations might lead them. And what had they now to expect? The abolition of patronage was regarded by many as an open attack on the right of property; there were members who had withdrawn from the assembly on that account. In addition to this came now the resolution as to tithes, which manifested the same tendency. Parliament seemed to be an assembly of Levellers [1].

And though Parliament in its proclamations still kept clear of the most extreme conclusions, yet not far from the House, in Blackfriars, there existed a society, including moreover some members of Parliament, which ignored all considerations of prudence. There met together the Fifth Monarchy-men, who, like the Anabaptists of Munster in former days, started from the assumption that the earth had been given for their inheritance to the saints, who would establish their new kingdom. The great institutions of the State and the Church they regarded as the creations of the fourth monarchy, which were therefore destined to perish. We read in their writings that the education given at the Universities was of no value whatever as a preparation for the ministry of God's word. They saw in the clergy and doctors of the Protestant Church the bulwarks of Babylon, which must first of all be overthrown; and it was besides one of their fundamental principles that secular authority ought to depend on the amount of grace bestowed upon a man [2]. All art and science, practical skill and experience were as nothing compared with what they termed spirituality and enlightenment: only the enlightened ought to judge and to govern. All ordinary business was, in fact, religion. It is said that they contemplated establishing a senate, the members of which should regulate the affairs of the kingdom with the Bible in their hands. Confounding religion and politics, they confused what was universally binding in Holy Writ with that which applied only to the Jewish nation—a mistake against which the German Reformers had once sagaciously protested; they confused their steadfast sure confidence in their cause with the ambitious desire to remould after their private likings the world which has developed in obedience to historical necessity. They cherished the belief that none of them spoke of themselves, but God through them.

---

[1] William Dell, Trial of spirits. Cp. Godwin iv. ch. viii., a chapter which stands in strong contrast with earlier chapters of this book.

[2] 'Autoritatem secularem fundari in gratia debere.'

Now that in the assembly, which called itself a Parliament, and had the assurance from the army of the assistance of the secular arm, some of the leaders and an actual majority of the members shared not all these views, but perhaps the general tendency, matters had indeed reached a point at which complete destruction threatened the English state and kingdom. The sect which had at first given the most powerful impulse to the attack on Episcopacy, which had mainly brought about the independence of the army, the execution of the King, and finally the dissolution of the Long Parliament, was now invested with the legislative authority in the Commonwealth, and avowed its intention of carrying out its ideas in civil life as well. Men found themselves embarked on the career of the popular followers of Wiclif and the German Anabaptists. And though it had been found in Germany that the spread of these tendencies proved fatal to the religious movement itself, yet that could not be said in England; for the Commonwealth had under its new shape already gained so strong a position that it was far more dreaded by its neighbours, than itself in dread of them. The man with whom the final decision of all matters rested had been under the influence of the same disturbing ideas that prevailed in the assembly, the convocation of which was due to him. He might be tempted to place himself decidedly at the head of the Anabaptist democratical party, carry out their ideas in England, and then extend them like a second Mahomet throughout the world. Was he not pledged to this by the fact that he had justified his violent proceedings against the old Parliament by the abuses, to eradicate which was the first aim of the new one. His ideas and theirs seemed to fit together.

It is not things so accidental as habits and mode of life, nor single utterances, nor speeches prepared for a special purpose that display the character of a historical personage: this reveals itself in his actions at great crises. Whatever Cromwell may have said as to the alliance of Parliament with the corrupt interests of the clergy and lawyers, it was very far from being his wish to go the length of destroying these two orders and of introducing a social revolution. He had opposed the Agitators when they attempted to introduce their principle of election into the army. He had crushed the Levellers when they violated the idea of property. He could not approve decrees of an assembly which betrayed kindred views. The magistrates and the clergy, whom he had attacked in April 1653, found their chief support in him in December when their existence was threatened. The Royalists had already noticed this contradiction: they said, reasonably enough, that either Lilburne, who at the time had returned of his own accord from exile, must be hanged by Cromwell, or he will one day cause Cromwell himself to be hanged. For Cromwell, who felt himself to be before all things general of the army, on which his position entirely depended, a special motive was now supplied for disliking the assembly.

A bill was now before the assembly for the continuance of the land-tax, destined to maintain the land forces and the navy. But objection was taken to the unequal and unjust distribution of the tax. There was a crying disproportion between the counties, towns, and hundreds. The city of London complained that it was forced to pay a fifteenth, while according to the true proportion not so much as a fortieth would fall upon it. They also considered the total amount to be too high. Though a few concessions were made, yet they could not be persuaded to allow the bill to pass[1].

But the army could not tolerate such a delay. How long a time must have elapsed before such a work as the equalisation of ancient differences could be completed and the necessary bills passed? The whole position of the army depended upon the full and punctual payment of their wages, failing which they must have maintained themselves by plunder and violence. Certainty of pay and strict discipline formed the distinctive novelty in the organisation which Cromwell had introduced among his troops. On this rested their obedience, the peace of the land, in some degree the whole public order of things. Parliament was warned of the danger involved in its procrastinating decrees. Several members could not reconcile it with their duty to the army and the general to vote for them. But the majority of the assembly was already far from being of one mind with the army, in which the religious or democratical principle by no means exclusively ruled. The soldiers are designated as the janissaries of that Babylon, which must be destroyed in order to bring in the kingdom of the saints.

---

[1] According to the account of the 'Exact relation' the bill was only postponed; according to that given in 'Confusion confounded,' it was rejected, 'waved' or 'stopt.' The distinction is not important.

Thus in the very heart of the newly established authorities a deep split was effected: on one side were the adherents of the magistrature and the clergy, of the general order of things, and of the army; on the other, the pronounced religionists belonging to the separatist sects. They still had a small majority in the House. But how grievously were they deceived if they thought to retain the upper hand by such means! Only by a stretch of language could they be called a Parliament; in reality they were a sort of Assembly of Notables, such as was recently on two occasions convoked in France to support the intentions of the government by the weight of utterances in agreement with those intentions.

This time the General was spared the necessity of taking the initiative. The minority in the assembly deemed it essential not to allow the measures which the majority had already advanced to the last stage to become law, but there was no other means of preventing it except to declare themselves dissolved. In the next sitting the majority were forced to bear the reproach in which they were the least involved, that they were following their own will, and going after their own desires. Members of the assembly uttered expressions of most ominous import; 'they were insufficient,' they said,

'to do that good that they were called for.' It was then moved that they should give back their commission to him from whom they had received it. Without waiting for a formal resolution, those who were in the secret left their seats to go to Whitehall, and at once carry their proposal into execution. The Speaker arose, and with him the Sergeant, who bore the mace before him and the Clerk of the House; on the way others joined the train, some even who had come purposely to attend the sitting. In Whitehall itself the act of resignation was drawn up, inscribed on parchment, and handed over to the General. In course of time it received so many signatures that it could reasonably be accepted as expressing the mind of the assembly. To finish the matter completely, it was still necessary, as before, to march two files of musketeers into the House, on whose appearance the remaining members also retired. It was with many protests that they submitted to the irregular and violent treatment they underwent. They claimed to enjoy the privileges as well as the name of a Parliament[1].

What should be the next step could no longer be doubtful. The convocation of the assembly was merely an experiment which Harrison had suggested on the dissolution of the Long Parliament. It appeared to answer because, outwardly at least, it established a supreme civil authority by the side of the army. But even then Lambert had made another proposal which kept clear of all actual religious aspirations, and simply adhered to the scheme of concentrating the government in a few hands. Lambert now came forward again with this proposal. He based his plan on the elevation of the Lord General to the supreme civil authority.

---

[1] The pamphlet entitled 'An Exact Relation' especially complains of the violence of this 'overthrow and dissolution of the Parliament and supreme authority.' The answer published in defence merely denies that any violence was used. 'I am conscious of no force, as is intimated, either intended or offered to the Parliament whilst the House was sitting.'

BOOK XII.

THE PROTECTORATE OF OLIVER CROMWELL,

1653—1658.

CHAPTER I.

OLIVER CROMWELL AND HIS ELEVATION TO THE PROTECTORATE.

ON a certain day in May 1540, the marriage of Henry VIII with Anne of Cleve was celebrated by a grand tournament. The main object in this marriage was to bring the King of England into the closest connexion with the German Protestants. The man who had mainly brought about the formal separation between England and Rome, and had put himself at the head of the extreme movements for the reformation, the Keeper of the Great Seal, Thomas Cromwell, then Earl of Essex, hoped, among the animosities of a hostile party, to receive from the new Queen, whose marriage had been his own doing, support and assistance. At the tournament held in Westminster to celebrate these eminently Protestant espousals, no one more brilliantly distinguished himself than Richard Williams, a native of Wales, who had adopted the name of Cromwell, on account of a family alliance with the powerful statesman[1]. On this occasion he was created a knight; the King gave him as a token of his approval, a diamond ring. This Richard Cromwell was the great grandfather of Oliver the Protector. In the forcible confiscation of the church-lands two rich Benedictine abbeys, Hinchinbrook near Huntingdon, and Ramsey in the same county, fell to his share. But the results of Henry's marriage with Anne were very different from those which were looked for. So far from strengthening his position, it led, through the opposition of the Catholic and aristocratic party, to the downfall of Thomas Cromwell and his execution. Richard Williams Cromwell was the only person at court who wore mourning for him; it was his good fortune to remain in the enjoyment both of his estate and of the royal favour.

---

[1] The origin of R. Williams is known from a notice in his contemporary Leland; his relationship to Thomas Cromwell from one of his own letters. Noble, Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell i. 308. Carlyle's Letters and Speeches i. 24.

It is probable that his pomp-loving and free-handed son Henry did not exactly add to this prosperity: but he left behind him a numerous family—six sons and five daughters—thanks to whose manifold and honourable alliances the house now first took firm root in the east of England. One of the daughters married William Hampden of Great Hampden; another became the wife of Richard Whalley of Kerton; the former was the mother of John Hampden; the latter, of Colonel Edward Whalley. Of the sons, the eldest, Sir Oliver, succeeded to the family property. He ventured to entertain James I on his arrival in England with festivities at Hinchinbrook. The younger sons however also succeeded in establishing themselves independently. We find them settled at Ramsey or in Huntingdon. In the last-named place settled in particular the second son Robert, in a handsome ancestral mansion, to which was attached a brewery, on the outskirt of the town. He had taken to wife a lady who traced her descent to the royal house of Stuart, but who nevertheless proved herself an industrious and thrifty housewife. They had ten children; the fifth of these was Oliver, who was destined to so high a fortune. He was born on the 25th of April, 1599.

Families, like individuals, have a basis of mental associations which act upon them—they cling with pleasure to noble memories. If we were to point out the sympathies and antipathies which had the strongest hold in this family of Williams-Cromwell, we must take for the first the Protestant principles of which the powerful Keeper of the Seal, the 'Hammer of the Monks' had once been the champion; for the latter the enemies who overthrew him. The struggle between the two continued incessantly.

In the case of Robert's children there was besides the link which connected them with that royal family which had so unexpectedly succeeded to the English throne; and it is not surprising that all this awoke lofty and mysterious aspirations in the easily stirred depths of a youthful heart. In the dark days of a diseased and melancholy mood, so runs the story, the young Oliver imagined that he beheld a gigantic figure which announced to him that he should one day become the greatest man in England[1].

But let us not linger in this background to his life. The man as he enters into the world will yet be shaped by the circumstances of the time and by the conflicts of his own innate disposition with them.

Oliver Cromwell was not without education. He resided for some time in a college at Cambridge, but these studies never exercised any special influence upon him. Placed by his father's death almost too early in a position of independence, he passed through a stage in which he surrendered himself to the distractions of a pleasure-seeking, wild, and profligate youth. The first serious impression which we can find in him is traceable to the doctrines of strict Puritanism, which were expounded at the time in Huntingdon by one of those lecturers who everywhere waged war upon the dominant Church, and whose name was Beard. We find him next in that violent agitation of spirit which marks the transition from worldly excess to religious earnestness and repentance. It was only in the separatist congregations, the completest embodiment of the community of the faithful, that he found satisfaction.

With these sentiments was allied in him, as in so many others, a political hostility to the policy pursued by Charles I. This in Cromwell's case shows itself first in local matters. He was one of those who resisted the design of the government for altering the municipal constitution of Huntingdon. Everywhere bent on securing greater stability, the government desired to supersede the annual elections to the common council by elections for life. Cromwell took the lead among those who upheld the more liberal method of annual election, and proceeded in the matter with such unusual recklessness that he was called to answer for his conduct. In the question of the draining of the neighbouring fens he advocated with equal zeal the rights of the town, which were regarded as being thus infringed. No great results were expected from all this, nor was he satisfied himself. He belonged to the number of those who formed the scheme of realising their ideas of civil and religious freedom on the further side of the Atlantic, when affairs in England took a turn which led them to hope for a change in their mother-country as well. Thanks to the respect in which his family was held and his personal conduct, he succeeded in being returned at the election in the autumn of 1640. So far as can be made out he had also the recommendation of his kinsman John Hampden in his favour. He entered the House as member for Cambridge.

---

[1] Warwick, Memoirs 249. It is clear from Clarendon that this was a generally accepted story at that time.

Had everything in Parliament depended upon formal debates, Cromwell, who had been a member of Parliament in the first years of Charles I without attracting notice, would not have played any important part in this Parliament either: owing to his personal appearance, his slovenly dress, fiery complexion and countryfied manners, he was regarded as an eccentric character. With a piercing voice he threw out remarks which attacked the existing constitution of the state, and on account of which on one occasion it was proposed to summon him to the bar of the House to justify himself. In the very fact however that now at last radical innovations appeared practicable, lay the motive which urged Cromwell to take the active part he did in parliamentary business. One of the leading men in Parliament he certainly was not. He could never shine in debate; he lacked the required readiness and versatility of mind, and the eloquence which carries with it a large audience of different opinions. But it would be a grave mistake to suppose that he was even then without importance and influence.

We are familiar with the demands of Parliament which, in the latter half of the year 1641, rendered a reconciliation with the King impossible. In drawing up these Cromwell took a very prominent part. He and Haslerig were the real

authors of the bill, which required the complete abolition of the episcopacy. Cromwell too was the first to move that the commanding officers of the militia in the country should be appointed not as hitherto by the King but by Parliament, and that for as long a period as Parliament itself should determine, thus depriving the King of the right of removing them[1]; a proposal which a month later received such an extended application from Haslerig that it kindled the quarrel respecting the right to the supreme military command. So again it was Cromwell who introduced the motion for the removal of Lord Bristol from the King's council[2]; we have already seen how this scheme, when extended to include Digby, mainly contributed to urge the King to that attack on the independence of Parliament which was the immediate cause of the rupture between them.

But true public life implies far more than mere agitation and incitement of others to action: in Cromwell's case a career suitable to his peculiar talents was first opened to him when the subtleties of controversy were exchanged for the clash of arms.

At the moment when the rupture occurred, in Cambridge as elsewhere, the university took one side, the town, which Cromwell represented, the other. Cromwell immediately procured permission for the townsmen to arm themselves, and himself hastened thither. Some of the colleges wished to send their silver plate to the King. Cromwell prevented their doing it. He was assisted in this by his brothers-in-law Walton, member for Huntingdon, and John Desborough, a resident in the same place. To what lengths the three went on their own responsibility may be inferred from the fact that Parliament was subsequently obliged to grant them an indemnity. Very characteristic is the treatment which befell Oliver's uncle, who in opposition to the ruling feeling in the family inclined to the side of the King. His nephew sought him out in Ramsey with a small troop of horse; he showed him all the respect due to the head of a family; he asked for his blessing, but carried off notwithstanding the silver and the arms which he found in the house.

---

[1] D'Ewes adds to the entry in the Journals of Nov. 6, 1641, 'Upon Mr. Cromwell's motion.' See Sanford 435.

[2] Forster, Arrest of the five members p. 82.

The gentry in the eastern counties as in the others were themselves more inclined to sympathise with the King than with the Parliament at the outbreak of the war. Cromwell at first endeavoured to gain them over by representing to them the services which they could render the King in co-operation with himself. When this failed, and the leading men among them met instead and declared themselves Cavaliers, at Lowestoft in Suffolk, he did not scruple to disperse them by force.

It was among a lower class, among the freeholders in the various counties, the descendants of the Danes and Saxons, who formed a counterpoise to the influence of the gentry, that he sought his allies. It was on the interest of this class especially that the association was based which rendered the eastern counties the most powerful bulwark of the Parliamentary party.

From the same class it was that Cromwell, when the war broke out, in virtue of a commission granted him by Lord Essex, levied the body of cavalry to which he owed his great successes. They were men of sufficient means to be independent of pay, and whose bodily powers had been tried and developed by agricultural labour. But it was necessary that they should also be men of personal courage. Cromwell tested the squadron while yet in course of formation by a sudden surprise, and dismissed those who then showed cowardice. They had to perform the meanest services, to sleep in the straw by their horses, and to groom them carefully: for all depended upon the good condition of their horses and the brightness and sharpness of their arms. Above all things they were bound by the strictest discipline. To the cavalry that Prince Rupert had organised among the Cavaliers, which won fame in the several battles and filled the land with the terror of their name, Cromwell desired to oppose a troop as brave, as serviceable, and as eager for victory. He saw that the strength of his enemies lay chiefly in the principle of honour; a principle which, according to medieval notions, is bound up with dutiful service and personal allegiance. This it was essential to confront by another, which should be equally powerful. His followers were all united by the same religious tendencies which harmonised with his own; they were as zealous separatists as their leader himself. They fought not so much for the rights of Parliament, which still left room for doubting whether a man could bear arms against his hereditary sovereign, as for complete religious independence and social equality. It was a confederation of men inspired by a fanaticism at once religious and political, but yet whose minds were schooled by discussion of the great controversies which had engrossed attention in the last few years, respecting the relations between prince and people, between the Episcopal Church and the sects, and who were now consolidated by a strict discipline into a strong military force. Shouting a psalm they threw themselves upon the enemy in the name of the Almighty; they granted no quarter; at times they were seen to retreat, but it was only to return to the attack with the greater vehemence: none of them would ever have taken refuge in flight: in most cases they remained masters of the field. In a short time Cromwell's Ironsides were reckoned a troop of irresistible valour. The fame of their achievements roused those throughout the country who were like-minded to join their ranks, and to make their own the cause which they fondly believed was the cause of God.

Now that the great religious and political struggle was to be decided by the issues of war, it is clear what a position a member of Parliament enjoyed who was at the same time the leader of so powerful and active a force.

Are we then to say that from the first it was Cromwell's design to secure for himself the supreme power?—a question which can scarcely be asked, and which certainly cannot be answered hastily. The consciousness of a high mission which animated him may have been strengthened and elevated by subsequent events; but to trace all his actions in detail to a settled plan is to be guilty of a false pragmatism which only obscures the motives which were really most powerful. He has himself said on one occasion, 'He goes furthest who knows not whither he is going.' The directing impulse in all that he did or left undone was supplied in most cases by the necessities of the moment. His intention always was to break through the hostile forces which opposed him, and to overcome them by stratagem as much as by open war. To award him the merit of perfect sincerity, a praise which perhaps no single statesman of his day can rightfully claim, would be to over-estimate the value of the grandiloquent expressions in which he delighted. At times the real nature of his opinions is lost in a crowd of antitheses, at others he changes his tactics. The party which gathered round him and gave him importance in its turn imposed duties upon him, yet not always nor without reserve did he share their views.

Speaking strictly, there are three great achievements which established his personal influence. They all bear the stamp of self-defence necessitated by circumstances, of prompt resolution and a preparedness which was always ready for any reverse.

The first is the reorganisation of the army in the years 1644–45. It was the moment at which Cromwell, in spite of, or rather in consequence of, his services at Marston Moor, since these procured him so large a following, was in danger of being ruined by the Scottish Presbyterian league, to which belonged the foremost men in the state and army. To meet this danger he carried the Self-denying Ordinance. In this was found the most effective means of removing the Grandees from the army, and depriving them as well as others of his opponents of their chief source of influence. We are surprised and shocked to find that it was necessary to employ a religious pretext to recommend and carry through a party measure. Still more startling is the fact that one man only was excepted from its application, and that man the one who had been its author. Whether or not such was his conscious intention from the first who can decide? There is a foresight of consequences which is more properly a presentiment than a deliberate intention.

The great exceptional stations in the world are not usually won by slow degrees. Ambition fixes its hopes upon them more from a half-instinctive feeling than with any settled design. At the decisive moment they suddenly offer themselves and are at once grasped. By the victory of Naseby Cromwell became the master of England. Who would have ventured to accuse him of a breach of law while he advanced from victory to victory and decided the great struggle in which the nation had been engaged with all its might and soul? He was not the commander-in-chief of the army, and in Parliament was nothing more than a simple member; but he ruled the former through the credit he had gained with it and his personal reputation, and through it he exercised a directing influence over the latter. Thanks to the double foundation on which it rested, his position was one of unrivalled strength. At one blow he had become the most powerful man in England.

Such an authority as this inevitably struggles to gain for itself a full and free development, which the forces kept in subjection by it, but not as yet entirely crushed, necessarily oppose. The Presbyterians and the King endeavoured to combine against him. The second great epoch in Cromwell's present career is marked by his dissolution of the alliance and his final defeat of both parties. With the zealous Presbyterians, who regarded him as their sworn foe, he could never have come to an understanding: such an understanding seemed more feasible with the King, whose views on religious tolerance met his own demands. Cromwell showed sympathy for him, made him promises, inspired him with confidence, engaged in serious negotiations with him. But two conditions were required to bring the matter to a conclusion. In the first place it was essential that the army should agree to the advances, and next it was necessary that the King should not only promise them security against any reaction, but also the continuance of their privileged position in the country. But as we have seen, the General himself by his negotiations fell under the suspicions of the army, which was deeply penetrated with democratical ideas: he was thought to be seeking by some agreement to provide for his own greatness and the future of his family. So far as the King was concerned it was no longer possible to obtain from him a recognition of an independent establishment for the army. Whatever promises Cromwell may have made, he gradually turned from him in open enmity. Cromwell was not without appreciation of the principles of monarchy, but he was entirely destitute of sympathy with what is called loyalty. He has told us that he would as readily fire his pistol in battle at the King as at any other foe. He did not hate Charles I, but he felt no scruple in destroying him when circumstances made it necessary. In his eyes it was allowable in urgent cases to overthrow the ruling powers. The ordinance of God he regarded only as the source of all authority; what form and fashion it might take was, he considered, left to human judgment[1]. Cromwell did not start, like the Agitators, from the idea of the sovereignty of the people, but from the requirements of the common good. As to what was profitable or hurtful to the state, on that point each might judge for himself. The interest of good people was the common interest of all; to secure it, it was lawful to overthrow an established government: those whose intentions were perverse could be met by stratagem. These are principles which may serve to justify all rebellion and violence: they are well suited to the position of a powerful ruler just rising into authority and casting all scruples behind him.

If Cromwell however entertained the design of overthrowing the monarchy, it was necessary that those Parliamentarians should also fall who had attempted to enter into an agreement with it, had they been formerly friends of his own or not. He declared it to be a religious duty—for solely to their daily increasing fury against the elect of God did he attribute their conduct—to purify the Parliament from them. The Upper House was abolished; the King beheaded; in the Lower House, which now assumed the title of Parliament, those only were to be tolerated who were like-minded and as devoid of loyalty, and who followed his bidding.

---

[1] 'Authorities are the ordinance of God. This or that species is of human institution. All agree that there are cases in which it is lawful to resist.' Cromwell to Hammond, Nov. 1648, in Carlyle i. 342.

But that they should be tolerated for long was not to be expected. Far from obeying his lead, they claimed to be the supreme authority, to which the army ought rather to submit. Thus when Cromwell returned from the campaigns which had everywhere crushed all resistance to the Commonwealth and secured the recognition of its authority, how was he to allow the possession of the power he had himself founded to remain in the hands of men who sought to prescribe laws for him, and to place restrictions upon his authority? Cromwell openly uttered reproaches which personally affected the members, and would have cost them their popularity. But that was not his ultimate reason. There is some truth in the royalist charge, that he had got rid of them in order not to be himself overthrown by them: and how, under any conditions, could a military and a civil authority, with equal claims, have continued to rule side by side with each other? It was inevitable that they should quarrel; and in the quarrel the General necessarily gained the advantage, not only because he was the stronger of the two, but also because he had contributed the most to the establishment of the whole existing arrangements.

Here as ever the contradiction manifested itself between the intention as at first avowed and its subsequent results.

At the time of the dissolution of the Long Parliament Cromwell had laid stress upon nothing more than on the necessity for a thorough reform, and the relief of the people, which the Parliament had opposed. With this view he allowed that separatist Assembly of Notables to meet, which entered eagerly on the path which he had marked out for them. It is surprising enough that after a few months he most distinctly turned his back upon them. It seemed to him that their mode of proceeding would lead not to a reform, but to a revolution accompanied by a chaotic confusion. The law, the magistracies, the constitution of the Church, were in danger, even in their lowest branches and those most directly connected with the people. In carrying out religious ideas their promoters had come into collision with individual rights of property. The regular maintenance of the army, and with it its very existence, were called in question. Thoroughly to appreciate Cromwell's position, we must listen to the Royalists, who expressed their great satisfaction that men of practical ability were excluded from the highest posts, while 'giddy-headed' Anabaptists were called to the council of the state[1]. He saw himself forced to oppose the ideas for which he had fought. And perhaps it was as well to allow their full import to appear first, since there could be no danger in doing so, as the substance of power remained throughout in the hands of the General and the army. When the crisis came Cromwell protected against the Little Parliament the institutions the continued existence of which he had made a subject of reproach against the Long Parliament.

The Little Parliament was not actually broken up; it dissolved itself and handed over its authority to the General. Singular as this seems, considering that he had convoked it, yet this measure is so far intelligible, that it asserted the principle that the military power as such had no right to carry on the civil government of the country. The divine mission which it claimed only entitled it to abolish a government which did not answer its purpose, in order to make room for another and a more suitable one. The Little Parliament claimed a divine right to the government of the country, which could not otherwise have been entrusted to it by the army. By dissolving itself, and of its own accord surrendering in favour of the General its rights and its mission, which were regarded as the work of providence, it invested him with the functions of civil government which he did not possess in himself nor could venture to assume. At least it thus supplied a plausible pretext and facilitated the transition to the new régime.

On the 13th of December, 1653, there was to be seen in the chambers of the Council of State at Whitehall an assembly of a very mixed and irregular character. At last the order was given for all to withdraw who did not belong to the army. Then Lambert introduced a motion respecting

---

[1] 'Seeing the present men in power are but a company of giddy-headed men.' Whitelocke's Journal of the Swedish Ambassy i. 50.

the resignation of the Little Parliament, and also laid before the Council the plan of a new constitution. The proceedings were somewhat disorderly, some entering, others leaving, the room; generally however the plan met with approval, and the next step was to secure its confirmation in detail.

During this period the idea had been entertained on several occasions in Ireland, and once in England, of creating a Protector who should administer the supreme power. It was a title not altogether strange to English ears, since in former times the representatives of princes who were minors, and who ruled with absolute powers, had more than once been called Protectors, and the name in no way implied a definite renewal of the monarchical form of government. Cromwell was now to be declared Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, but his power was not to be either absolute or hereditary; for the chief authority in the realm was invested in the army still more than in the General. A Council of State, chiefly composed of military men, was to act as a check upon him. Together with some other officers Lambert drew up a sort of charter, called an Instrument of Government, which more exactly defined the distribution of power. In this all appointments and granting of favours were reserved for the Protector; in the most important affairs of state he was to be bound by the opinion of the Council. To this a very independent position was assigned. The Protector could neither admit members to it nor dismiss them on his own authority solely. In the case of all vacancies he was to follow the suggestions offered by the Council for filling them up. To the Council moreover was granted the infinitely important privilege of nominating a successor on the death of Cromwell. In conjunction with this Council Cromwell was to have the control of the forces of the nation, the right of making peace and war, and also the prerogative of suspending laws now in operation until the Parliament should meet. For by the side of these two closely related powers there was to be also a popular Parliament. In conducting its election it was resolved to adhere to the principles of a fair and equal representation, provided only that all those should still be excluded who had taken part in the war against the Commonwealth, even if they had done so only with counsel and support. But with this restriction, and even in consequence of it, Parliament was all the more to exercise important constitutional rights. It was to possess the legislative authority in its fullest extent. Its acts were to have the force of law in themselves, should the Protector not confirm them within a stated time. The imposition of taxes was to rest absolutely with the Parliament, and it was to be unlawful for the Protector either to prolong or to cut short the time of its sittings.

An attempt, undoubtedly incomplete yet well deserving notice, to separate from each other the executive and the legislative power[1], an anticipation of modern constitutions which, like so much else in this age, exhibits the tendencies of a far later time, the nineteenth century.

Cromwell has assured us that he knew nothing of the resignation of Parliament at the moment when the deed was handed to him written on parchment, nor of the Instrument of Government when it was laid before him. He accepted it because he saw that his power would be a limited one.

On another occasion he depicts the condition of the country which made a change in the constitution necessary. 'Many a man,' he says, 'has folded his hands and looked round him to see whether aught still existed on which reliance could be placed; taking their stand on the principles of the freedom of the subject and liberty of conscience,—grand words, which are never without some attraction for men,—some have schemed to overthrow the clergy, and to remove the ancient distinctions between classes, and meanwhile the country was overrun by its most dangerous enemies, above all by swarms of Jesuits. It was involved in war, its commerce had passed into the hands of foreigners, the conviction had spread that this could not so continue. A remedy was necessary,' he exclaims; 'this remedy has been applied.' It

---

[1] Ratio reipublicae, a pamphlet published immediately after the establishment of the new constitution, p. 103: 'In praesenti constitutione potestas legislatoria ab exsequendi potestate segregatur cum illa in parlamentis, haec vero in domino protectore ejusque successoribus, quibus certi in consilio adsunt, collocata sit.'

was the acceptance of the Protectorate, the seizure of the civil authority by the military.

If we were to describe in a word the main distinction between the catastrophe in England and the kindred one which a century and a half later occurred in France, we might say that in France the social revolution was already as good as completed before a victorious general seized the sovereignty, while in England on the contrary the power of the sword stepped in before that point was reached. It checked the progress of the movement directly this began to undermine the foundations of civil society.

Cromwell at the head of the army had vanquished and crushed King, Lords, and Parliament. In opposition to the political constitution of the realm, he appeared as a great destroyer. But further than this he would not go. The moment that the adherents of his party took a direction that threatened with danger civil institutions and the order of society, they found in him their most formidable and effective opponent. For in the possession of power, and that of the sword in particular, is involved the necessity of upholding the foundations of the social order on which it rests itself.

Amid the ruin of all authority, political and ecclesiastical, Cromwell stood forth as the champion of the institutions of society, of property, of civil right and of the inferior clergy. In this spirit he seized the supreme power; and it was the result of his position that he was enabled to do this with the approval of a considerable portion of the people. The lawyers and clergy had seen their existence threatened by the destructive decrees of the Independent Assembly. They were rejoiced to hear of its dissolution. Cromwell appeared as their deliverer; for them his title of Protector possessed all the meaning implied in the word.

On the 16th of December, 1653, Cromwell was solemnly installed in his office. The great act of usurpation could be celebrated with a certain pomp, even in the place where the lawful King had been condemned, in Westminster Hall. On a rich carpet was placed the chair of state for the new ruler of the realm. The outer space was filled by the officers of the army, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their scarlet robes, that inside by the members of the Council and the Judges in their official dress. For on the union of the civilian and military elements all now depended; next the chair were seen on one side Cromwell himself, and on the other the Commissioners of the Great Seal, all uncovered. The proceedings were opened by Lambert, who had taken the greatest part in their preparation. In the name of the army and, as he declared, of the three nations, he offered the Lord General the Protectorate, according to the terms more exactly laid down in the Instrument of Government. The Instrument was read aloud. Cromwell took the prescribed oath. He thereby pledged himself not merely to conform to its provisions, but in everything to govern the nation according to its laws, statutes and customs, to maintain peace and justice. While he next declared that he accepted the high office because he recognised it to be the wish of those assembled and the will of God, he added, under a powerful impulse of thought, a prayer that his power might endure only so long as it remained in perfect agreement with the work of God, and tended to the furtherance of the Gospel, and the maintenance of the people in their rights and property[1] He then covered his head and took his seat in the chair. The Commissioners who carried the Great Seal of England handed it to him, the Lord Mayor gave him the sword; he returned both to them. The Lord Mayor then with bare head carried the sword before him.

The oath imposed upon the councillors of state hitherto had prescribed fidelity to the Republican government without a king, as single ruler, and without a House of Lords. They now merely swore to administer the office entrusted to them to the best of their ability, and in electing a successor in the Protectorate to proceed without regard to favour, promise, reward or fear[2]. By a special clause in the Instrument the members

of the house of Stuart were for ever excluded from the Protectorate.

For it was clearly felt that the new office bore a resemblance to the monarchy, and in the hands of a member of the exiled family would have led to a restoration.

The peculiarity of the scheme lay in the fact that what had been destroyed remained so, while yet the rising power was moulded in a form analogous to the old constitution. A monarchy was desired, as limited as the former one, but of a totally opposite and radically different nature. Everything now depended on the complete amalgamation of the various elements into a solid political power. Harrison's experiment had failed; it remained to be seen how far the path pointed out by Lambert would lead them.

There were two powerful parties in the country who could never be won over to the new institution: the Royalists, whose sympathies were all with the old constitution of the realm, and who had lost their own position by its overthrow, and the Anabaptists, who had hoped to carry out successfully a religious reorganisation of the world, and were now suddenly displaced and excluded. The former could not bear to see the Protector in the room of their King; the latter could never forgive him the opposition which he had offered to the establishment of their religious order of the world.

The Parliamentarian Republicans were embarrassed and discontented, but not entirely alienated, because the promised Parliamentary Assemblies with their extensive powers opened a new sphere for their activity.

But all those who looked for safety in the maintenance of the civil order, which they had seen threatened with destruction, joyfully welcomed the Protectorate. They did not disguise from themselves that it could not be termed legal. They considered however that it was quite enough not to have shared in the unlawful acts by which this power was established. To obey it they held to be allowable. It seemed to them worse to assist in what was unlawful under a lawful power, than to carry out lawful things under an unlawful one, for to fail in doing this would endanger the public weal[1].

---

[1] I state the words from the pamphlet: 'Declaration concerning the government of three nations,' Dec. 21, which agrees in other respects with the 'perfect account' which has been transferred to the Parliamentary Journals, and has only this point of difference.

[2] Form of oath in Order Book, 'I. A. B. nominated and appoynted to be one of the Council to His Highness the Lord Protector—doe promise in the sight of God that I will be true and faithfull in my trust according to the best of my knowledge, and in the election of every successive Lord Protector I shall proceed therein impartially, and doe nothing therein for any promise, feare, favour, or reward.'

One of the first acts of the new government was the confirmation of the existing judicial tribunals, which continued their usual course of procedure. Among the judges appointed by Cromwell were men of very independent views.

A second act was the completion of the visitation of the Church left unfinished by the last assembly, and of which we hear that without being vexatious it produced much good result. The material basis of the Church remained untouched. The Universities breathed again. To the man who had tamed savage Ireland and the haughty Scottish clans, they ascribed with a sort of pride the repulse of the attacks upon their privileges and rights.

In the capital the proclamation of the new office was received by the people with a sort of irony rather than with sympathy. On Cromwell's entry into the city February 8, 1654, the Recorder stated Cromwell's own view of the matter, namely, that government is indeed of divine origin, but that its form is the work of man and subject to change. He said further, that God gives sufficient light for men to perceive and establish the laws of human society; but it is for the sword to carry them out. It was, he declared, the wish of the citizens that the civil sword might in the hand which held it be as beneficial to the public weal as the military sword had once been in the same hand.

The new authority entered upon its career and met with obedience. In the public acts appears now the form 'Olivarius Protector' as formerly 'Carolus Rex.' Still it is easy to see that the new form of government was only regarded as a last resource required by the general confusion and danger. It remained to be proved how far it would stand trial abroad and at home.

---

[1] 'To continue to act honest and lawfull things, though under an unlawfull power, when they cannot be done otherwise.' Whitelocke, Swedish Ambassy 334.

CHAPTER II.

EMBASSY TO SWEDEN. PEACE WITH HOLLAND.

EFFECTIVE and successful as the undertakings of the Commonwealth had been, especially in the Dutch war, yet the isolated position it held in the face of Europe was felt to be a source of annoyance and even of danger. The States-General found allies: Denmark for instance pledged herself to refuse not only English men of war, but English merchant vessels free passage through the Sound. They entered into negotiations with France, which was not willing to permit their ruin, and even gave them hopes of terminating their quarrel with Portugal. Lastly, had the Pope and Catholic clergy, among whom the design was incessantly discussed, succeeded in bringing about the peace between France and Spain, Charles II could once more have found enough support among the foreign powers to make him, in spite of the defeat of his adherents at home, again appear important and dangerous.

On the other hand, the mode in which the English Commonwealth had been founded had, as the catastrophes in Holland and Spain showed, evoked among high and low a prejudice against it which rendered a formal diplomatic intercourse almost impossible.

One of the most remarkable tokens of respect which the maiden daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, Christina, Queen of Sweden, received from abroad, was unquestionably the gift of his own picture from Cromwell. The brow on which time and the untiring prosecution of a war which had led through the bewildering paths of fortune, and the hard helmet had imprinted wrinkles,—this brow bends reverently before her[1]. The political motive was, as Cromwell said, that among all the princes and states of Christendom there was none with whom an alliance was more possible than with Sweden. Such an alliance had been suggested formerly. It was no Republican Anabaptist, such as those who were still at the head of affairs, but the lawyer, Bulstrode Whitelocke, who had attached himself to the Long Parliament, and had been mentioned once already in it for the post, to whom Cromwell resolved to entrust the embassy.

Whitelocke, who was well aware that he was not in favour either with the Protector or with the leading men, hesitated to accept the offer, and it is well worth while to watch for a moment the discussions which were held as to its acceptance or rejection. Conversations between friends and foes, or in the bosom of the family, acquire a historical value when they touch upon the questions which are occupying the thoughts of men.

Whitelocke was on a visit at the seat of a friend in Bedfordshire when the first indirect report of his appointment reached him. It shows his feeling, when just afterwards on his ride, as he gazed upon the scenery and enjoyed the country air, he felt himself filled with thankfulness to God who had bestowed upon the English for a home, so healthy, pleasant, and fertile an island, and one which none would willingly leave.

Some time elapsed before the official notice arrived. As there were difficulties connected with an official letter, in which neither too much nor too little must be said, Cromwell himself took the pen in hand and stated the proposal in a few energetic words, calculated equally to express and to inspire confidence[2].

In Whitelocke's family opinions were divided. The son was for accepting the offer, since he hoped to accompany his father, the eldest daughter was on the other side, for she wished to remain with her father, with whom she carried on

---

[1] Miltoni poemata. English Poets xii. 299.

[2] Whitelocke, Journal of the Swedish Ambassy i. 10.

her studies. The most important verdict was that of the wife, especially as she was near her confinement. She was his third wife, the widow of an alderman who had adopted Puritan and republican principles, which she also shared. She had bestowed her hand upon Whitelocke, who was advanced in years and had children already grown up, because he might be able in the position he then held as Commissioner of the Great Seal, to do much good, and perhaps she herself might be used as an instrument for the service of God and of his people. She was terrified at the idea that Whitelocke should now attach himself to the service of the General, a man who never spared any person or any law that stood in his way. Whitelocke, she imagined, who always upheld the laws, and refused to have anything to do with the extinction of the Long Parliament, was disliked by the General. He wished to get him out of the way, and would not regret it if misfortune befell him on his long and arduous journey to the extreme north. She adjured him not to do anything at this man's bidding which might prove hurtful to himself and his family. Whitelocke replied, that if the General and his friends really wished him evil, a refusal would only serve still further to embitter them, while by accepting their offer, he might weaken their hostility, and, it might be, pledge them to confer benefits on himself and his belongings: besides, the greater the danger, the greater the service; he who works for his country and for God enjoys the protection of God and need have no fear.

But his friends had also to be heard. Most of them thought that the ruling power was contrary to God and to the laws of the land. To attach oneself to it, and to enter its service was in itself a reprehensible act, and might one day bring retribution. On the other hand he was reminded that though the ruling power might not approve itself to the people, yet that every one obeyed it, every one accepted its protection. For according to the Word of God itself it was a duty to obey the powers that be, and especially in a cause which nearly concerned the Protestant religion, and the welfare of the nation; what cause could better deserve this name than the conclusion of a treaty with a foreign power, without regard to the convictions one held at the time or might hold in the future?

Nor must we forget to notice the farmer with whom Whitelocke, on returning to his own property in Bucks, discussed the matter, as they went over the estate together. Whitelocke at this time maintained the opposite position; he declared that he was in no way bound to obey the General, who could have no hold whatever upon him. The farmer replied, that the General was the greatest man in the country: what was there that he could not do? there was more danger in refusing and staying at home, than in going; if he accepted he might perhaps find a means of improving his property.

It is clear from these discussions what the general opinion of Cromwell was. He was regarded as the lord and master of the nation, more absolute than the late kings. Men saw him do whatever he willed. They feared his long arm; they endeavoured to make his interests their own. He passed for an all-powerful, dreaded, vindictive, and infinitely ambitious ruler.

Twice Whitelocke spoke with him in person. With energetic vehemence Cromwell urged him to accept. He could not answer for a refusal before God and men, for it was essential to counteract the Dutch influence in Sweden; the interests of Protestantism required it. The embassy would be the real means of settling the relations with Sweden and Denmark. Whitelocke was the best man for the post; even his wife would not oppose it[1]. He knew her. She was a religious woman, and would not put obstacles in the way of a cause which concerned God and his people.

Whitelocke therefore resolved, as he was already inclined to do, to attach himself to the party in power, but at the same time it was fear of Cromwell that mainly decided him. He declared that he would rather undertake the journey in spite of all its dangers, than stay at home in greater danger still[2].

---

[1] 'The Dutch are tampering with the Queen, but she holds them off, expecting to hear from us.' This we find in the first interview. In the second, 'Your going may be the most likely means to settle our business with the Dutch and Danes.' Whitelocke, Swed. Amb. 33.

[2] 'Rather to goe the journey in great daunger, than to stay at home in greater.' Ibid. 329.

The sum of the ambassador's instructions was, that he should arrange with the Queen of Sweden the best means of securing the free passage through the Sound, so that it should not be possible for Denmark or Holland to destroy it. Whitelocke enquired of Cromwell how far he might venture to go in the matter. The answer was, as far as he could, there could never be more important interests at stake. It was essential to anticipate the Danes and the Dutch and secure the interests of England. He presented the learned envoy, who had once served in the army, with a sword and a pair of gilt spurs.

A very goodly retinue was given to Whitelocke; one of the best frigates in the navy and two other vessels were placed at his disposal; on the voyage they captured several Dutch fishing boats; then followed a long journey by land. On December 20, 1653, the envoy reached the Swedish court, which was then at Upsala. The Queen gave him audience, seated on her throne, surrounded by her great nobles, but very simply dressed.

When Whitelocke reminded her of her father, and of his effort to restore right and justice, and represented the object of the movements in England to be the same, he found it hard to make any deep impression on the Queen, who was keenly aware that she had to encounter the opposition in her own country of a similar alliance of Protestantism with popular rights; but he gained the fullest sympathy from her when, in a private audience, he described the excellence of the English marine, both for commerce and war, in winter as well as in summer, and its superiority to that of the Dutch; and touched upon the necessity of not allowing the Danes and Dutch the free control of the Sound. She now became all attention. She moved her chair nearer to his, for he was lame, and obliged to sit during the interview. She wished to know whether, since what he proposed could only be accomplished by force, Sweden would be assisted by England in such an undertaking. This was in truth the point of contact between the English and Swedish policy. The negotiations could now begin. The aged chancellor Oxenstiern raised the preliminary objection that England was already engaged in war, while Sweden was at peace; it was asking a great deal to propose that she should involve herself in a war. He recognised however the great advantages which an English alliance offered for the maintenance of the position of Sweden. Tedious as it was, he went through the proposals with the envoy article by article. Meanwhile the Queen had thrown herself with all her natural enthusiasm into the matter. The old Swedish hatred of Denmark revived in her breast. She hoped to receive from England sufficient supplies of money and men to enable her to fit out a considerable squadron herself. An English fleet would attack the Danes and Dutch from the other side. She flattered herself with the hope of making large conquests. She would then, for already she spoke much of her abdication, take up her abode in Zealand, if Cromwell agreed. Her conquests she would divide with England[1].

Residing at her court at the time was Corfitz Ulfeld, who detested King Frederick III of Denmark as a personal enemy, and had been banished by him. He fanned the flickering flame. With Whitelocke, who took a liking to him, as the learned always do to those whom they teach, he frequently discussed the state of the North, and the best means of attacking Denmark. The Spanish ambassador, Don Pimentel, enjoyed the greatest influence with the Queen. He thought the moment favourable for effecting an alliance between Sweden, England, and Spain; and no proposal could have been more welcome to the Queen herself. It did not escape her that there was a confederation also being negotiated between Denmark, France, and Holland, which it was necessary to oppose. The conflict between the various European powers centred themselves for a time in the extreme North.

It is perfectly true that an alliance between Denmark, France, and Holland, was much discussed at the time. The intention was to offer definite conditions to the Protector, and

---

[1] 'If Zealand could be taken from the Dane, and the Protector agree with my living there, it should be the place of my retirement.' Whitelocke, Swed. Amb. i. 369.

in the event of his rejecting them, to declare war against him, in which case the adherents of Charles II would also be incited to rise. Nevertheless Cromwell could never dream of confronting a league directed against himself by another, which would but have strengthened the first. His plan was rather to prevent its ever reaching maturity.

To secure this however the alliance with Sweden was clearly the best means. Holland as well as Denmark would not fail to see with anxiety an alliance between two powers already their superiors in strength, and in fact negotiations had long been begun with Holland.

It was only an instance of the comprehensive but impracticable ideas which seized men's minds at the time of the Little Parliament that the English, not satisfied with a close alliance, which had been often discussed, proposed an amalgamation of the two states, a coalition in the most literal sense of the word; for the future they were to form but one state, one republic, one nation—a single government selected from the two peoples was to exercise the sovereignty. The difference of nationalities was to disappear within the two countries: even Cromwell himself entered into the idea. On one occasion he told the Dutch envoys that God had decided against them; nothing remained for them but to join the mighty English Commonwealth, and in conjunction with it to spread abroad the kingdom of God and set the nations free from their tyrants[1].

The envoys treated the proposal as unheard of, impracticable and absurd. How could any one entertain the idea of uniting sovereignties different in kind? In the assembly of the States-General it was emphatically rejected. The envoys were commissioned for the future to treat only for a close alliance for the preservation and defence of the freedom of both peoples.

The republic of the Netherlands sorely needed peace, and was now forced to accept many of the conditions she had formerly rejected. She was obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of the English flag in the British seas. It was the first time that this had been done, and the greatest importance was attached to it at the time[1]. She was further compelled to consent to the Navigation Act; other conditions she rejected, and she even succeeded in obtaining some few proposed by herself. The chief of these was the inclusion of Denmark in the peace, since it had been one of the main provisions of the last treaty with this power that neither should make peace with England without including the other. This was exceedingly difficult to carry: once it seemed as if everything must be broken off on account of it. The Netherland envoys were already on their way home: at Gravesend a despatch from Cromwell overtook them, offering terms which they could accept.

---

[1] From the unprinted Journal of one of the ambassadors, Beverningh, in Grovestin's Histoire des luttes et rivalities politiques entre les puissances maritimes et la France i. 205.

For the Protector too was interested in an agreement. He had stated a condition necessary to it, which he on his side adhered to with unshaken consistency. He maintained that the English government could not rely on peace with the United Netherlands, so long as a house most intimately allied with that of the Stuarts continued to administer there the important affairs of peace and war. In the same way that he had once in Scotland insisted on the exclusion of Hamilton's friends, he now demanded in the Netherlands the exclusion of the house of Orange and its adherents. For from no other house in the world had the English Commonwealth suffered so much opposition and injury as from the house of Orange. In the person of William II's son he dreaded the grandson of Charles I.

It was impossible to propose this condition in the first instance to the States-General; they would assuredly have rejected it; but even in the republic of the Netherlands Cromwell met with an interest similar to his own. The United Provinces had been thrown into the most lively state of ferment by the popular manifestations in favour of the young Prince, who was still a child. The Province of Holland in

---

[1] In Penn's Memorials, Appendix G, it is stated that the later stipulations of this sort (in 1662, 1667) were merely repetitions of this original one of 1653.

particular had taken the opposite side. It was with this powerful Province and its leader, the real holder of power, John de Witt, that Cromwell made common cause, as he had done in Scotland with Argyle and his party. It is not our business to inquire here whether or not there is any truth in the charge that the Dutch oligarchy supported Cromwell himself in his demand: it is enough that on this point their interests completely coincided with his. The Estates of the Province first of all passed the Act of Seclusion, by which they bound themselves not to elect the Prince of Orange either to the office of admiral or to that of Stadtholder of the Province, and as far as lay in their power to prevent his being elected captain-general of the forces of the States-General. To secure the consent of the Estates of Holland, the votes of which were decisive in the States-General, was equivalent to securing that of the Republic. Cromwell refused to ratify the peace till the act was handed over to him[1]. He pledged his powerful word to this, so that no other estate ventured to oppose it.

It is easy to see how little this agreement possessed of the character of an ordinary treaty of peace. It involved also the alliance of the Protector with the leading men of the neighbouring republic for the advancement of an important common interest, which was at once hostile to the Stuarts and to the house of Orange.

At the same time that the Seclusion Act was passed in Holland, the negotiations at Upsala were brought to a conclusion.

The Queen conceived the singular idea of making the observance of the concessions promised on her retirement from Sweden a condition of the treaty with Cromwell. This neither Ulfeld nor Whitelocke considered advisable. Nor since the peace with Holland could the execution of their projects against Denmark be any longer thought of; but the destined heir to the throne, Prince Charles Gustavus, unreservedly gave in his adhesion to the friendly relations which had been set on foot. He visited Whitelocke in his house; their conversation treated of the progress of Catholicism, and the necessity of a union of all Protestants to oppose it.

---

[1] On this is based the main charge against the conduct of De Witt and his party in the matter. In a subsequent letter of Clarendon's to Downing we find that 'when the order of the States was sent to withhold the Act of Seclusion, it was sent all in cipher to Youngstall, and whilst he was deciphering, Beveringue, by advise of De Witt, delivered it to Cromwell. This we can prove.' In Lister iii. 172.

Without further difficulty a treaty was also concluded with Denmark, which in the matter of the tolls secured to the English the same privileges that the Dutch enjoyed.

In short, Cromwell in the summer of 1654 had broken through the circle that seemed to enclose England, and already the two great powers were eagerly competing for his favour. 'The French,' wrote Thurloe in March, 'are anxious to conclude a treaty with his Highness, and make liberal offers. The Spaniards hope to win him over to their side and to form an alliance with him; in reality, they are the more trustworthy friends of the two.' This important question was still undecided, when Cromwell, in order next to establish the existing order of things at home, summoned a Parliament.

CHAPTER III.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1654.

ON several occasions during the negotiations with foreign powers, for example with Sweden, the question had been raised by what title Cromwell held his authority. The Queen simply imagined that Cromwell would shortly set the crown upon his head; finally to renounce it in his position would require more than human forbearance. The Chancellor Oxenstiern went deeper into the question: he disliked the mode of Cromwell's elevation to the Protectorate, since it was more or less an election by the power of the sword and of a political faction. That in the new constitution which most pleased him was the security it gave for the maintenance of the existing laws; 'one thing however,' he added, 'is still wanting to the Protector; he must case himself in steel on back and breast.' 'What means my father?' asked Whitelocke of the old man, in the familiarly respectful tone usual in conversation in those days. 'I mean,' he replied, 'the confirmation of the Protectorate by Parliament; that will be his best support. From whom comes the power which he exercises? who binds over the people to obey him?'

These words in fact touched the real point at issue in the whole matter. Cromwell possessed absolute power. He pronounced the old declarations of allegiance to a republican constitution to be no longer binding, and declared on the contrary that it was a state offence to question the lawfulness of his government. In conjunction with his Council of State, which adopted parliamentary forms, he issued directions for the continued payment of the taxes necessary to support the army. But this could not last long. The Instrument of Government required besides the convocation of a Parliament, and it was necessary to endeavour to change the present provisional arrangement into one definitely final. On the 1st of June Cromwell, in his capacity as Lord Protector, issued the writs for the elections, with the additional caution that none of those elected should have the right to alter the existing form of government as vested in one person and the Parliament. In other respects the elections were conducted according to the redistribution determined upon in the scheme of the Long Parliament. The census then proposed for the voters, and the qualifications which excluded the Royalists, were retained. Of the 400 members, 250 belonged to the counties; the rest to the towns and corporate bodies. Representatives were also summoned from Scotland and Ireland, and the government exercised a very marked influence upon the elections. But governments do not always gain their objects by such means.

On the 3rd of September, 1654, Parliament was opened. Cromwell greeted them as such an assembly as England had never yet seen, on whose shoulders rested the welfare of three great nations, nay the welfare of the whole Christian world. After a reproachful reference to the last Parliament, he expressed the hope that the new House would put the finishing stone on the rising fabric. Not by a single word did he express a doubt whether it could separate its own interests from his.

And yet such a separation occurred at the very outset.

The proposal which Cromwell's adherents introduced, that Parliament must first of all give its sanction to the government in its present form, found little support. Objection was at once taken to the term 'sanction,' on the ground that the form of government ought rather to be in the first instance determined by the House. When this question was discussed, a deep-seated opposition to the views of the Protector's partisans was revealed. Not that there was any wish to abolish the Protectorate, or the rule of a single person; but a formula was suggested which deprived it of its independence. 'The

government,' so it ran, 'shall be vested in the Parliament of the people of England, and in a single person furnished with instructions by it.' The inference was avowedly drawn from this, that the highest power rested with the people, and should be exercised by the Parliament as representing the people; that the Protectorate therefore must be subordinate to Parliament: two coordinate powers would be perpetually at feud with each other. In this had lain the abuse of the old régime; but this the nation had now rejected: as it had once before exercised its own rightful authority through the medium of Parliament, so it must be for the future. When members were reminded that the election which had been conducted in obedience to the Protector's summons was a virtual recognition of his power, they replied, that such a restriction could not bind them, because the people committed the supreme authority to its representatives unconditionally. They were prepared, as a proof of their devotion, to leave the executive authority to the Protector under certain restrictions; the legislative authority, which necessarily embraced military and religious matters, they claimed for themselves. It was a conflict of principles of the greatest significance, and one which reopened the old differences that had led to the dissolution of the Long Parliament.

Cromwell was anxious not to allow the evil to take root.

On the 12th of September he interrupted the debate which was already growing warmer, and convoked the assembly in a different place, where he laid before the members his own views in answer to theirs. Every government, he said, assumes certain fundamental principles, while others may be more incidental; in the present case, the principle on which all depended was that the government consists of a single person and the Parliament. He held his power by a title valid in the sight of God and men: he demanded that this should be recognised. As further fundamental axioms he laid down that Parliament ought not to make itself perpetual; that it should not have the absolute control of the military forces, for what could then resist it? Lastly, he named liberty of conscience. He also asserted the necessity of the Council of State, which conducted the affairs of the Commonwealth when Parliament was not sitting. A mode of government which like this had been acknowledged of God, sanctioned by men, and was beneficial to the people, he could not allow to be set aside. He would sooner be laid in his grave and buried with infamy[1].

On the table lay a declaration not merely of a simple recognition of the existing constitution, in the terms prescribed at the elections, but also of allegiance to the Lord Protector.

There were still a considerable number who refused to sign; all Republicans and Anabaptists, and with them several officers of the army. The address signed by three colonels, in which they explained their refusal, is important in so far as it connects the questions then under discussion with the old constitutional controversies. There were two things particularly which it had been endeavoured from the outset to claim for the Parliament as representing the people—the control of the militia, and the responsibility of every person, be he who he might. The claim of the King to a divine right and to exemption from such accountability had been the source of all his tyrannical acts. But by the new constitution the Protector, who was master of a large standing army, was rendered more powerful than the King had ever been. What became of the right to impose taxes if they were compelled to maintain and pay a fixed number of troops? Thanks to this army and to his position of equality with the Parliament, a Protector was rendered so formidable that it would never be possible for the English people to summon him to account. While they promised Cromwell to support him in all lawful undertakings they nevertheless rejected any fresh declaration of allegiance[2].

Most of the others subscribed the declaration because it

agreed with the condition laid down in the election-writs, and because they shrank from plunging the country into fresh confusion. But even these had no thoughts of accepting the whole Instrument of Government as it stood; they insisted on testing each article in it. Far from allowing themselves to be restricted to actual legislation, they on the contrary asserted a claim to form a constituent assembly limited only by the conditions already laid down and accepted.

It is well worth our while to put before ourselves the arguments with which Cromwell's partisans, who were termed 'the court-party,' and their Parliamentary opponents fought one another[1].

The former narrated how the most zealous of these very opponents, in the days when the army first refused to allow itself to be disbanded, and interposed in the Parliamentary strife, had acknowleged its divine mission. To this was traceable all that had since happened; why then reject now what was then admitted? To the general moreover of this army belonged in consequence an original authority independent of the Parliament. The nation had acknowledged the new government, first by paying the taxes it had imposed without further sanction, next by submitting to the judges which the government appointed; and lastly by the elections which had been conducted in obedience to the writs issued by the Protector, and under the restrictions imposed by him.

But their opponents in turn produced arguments which were not without their force. They began with the assumption that the struggle with the King had been undertaken in order to restore the rights and liberties of the people. The army could not exclusively claim the glory of having secured these. Many others had rendered services no less important, and merited therefore equal privileges. If Cromwell wished not to recognise this he should have reserved the power to himself and proclaimed the English to be his serfs. A Parlia-

---

[1] Whether this speech has been transmitted word for word is certainly doubtful. The short extract which the French envoy sent to his court contains passages which are wanting in the full account, 'The last speech of his Highness,' and in the printed copy of the day. These latter also differ in many points.

[2] I have no hesitation in ascribing to the year 1654 the undated fragment 'The humble address of several colonels of the army' given in Thurloe and Rymer ii. 253, because of the refusal of the oath contained in it.

---

[1] Goddard, Report of the debates in the Parliament of 1654, for which I generally follow the Introduction to Burton's Diary, vol. i.

ment existing only by his favour, a Parliament dependent as it were on charity—this they would not consent to be.

In so far as Cromwell took his stand upon the absolute and divine right of his military power, to which fortune had given authority, his position was in some respects analogous to that of a legitimate monarch. So long as the members, reluctantly it is true, acknowledged this position, and merely wished to uphold on their side the rights inherent in a Parliament, the controversy between them, though waged on revolutionary ground, resembled tolerably closely the constitutional proceedings of other times. Under this aspect the discussion of the various articles connects itself with considerations of more than temporary importance. The ruling power had drawn up these articles according to its own wishes; it was the object of Parliament to impose such limitations upon them as agreed with its own ideas.

They began with limiting first the right to confer dignities and honours accorded to the Protector by the Instrument of Government, by deciding that these should not be hereditary; and secondly they narrowed his right of pardon by excepting the crimes of murder and treason.

All acts and ordinances issued as binding by the Protector and his Council of State, and also several laws passed by the Little Parliament, the legality of which they refused to recognise, such for instance as the law respecting civil marriage, were again dragged before their tribunal.

The Council of State had never, owing to Cromwell's overwhelming personal influence, obtained active importance as an institution. The Parliament paid but little regard to it: of the right of co-optation, which had been part of the original scheme, no more was said. The resolution was passed that the Council of State should be nominated by the Protector and approved by Parliament. Many indeed wished to reverse the order and to have instead nomination by Parliament and approval by the Protector. The question was long debated, and it was not without difficulty that the first-mentioned arrangement was carried.

To leave the right of making war and peace in the hands of the Protector and his Council, as the Instrument directed, appeared to the Parliament especially unsatisfactory; for in this right was involved the power of raising levies, enforcing payments of money, and proclaiming martial law. But it was above all the care for personal liberty and security that was the peculiar duty of a Parliament. In opposition to this constitutional right no weight was attached to the objection that the necessity of summoning a Parliament, and the tedious length of its deliberations, might easily cause the right moment to be lost for beginning a war. It was resolved that no war should be undertaken without the consent of Parliament. They were more ready to allow the right of concluding peace, if Parliament were not sitting at the time, to rest with the Protector and his Council.

Long and warm was the discussion on the determination of the cases, in which the Protector should have the right of veto upon decrees of Parliament. There were four cases, as follows:—an alteration of the form of government, a prolongation of the parliamentary sessions beyond six months, the control of the army, and religious liberty. With regard to those points which Cromwell in his second speech had declared to be fundamental, it was conceded that at least no change should be made without his consent. But in deciding on these cases, especially upon the two last-named, they deviated widely from the provisions laid down in the Instrument. This had abolished the penalties directed against the Protestant sects which dissented from the established worship, but Parliament contemplated renewing them. It was the old Presbyterian spirit of exclusive orthodoxy recognised by the state that again predominated in the present House. The next step was to enumerate those forms of heresy which it was impossible to tolerate. Against one of these, which partook of Socinianism, repressive measures were at once to be taken. Nor did Parliament unconditionally confirm the military authority enjoyed by the Protector. It drew a distinction between the local militia and the regular army. As to the former, it enacted that it could not be called out without an act of Parliament, or, to use the exact words, of the people assembled in Parliament—a proposal nearly identical with that which Cromwell had once brought forward in opposition to monarchical government. The strength of the regular army, the dangers of which were much talked of, and also the estimated cost of its support, were seriously reduced. The Protector's partisans, though a special conference had been held with him, had been already so thoroughly disgusted by the discussion that they declared they could no longer take part in the assembly.

The Parliament however proceeded to still more extreme measures. The privileges which were at any rate granted to the existing Protector, whose merits were great, and whose character was known, were yet not to hold good for his successors. It reserved to itself the right, on the death of Oliver Cromwell, of disposing of the army as it should think fit, and even of disbanding it. It was objected that without the army any future Protector would be nothing better than a man of straw. The reply was, that so long as the army existed Parliament would be nothing but a helpless puppet; according to English ideas the chief of the state should stand not at the head of the army but at the head of the law.

The suggestion had once been made in Parliament that the Protectorate should be declared hereditary in Cromwell's family; but it is easy to see that the tendency of the views now prevalent was unfavourable to such a measure. Cromwell himself was opposed to it. He said that even had the continuation of the office to his heirs been offered him, he would have rejected it in the words of Isaiah, 'God will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning.' It was resolved in Parliament without a single dissentient voice that the office of Protector should be elective and not hereditary. Nor could it dream of entrusting so momentous a choice to the Council of State. It reserved it exclusively to itself. For from the earliest times the election or recognition of the princes by the people had been an established rule. The Parliament, which was entrusted with the exercise of the original rights of the people, could not resign this right in favour of any one else.

Clearly Parliament, though it had yielded to necessity, and had recognised the Protectorate as once established, was very far from sanctioning so extensive an authority as that of Oliver

Cromwell, or from wishing to continue it in his family for the future. The principle of the sovereignty of the people, before which every other right but that of the assembly of representatives, disappears, could not acknowledge a power which was not derived from itself. Nothing could be more evident than that a perfectly free election would have produced a different result; that in short the present Parliament was the offspring of the present Protectorate; still a union of the two was none the less unattainable.

The declaration which the members subscribed had admitted in general terms Cromwell's claim to a prerogative unfettered by any extraneous legislation, a prerogative which he termed divine; but the secret convictions of the members were opposed to it, and they contested it at every point[1].

Cromwell had expected that they would confirm his position, which had first made their own possible, by suitable laws, and above all would sanction the land-tax necessary for the support of the army. For the necessity to which he was reduced, of imposing taxes unsanctioned by Parliament, gave to all his acts, and even to his situation as ruler, according to the views now predominant in England, a savour of usurpation. But such a course was never once suggested. In the stead of laws confirming his authority, formal acts were passed against him which ran counter to his Instrument of Government in most of their provisions; and which, though they only restricted his own personal power, placed the Protectorate for the future in subordination to Parliament. And moreover the stipulation was almost imperatively added, that none of the articles now passed should be valid unless the measure were accepted as a whole.

It was a conflict of theory with theory, system with system, but also of force with force. Cromwell believed that they wished to restrict him, to entangle him in contradictions, to make his position impossible. The consciousness of the absolute power which was actually his, and which he now saw assailed in its most fundamental principles by an assembly convoked by himself, was aroused within him. He had hitherto kept aloof from their proceedings, and was almost hurt that they had not consulted him; for any restriction that was compatible with the public good he would have approved, but those recently enacted were not of this nature. They weakened the Protectorate to such an extent that it would be unable to resist the encroachments of Parliament, which would be able to prolong its sittings at pleasure, and to impose upon the nation any religion it thought fit. Since no provision was made for the maintenance of the army, there was reason to fear that the army would a second time maintain itself by living at free quarters, and the nation be thus thrown into disturbance. There is no doubt that on all sides murmurs were heard. The dissensions of their enemies gave the Royalists courage for fresh attempts. In the capital itself Royalist sentiments were heard. Cromwell thought that he ought not to allow matters to go further. Parliament, which had been summoned for five months, would have had still twelve days to sit, and it was even now proceeding with a measure which should make it impossible for succeeding Protectors to override the conditions imposed. But Cromwell reckoned the months which he allowed for their sittings by the months according to which the army and navy received their pay. On the day when these five months of eight and twenty days were completed, on the 22nd of January, 1655, he dissolved the Parliament.

---

[1] Treatise by Hobart 1658: 'They were so careful not to pass any act, untill the liberty of the nation were first provided for, and did nothing in all their sitting whereby they might seeme to owne his tyranny' (MS. Tanner.)

Like the Long Parliament first of all, and afterwards the Little Parliament, so now that which had been convoked under the authority of the Protectorate, and was to all appearance bound by an acknowledgment of its rights, came into collision with the military element in the government which had monopolised all real authority. One after another fell before the iron hand which they refused to recognise. By Cromwell himself this result was by no means wished for. He required the sanction of a legislative power, not merely in order to establish his footing more firmly in general, but especially for collecting, in a mode acknowledged by the English to be legal, the taxes necessary for the maintenance of

the army. This difficulty, which was pointed out to him before the dissolution of the Long Parliament, proved to be more real than he had imagined. He could not evade it. In his last speech he laments the harsh necessity which compelled him to levy taxes without Parliamentary sanction. He expects however that the people will pay them, just because it was a necessity and was done for their good.

CHAPTER IV.

MILITARY GOVERNMENT. RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE.

THE course which events had taken, the complete collapse of a scheme which depended on the co-operation of Parliament, and the continued rule of a power unrecognised by law, afforded in itself a fresh stimulus to all party-efforts.

The Republicans found it intolerable that after twelve years of struggle in behalf of justice and liberty, which had deluged the country with blood, these liberties should lie at the mercy of a usurper. If it were true, as he asserted, that he held by divine right a power the limits of which he alone might fix, then was England but a pensioner on his bounty: it was the duty of every true Englishman to take care that matters should never go so far as to allow any single man to make himself master of the Parliament, and to secure their ancient liberty.

And in a similar way the party of the so-called saints and elect of God complained of the light esteem in which the fruit of their prayers was held, the marvellous works that God had manifested; the country was still to be loaded with the fetters of the Norman law. They denounced Cromwell as the man of sin, who set himself up as the temple of God, even as God himself.

But if such was the feeling of Cromwell's old partisans, what must that of the Cavaliers have been, who held obedience to be due to none but the hereditary prince, and considered it a point of honour to obey no other. Incessantly they pressed upon Charles II the easiness and probability of a restoration. That on the occasion of his last expedition they had not more unanimously and effectively assisted him,

A.D. 1654.

was, they said, attributable simply to his alliance with the Presbyterians, whose influence was incompatible with the old constitution in Church and State. The majority of the nobility and gentry adhered to the Episcopate; were the King now to show himself as the defender of true principles, they would risk in his cause life and limb, goods and chattels.

By the Act of Amnesty they had regarded themselves as bound to the Republic—when it was transformed into a monarchy they considered themselves released from all obligation. All their personal feelings revolted against doing homage to an upstart like Cromwell, as their lawful prince.

The Protector was continually threatened with destruction from one quarter or the other.

In May 1654 a conspiracy was detected of Royalist partisans of an inferior rank, Gerhard, Powell, and Fox, the object of which was to seize the Protector, when, as was his habit, he rode with a small escort to Hampton Court, and at the same moment, by means of armed bands, to raise a disturbance in the city and the suburbs. The plot was connected with a rising which occurred at the same time in Scotland. The Highlands, the islands, and several counties had been thrown into ferment by the arrival of the old Royalist leader the Earl of Middleton: considerable bodies of cavalry and infantry were put in the field, in expectation of the arrival of the King himself or of foreign aid. The conspiracy in England was intended to act in concert with the undertaking, or at least to aid it by creating a diversion. So far its detection and suppression were important to the whole of Britain. George Monk conquered the Highlands a second time and drove out Middleton. The Royalist troops now first passed under the name of Tories [1] in Scotland, as they had previously done in Ireland.

In January 1655 Major-General Overton, one of the first generals of the English army, a zealous republican and a friend of Milton, was arrested in Scotland, on the charge of having formed the design of making himself master of a few fortified places, and then pressing forward into England and overthrowing the government. It is certain that his plan included also the assassination of Cromwell, Lambert, and a number of other important personages[1].

---

[1] Baillie iii, 255, speaks of 'discussing of the northern Tories' in Scotland,

These disturbances in the army, and the growing discontent which the dissolution of Parliament excited among the Republicans, encouraged the Royalists and Cavaliers to renewed demonstrations.

We are reminded of the attempt of the French nobility upon Amboise, when we read that on March 12, 1655, about 200 Cavaliers appeared in Salisbury, where the assizes were to be held, seized the principal men, threw open the prisons where their friends and adherents were pining, and proclaimed Charles II King. Their leaders were Wagstaff and Penruddock: the latter was fortunately a sensible man, who checked a wild outbreak of party spirit, in which it was proposed to put to death the judges who had fallen into their hands, when they halted triumphantly in the market-place. But after the first moment of success it became clear that they could effect nothing. Several of the more important persons in the neighbourhood, on whose assistance they had especially calculated, had been put under arrest by the ever-watchful Cromwell. As the Cavaliers rode off to seize another place they were met and dispersed by a handful of Cromwellian troopers. Every attempt in the North no less than in the West was suppressed at the very outset. Charles II, who had actually succeeded in reaching Zealand, in order to be at hand should events take a favourable turn, returned to Cologne, where he was residing at the time. He was forced to content himself with the royal honours with which the German princes received him if he entered their territories on a journey. At Königstein near Frankfurt he met Christina of Sweden, who had resigned her crown and all her designs, in order to live in quiet. With Charles the case was reversed—he was striving with every energy to regain his lost crown.

---

[1] Cp. the later reports of the Judge Advocate, who was employed to search the Papers. Burton's Diary iv. 156.

As the Guises had formerly done in the affair at Amboise, so Cromwell now took occasion from this demonstration at Salisbury to let those who had dared to rise in rebellion against his authority feel its full weight for the first time.

Not merely were those captured obliged to expiate their offence with their lives—Penruddock, who had rescued the judges at Salisbury, among the rest—but whole troops of humbler people were sent to the West Indies, and forced to labour as slaves, like the negroes in the sugar plantations of Barbadoes, but especially it was considered essential to secure the government against similar attempts in the future: with this object England was divided into thirteen military districts, placed under the command of officers who either had at the time or received the rank of major-general, and were invested with a combined military and police authority unknown before in England. They were especially charged with the execution of two measures which were in the highest degree unpopular. One was the imposition upon the Royalists of an extraordinary tax, the tenth of their incomes, the other the application of the additional revenue to the organisation of a new provincial militia.

Against the first of these measures it was urged that it was unjust to punish by a special penalty persons against whom no offence could be proved. The acts with which the Royalists were charged had been committed either before their reconciliation with the Republic and the passing of the Act of Amnesty, or afterwards. If before, they had been already atoned for; if afterwards, they deserved a fair trial[1]. But could their evil intentions be proved? At the outset the Presbyterians had approved of the punishment of their old opponents; subsequently however, remembering that a similar fate might overtake themselves, they remonstrated vigorously against it.

Still more energetic if possible were the protests excited by the organisation of the militia under the major-generals, who conducted the enlistment with a somewhat arbitrary disregard for the established practice: but, as was natural, it was precisely on this measure that the Protector mainly relied. It had been the wish of the late Parliament to render the militia independent of him, and on the ground of the people's rights to place it under the immediate control of Parliament. It had then been pointed out how important an addition it would form to the power of those in whose hands it should be. Cromwell took it absolutely into his own. All opponents were disarmed. The militia formed a species of national guard which the Protector established in his own interest, and placed under the command of his most devoted officers.

---

[1] The report of the Swedish Ambassador, in Puffendorf, Carolus Gustavus ii. 89 (1655): Cum jam odium imperii regii exolevisset, populo in factionem Stuarticam et Cromwellianam diviso, duris modis iste in officio continendus erat;—plus quam decem millia e primoribus populi in custodiam data erant.'

It was to procure the necessary means of support for this new institution that he imposed upon the Cavaliers the tax of a tenth. It is asserted that no one was included under this who had not openly avowed by word or deed his hostility to the Republic. Cromwell made no secret of the fact that he regarded them collectively and individually as dangerous. In his eyes they were a society by whose innate bias the individual members were irresistibly swept along. The children drank in the poison from their parents.

But it is plain that from this time his position necessarily rested on simple force. An official record was kept of suspected persons and of their conduct. Each man was held responsible for his servants: only the inns required for the entertainment of travellers were permitted. The taverns to which the country people resorted were almost all suppressed. The laws against drunkenness, swearing and cursing, were renewed on political as well as religious grounds, and the justices of the peace were instructed to enforce them. Not only horse-racing and cock-fighting, but theatrical representations and farces were prohibited[1]. Throughout the country a state of siege was virtually proclaimed, and thus the local forces in every county and district were all organised under a central authority.

---

[1] Instructions given to Cromwell's Major-Generals, No. 4-6. An attempt was subsequently made to replace them by exhibiting 'repraesentatione morales virtutum et vitiorum item rituum variarum gentium;' and by music of a grave and serious kind. (Correspondence of the Brandenburg envoy Schlezer, 1656.)

Every two miles troops were posted: the roads between were incessantly watched by patrols. The guards in the capital were doubled, especially in the neighbourhood of Whitehall. Day and night the soldiers were actively employed.

In the army itself the strictest discipline was observed. Not only did they not dare to commit any act of violence, for such acts never went unpunished; more than this, no unseemly word was ever heard. Cursing and swearing were penal offences. Outrageous cases of blasphemy were punished by death. But what chiefly insured this discipline was the fact that the men were well paid: an Italian tells us that a private in England drew a larger salary than a captain in Italy. They were welcome guests in the villages and towns, because they were good customers and preserved order[1].

It was during this period that standing armies were established in the continental states, in all cases in the service of the lawful rulers, but with far inferior discipline as well as with far inferior power to that in England. Here it had formerly been a matter of surprise to foreigners that the King lived unguarded by arms and troops among a population by no means either accustomed or inclined to an unconditional obedience: but now it was the military exterior which the state and the realm displayed that first caught the eye. The standing army in England amounted perhaps to 50,000 men. The extraordinary burdens which the country was forced to bear served mainly for its support. The people paid the taxes because they enjoyed peace and order, because the taxes themselves were strictly applied to the object for which they were contributed—not in a single particular could there be any complaint of waste and personal extravagance. The Lord Protector held indeed a sort of court, but his expenditure was extremely moderate. The generals and officers were forced to practise that discipline and orderliness which they enjoined upon their men.

---

[1] From a paper in the Dresden Archives, 'An account of the present government in England' 1655. 'The soldiers spend their money among the natives of the towns and villages, where they have their quarters, without occasioning the least inconvenience, hence it happens that everywhere the people welcome them with open hands, and call them protectors, liberators, good pleasant guests'.

Such are the distinctive features of this Cromwellian Commonwealth. It was a government of soldiers; for the General had obtained the supreme power merely as the commander of the victorious army. On the other hand, this army was held tightly in check by his military authority. He never allowed himself to commit an act of violence except as a means to the end he had immediately in view. But within these limits he paid no further regard either to rank or to legal obstacles. We find men of the highest rank conveyed without resistance, and under a slight guard only, to their appointed place of custody. How persistent had been the resistance offered in the case of Charles I to this right of imprisonment! We remember what efforts were required to force him to concede that on every warrant the reasons for it should also be stated. Cromwell's warrants were not countersigned, nor was any reason given; they were everywhere absolutely obeyed.

But if we inquire whether it was simply the unsurpassed good conduct of this military power, and the strictness of the supervision it exercised, that secured the obedience of the country, we are forced to admit that it was not so.

I will not repeat the commonplace that it was the success of Cromwell's foreign enterprises, of which we shall shortly speak, that kept alive in the nation a feeling favourable to his authority. This was not so much the case as is generally believed. The obedience which Cromwell met with rested also upon a want universally felt in society. We have already noticed that all those supported him who expected a general overthrow of the laws and of the social system, in the event of his death. The Presbyterians especially were indebted to him in this respect. Had the designs of the last assembly been carried out, their ecclesiastical system must irretrievably have perished. The establishment of the Protectorate had been their salvation: since then too they had been well treated. In the commission which regulated ecclesiastical matters several Presbyterians enjoyed a seat and a vote. The influence of the Protector upon the clergy had been decidedly beneficial.

But even among the Presbyterians there were some whose advice it was to venture on the extremest measures rather than submit to a usurped authority resting, as Cromwell's did, solely on force. The majority however, even among the ministers, took a different view. They adhered steadily to the position that the King was their only lawful ruler, and would have refused to take the oath of allegiance to the usurper: but they did not consider it to be their duty, in order to overthrow the latter, and reinstate their rightful monarch, to cause a general disturbance and go the length of open revolt. On the contrary, they believed that such a course would be prejudicial to the public good, which is after all the ultimate aim in the conduct of politics. For the probable result would be that the Protector would yield to the counsels of a destructive party. He would demolish the universities, destroy the churches, alienate the church lands, and either sell the tithes or distribute them among individuals, so that they would be irrecoverably lost; he would abolish the ministers of the Church. Moreover they would thus inflict a serious loss upon the King, for they would raze to the ground a house which belonged to him, and assist in destroying the community, the head of which he was destined once more to be. Without violating the allegiance they owed to him, it was possible for them to acquiesce in the existing government, and accept justice at its hands, in accordance with the new laws[1]. And in fact this was all that Cromwell desired and needed: it was of inestimable importance to him not to have the Presbyterians for his enemies: for they were still powerful in the middle classes, and with them it rested which side the city of London favoured.

We occasionally find foreign ambassadors writing word home that Cromwell himself had turned Presbyterian. In matters of doctrine there was no difference, but in all that affected the constitution he was far from admitting their exclusive claims.

In the pamphlets published in defence of Cromwell's government, the doctrine was laid down that for the happiness of a people it mattered little what form of government it had, but that all depended on 'the justice and righteousness of those that govern[1].' It was maintained that the present government was the best that could be found for the nation. Should the Royalists succeed to power, they would in turn put upon their opponents the pressure under which they themselves had groaned. They would seize and sequester their estates. Were the Presbyterians once in power they would in their old fashion imprison or otherwise persecute the adherents of other and dissentient religious views. Whatever there might be to regret or to censure in the present government, the answer was always ready—'we have not to complain of religious persecution, we enjoy liberty of conscience.'

---

[1] Baxter, Life p. 71.

When dissolving the last Parliament Cromwell had himself laid the greatest stress on this point. There was nothing with which he more bitterly reproached it than with having wished to interfere with the conscience of its brethren, and to oppress it. In Cromwell's eyes the principal and the most justifiable ground of the whole struggle with the King was the desire to shake off the unjust authority of the bishops, which had driven so many to seek a refuge in foreign lands or in the wilds of North America, and the attainment of this end he regarded as its noblest fruit. He pronounced it to be a crime to seek liberty for oneself and then to refuse it to others.

We should not however be correct in inferring from this that the religious liberty which he granted was universal and absolute.

In the first place no attempt was made to solve the old difficulty of reconciling the just claims of the Catholics with the authority of the state. It is true that with the fall of the episcopacy the penal statutes, compelling them to attend the episcopal churches, had also fallen to the ground; but the Catholic ritual was still prohibited. The Venetian ambassador, Sagredo, tells us, that owing to the increasing rush of

---

[1] Richardson, Apologie for the present Government: 'The happiness of a people lieth not in the having this or that government, but in the justice and righteousness of those that governe, in the faithful and righteous dispensing of the same.'

Catholics to his chapel, it was proposed to oblige him to exclude all English subjects from the service held in his house. Cromwell rejected the proposal, because it would have also offended other ambassadors. Any one who wished might enter, but when mass was over, the English as they left the chapel were seized by guards posted at the street corners, and obliged to ransom themselves by payment of a fine. A great sensation was caused by so unexpected a severity as the execution of a Catholic priest during Cromwell's rule. It was part of the Protector's policy to vindicate for his administration an exclusively Protestant character.

Again, under his government the use of the Episcopalian ritual in a form altered so as to resemble the Presbyterian, and in some places with the retention of the Prayer-book, was tolerated; but after the attempt at revolt in 1655, which was in the main the work of Episcopalians, this concession was recalled. In November of the same year a proclamation appeared prohibiting the ministers of that Church from appearing in the pulpit or teaching in a school. The next Christmas seemed like the burial day of the English Episcopalian liturgy. How bitterly did its adherents complain that the sacraments could no longer be administered according to English rites, except in rooms and conventicles[1], and that while the parish churches were occupied by the sectaries, sermons from Anglican clergymen were only to be heard in this or that private house. But they noticed at the same time that never had the zeal of the faithful been so fervent.

In order to maintain satisfactory relations with the Presbyterians, in Scotland especially, it was essential that the latter should relinquish those institutions through which their influence over the State was exerted. How was it possible that the Scottish General Assembly, which had originated the attempt to establish a sort of Presbyterian monarchy, could be tolerated by those who had raised themselves to power by crushing that very scheme? On July 20, 1653, the Assembly had once more met as usual in Edinburgh, and the Moderator had offered his prayer, when a lieutenant-colonel of the army, who had appeared outside the Assembly Hall with a few companies of cavalry and infantry, demanded admission, and asked the Assembly under whose authority they met there, that of the English Republic, the English army, or the English judges. The Moderator replied, that their authority came from God and from the laws of the land, which were still in full force. The lieutenant-colonel rejoined, that his orders were to dissolve them: guarded by soldiers, and amid a crowd of astonished and disheartened inhabitants, whose fears kept them quiet, they were forced to leave the city. A distance was marked outside the town within which they were not to come. They were warned that any fresh attempt to assemble in larger numbers than three at a time would be punished as a breach of the public peace. On the other hand Church sessions and synods were allowed. Cromwell sided with the Protesters against the Resolutioners, hardly from any preference for their doctrines, but because the latter upheld the State Church, which was hostile to himself.

---

[1] 'So sharp was the persecution.' Evelyn, Diary i. 316.

Cromwell found it no easy task to hold in check those Protestant sects, to which his own rise to power was due. Most of the Independent congregations had gone over to the Anabaptists; both avowed principles which were not easily reconcileable with civic obedience[1]. One of these was, that man must do nothing contrary to conscience and to the inner light vouchsafed him, but must also hold back from nothing which this internal monitor urges him to do. All that was not faith they pronounced to be sinful. The Enthusiasts were divided into Calvinists and Arminians. At the head of the former stood that Hake who has been already mentioned. In his sermons he denounced not only unlawful but lawful magistrates. God would destroy them all in France and Spain as much as in England, where the good work was already begun: in Holland too the same fate awaited the Arminian aristocracy. Hake declared that monarchy and aristocracy were equally displeasing to God. Cromwell considered himself justified in placing Hake himself and some of his leading disciples in custody.

---

[1] Iviney, History of the English Baptists ii. 169.

It is at this time that we first meet with the Quakers, who to many other principles of the Anabaptists and Agitators united a theory peculiarly their own, that of the inner revelation, to which they subordinated the written word. They believed that in order to realise their ideas there would be no further need of Acts of Parliament and laws, but, now that the victorious army had crushed the tyranny of the old ecclesiastical institutions, they on their side were to enjoy full liberty[1].

The impetuous zeal with which they preached their doctrines, and the personal influence which some of them acquired over the masses, excited anxiety in the Parliament of 1654, lest they should be planning a general convulsion and bloodshed, an anxiety which was also very seriously expressed in Scotland, and which Cromwell himself seems to have shared. When the patriarch of the Quakers, George Fox, whom sheriffs and assizes were at a loss how to treat, appeared before him, he made him first of all sign a declaration that he would not take up the sword against himself and his government[2]. But, this done, Cromwell became his friend. For the deep-seated and genuine inwardness of his disposition and teaching was calculated to lead merely to dissent both ecclesiastical and social, and to a strict and secluded mode of life, not to power or to a struggle for power.

Such were the limits of the tolerance practised by Oliver Cromwell. It by no means extended to the old systems, which had formerly been supreme, that of the Roman Catholics, and that of the English Episcopalians. But neither were the Presbyterians nor even the Independent sects, to whom he had a secret leaning, allowed any share in the government of the state.

Only in so far as any religious doctrine put forward no claim to a share of political authority, and neither destroyed nor disturbed that public peace, the maintenance of which

---

[1] Cp. Naylor's Apology. 'You have been long time under dark forms. It was the desire of my soul that this nation should be redeemed from such forms. God hath done it for you.' Burton's Diary i. 47.

[2] 'Not to take a carnal sword or weapon against him or the government, as it then was.' Fox's Journal 126.

Cromwell regarded as his first duty, was it allowed to have free scope for itself.

But within these limits Cromwell seems to have sincerely wished to see a certain diversity of forms. On one occasion he quoted in support of it the words of Isaiah, 'I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah-tree, and the myrtle, and the oil-tree; I will set in the desert the fir-tree, and the pine, and the box-tree together'—implying that the various forms of faith were so many trees of God: yet they were all to acknowledge a supreme power above them.

In a letter professedly written to the Protector himself, the different formularies of faith were declared to be imitations of the Romish religious system, the end and aim of which was to depose and keep in subjection the secular authorities. It would be far better to abolish all these varieties, and to conduct the exercises of religion in general assemblies, where the wisest should be heard. God had entrusted the magistrate with the duty of protecting the good against the wicked, and that among men of all kinds, who must all be tolerated. The sword would never be fully respected till it was wielded without any respect to one-sided doctrines, each claiming absolute predominance[1].

These utterances acquire a certain significance when we find in the titles of old copies that the letter is attributed to Cromwell's trusted chaplain, Hugh Peters. It was not so much addressed to Cromwell as addressed by a friend of Cromwell's to the public.

The fundamental idea throughout is the complete separation of the supreme state authority from the religious institutions with which it had been allied for so many centuries. The toleration we have described is based alike in theory and in practice on this idea. Clearly from this point of view it was possible to propose that some rights should be conceded to the Jews. They had proved of use to Cromwell in both political and commercial matters. He secured them admission into the country and permission to build a synagogue. But in doing this care was nevertheless taken that

---

[1] Peter Cornelius to the Protector. In Somer's Tracts vi. 487.

the character of a Christian state should not suffer. No privilege was permitted them which might lead to the desecration of any Christian institution, such as the Sunday, and they were never to be appointed to any public office in the Commonwealth[1].

For neither through its relations to Judaism nor to Catholicism ought the character of a Protestant Christian Commonwealth to suffer injury.

---

[1] Proposals of Manasse ben Israel, in Ellis' Letters, second series, iv. 5. Paper of the divines for admitting the Jews with limitations, in Collier, Eccl. Hist. ii. 869.

CHAPTER V.

RUPTURE WITH SPAIN.

PROTESTANTISM was supreme at home, and abroad it was decisive in questions of peace and war.

The leaders of the Long Parliament, who encouraged the friendly relations with Spain, and carried on the war against Holland with the utmost energy, had already by so doing given offence to the Protestant Churches. A common danger to the Protestant creed seemed to be imminent when the two most powerful states which adhered to it, the two Protestant Republics, were plunged in war, and were weakening each other.

Peace was as much for the interests of the Protector as for those of England. It gratified the Protestant sympathies of the nation. The English Presbyterians joyfully welcomed it. It was under the influence of these sentiments that the Swedish negotiations had been entered upon and the peace with Denmark concluded.

The example of Germany showed how injurious to the common cause of Protestantism were the feuds of the various denominations, and the English government in consequence gave renewed support and attention to the efforts of the great apostle of Protestant union, John Dury. He was attached to the embassy which was now sent to Switzerland, and which had in view also the relations with Germany and the learned there, especially George Calixtus at Helmstadt.

The news that England had formed an alliance with Switzerland and maintained a consul at Zurich, created a general sensation, and in France by no means a pleasant one, since it was to English influence that the French now attributed

the obstacles which prevented the renewal of their league with the cantons.

In pursuance of the same policy the English government privately promised the adherents of the reformed faith in France that they would protect them[1]. But how this was to be done was not stated. It was mixed up with the great question that, as we have seen, was before Cromwell in the summer of 1654, as to which of the two great powers then engaged in a protracted struggle, France and Spain, he should side with.

But it was impossible that religious partiality alone, however steadily kept in view, could control the decision. Very different motives ultimately settled the question.

As far back as the year 1652 the Commonwealth had intimated to each of the two powers the price at which its assistance might be secured. This was the possession of a fortified place on the Continent. From the Spaniards they demanded Calais, which it was necessary to retake from the French: from the latter they demanded Dunkirk, which must be separated from the Spanish Netherlands. Mazarin showed less reluctance to agree to such a proposal than did the Archduke Leopold of Austria, who then commanded in the Netherlands, and the Spaniards. They objected for two reasons: firstly, because England, if she gained possession of Calais, would command both coasts of the Channel, and be able on some future day completely to intercept all communication between Spain and the Netherlands; secondly, because such an attempt would lead to an immediate union of parties in France, whereas it was in their present divided state that their opponents' advantage chiefly lay[2].

In the year 1654 the position of affairs was somewhat altered, since the Spaniards, being allied with both Condé, who led their forces, and with Harcourt, who hoped to establish himself independently in Alsace, and also counting with certainty upon the sympathy of a large party in the capital and in the southern provinces, conceived the hope of bringing about a revolution in France by a successful attack, and of overthrowing Mazarin himself. It would have been of inestimable value to them to have secured the assistance of England. They offered Cromwell a million reals if he would make common cause with them against France. They intended to launch upon the French a storm for which they were unprepared, and which they were not in a position to resist[1].

---

[1] French letter from Pell, in Vaughan, The Protectorate i. 48.

[2] 'Reduciendofe la desunion que tienen a la satisfacion de cadaun—muy probable que por el bien comun de estado se compusiesen.' Letter of the Archduke Leopold to King Philip IV, dated February 6, 1652, in the archives at Brussels. The letter relating to the proposal made to France is dated February 5, so that they coincide in time.

In the spring of 1654 an alliance between Spain and England was regarded as imminent. The French were indeed afraid that Holland, now at peace with England, Sweden and Switzerland, would also join the alliance.

Mazarin, while he prepared to resist with all the forces at his command the attack of Spain upon the eastern frontier, in Lorraine and Artois, deemed it equally necessary to disperse the general political storm that was gathering over France. He caused subsidies to be offered to the Protector as magnificent as those of the Spaniards; but he added to these promises which Spain could not hope to rival. He proposed the joint conquest of Dunkirk. This fortress, if taken, was to remain in the possession of the English; France would not put forward the slightest claim to it; let the Protector once break with the Spaniards, and all the conquests which he might make at their expense in both the Indies should be secured to him. Mazarin did indeed express a wish to see an English squadron in the Mediterranean which should support him in any enterprise he might undertake in that quarter. These were proposals and demands which made the greater impression upon the Protector, from the fact that they reached him at the moment when insuperable obstacles had occurred in the way of the negotiations with Spain.

Cromwell demanded from the Spaniards that they should treat the English as friends in South America; and in regard

---

[1] Leopold's letter to Philip IV, March 19, 1654: 'Yo le he respondido—que concluia aunque sea por un millon de reales a ocho al anno con que, si lanzare sobre Franceses aquella tempestad, comprariamos varado el hacerles una, que era tan en el centro y indefensible de sa parte.'

to the trade in Spain, that a clause should be struck out of the last treaty which made it still possible for the Inquisition to molest English merchants. But these were proposals which seemed to the Spaniards little else than insults. The exclusive trade with their colonies, and the exclusive supremacy of Catholicism, were the two main pillars on which their monarchy rested. How unreasonable to require them to allow the English free trade in their colonies and to suspend the action of the Inquisition in their favour! The ambassador Cardenas received positive orders not to concede the demands. To use his own words 'it was as if they had demanded the two eyes of his King.'

Cromwell had also another ground of quarrel with this power. Ever intent, throughout the troubles which had arisen between England and France, on regaining what had been lost, by maintaining or renewing long-standing claims, the Spaniards had several times ventured on open hostilities against the English settlements in the West Indies, which had already reached a fair degree of prosperity. They had surprised and destroyed the colonies of St. Catalina and St. Christopher, and declared that in doing so they had but recovered what was formerly theirs. The English replied that these islands had never been previously cultivated, nor even regularly colonised. The Spaniards could rest their claim on no better ground than the original division of future conquests between the Spaniards and Portuguese made by Pope Alexander VI. But to the English, at the time, this was rather an additional reason for defiance than an argument for recognising the claim[1].

Cromwell, who was furnished with fresh despatches from America pointing out the military weakness of the Spanish settlements, and urging him to an attack upon them, determined in this as in other matters to return to the path which had been followed under Queen Elizabeth. It seemed as though he were anxious to avenge the fall of Walter Ralegh at once upon the Stuarts and the Spaniards, as though the maritime and religious instincts of the nation were secretly hurrying him forwards.

---

[1] Extracts from Gage's Survey of the West Indies, in Bryan Edwards, History of the British Colonies in the West Indies i. 37.

In carrying out his resolution he exercised the prerogative of a sovereign to the full. He was not authorised by Parliament; in the Council of State he was opposed by members of considerable weight. The English merchant-service, which was chiefly employed over the wide extent of the Spanish monarchy, was threatened with the most serious losses the moment that Spain replied to the attack by declaring war. But Cromwell hoped that, if only his attack was successful, he need have no fears on any side.

In the commission given by Cromwell to Admiral William Penn, who was to command the fleet, it was stated that whereas the Spaniards had cruelly destroyed lawful possessions of the English in America, and treated the latter as their natural enemies, and whereas also from their reference to the gift of the Pope it could only be inferred that they meant to destroy all the English possessions in those parts, he had determined to attack the King of Spain and his subjects in that quarter. He empowers the Admiral to commit every sort of hostility and aggression, either with the fleet alone or with the aid of the troops who were to accompany him. These were placed under General Robert Venables, who received more minute instructions than were given to the Admiral. It was left to his judgment and that of the other commanders to decide what should be their first point of attack, whether one of the islands or the mainland of South America, Domingo, Juan de Portorico, or perhaps, after first seizing an island, Carthagena itself. Only in any case it was essential for him to establish a firm footing in the Spanish West Indies.

It might be thought that Mazarin's offers, which had reference precisely to these points, had confirmed Cromwell in his decision, for he thus felt himself secure in any case of a powerful ally. But these offers had not been as yet decisively accepted: on the contrary, in Penn's instructions we find a clause in which that commander is directed to attack, capture and sink any French ships he might meet with. For the French, like the Spaniards, had inflicted similar injuries on the English traders, and as yet no compensation had been obtained [1].

At the same time Robert Blake with another squadron sailed for the Mediterranean. The reason for this was not that the French wished it, nor could any one have said certainly whether Blake might not ultimately declare against them. The French admiral at Brest did not venture to sail through the Straits while this fleet was near; Guise, who had at the time made a fresh attempt upon Naples, retreated on its approach. It was generally thought that Blake would side with the Spaniards rather than the French.

Neither Blake nor Penn enjoyed Cromwell's full confidence. With the former he associated Montague, on whom he could rely more entirely. Penn and Venables were accompanied by Commissary Butler, who was suspected of serving as informer against them for the Protector. But there was no reason for fearing desertion and faithlessness on the part of either. Their enterprises suited the great interests of the nation, to which the admirals were already devoted, and to which they subordinated their political antipathies.

The West Indian expedition however, which set sail in December 1654, and steered direct for Barbadoes, did not produce the results expected.

On April 14, 1655, the troops landed in Hispaniola, in good heart. They hoped to take St. Domingo as easily as Sir Francis Drake had once done, and not to relinquish it so easily: they contemplated a permanent acquisition; all plundering was forbidden. But the place where the best troops were disembarked was much too far from the town. The long march through trackless forests under a burning sun, and the intolerable scarcity of water—for all the springs were dried up—exhausted the soldiers. The Spaniards, conscious of their advantage, were ready and eager to fight. For a second time had they won a complete victory over the English there. 'Never,' wrote the English commander, 'have I seen troops more discouraged [2].'

---

[1] Instructions given unto William Penn, § 11. Memorials of William Penn ii. 23.

[2] 'Never did my eyes see men more discouraged.' Venables to Montague, in Carte ii. 50. Journal and Correspondence of Penn ii.

It was only with the greatest reluctance—for they dreaded what would be said of it, especially in England, and they felt how the Spaniards would exultingly proclaim everywhere such a success—and in obedience to what was almost a necessity, for the troops refused to advance a second time against San Domingo, that the leaders relinquished the attempt. After having, to use their own words, sought counsel of God, they punished the most signal cases of cowardice and insubordination that had occurred: among others an officer was degraded, and his sword broken over his head. They then gave the strictest orders for the future and directed their course to Jamaica.

This attempt was not actually included in their instructions. It was an expedient adopted on their own responsibility in the moment of perplexity, but its results belong to the history of the world. For in Jamaica they found the Spaniards unprepared to defend either the fortress on the coast or even their capital: they retreated with all their goods to the mountains. Of all these islands Jamaica has the climate best suited for strangers. It had been the practice with the Spaniards to keep there for several months the negroes imported from Africa, in order to accustom them to the air of the West Indies. It was of the greatest importance for the English to have gained a footing here; they found the island far better cultivated than Hispaniola. After they had recovered from their fatigues, they easily believed that God had led them thither.

But in the mother-country, as had been anticipated, the failure of the original enterprise created the most unfavourable impression. It was attributed to the blunders of those in command. There was still less readiness to forgive the latter, because they had returned home with a portion of their fleet, for it was thus that the extent of the disaster first became fully known. Penn and Venables were thrown into the Tower. For the first time the Protector found himself the victim of a calamity over which his enemies could rejoice.

At the time the opinion was expressed that the true policy for the Spaniards would have been to drive out or destroy the two thousand men who had been left behind in Jamaica.

England would then have regarded it as the natural consequence of the enterprise she had attempted, and have acquiesced in it. But the Spanish government felt itself deeply injured. It declared that it had been groundlessly and unjustifiably attacked, and laid an embargo on the English vessels in the Spanish harbours, the recognised mode of reprisal in such cases.

So thought the Spanish ministers in Madrid, but not so those in the Netherlands. The latter considered that at least it would have been better to have waited till fresh supplies of troops and money had been brought to the Netherlands, for what would be the position of that country were Cromwell to proceed to open hostilities[1]? He would intercept the communications between the Netherlands and Spain, and would make himself master of the defenceless coasts.

The Spanish government had expected to produce a reaction in England, by the injurious effect which the embargo would have upon English commerce. Not only was a heavy loss thus inflicted upon trade, but the manufacturers, who found the best market for their produce in Spain, were deeply affected by the stoppage of the usual traffic; and it is undeniable that a certain indignation against the Protector was thus excited. But it would have been fatal to him to pay any regard to this feeling. With redoubled energy he put the political situation before them. He reminded them that had his fleet succeeded in taking Hispaniola, Spain would never have dared to lay an embargo upon English vessels; but now that this hostile step had been taken, it was impossible to give way to her. What they had failed to win at the first blow might be gained by a second. Even Caesar was not always victorious. He also appealed to the merchants to assist him in a more vigorous prosecution of the war.

In spite of this the negotiations with Spain were continued for some time. Once more the old plan was revived of regaining Calais for the English, but an insuperable obstacle was created by the Protector's two demands relating to free trade and the restriction of the powers of the Inquisition. The Spanish ambassador was instructed, should Cromwell, as proved to be the case, insist upon these, to ask for his passports[1].

---

[1] Archduke Leopold to Cardenas, Oct. 16, 1653: 'Si Cromwell toma este embargo por una rotura como es de temer v. s. puede considerar a que miserable y peligroso estado estaran reducidas estas provincias.'

Under these circumstances it was inevitable that Mazarin's proposals should be finally accepted by Cromwell.

Cromwell drew a distinction between such Catholic powers as owed unconditional allegiance to the Pope and those who did not. Among the latter he recognised the French monarchy, which had moreover frequently and decisively sided with the Protestants in the great European struggles. Mazarin too had now no scruples about granting to English traders the religious liberty which Spain denied them. He did not even reject absolutely Cromwell's intercession in behalf of the French Huguenots. It is true he refused, as Richelieu had done, to allow such a concession to form part of a treaty, for to do so would have been to establish far too close ties between the numerous and energetic Protestant population of France and the Protector: but he entered into a moral obligation. He gave the Protector a solemn assurance that the edicts of pacification granted to the Reformed Churches in France should be maintained inviolate[2].

Even now men's feelings were still susceptible of a fierce religious hatred, and at this juncture an event occurred which stirred to its depths the whole Protestant world.

In the valleys of Piedmont the Waldenses, compelled to choose between exile and conversion to Catholicism, were given up by their Duke, at the instigation of a branch of the propaganda lately established in Turin, to be the victims of a military eviction which led to a horrible massacre. The catastrophe made the deeper impression in England from the fact that some Irish regiments had taken part in it.

---

[1] Instructions pour Don Alonzo de Cardenas, in Guizot ii. 549.

[2] 'Que le roi ne souffrira point, qu'il soit fait dans son royaume à leur prejudice aucune contravention aux édits de pacification.' Such is unquestionably the true reading, 'Instructions secrètes' in Guizot ii. 481.

Cromwell called upon the whole Protestant world to remonstrate. The fate which had overtaken one was in store for all, so soon as occasion should offer. He would gladly have seen the Protestant cantons of Switzerland compel the Duke of Savoy by force of arms to do justice to the Waldenses. But they were restrained by the fear lest they themselves should be invaded by their Catholic confederates. The Swiss at last had reason to rejoice in the divided state of their confederacy, which prevented it from entangling itself in the general politics of Europe.

But was it not possible for Cromwell, in spite of the distance between them, to protect his persecuted fellow-Protestants? Blake's presence in the Mediterranean with a splendid fleet had made the English name dreaded throughout Italy. He forced the Grand-Duke of Tuscany to pay a heavy fine for having once permitted Prince Rupert to sell his prizes in the harbour of Leghorn. The Pope was obliged, it is said, to remove the treasures of the shrine of Loretto out of the reach of these heretics. Blake had already brought to reason the corsairs of Tunis. He appeared in a threatening attitude off Malta and off Toulon. It was not without good reason that the Duke of Savoy was warned that he too was immediately menaced with danger from the same quarter: it is certain at any rate that Cromwell suggested the seizure of Nice and Villafranca. The objection was, not that it was impracticable, but that it would not serve his purpose, since he could not even then advance further inland[1].

Any permanent result could only be attained through the influence of France; her troops had taken part in the evictions, and on her the ducal court entirely depended. Cromwell made the settlement of this matter a condition of his alliance with Mazarin. Again the Cardinal acceded to his wishes. It was through the representations of the French ambassador Servien at Turin that the Waldenses were restored to most of the places from which they had been expelled, and again allowed the free exercise of their religion.

---

[1] Bourdeaux to Brienne, Aug. 26, 1655. In Guizot ii. 534.

These terms did not, it is true, satisfy Cromwell's demands, but they rendered possible a closer alliance with France.

The interests of Protestantism had thus materially contributed towards a good understanding between Cromwell and France, and at the same time towards a rupture with Spain. When, in course of the renewed negotiations with Spain, the impossibility of a satisfactory settlement became evident, the French ambassador was secretly informed that the moment had arrived for bringing the much-talked-of treaty to a conclusion. For it did not suit the Protector to take the initiative himself, since to do so after the recent disaster to his arms might have seemed humiliating. The French ambassador lost no time in acting on the hint he had received. At the very time that the Spanish ambassador was actually leaving England he concluded his treaty. This was by no means that offensive alliance of which so much has been said; on the contrary, at the outset it amounted merely to a restoration of peace and of security for trade, with the stipulation however that neither power should assist the enemies of the other, even if it should itself enter into treaty with them. But it immediately became clear for how close a relationship this treaty paved the way. Mazarin promised that twenty persons, specially named, and among them Charles II and his brothers, the nearest relations of his own king, should no longer be permitted to reside in France[1].

From this treaty the French expected to derive a decided advantage. For the alliance with the Protector would be as serviceable to them in their struggle against Spain as their support of the rising Republic in the Netherlands, and the diversion created by Gustavus Adolphus had formerly proved.

As regards Cromwell, it is palpable that even in his attack on the Spanish colonies he had not as yet in view a war with Spain and an alliance with France. Rather, he wished to take advantage of their hostility to establish an independent footing in their midst, and to promote the maritime and Protestant interests of England in spite of both. Had his conquest of Hispaniola succeeded, he would have held Spain in check, and at once strengthened his authority at home, and made it respected by the rest of Europe. Now however, when that had failed, he would have endangered his reputation in the world had he gone back from and relinquished his former demands. He had no choice but to go forwards. But in that case it was also absolutely necessary for him to have no further disagreement with France, and to ally himself with her. It was a step of the greatest importance, to which neither the Stuarts nor the Republicans had been able to make up their minds, and one which, while it gave a new form to all the political relations of Europe, also powerfully reacted upon the internal condition of England. That the Spanish government had the courage to throw down the gauntlet, or perhaps we might say to take up the gauntlet that had been thrown down, was owing to the fact that the Protectorate was far from securely established at home. At the very beginning of these differences Spain had lent an ear to the overtures of an Anabaptist, Colonel Sexby, who in the name of the English Commonwealth promised the restoration of all the conquests that Cromwell might make[1]. Now too she entered into close relations with the exiled King. Cromwell found himself obliged to prepare for war on all sides.

---

[1] Traité de paix entre le royaume de France et la république d'Angleterre, de Nov. 1655. Dumont vi. ii. 121, Art. ii.

[1] As early as Sept. 20, 1655, we find a proposal for a treaty discussed between Count Olivarez and 'El Senor Coronel en nombre de la republica d'Inglaterra suyo y de sus aliados y amigos.' In the Archives at Brussels.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1656/57. IDEA OF A CROMWELLIAN MONARCHY.

IT was specially with the view of enabling himself to prosecute the war he had undertaken, that Cromwell resolved to summon a Parliament.

Already the revenues were far from meeting the current expenditure, which exceeded them by more than a third. The amount of debt had considerably increased since the close of the Long Parliament: it nearly equalled the yearly income[1]. But now that war had been declared against Spain an immense outlay was necessary. Two fresh fleets had to be equipped, and at the sole cost of England. For there had been no mention of French subsidies in the last treaty, which had reference only to the restoration of commercial intercourse.

In the spring of 1656 we find that the major-generals met in London, and consulted with the Council of State as to the best means of covering the deficit. It was proposed either to raise by half the land-tax imposed upon the Cavaliers, or else, following the old practice of the monarchy, to decree a forced loan from private persons of wealth. The first scheme the Generals regarded as impracticable, from the second they expected but small results, considering the prevalent state of feeling and the decay of trade. They fell back upon a general tax, to be assessed according to property, as the only resource open to them; a scheme which we are told that Cromwell long and obstinately resisted, but finally yielded to the representations of the members[1].

Cases had already occurred in which individuals had refused to pay the tax imposed, and the courts of justice did not venture to punish them; to press matters further might possibly have occasioned a general refusal. The Major-Generals, who knew the country, were opposed to it. On the other hand they confidently hoped, if a new election should be resolved upon, to exercise a decisive influence upon it.

No sooner did the rumour spread in the country of a new Parliament than, as was inevitable, all the parliamentarian and republican ideas which had been for a time repressed again revived. What their tendency was is nowhere more clearly seen than in a pamphlet put forth at the time by Sir Henry Vane, in which he too now starts from the principle of the sovereignty of the people, though only it must be confessed in the sense in which he himself understood it. Royalists and Cavaliers he excluded from all share in it. He conceded such a share to those only who by their union had won the victory in this cause, and had recovered what rightfully belonged to them. By their election, and from among them, a representative body was to be selected which should be flesh of their flesh, bone of their bone. He granted that the executive authority might be entrusted to a single person or to a Council of State, provided that they both acknowledged the right of the sovereign representatives, and submitted themselves to the legislative authority. That the army should claim a special prerogative for itself, meant in his eyes anarchy. In this way Vane hoped to put an end to the schism which had taken place among the adherents of republican ideas. With the crisis caused by the

---

[1] 'In 1654 the total income was estimated at £2,200,000, but of this the excise revenues, £40,000, and one half of the customs were applied to paying off the debt, so that about £1,700,000 remained. The government cost £200,000, the navy over £900,000, the land army, amounting to 57,000 men, about £1,400,000. So that in 1656 there was a deficit of £800,000.' Burton lxxxviii.

---

[1] So we are told by Francesco Giavarino, the Venetian Secretary, June 29: 'Quanto recalcitrava et s' opponera il consiglio altrettanto persistera e si mostrava immutabile il protettore. Alla fine dopo varie prudentissime considerationi del consiglio tutte volte al bene e preservatione di S. Altezza s' e anche essa piegata alla lor parte;—e resto rejetta in fine.'

impending struggle the right moment for a reunion seemed to have arrived. He sent his pamphlet to Cromwell. But Cromwell's council decided that Vane wished to alter the government, and resolved to remove him to a distance. For some time he was confined in Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight. A future was in store for the ideas which he advocated, but as matters then stood the leading men considered that they were more likely to attain their object by suppressing than by favouring them.

Many hesitated to take part in the elections, because the Parliamentary constitution seemed to be no longer the form which God approved. On the other hand it was urged that God had as yet revealed no other which he would favour more highly. The opponents too of the government held it to be their duty to take part in the elections. Despite all the efforts of the Generals to prevent it, many republicans succeeded in getting elected. It seemed as if Cromwell's position in the face of such an assembly would be as difficult as it had ever been.

But the Instrument of Government still remained in force, and contained provisions for such emergencies as the present. By the twenty-first article the Council of State had the right of testing the elections, and that not merely with respect to their form, but also to the observance of the necessary personal qualifications. No one could take his seat in Parliament till the approval of the Council had been given. And on this occasion the Council made the most ample use of their right. Of the members returned as elected, more than a hundred were rejected. They complained, but a majority of the rest declared the proceedings to be lawful. Those only who submitted to the existing régime were recognised as depositaries of the legislative authority.

On the 17th of September, 1656, Cromwell opened the session in a speech which bears the marks of a sudden burst of feeling. It is long, confused and discursive, but at the same time it clearly betrays his deep sense of his position.

However true it might be that the outbreak of the Spanish war had been of use to his opponents and had rendered it necessary to summon a Parliament, yet it gave him one advantage at least, in enabling him to evoke in his own favour the old hatred of Spain. He declared the Spaniards to be the natural and ordained enemies of England, whom to fight was a duty both to country and to religion. Charles II's growing intimacy with Spain was treated as one of the strongest motives for keeping him at a distance. With great satisfaction Cromwell repeated an expression from the sermon they had just heard, in which it was said that the exiled King would be the leader to conduct the English back into the darkness of Egypt. While urging Parliament to be on its guard against this design, for the promotion of which an army was already collected to invade England, he reminds them of the confederates whom the enemy hoped to find in the country itself, not Royalists merely, who were as such justly burdened with the cost of the war, but also Anabaptists, whom he denounced as traitorous apostates destitute of all religion whatsoever. He touched next upon the only question which possessed a new interest, the fears about the public freedom which had estranged many from him. 'They believed that were civil liberty once secured, the safety of religion would follow as a matter of course.' Cromwell treats them as men who fail properly to understand the crisis; whose indecision rendered them useless in great emergencies. 'Could we have carried it thus far, if we had sat disputing in that manner? Doubting hesitating men, they are not fit for your work—much less such as are merely carnal, natural: the chosen instruments of such a work are honest hearts engaged to God, strengthened by Providence, enlightened in his words. To quarrel over trivial points would lead us away from our glorious work. I beseech you to do so no longer. I think every objection that ariseth is not to be answered; nor have I time for it. I say, look up to God; have peace among yourselves. You must know that this cause is mine also, for I am by the voice of the people the supreme magistrate. I know somewhat that might satisfy my conscience if I stood in doubt. Were I seeking any peculiar interest personal to myself, I should curse myself, for God will curse me. I dare be bold with men, not with God.' His main argument against all failure is that he is defending the cause of religion, the cause of God. So penetrated is he with this conviction that he recites the words of the Psalm from which is taken the hymn, 'Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott.' He calls it Luther's Psalm [1].

It is undoubtedly true that among zealous Catholics the hope was excited that Charles II might in the present position of affairs be brought back to the bosom of their church, for in that case the Pope would collect money for him, and within six months he would again sit on the throne of England. An English priest, who not unfrequently appears in these transactions, Father Talbot, added that King Charles would then marry the Infanta of Spain; the lady who subsequently made over her hereditary right to France.

But there is no evidence that Charles II acceded to such proposals: he knew too well that they would prove fatal to him; but possibilities which the situation admits of are easily mistaken for realities. The dread of their Catholic tendencies, always so ruinous to the Stuarts, revived directly Charles II was observed to be on good terms with Spain, and again showed itself to be influential. Cromwell identified his personal position with the cause of religion and of the country. Parliament supported him in doing so.

Once more were the claims of Charles I and his family to the throne of England formally declared void, and at the same time the titles borne by his sons annulled. On the other hand a bill was approved for the personal safety of his Highness the Lord Protector, which was at the same time termed a bill for the maintenance of peace and the safety of the nation. The declaration was unanimously adopted that the war against Spain was necessary and just, and undertaken for the good of the nation [2]. The Parliament resolved formally to support his Highness in prosecuting it.

In the meantime the war with Spain had begun in the European waters as well. Cromwell had left Blake and Montague, who had at length received a formal declaration against Spain, to decide for themselves whether they would attack Gibraltar or Cadiz. They had steered for Cadiz Bay, but had found it impracticable to attack either the Spanish fleet which lay in the harbour or the town itself. Despairing of any immediate result, they had already withdrawn with the greater part of their fleet to a Portuguese harbour, when a part of the Spanish silver fleet was captured, not by the admirals themselves, but by a squadron left behind under Captain Stayner. Encouraged by false intelligence, the galleys were quietly on their way to Cadiz, when their active enemy, weaker in numbers but better equipped, caught sight of them, and immediately set all sail in pursuit. The Viceroy of Mexico was on board with his family, and was taken prisoner. Above all, the silver, which was to help in carrying on the war against the English, became the prize of these very English themselves. The amount was over a million sterling; it was conveyed shortly afterwards in a long train of waggons from Portsmouth to the Tower, to be at once coined. It was a piece of good fortune, which was regarded as providential, and which not only quickened the general zeal for the war, but also relieved the anxiety as to the imposition of further subsidies.

In the discussions which followed a remarkable difference of opinion manifested itself, affecting the very principles of the state. The military party wished to continue the tax of a tenth imposed upon the Cavaliers; others, on the contrary, appealed to the Act of Amnesty passed by Parliament in 1652, by which all exceptional measures had been formally renounced. They were anxious that those only who had actively participated in the insurrectionary movement should pay the penalty for it, and not the Cavaliers generally. At first, in December 1656, the military party carried their point, a bill in accordance with their sentiments, passed the first reading; in January, however, their opponents were the stronger. A subsidy of £400,000 was voted, the cost of which was to be borne equally by all parties. During the debate on the mode of levying it, a poll tax, or a tax upon the municipalities was proposed, which would not press too heavily upon any one.

---

[1] The text of this speech must be read in Carlyle, who has been at great pains to make it intelligible.

[2] 'For the good of the people of this commonwealth.' The expression however excited some surprise, as Giavarino says '(il Parlamento) gli da titolo di nationale a questa guerra, stante la protectione che porge (la Spagna al re Carlo)'.

Among the members of the assembly were some of the most prominent of those who had already in the Long Parliament contended for a régime which should be according to law: Whitelocke was one of them. They were hostile to the Major Generals, who deeply felt the abolition of the tenths, the collection of which was their special duty[1]. In connexion with this breach between the two we find the most far-reaching schemes proposed.

If we place ourselves in the position of the Englishmen of that day who were not entangled in its party differences, we can easily understand that they anticipated with terror the moment when Cromwell should be no more. For it was he after all who had repressed the destructive tendencies of the Anabaptists, and in contrast to the violent conduct of the Generals had never lost sight of the welfare of the peaceful population. What had they to expect, if one of these Generals succeeded him? Which of them would be capable of maintaining peace in the country, or of checking the avarice, the ambition, the unconstitutional excesses of his comrades? Each illness of the Protector caused a panic in the country: how much more now that attempts upon his life recurred incessantly. A pamphlet entitled 'Killing no Murder' was then in circulation, which represented the assassination of the Protector, as a lawful and even a meritorious action. In January 1656/7 a fresh attempt upon his life was discovered. The design was to explode some gunpowder in Whitehall, near the apartment where Cromwell slept, which should either actually kill him, or at any rate cause a confusion, during which he might be attacked. Sindercomb, a friend of Sexby's, a resolute Republican, who had been dismissed from the army for his violent opinions, was the author of the plot, and paid for his crime with his life. The detection of the attempt was celebrated by public thanksgivings, which were for the most part spontaneous. With

those who feared that the victory of the Anabaptists would bring an entire subversion of public order were now allied those who felt anxious lest the return of the King should lead to the Restoration of Catholicism. It was declared that not merely in the three kingdoms of Britain, but throughout the world, Cromwell's escape had been the saving of the Reformed religion.

Since from both these points of view it seemed desirable to place the existing system on a more secure basis, the idea easily suggested itself of giving a stronger position to the man who had created and who now upheld it, by both conferring upon him a higher rank such as was elsewhere usually associated with the tenure of the supreme authority, and also by definitely fixing the line of succession.

In the very first debate (January 19) upon the sympathy which should be expressed with the Protector for his danger and his escape, John Ashe, member for Somerset, urged the House to add something further, which would greatly contribute to his support and the quieting of the country. Cromwell was to be requested to accept the government according to the forms of the old constitution. The leaders of the military party were indignant. One of the most zealous of them, Luke Robinson, declared that the old constitution was the interest of Charles Stuart—did they wish to make the Protector his viceroy? On the other hand George Downing, member for Carlisle, a man who always followed the most pronounced tendencies of the time, accepted the proposal. With a side glance at the Instrument of Government, which had been the work of one or two individuals, whom the people were expected to follow, he explained that a government ought rather to accommodate itself to the wants of the people. It ought to act according to tried forms, already known by experience, so that the people may know the extent of its liberty, and the supreme magistrate that of his prerogative. The debate blazed up, flickered fiercely, and died out again.

But so it was. The idea took root that the proper course was to abolish the Instrument of Government, put an end to the military despotism, and purify the supreme authority from that taint. To do this it would be necessary to change the title of Protector, which was associated with the power of the sword, for the dignity and rank of King; intimately connected as this was in England with the notion of freedom, security, and law. It was in the city especially that these considerations had weight. The member for the city, Alderman Christopher Pack, on the 23rd of February, 1657, brought in a proposal for the alteration of the constitution on this plan.

---

[1] 'The reason of the opposition to this bill is the feare that it will establish the major generals, which they seeme to disrelish.' Thurloe vi. 8.

The adherents of the military party resisted the motion with vehemence; it deserved, they said, to be torn up and burnt by the common hangman. At the head of a hundred officers, Lambert, the chief author of the Instrument of Government, visited Cromwell and appealed to him to maintain it, as established by oath; and, sooner than violate it, to dissolve Parliament which was meditating an alteration of the constitution.

Cromwell however replied that in fact the Instrument of Government did require improvement. In proof of this he alleged what had happened in the case of the fanatical Anabaptist James Naylor. Parliament, thinking his teaching blasphemous, had condemned him without consulting the Protector. Cromwell pointed out as a defect in the constitution the inability of the supreme authority to control the decrees of Parliament. He reminded the officers that a similar judgment might one day be passed against them, since they were hated in the nation. He recognised in their remonstrance the expression of the antagonism between the military and civil parties which he dared not allow to come to an actual rupture[1]. Without directly approving the proposed scheme, he impressed upon the officers the fact that a government must have the voice of the people in its favour.

Thus confirmed in its intentions, Parliament proceeded with the work it had undertaken. The scheme, the so-called 'petition and advice,' was accepted after long debate but without any material alterations. Since the majority in the

House were men who, though Parliamentarians in their sympathies, acknowledged the ruling authority, the attempt was made to combine the two rival powers, the Protectorate and the Parliament upon a secure basis. The doctrine was revived that the liberties of Parliament were the birthright of the nation, that even under the new ruler a Parliament should be regularly summoned at least once in three years, and should form his great Council; but with this democratic principle they contrived, as Henry Vane had done, to reconcile the stipulation, that no one who had borne arms against the Parliament in the late disturbances, should have a seat in the new assembly. Catholics and Royalists were excluded, but in other respects the elections were to be free; and no one who might be elected was to be rejected, unless condemned by Parliament itself. It was to be unlawful for the supreme magistrate to dissolve or prorogue it at his pleasure. Acts of Parliament alone were to have the force of laws.

By the side however of this restoration of the rights of Parliament, the assembly placed an equally comprehensive recognition of the higher prerogative of the supreme power. They were far from asserting its dependence upon Parliament, as maintained by Henry Vane. They even released it from the controlling influence of the Council of State; Cromwell himself was to name his successor. They acquiesced in the establishment of a Second Chamber, and granted to the Protector the right of nominating the members, with the reservation that they should approve them, and in future assist in filling up the vacancies. They conceded a most important point by permanently granting a fixed sum for the maintenance of the army and navy, so that fresh grants would become necessary only to meet extraordinary demands. The assembly has always been reproached with having thus surrendered the control of the militia, which had so long been a subject of dispute, for this in fact depended upon the free disposal of the necessary supplies of money. The introduction of a confession of faith, as Charles I had once proposed, was to depend upon the consent both of the supreme magistrate and of Parliament; and at the same time they prohibited all coercive measures and all penal legislation against Dissenters, so long as they did not disturb the public peace; still however they asserted the exclusive right of the conquerors even in religious matters. Not only the adherents to the Papacy, but also the Episcopalians were to be excluded from the enjoyment of this toleration[1].

---

[1] It must be established 'cum consensu totius populi.' Brandenburg despatch, March 6. 'The Protector,' we are told in another despatch, 'is as little inclined to give way to the hasty whim of the Parliament as to that of the army.'

It was a thoroughly remarkable attempt to reduce to a system the state of affairs which had resulted from all the late ruinous disturbances; to reconcile the power of the Protector with the claims and rights of Parliament, and thus to return to the old political forms. The House had put off to the very last the enactment of a decree respecting the most momentous point of all, the renewal of the kingly title. On March 25 the closing debate on this question occurred—unfortunately our information respecting it is but scanty: the religious fanatics among the Republicans regarded as a profanity the wish to set up again what had been already pulled down, and to restore the crown, which had ever persecuted the people of God, and which the judgment of God had condemned. The Protector would be thought the greatest hypocrite in the world should he consent. These arguments were doubtless all repeated in the debate[2]; many bitter things were said on both sides, but the majority was resolute: by 123 votes to 61 the resolution was carried that the Protector should be requested to accept the title, dignity, and office of King of England, Scotland and Ireland, and to exercise these according to the laws of these nations. To give greater weight to their request, it was again determined that no clause should be held binding unless all were accepted. On March 31 the scheme was solemnly submitted to the Protector. The Speaker added an explanation of each clause. He showed that the proposed plan brought the royal authority into harmony with the liberty of the people. He laid the greatest stress on the offer of the crown.

---

[1] The humble petition and advice (orig. remonstrance) of the knights citizens and burgesses now assembled in the parliament of this commonwealth. Parl. Hist. xxi. 129.

[2] Morland, in a letter to Pell (March 26), mentions 'several bitter speeches' which were delivered, Vaughan ii. 133. This is all that we learn about the debate.

To such a length had matters come. Oliver Cromwell saw the dream of his youth, that he should be the foremost man in England, not merely fulfilled but surpassed. The crown founded by the descendants of Cerdic in Wessex, and raised to the highest pitch of power by the early Norman kings,—the crown, the rights of which the Plantagenets had in the first generation extended and amplified, and had afterwards at least preserved intact through the storms of three centuries, and which the Tudors had restored to its ancient splendour;—this crown, which had fallen to the earth with the head of Charles I, Cromwell, the chief author of that last catastrophe, was to raise up once more, and to set upon his own head. He took a few days to deliberate, during which he might take counsel with God and with his own heart. When he replied, on April 4, 1657, his answer was still indecisive. He declared his approval of the scheme, as showing a care for religious and civil liberties, and expressed his sense of the honour done him by the offer of a title which contained all that the world thought desirable—the sovereign authority: but as yet, he added, he could not discover that his duty to God and to Parliament itself required him to accept the office of supreme magistrate under this title.

It was an answer which still allowed the Parliament to hope that he might yet be won over. It appointed a commission which, by expounding the reasons for the scheme in greater detail, might remove his scruples. It consisted of nine members of the highest reputation in the House; such as Whitelocke, who had just returned from Sweden, and the two other commissioners for the Great Seal, the two heads of the law, the former Speaker, Lenthall, now Master of the Rolls,—all men who from conviction as well as from natural disposition, were anxious to accommodate the old laws to the altered condition of affairs. On April 16 these conferences were opened, conferences unparalleled in history, and which were designed to persuade the actual ruler to accept a title usually regarded as the final goal of aspiring ambition. One after another took up the discussion in the hope of removing the scruples which stood in the way of a step which they on their part regarded as the fundamental requisite for an orderly and lawful commonwealth.

Their chief argument was borrowed from the ancient connexion subsisting between the title of king and the laws. The law, they said, is nothing but usage consecrated by religion and accepted by the people: to these laws only, and to the authorities recognised in them, did the people believe that they owed obedience; the title of king however was most closely interwoven with these very laws, and moreover under that title was the supreme magistrate known who stood at the head of the laws and represented the people. The person of the prince had often been changed, but never the dignity; only with a king do Parliament and law stand in any generally recognised relation.

Among the old laws was moreover the statute of the first Tudor king, which provided that the defence of the actual possessor of the crown for the time being, and obedience to him, should never be regarded as treason. It had on several occasions been appealed to by the adherents of Charles I in their defence. Cromwell was reminded how advantageous it would be for him to deprive his opponents of this handle and gain it over to his side.

Cromwell replied, that even under its present title his government had met with obedience and administered justice as well as any of its predecessors. Ancient as the designation of the highest power by the word 'king' might be, yet at some time it must have had a beginning, and have required too the consent of the people: a fresh title might be now but beginning, yet would this in time establish itself in the laws. The title which he bore he had accepted less in order to secure a good than to remedy an evil. To establish a secure order of things in the nation was, he should have thought, the most important point. He was ready to aid this good work not as king, but as a constable to preserve the peace. He knew many good men to whom this title was intolerable: they have, he said, no right to resist the decision of Parliament, but it is right that their feelings should be respected. They have done good service, and will do yet more. God will bless him who upholds their interests. He had no scruples about a name, but he could not help declaring that Providence after twelve years of struggle had set aside this title together with the family that bore it. We ought not, he concluded, to endeavour to put up again that which God's providence has destroyed [1].

Among other arguments Cromwell was told that in refusing the offer of the Parliament he was doing what was completely unprecedented, and what no king had ever done. He replied that those princes who had succeeded to the kingly dignity by act of Parliament had yet in all cases possessed a hereditary claim to it, and had not owed their elevation to the authority of Parliament exclusively: his own case was different; he had no claim to the government of this country, but had taken upon himself the office of supreme magistrate in a special emergency; by the grace of God he had hitherto preserved peace in the nation. Should Parliament succeed in establishing without his aid a firm constitution, which would secure the welfare of the nation, he was ready to retire.

These were considerations so striking, so suitable to the crisis, that they must necessarily have been sincere. They indicate a determination to avoid accepting the title without definitely giving an open refusal, but at the same time to carry out the remaining provisions of the scheme.

To the same purport was Cromwell's speech on the following day. He examined elaborately the reasons for the dissolution of the Long and of the Little Parliament, showing that a civil faction in the former and a religious one in the latter would have destroyed all the liberties of the nation. But it was all-important to uphold the ideas in defence of which the war had been undertaken and carried through, the freedom of the people of God and the rights of the nation, things perfectly compatible with each other. Each man ought to be secured in the possession of what he justly calls his own [2]. He approves of the scheme because it involves the establishment of a firm government upon this basis, and proposes several amendments, which however do not touch the main question. With respect to the qualifying conditions attached to the right of voting, he wishes to see some made stricter and others relaxed. He points out some omissions in detail. He especially calls attention to the contrast between the known wants of the state and the grant made, and demands an extension of the latter. Of the monarchy he says nothing in this speech; his attention is directed exclusively to the provisions for government.

---

[1] I have used for this speech of April 10/20 the Harleian MS., No. 6846, in the British Museum. It is complete, and I prefer it, as much simpler, to the version printed in the Somers Tracts, and by Carlyle.

[2] 'To enjoy the things we have declared for,—that which will give the nation to enjoy their civil and religious liberties,—and not to rob any man of what is

The suggestions he made were at once discussed, and so early as the 1st of May the Committee were able to lay the amended schemes before the Protector. Many of his proposals had been adopted, others not; but these differences of detail mattered little: in the foreground they put the request that he would now give a definite decision upon the whole. Cromwell must, once for all, either accept or reject the crown. His own family, whose whole future depended on it, wished him to accept it. The story is that they had already prepared a crown. He himself seemed still to hesitate. We learn that from time to time he held interviews privately with some of the leading members of Parliament. Tobacco was produced, and he indulged in jokes as usual. They amused themselves by making verses[1]: suddenly however he passed to the great questions, and especially to the most momentous of all, the acceptance or rejection of the kingly dignity.

If we examine the provisions of the petition which was to recast the government, we find a certain truth in Cromwell's remark, that the title would merely be a new feather in his cap. Still however the difference was immense.

The title of king was a connecting link with all the legitimate authority of the past. It contained in itself a confirmation of the old laws and of immemorial usage, but at the same time it evoked the sense of allegiance due to the royal house now more decisively exiled than ever. It invested the act of usurpation with a more personal character.

On the other hand, were the title itself avoided, the newly founded régime would prevail. The Protectorate could rest on its natural basis, and gain only a stronger position and a better-founded claim to the civil authority which it exercised.

We are told that the Royalists would have greeted with pleasure the acceptance of the title, since it would have aroused a general hostility to Cromwell, and resulted in his ruin[1].

But the old Republicans and the army were opposed to it. From the first it had been solemnly declared that the monarchy was incompatible with the welfare of the nation; its restoration would have directly contradicted those principles which for ten years had been regarded as comprising the essentials both of politics and religion. The two factions among the officers, the authors of the Instrument of Government, such as Lambert, no less than the men of the Little Parliament, such as Harrison, were equally excited. On the morning of the 8th of May a petition was presented to the House by the officers, in which they inveighed against those who were pressing their General to accept the title and prerogative of a king, with the sole intention of ruining him and leading back the nation once more to its old bondage[2]. As to the navy we are informed that Cromwell could not have relied upon its fidelity in such a case: it would have mutinied against him.

But now that he had the alternative either, by accepting the title, of arousing expectations which tended to restore the old vanquished régime, or, by refusing it, of establishing the present one more securely; seeing too that there was imminent danger of a rupture with his old

---

justly his.' Lord Protector's Speech, April 21, in 'Monarchie asserted,' in Somers vi. 390.

[1] Whitelocke, May 2, 1657; p. 647.

---

[1] Giavarina: 'Li fautori del re Carlo lo vedranno con loro estremo giubilo inalzato a questo posto di re, imaginandosi che habbia a causargli la propria ruina; stimano che sudditi non vogliono soffrirlo in quel grado e gridando contro di lui e contro quelli, che ne l' havran elevato richiamino il legitimo e natural loro principe.'

[2] Ludlow gives the contents, ii. 590, but makes no mention of the actual negotiations.

colleagues in the battlefield and in opinion, by whose aid all had hitherto been done, Cromwell could no longer hesitate as to his proper course.

On the very same day, immediately after the receipt of the address, the assembly was summoned before the Protector. Once more he commended their proposed form of government, one point alone excepted, the title which was designed for him. Every man must give an account to God for his actions, and must have the approval of his own conscience. He declared that he could not accept the government with the title of king[1].

Some wonder was felt that he had so long delayed his decision, and he himself attempted to explain it; for he had certainly no need of addresses in order to learn the sentiments of the officers. But to have refused sooner would have prevented the completion of the scheme of government which he earnestly desired. The very men who hoped to make him king had pressed the matter so far that they could no longer draw back. Now that they were asked whether they meant to give up their whole project or merely the title, they could not hesitate for long. On the 19th of May it was resolved that the title of king should be dropped: on the 22nd that the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth should undertake the office of supreme magistrate in the same, and carry on the government according to the provisions of the proposed scheme, so far as it extended, and in other respects according to the laws of the three nations; so much and no more[2].

It is obvious what a great advantage was thus gained for the Protectorate. The title of king would have placed Cromwell in a position which was not rightly his. He would have been placed in a higher, but at the same time in a false one. So long as he remained Protector, but with the consent of Parliament, he was released from the control which a military council ventured to exercise in virtue of the Instrument of 1653. The supreme magistracy, which he had hitherto held as an office allotted him by chance and circumstances, now became a genuine sovereignty, possessing the essentials of all state authority. It was a union of the original military power with the parliamentary constitution, almost an agreement between them, remarkable enough in itself, and from the future development of which it seemed probable that the old monarchy would gradually be forgotten.

As illustrating the prevalent tendencies, the debates are instructive which now took place on the form of a new oath, which was prescribed in the petition.

It was proposed at first that Cromwell should swear to respect the privileges of Parliament and the freedom of the people. It was decided instead, in the course of the debate, that Cromwell should pledge himself to maintain the established rights and privileges of the people and to rule according to the laws, to the best of his knowledge and ability. Cromwell voluntarily added the pledge to preserve the peace and security of the nation; but this implied no fresh restriction, but rather the legal right to adopt without more ado the necessary means to that end.

To supplement this, an oath to be taken by future members of Parliament was also required, since otherwise they would have the right to undo all that had as yet been done, and even to abolish the Protectorate. All mention of the privileges of Parliament was again avoided, on the ground that it was no longer possible to define them exactly. The oath merely bound them to maintain the rights and liberties of the people, so far as lay in each man's power—an expression which means much or little according to the interpretation put upon it—to be faithful to the Lord Protector, and to undertake nothing against his government and lawful authority.

These oaths were to be taken by the representatives of the three countries alike. The Protectorate, as it developed, was in this respect, as in others, far more strongly constituted than the monarchy. It embraced the three countries in a common obedience.

On June 26 the new constitution was inaugurated by a grand ceremony. A singular and remarkable sight it must have been to see the former country gentleman of Huntingdon enter Westminster Hall; before him the great dignitaries of the state, and the Garter King at Arms; the Earl of Warwick with the sword of the Commmonwealth; the Lord Mayor with the sword of the city: Cromwell himself clad in a rich robe, the train of which was carried by three generals. He took his place upon a raised platform, on which had been also placed, appropriately enough, the old marble throne of the kings of Scotland; for the complete subjection of that country had been first accomplished by Cromwell. The Speaker of the Parliament declared that his Highness had long borne the title of Protector, but that it was now first confirmed by the people of the three nations assembled in Parliament. He presented to him among the insignia of sovereignty not only the sceptre and sword, but also a magnificent Bible; and repeated to him the verses from Deuteronomy giving the law to be observed by the king, bidding him have the book by him and read therein every day, neither lift up his heart above his brethren, nor turn aside from the commandment to the right hand or to the left, in order that he should reign long, he and his sons. Never in reality had the Old Testament played so important a part in founding a sovereignty, as it had done in setting up this rule of the Protector. Cromwell then took his oath, of which the words referring to the maintenance of Protestantism were the most important. They were also inserted in the form of oath administered to the members of the State Council and the Parliament. It was this idea which, if it had not solely originated, had yet inspired, the whole movement, which owed all its strength to having asserted and carried it out. Before Parliament broke up it petitioned the Protector to contrive a union of the Protestant Churches.

---

[1] His Highnesses Speech in the banquetting house, Monarchie asserted 406: 'I have a little more experienced than every man what troubles and difficulties befall me under such trusts.'

[2] Burton, Diary ii. 119.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GENERAL POSITION OF THE PROTECTORATE AT HOME AND ABROAD IN 1657 AND 1658.

Alliance with France and Sweden.

THE close of the session was enlivened, as the beginning had been, by the news of a great victory over the Spaniards. It ranks among Blake's most wonderful achievements that on April 20, 1657, he attacked and destroyed the Spanish fleet from the West Indies, as it lay in the harbour of Santa Cruz at Teneriffe, protected by the castle and a chain of forts: sixteen galleons and other vessels, with a large portion of the American goods which they had on board, were lost. Only the silver and jewels were safely carried on shore. The news reached London at the end of May. It could not fail to strengthen the public confidence in the Protector and in his lucky star.

The same fleet had already on a previous occasion performed a service of great political importance. It had put an end to the delays of the Portuguese in ratifying the commercial treaty which was now ready prepared. There too the clergy and the court were indignant because the treaty secured religious liberty to English sailors and merchants contrary to the usages of the country. When Blake and Montague appeared off the coast, they offered the Portuguese the choice of either using their fleet, the best manned and the best equipped then afloat, against the Spaniards their common enemies, or on the other hand of being themselves attacked by it. The last act of John IV, the founder of the new state of Portugal, was to choose the former alternative, and to sign the treaty. Nothing suited his interests better than the hostility of England, formerly to the Dutch and now to the Spaniards, since these were the very enemies whom he had himself to encounter. But it was also an advantage for Cromwell to have the assistance of the house of Braganza in his struggles with the Austro-Spanish dynasty, which had now taken Charles II under its protection.

Meantime the full importance of the alliance with Sweden had first become evident when Charles Gustavus succeeded to the throne of Queen Christina, and shortly afterwards began the war with Poland. The good fortune that attended his enterprise Cromwell welcomed as promising advantageous results to Protestantism. In his youth, he said, he had been a great admirer of Gustavus Adolphus, and could not forgive Charles I for not having more effectually supported him. He hoped that Charles Gustavus would complete the work which Gustavus Adolphus had begun.

Nowhere perhaps was this union of interests so soon perceived and made known as at the court of Charles II, which was still held at Cologne.

In the German journals of the day we read that the exiled King paid a visit to Frankfort to see the fair. Near Frankfort he met Queen Christina; but his chief object was to speak with the Elector John Philip of Mainz, a man who was at the very centre of the European political system, and possessed an able adviser in Boineburg. Charles II represented to them that the movements of Cromwell against Spain, and of Charles Gustavus against the Poles, were carried on in concert. He believed it to be their plan to overthrow the house of Austria, with whose enemies both were allied. Boineburg lost no time in warning the Imperial minister Count Auersburg of the danger[1].

This became clear to every one in 1656; for how could a consolidation of the Austrian power ever have been accomplished had the Swedish King succeeded in his design of securing the greater part of Poland for himself, and portioning out the rest in fiefs, one of the most important of which was designed for Prince Racoczy of Transylvania. In the spring of 1657 Charles Gustavus and Racoczy met at Thrzistopora near Sendomir: 24,000 Hungarians were serving in Racoczy's army. The possession of Cracow and Brzest, which Charles Gustavus relinquished in his favour, appeared to secure him a strong independent position. Cromwell was regarded as his great friend and well-wisher, who had a special sympathy for him. With Charles Gustavus, Mazarin and Cromwell incessantly corresponded, in order to secure that his arms should be immediately directed against the hereditary dominions of Austria.

The aspect of Europe was singular in the extreme when the three great upstart powers thus threatened the old-established order:—Cardinal Mazarin, whose fixed purpose it was to make his pupil Louis XIV the first power on the Continent; the Protector, who moved heaven and earth to deprive the Spaniards of their colonies, and the King, to whose position he had succeeded though without the title, of all support; and the Palatine Count-King, one of the smallest among the small potentates of the German empire, who suddenly appeared at the head of the most veteran army in Europe, and by a lucky campaign had almost made himself master of north-eastern Europe.

In the correspondence of the time we detect the feeling that the great religious struggle was not yet over. The Protector zealously upholds the interests of the Protestants, and at the same time insists on their union. The Swedish King, who had not a few quarrels with his neighbours of the same persuasion, was less concerned in this project, but he too gladly displayed his Protestant zeal: for in his alliance with England his first thought had been to resist the renewed encroachments of Catholicism. The Cardinal's designs were necessarily different. He was forced to take into consideration the sympathy of the French clergy with the injury which the supremacy of Sweden in Poland inflicted on Catholicism. With him the political situation was all-important. It was observed in Paris that the Pope, weakened by his losses in Poland, would be unable to oppose the

---

[1] Carta de S. Md. Nov. 29, 1655. In the Brussels archives.

French in Italy[1]. But above all, this great league strengthened him in his struggle against the house of Austria. The attacks of the English made it almost impossible for the King of Spain to assist the Emperor as he had often done before, with money: on the other hand, the Emperor, threatened on his frontiers and in Hungary, could not any longer so energetically assist the Netherlands with German troops.

These provinces still continued to be always a military centre of great importance both for the defence of those attacked and for actual offensive movements. The motley force, selected from all nations, who fought there under the Spanish flag, was now joined both by the English who had fled from Cromwell and by the French driven out by Mazarin. The illustrious exile, the Prince de Condé, was their leader. In the summer of 1656 he inflicted a decisive defeat on the French army in the Lines of Valenciennes, which redoubled the cry for peace in France and the difficulties of Mazarin's position.

With the cause of Spain in the Netherlands, that of Charles II was now united. After the rupture with England the Spanish court lent a willing ear to the proposals of Charles II, which they had formerly rejected. In 1656 this Prince ventured to fix his residence in Bruges, because his proximity there would encourage his friends in England. By the intervention of Cardenas a treaty was concluded with him, by which he was promised an auxiliary force of 6000 men, should he ever succeed in gaining an entrance to an English harbour. It was considered certain that in that case the nobility and gentry of England would rise in his favour. It was regarded as an important advantage gained, when a harbour such as that of Dunkirk was opened to the privateers fitted out under letters of marque from the King. It was believed that forthwith a considerable portion of the English fleet would assemble there and join the King[2].

---

[1] Extract from a letter on the state of feeling in Paris, Autumn 1655: 'On n'y est pas faché des progrès du roi de Suède en Pologne, parce qu'on croit, que plus le partie du pape sera affaibli et moins il voudra faire le maistre et s'opposer aux desseins qu'on a en Italie.'

[2] Cp. Copia de carta de Don Eduardo de Hyde a Don Luis de Haro, August 31; the same letter as that in the Clarendon State Papers iii, but the Spanish copy is fuller and more connected than the English.

It was accordingly no less for Cromwell's own interests than for those of France, that the long-talked-of offensive alliance between the two powers was now actually concluded (March 1657). It was based on mutual concessions of great importance. Both united to take Gravelines and Dunkirk with their combined forces. The French were to have the former place, the English the latter, with Mardyke. By this arrangement Cromwell distinctly renounced the old established English policy which persistently regarded the growth of French power in the Netherlands as a loss to itself. He could not have overlooked the advantage which France must gain on the Continent by the humiliation of Spain. But on Mazarin's part it was also a bold venture to allow an important harbour in the immediate neighbourhood of France to fall into English hands. He was well aware of the fresh unpopularity he should thus incur with the clergy, who were tired of his Protestant alliances. Though he stipulates for the maintenance of the Catholic Church, yet he also accepts a clause which left the English considerable liberty in this respect[1]. Both sides in fact regarded it as necessary to overlook these considerations, in face of a powerful enemy who threatened their very existence. Such a course was required to confirm the Cardinal no less than the Protector in his own position.

In May 1657, 6000 English troops, trained in Cromwell's wars, appeared on the continent. The discipline and conduct of the men, the sagacity and zeal of their commanders, made a deep impression in France. At first they were merely employed to threaten the coast, in order to leave the French free for another enterprise, an attack upon Cambray, which however came to nothing. It was not till late in the year that Turenne turned his attention to the coast, too late indeed to attempt the investment of Dunkirk. Urged by the impatient zeal of the English he threw himself upon Mardyke, and aided by some English men-of-war, captured it in a few days. He would have preferred to blow it up as the Spaniards had shortly before thought of doing, but the English insisted that it should be spared and handed over to them. It is true it was merely an outwork of Dunkirk, and might easily be retaken, but the acquisition of it was a result which necessarily gave satisfaction in England and disturbed the Spaniards. It was impossible to attack Dunkirk, and Gravelines was easily defended; but on the other hand the Spaniards failed to recover Mardyke.

---

[1] The words are in Article 11 (Guizot ii. 803): 'Les ecclesiastiques qui n'auraient rien tramé contre le gouvernement établi y jouiront,' etc. In Latin, 'Nihil adversus regnum cui submissi fuerint molientes.' Lockhart, who quotes them, lays the greatest stress upon them He notices that the Pope is not styled 'pontifex,' absolutely, but 'pontifex romanus.'

In spite, or rather perhaps in consequence, of this disaster, the Spaniards resolved in the early part of the next year, in January or February, to make some effort for King Charles. Mazarin declared that he knew from a trustworthy source that they intended to make a descent upon the English coast with 3000 infantry and 1000 cavalry, led by Charles himself or his brother[1]. They hoped to gain admittance into Bristol or perhaps Hull. It was believed that they might reckon not only upon the old adherents of the King, but also upon the Anabaptists. We have already mentioned that some time before some of their discontented leaders, such as Sexby, had applied to the Spaniards. They now renewed their appeal for assistance, in return for which they offered to surrender a seaport: for they believed themselves to have powerful connexions in the garrisons and even in the navy. In contrast to Cromwell's present attitude they represented that every form of religious coercion was contrary to their principles. They hoped by legally abolishing it to satisfy the Catholic claims, which the Spaniards devotedly upheld. The latter were at first uncertain whether to ally themselves with the Anabaptists or with the King. They considered it however the wiser course to make common cause with the King, and then to bring about an alliance between the two. For the Anabaptists were no longer unconditionally opposed to the King, provided only he would consent not to be the master of the laws, but merely their administrator; they thought that this condition granted, a free Parliament summoned by them would overturn Cromwell and restore the King[2]. Moreover on the other side we have a declaration of Charles II, in which he promises to any troops that would join him, pardon, payment of arrears, and even rewards: the only condition which he exacts is that they should declare for King and Parliament. He expresses his determination to rule according to the known laws of the land, and by the advice of successive Parliaments[3]. Whether this would have satisfied every one may well be doubted, but it seems certain that it satisfied some of the chief leaders of the party[4]. Their sole anxiety was that something serious should be attempted as soon as possible. It was said that in the capital, where Alderman Robinson was in their confidence, 20,000 men were ready to rise in the King's cause. Among the Royalists there was a secret association, which extended throughout the country, but very few of those who joined it were known to each other. They obeyed a central committee which sat in London.

The Parliament of 1658.

To encounter these dangers Cromwell felt it necessary, and was perhaps all the more determined, completely to secure the position which the last Parliament had assigned to him.

He could not but be aware that he would meet with much opposition from his old friends and supporters. Lambert had at last refused to take the oath of fidelity required from the members of the Council of State. He resigned his appointment, and preferred, in the enjoyment of domestic happiness, to take no part whatever in political affairs. Cromwell, hearing the murmurs of other officers, had one day challenged them to show him in what the Commonwealth consisted: it would be clear that he sought nothing for himself. James Harrington felt that an opportunity was given him of setting forth his views as to a republican constitution and laying them before the Protector. Cromwell never repeated his challenge. He must have learnt that, by promoting the welfare of the community in his own fashion, he had not compensated for the absence of the outward forms of a republic. His old comrades in the struggle would not recognise a master even under such conditions.

---

[1] Lockhart to Thurloe. Clarendon State Papers iii. 377.

[2] Langlade and Talbot to the King. Clarendon State Papers iii, 272.

[3] Declaration to the Agitators, ibid. iii. 341.

[4] So Talbot declares, Nov. 3; from Wildman, ibid. iii. 373.

Without regarding their opposition, Cromwell gradually developed his position more fully. Now that the neighbouring kings treated him as their equal, it is not surprising that many leading peers thought it a privilege to ally themselves with his family. In November 1657 one of his daughters was married to the grandson of the Earl of Warwick, and another to Viscount Fauconberg. In the daily papers these events were announced with all the ceremony with which the personal doings of royalty are usually invested.

He next busied himself with the formation of the House of Lords. Some of the old peers of the Parliamentary opposition, Manchester, Wharton, even Warwick, did not refuse, at first at any rate, to take their seats in the new House, though they afterwards stayed away. A second class was formed by the sons, stepsons, and numerous relatives of Cromwell's own family; then followed the lawyers, who supported the new government, a number of officers, among them some who had worked their way up from the respectable trades which they formerly followed to a high rank in the army; all men of whom nothing could be predicted but the most absolute devotion to the will of the Protector[1]. A consolidation of the Protectorate was generally expected, and as its consequence, a more decisive manifestation on Cromwell's part. He would show the haughty grandees and the upstart sectaries what they owed to God and to Caesar, that is, to government.

---

[1] Giavarino: 'Parura caduta l' elettione in soggetti ch' altrono tramano ni sospirano, che di uniformare i loro arbitrii con li voleri e dispositioni del protetto.'

When Parliament met it became evident that there was active agitation on the one side, and lively anxiety on the other[1]. It seemed very possible that the Royalist and Anabaptist factions, now both in alliance with the exiled King, organised by the old Spanish party, and stimulated by agents from Flanders, would proceed at once to some open manifestation. In many parts of the city the guards were doubled, the houses of all those who had formerly borne arms against the Commonwealth were searched, others who had never taken any part in the disturbances were nevertheless bound over to hold themselves in readiness to appear at any moment before the magistrates when summoned. Cromwell took every precaution on the coasts and seaports against an invasion, and in the interior against any corresponding movement.

But his chief danger did not lie here. It lay rather in the uncertainty whether the constitution accepted by Parliament in the previous spring could be carried out or not according to the original provisions. In return for the concessions then made to him Cromwell had expressly forborne to exclude those members from the Parliament who had been duly elected. All those who had been turned out at the opening of the first session were invited to take their seats at the close of the recess.

Many even now considered it advisable to decline this permission to enter: they regarded the prescribed oath as an intolerable restriction: 'it were better to leave that tyrant and his packed convention to stand upon his sandy foundation[2].' The majority however thought otherwise. For this oath contained two pledges, one requiring fidelity to the Protector, which merely meant that they should abstain from violence against his person; the other requiring them to preserve the rights and liberties of the English people: but these were the important words; though the elections had been held in obedience to a writ of Cromwell's, yet they rested on the ancient popular right of the English people. Far the greater proportion of the excluded members resumed their seats.

---

[1] Giavarino: 'All' apertura della camera resto qualche ombra al governo che risvegliandosi li spiriti di malcontenti e di non affettionati possono generare nella plebe qualche mal humore.'

[2] 'To leave that tyrant and his pack'd convention to stand upon his sandy foundation is the greatest good as the things now are, which any secluded member can doe in discharge of his public trust.' John Hobard, Tanner MSS. Oxford cii.

In this manner the monarchical authority, which Cromwell had founded upon the ruins of the old system, was brought into direct contact with a popular assembly; the important question now was, would they come to an understanding? would they work together amicably?

At the very outset an open quarrel broke out between them. On January 20, 1658, Parliament was opened; on the 23rd a message reached the Commons from the new so-called House of Lords, proposing the appointment of a fast-day. This was quite enough to evoke a storm against it. It was remembered that the House of Lords had once been formally abolished by act of Parliament, that by the orders of Parliament allegiance had been sworn to a government without King and House of Lords. Was such a House to be recognised now? Strictly speaking it had in the nature of things no existence at all. The other House was as little a House of Lords as the Little Convention had been a Parliament. They hesitated, in drawing up a declaration promising a fuller answer, even to use the expression 'the other House,' for thereby they would acknowledge them to be the same that called themselves the House of Lords[1]. Very laconic was the resolution passed: 'The House of Commons will send an answer by its own messenger.' Arthur Haslerig, Cromwell's old comrade, had refused to be a member of the new House. On the 25th he took his seat in the Commons, to which he had been originally elected. At first there was some hesitation in giving him the oath, because to do so was again to reject the new House, but it was finally resolved to tender it. Haslerig took his oath, and swore allegiance not merely to the rights and liberties of the people, but of the people of England, as if he wished to express that

---

[1] The objection came from Colonel Mildmay: 'Though you do style them the other House, yet you do thereby acknowledge them to be the same that call themselves Lords.'

he would not be satisfied with the abstract conception of rights, but would fight for the liberties of England, won in the recent struggles, in his capacity of member of the Commons, which he preferred to any other.

Cromwell determined to meet the threatened movement by a decisive manifesto. On the same afternoon he addressed both Houses. Once more he connected the danger of Protestantism with the danger of the country; he now laid especial stress on the leanings of the Dutch towards the Spaniards, whom they would assist in an invasion of England. The Episcopalian and Cavalier party only waited for this to kindle afresh the flame of insurrection, while among the rest a religious or a political sect equally strove to overpower the others, and get the authority into their own hands. Cromwell holds that only escape from a civil war and a general convulsion lies in the maintenance of the constitution as recently established; in a good understanding between the various parties, the only means of preserving freedom. The present system was his strongest justification for serving the Commonwealth in the place he held. Who could honestly venture to discuss matters which could not be settled by reason or by scripture, and to overlook that on which for six years the peace and welfare of the nation had rested? If they again fell into their old foolish ways, what confusion and ruin would be the consequence! He had sworn to govern according to the laws as at present established. He would keep this oath. His hope is that neither pride nor envy will destroy a union so full of promise. He will serve the Commonwealth, but on the principles laid down in the Articles of Government[1].

The point at issue between himself and his opponents was this—that with him the great problem to be solved was the maintenance of the system once established against foreign powers, and the preservation of peace at home, while the members of Parliament insisted on putting the assertion of the political liberties they had acquired in the foreground. His speech was not calculated to convince or convert his opponents. The prevalent opinion was that the previous assembly had no right to conclude a new arrangement, without having been urged to do so by a single petition or having been asked by a single county. Those members especially who had been excluded felt hurt that such weighty decrees should have been passed in their absence, and demanded a fresh debate in which they might share. The second House that had been placed by their side they absolutely declined to recognise.

---

[1] My lord Protector's speech. See Burton ii. 351.

Cromwell showed his vexation when he was waited upon by a deputation from the Commons alone, without reference to the other House, to request that his speech should be printed. He had more than once spoken of it by name as the House of Lords. He now declared that he was bound by his oath to maintain the privileges of both Houses, and announced, at least so he was understood, that he should lay the estimates of the expenditure before the one House as well as the other. The expression itself is doubtful, but there can be no doubt that he wished to secure for the new House a coordinate authority with the old.

For since he had tolerated in the Commons a party hostile to his views, his parliamentary position would have been untenable, had he not had besides another House on which he could rely. In this his intentions were by no means strictly speaking reactionary. When men read the names of the members of his new House, it seemed almost absurd to believe that they were to pass for peers, but this very distinction lay in the nature of the case. A body composed as the former one had been was out of the question. The new House formed a sort of first chamber, as understood by those modern states which have undergone revolution.

But it excited the opposition of all those who objected altogether to a strong Protectorate. The memory of the Long Parliament, the most advanced members of which took the lead in the present House, was revived. All beneficial changes, and even the success of the war, were attributed to it. Pym and Hampden appeared as the great men of the time. The aim of the past disturbances was seen not merely in the abolition of the abuses of the previous rule, but in the alteration of its forms. All the evil consequences were enumerated which had formerly flowed from the existence of the House of Lords, still they declared that it was better at any time to tolerate such a House which at any rate in its property represented an interest that included half England, than the present one which represented nothing of the sort. They denounced the establishment of any authority possessing a right of veto, since to the Commons' decrees rightfully belonged the force of law. 'What have we fought for,' exclaimed Scott, 'if not for the right of the people to give laws to itself? for this we have shed our blood. The providence of God himself has set the people free from all such restrictions. The blood, which for ever abolished that veto (the blood of Charles I), the blood too of Mary Queen of Scots yet stained the door of the House. Could they call King Charles back to life? True, it was urged that it was an ancient usage to have a House of Lords: the same might be said of popery, prelacy, and atheism. By granting a coordinate authority to the new House, they granted it a control of the supplies, of peace and war, the right too of making laws and of appointing magistrates to carry them out. The people of England did not ask for chains: like the people of Israel in old times, it wished to govern itself. The people by the will of God had control over everything[1].'

In the presence of this wish for the independence of the people, even the hatred felt for the Cavaliers relaxed. When a message was received from the other House, proposing a law for the removal of delinquents and priests to a distance of twenty miles from the capital, it was declared that such a proposal was only worthy of them, a direct attack upon the rights of the free people of England: but the Parliament was entrusted with the preservation of personal as well as political liberty. It was bound to guard the interests of the Cavaliers, however hostile their dispositions might be, as carefully as those of others. 'This sentence of banishment,' exclaimed Haslerig, 'may easily be one day turned against ourselves.'

The House regarded the proposal as a fresh encroachment upon the lawful supremacy of Parliament. They avoided sending an answer to the other House, which might be interpreted as a recognition of one or the other of their claims.

---

[1] In Scott's speech, Jan. 29, Burton's Diary ii. 390.

It is said that they were also occupied with some further decrees hostile to the Protector, and had meditated associating with him a commander of the forces who should be subject to Parliament. But however that may have been, it is undeniable that the attitude of Parliament was altogether antagonistic to the Protector's authority. The arguments used against the Lords might be turned against the Protector, even though he avoided the title of king.

The theory that the Commons represented the sovereign people, and as such rightfully claimed the highest authority in the nation, was revived in full vigour, and declared war upon any power which asserted an independent validity.

Cromwell was the more indignant because he held that he had not gone beyond his own prerogative. How could they repeal in a second session what they had enacted in the previous one? He felt that the attack already threatened himself. It was while in this mood that the news reached him of an address which was to be moved in Parliament the next day. It did not, it is true, propose the appointment of a general as his colleague, but it demanded that for the future no officer should be dismissed from the army without consulting the council of war, that the local militia should be placed in trustworthy hands, and, above all, that one House of Parliament only should be recognised as the 'supreme judicature of the nation[1];' all of them proposals which ran directly counter to his power, resting as it did upon his personal authority over the army, and upon the control of the militia; they were also fatal to his House of Lords. He determined to prevent the introduction of such an address, which would naturally have been followed by a corresponding resolution.

According to the account of a trustworthy witness, Cromwell merely told his secretary that he meant to go down to

---

[1] 'That one House of Parliament be the supreme judicature of the nation;' Hobart's account. It is confirmed by the French ambassador (Feb. 11, 1658), Guizot ii. 627.

the House, without giving his reasons. He ordered the first servant he met to put the horses to his carriage. He set out with a very slight escort; in the ante-room, which he entered first, he was seen to drink a glass of beer, and then proceeded to the chamber where the Lords were assembled. Fiennes and Fleetwood asked him what he meant to do. 'I mean,' he replied, 'to dissolve this House.' They remonstrated. 'By the living God,' he exclaimed with vehemence, 'I will dissolve it.'

It was now the 4th of February, 1658. In the Lower House, during the morning, some members had advocated, and more opposed the recognition of the House of Lords: the debate was still in progress, when they were informed that the Black Rod was at the door. Many seemed inclined to take no notice of it, but all obeyed when it was announced that the Lord Protector wished to speak with both Houses in the House of Lords.

Cromwell now told them, that it had been no wish of his own to accept the form of government laid before him in the last session. If he were not prevented by necessity, he would prefer to sit by the side of a wood and tend cattle. But after having thrust this form upon him, they now disputed it in the same assembly, he too therefore felt himself released from his obligation. 'The young man,' he continued, 'calling himself the King of Scots, has considerable forces: our neighbours lend him ships: with the first favourable wind he can land. In spite of this we cannot unite, but amuse ourselves with petty quarrelling. The revenues are not sufficient to support the army, but we take no steps to meet a sudden emergency, and to serve the interests of the nation. God judge between us. I dissolve this Parliament[1].'

Two days after he summoned the officers to a banquet. He told them that he again found himself in a position to protect them all. But should any one of them enter into treaty with his enemies, he should punish such conduct as treachery. If any one was discontented with the government as now established, let him say so. No one replied.

---

[1] Letter to Hobart, February 1657/5, in Tanner MSS.

This much we may at least infer, that he had lost himself in the path which he had recently entered upon, and was strongly inclined to return to the old one.

The War in 1658.

But matters took a course far more favourable to his wishes, where the result depended upon the issues and fortune of war.

The Protector was successful in maintaining his conquests in Jamaica against a serious attack.

The chief source of difficulty was the condition of the troops, who soon began to regard themselves as exiled, and desired nothing more earnestly than to return home. They refused either to cultivate the country, or to submit to their strict discipline; dangerous epidemics broke out, which carried off large numbers both of officers and soldiers. It was under the Protector that for the first time the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland co-operated in maintaining a remote British possession. In December 1656 some Scottish vessels, in January 1657 some Irish, reached Jamaica. An English squadron had arrived shortly before. The colonists of Barbadoes sent men, those of New England provisions. Colonel D'Oyley, who had been originally superseded by Cromwell's orders, but had succeeded to the command on the death of his predecessor, proved himself more competent than the latter to keep the troops together, and repel the attack which the Spaniards had at last commenced. The governor of Cuba and the viceroy of Mexico united their forces in order to restore the exiled governor of Jamaica, and effected a landing at Porto Nuevo. Before they had firmly established themselves, D'Oyley's small but efficient body of troops attacked them, and forced them to leave the island. The Spanish settlers, who held out in the forests, were betrayed by their negro slaves, a few only escaped death by flight. In the very heart of the Spanish colonies an English one arose, which first gave their value to the other West Indian possessions of England.

It was however on the neighbouring continent that the war with Spain had chiefly to be fought out.

In the spring of 1658 Cromwell renewed his alliance with France. He increased the strength of his forces, to enable the siege of Dunkirk to be undertaken in earnest. When this was commenced, under Turenne's directions, the Spanish army, following the regular tactics of the time, advanced to its relief. Turenne was sufficiently strong to be able to meet the enemy in the field without being forced to relinquish the siege. An engagement took place on the sand hills of the Dunes, which must be considered as having decided the war between France and Spain. The English on both sides displayed the greatest energy. Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador in France, himself led the troops at the right moment to an assault upon the Spanish lines before these were completely formed. The Spaniards were first thrown into disorder by the vehemence with which the English attacked the most important of the hills they occupied, at once on the flank and in front: on the side of the Spaniards, Charles II's brother, James, Duke of York, commanded a detachment in person. He tells us that he rallied the scattered forces and, aided by large reinforcements, led them against Cromwell's English and routed them in their turn. Their obstinacy proved almost indomitable—not a man asked for quarter[1]. However much these statements may require qualification, yet the fact remains that the troops of the Protectorate and the Royalist forces led by a prince of the house of Stuart encountered each other, and satiated in blood their party-hatred without regard to their common nationality. The battle which decided the struggle between the rival monarchies of France and Spain, was at the same time a victory for the Protector and his party over the King and the Royalists[2].

Dunkirk was now occupied by the English. Their first care was to fortify the place more strongly, not with banks of sand, but with solid blocks of stone: their second, to fix upon a site for a Protestant church, and to find a minister to perform the service. A Fleming was discovered, who in spite of the vigilance of the Catholic priests had administered the sacrament at night to a faithful few. They persuaded themselves that everywhere remnants of Protestantism survived, which might be again quickened into fresh life.

---

[1] Mémoires du duc de York, in Ramsay's Turenne, p. 478. The memoirs as given there seem more authentic.

[2] Lockhart to Thurloe, June 4/14.

We are reminded how closely events in history are linked together by remarking that the course of affairs in the North had materially contributed to this success. The French ambassador expressly attributed the capture of Dunkirk to the diversion which the movements of Sweden created in Germany, and to the danger which threatened Austria from that quarter[1].

But it was against the German house of Austria itself that the designs of the allied powers were directed. Neither Cromwell nor Mazarin, who controlled the votes of the ecclesiastical electors, wished to allow a prince of the house of Austria to succeed to the vacant empire of Germany. That house was but a branch of that of Spain: it was considered the chief support of the hostile Catholic party, over which it exercised the greatest influence. A determined advance on the part of Charles Gustavus might easily have prevented such an election. But this prince was by no means inclined seriously to exert all his strength against Austria. He said truly enough that France and England merely wished to make him useful, to have him for their slave, and that he would gain nothing from Germany himself, except perhaps practice in the art of war. It was far more important for him first to establish his supremacy in the North. In spite of all remonstrances he threw himself with all his overpowering strength upon Denmark. By the mediation of the English and French ambassadors, a peace was concluded on terms more favourable than ever before to Sweden. But meanwhile the election to the German empire had been decided. While Austria not merely escaped attack, but also became the centre of an alliance between the northern powers threatened by the Swedish King, which was joined by the most powerful Protestant princes of the empire, such as Brandenburg, it

was mainly owing to their influence that Leopold I obtained the imperial crown. It is clear that the power of the Austro-Spanish House was thus materially increased. In consequence of this, and also of the alliance formed between the Danes and the Emperor, Charles Gustavus in the summer of 1658 determined on a second attack, with the object of conquering Denmark and incorporating it in the Swedish kingdom, no doubt according to the express design of Queen Christina, but without assistance from England.

The English were not perfectly agreed in their opinion of these schemes. Many, and those the most energetic, approved of the enterprise. They argued that the enemies of Sweden were also the enemies of England. The former were to be the missionaries of Protestantism eastwards, the latter towards the west. So long as Charles Gustavus was in danger from Denmark, he could not turn his arms against Austria. Cromwell himself however hesitated. He declared that the time was past when one kingdom could be swallowed up by another. He was unwilling to allow either Denmark, or Brandenburg, which was equally threatened, and both of which were Protestant states, to be destroyed or conquered by Sweden.

---

[1] Bourdeaux to Brienne. Guizot, Richard Cromwell.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

SUCH was the position of the Protector in the spring and summer of 1658. He enjoyed an unbounded prestige in Europe, and held the supreme power in Britain; yet in neither respect had he fully attained his object.

In England he had hitherto overpowered and crushed every enemy—the Scottish and the Presbyterian system, the peers and the King, the Long Parliament, and the Cavalier insurgents: but to create within the very party which owed its existence, or at any rate its supremacy, chiefly to his assistance, an organisation consistent with the authority which had fallen to his own lot, was beyond his power.

Even among his old friends in the separatist congregations, his comrades in the field, his colleagues in the establishment of the Commonwealth, he encountered the most obstinate resistance.

He was resolved not to tolerate it. To none of the officers who had declared against him did he show any mercy. The most determined were thrown into prison, the rest dismissed from the army. Some among them had belonged to the original company of which Cromwell had been captain. They could not conceive that it was a crime to refuse the title of House of Lords to a house which did not consist of lords. But Cromwell now demanded unconditional submission. Formerly it had been necessary to form his troops of believers in order to encounter the Royalists. He now saw in every independent opinion an ally of the Royalist cause. Republican and Anabaptist doctrines had penetrated too near the very heart of his authority. He would tolerate them no longer, at least in the army.

Till now it had been a means of promotion in the army, in Scotland for instance and Ireland, to embrace Anabaptist views. Things were much changed when Cromwell now endeavoured to rid the army of Anabaptists.

He thus excited against himself a very powerful party, and one which was influential from the number of its adherents and the resolute zeal of the individual members. The Anabaptists reminded him that they were very numerous: 'We fill thy towns and castles, thy provinces and seats, thy army and navy.' They added, that formerly at Dunbar he had spoken as an Independent and an Anabaptist, where would he have been had not they been his friends? They had throughout been faithful to the Commonwealth and to himself, and were only determined not to allow their rights as free-born Englishmen to be torn from them. They had more right to be in the army than he to be in his exalted position. They were at least as much entitled to overthrow him as he was to expel them from the army. Had he not declared himself that he would always protect the righteous, however he might disagree with some of their views? But he now pronounced in favour of the accursed principle of persecution in the Church. He had changed from the better to the worse side. It was for him to say whether his conscience was not quieter, more secure of heavenly things, while he loved the Anabaptists, than now when he hated them [1].

When Cromwell turned a deaf ear to them, they laid their complaints and wishes before the King himself. We were strong enough, they declare in their address, to destroy, but we are too weak to build up again. To whom should we look for help? Should we turn to the Parliament? It is but a broken reed that is tossed in the wind. To the army which is flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone? It has proved itself a rod of iron which may crush us, but which will not support us. Or to the man who has treacherously assumed the authority over us? He answers us in his pride, 'Ye are factious; if your burden is heavy I will make it yet heavier.

---

[1] To His Highness the Lord Protector, after the attack on St. Domingo, which it often alludes to, in Iviney, History of the English Baptists i. 221.

Thus are we driven like the partridges from hill to hill, from mountain to mountain.'

They prayed the King to guarantee the religious liberty which his father had once contemplated establishing. He did not refuse [1]: for the future before him was still dark and uncertain. In order to effect the overthrow of Cromwell, he would have gladly accepted the assistance even of the Anabaptists.

How often had Cromwell sought to convince minister after minister of the justice of his cause, by pointing to the marvellous help which God had granted them in their foreign relations. He was answered by laments over the fall of the old monarchical constitution of the country.

The Episcopalians had continued at times to perform their service. It was prohibited because in it they prayed, not it is true for Charles II by name, but for all Christian princes, thus including both Charles II and also the King of Spain with whom the country was at war. The Episcopalians collected funds to maintain the exiled and distressed members of the Anglican clergy in the hope of better times.

Still more severe was the persecution inflicted upon the avowed Royalists and Catholics. In the middle of March a short time was fixed within which they were to leave London. And woe to any one who was found there after the time had expired, for each man was known to the government. They were torn from their beds and hurried to prison.

We find it stated in the accounts of foreign ambassadors, that the growing oppressiveness of the government, and their anxiety for life and limb, drove the Royalists in May, 1658, to the desperate plan of overpowering the patrols by a sudden armed rising, and firing the city at the same moment in several places, in the hope of effecting a revolution. But this time too, as our accounts tell us, there was a traitor among the confederates, and the system of supervision and repression became stricter than ever. At no time were the prisons fuller: the number of political prisoners was estimated at 12,000.

---

[1] An address sent by the Anabaptists to the King. Clarendon, History of the Rebellion, vi. 631.

On the basis of the act passed for the safety of the Protector in the beginning of the session of 1656, a high court of justice was instituted, with powers similar to those granted in the trial of the King. On one occasion a split occurred in its midst which threatened to break it up, but a sufficient number of members always remained to pronounce valid sentences.

A general expression of sympathy was evoked when two men closely connected with Cromwell's family were brought before the court as an example to deter others. The two were Sir Henry Slingsby, a relation of the Protector's youngest stepson, who was charged with having gained adherents for the King in the garrison at Hull; and Dr. Hewitt, who had performed the marriage alluded to [1]. Slingsby demanded to be tried before a jury according to the law of the land. He was told that the administration of justice was determined by act of Parliament; if Parliament resolved to alter the established form, every one was bound by its decision, all English subjects must obey that authority [2]. With as little success Hewitt pleaded his character as a clergyman—they were both condemned and executed. Many others shared their fate.

This policy undoubtedly served to ward off immediate dangers, but the old dislike to the Protector and his government grew stronger in spite of all.

When we consider the subsequent results of the conquest of Jamaica, it is difficult to imagine that it did not give universal satisfaction; but such was in fact the case. The Protector was continually reproached with having undertaken a war on his own responsibility, without having previously consulted Parliament, a war which it was said had wasted the resources of the country, and had brought no advantage. It is certain that the trading class had not as yet been able to recover from the losses which it had suffered from the Spanish embargo [3].

---

[1] Thurloe, April 27: 'We have a very clear discovery of a most dangerous plot. Some examples of justice will be made. The persons to be tryed are not yet agreed. I think Sir H. Slingsby and Dr. Hewitt may be some of them.'

[2] Diary of Sir H. Slingsby 421.

[3] Public Plea, a pamphlet dated May 1659: 'Dying disappointed of his utmost designs, he left the state bankrupt of treasure honour or interest by unprofitable wars without advice of Parliament, and the Commonwealth impoverished by

Even in matters of the most urgent importance in financial questions, Cromwell began to feel the effects of this discontent. He appealed to the Common Council for a loan, but the city, which had always supplied money for Parliament, had as little now for Cromwell as formerly for Charles I. Already instances had occurred of contumacy in collecting the taxes voted by the last Parliament, on the ground that their legality was doubtful. Was it probable that taxes would be paid, which were sanctioned by no Parliamentary vote?

It was the old principle which had lasted for centuries, and was deeply impressed in the mind of every Englishman, that no taxes unapproved by Parliament should be paid; it was the principle which had once been the strength of the opposition to Charles I, and which was now arrayed against the Protector.

Cromwell proceeded at once to summon a new Parliament; a commission was appointed to consider how it should be composed. Recourse was apparently had to the old forms of election, which allowed the government to exercise considerable influence; and who could positively deny that he would have succeeded and have obtained even a more yielding assembly? But who on the other hand could assert it with confidence?

In contrast to the growing spirit of opposition at home, the position of the relations with Europe seemed far more favourable—but settled and satisfactory it was not. The house of Austria, against which Cromwell's chief efforts were directed, stood once more at the head of a powerful confederacy: it was the champion of the ideas of legitimacy and Catholicism, ideas which had grown up with the old European system, and exercise an incalculable influence over men's minds. Nor was he sure of his own allies, at least of the Dutch, who were only restrained from deserting him by the terror of his name; nor even of the King of Sweden, who went too far for him; nor of the Cardinal. The French had already intimated to the Spaniards the price at which they would grant them peace. They had promised to restore all conquests, on the sole condition that Spain should allow the marriage of the Infanta, who had the eventual right of succession to the Spanish throne, with their own youthful King. Philip IV had as yet refused these terms, but it was reasonable to expect that under the impression of the defeat he had suffered he might again yield, as in fact he did yield. Charles II might in that case reckon on powerful assistance in Europe, as well as on corresponding support in England, not merely among his old adherents, but also among his previous enemies. The greatest danger of all lay in internal disunion. Thurloe once remarked that he feared the Stuart influence less than the disruption of his own party,—but what if both coincided?

This situation of affairs was not encouraging to Cromwell's immediate relations. His younger son, Henry, who was entrusted with the government of Ireland, asks in one of his letters, whether all did not still depend upon the personal character of the Protector, upon his skill and his personal influence in the army, whether too his death would not involve them in a bloody struggle.

But even within the Protector's family division had penetrated. His brother-in-law Desborough, and his son-in-law Fleetwood, adhered steadily to the Anabaptists, to which body they belonged. Fleetwood and his wife avoided her father's house. His other children, and the connexions of the family who were engaged in the government of the state, were inclined to conciliate the civil authority, which promised them continued enjoyment of their privileged position. Cromwell himself considered an agreement with the Anabaptists imperatively necessary. He once vehemently exclaimed, 'We must satisfy them, or we shall be involved in a fresh civil war.'

While his foreign and still more his domestic position was thus critical, while the eyes both of friends and foes were

---

decay of trade.' In a discourse on the present state of England (in the Brandenburgh Archives, 1659) we find the complaint that the war had brought but little booty, and that on the contrary great loss had been incurred by the confiscation of English property in all Spanish territories some years before, which was a direct result of the rupture, and by the consequent loss of Spain as their chief market.

watching for his next measures, measures which could never be anticipated, but which had always proved energetic and successful, he was overtaken by the common lot of mortals.

Nothing is more misleading than to search for the psychological causes connected with the death of great men, and to attribute to them a decisive influence. One of Cromwell's confidential attendants ventures to assert that the attempt to carry on an unparliamentary government had exhausted his vital powers. And certain it is that the failure of his plans soured and disturbed him. In his own family circle, from which he used never to be absent at breakfast and dinner, for he was an excellent father, he was latterly never seen for weeks together. The discovery of constantly renewed attempts upon his life filled him with disquiet. It is said that he took opium, which could not fail to increase his agitation. To this was added the illness and death of his favourite daughter, Lady Claypole, whose last ravings were of the religious and political controversies which harassed her father—the right of the King, the blood that had been shed, the revenge to come. The Independent ministers again found access to him. When his growing indisposition was succeeded by fever, and assumed a dangerous character, they still assured him that he would yet live, for God had need of him. Meantime he grew worse and worse. We all know how the mental feelings and the bodily organs react upon each other. Cromwell suffered from excessive fullness of the vessels of the brain, and an internal corruption of the bile[1]. They attempted to check the disease by a panacea, which gave him some relief, and brought him back from Hampton Court to Westminster, to the palace of the old kings at Whitehall. There he died immediately, on the 3rd of September, the anniversary of his victories of Dunbar and Worcester which had gained him this lodging. The people declared that he was snatched away amid the tumult of a fearful storm, a proof that he was in league with Satanic powers. Others saw in it the sympathy of nature with the death of the first man in the world. But gales and storms follow their own laws—in reality the storm had raged the night before. It was not till the afternoon that Cromwell died.

But this belief was not confined to the common people. The next generation execrated Cromwell as a monster of wickedness, while posterity has pronounced him one of the greatest of the human race.

To him was granted the marvellous distinction of breaking through the charmed circle which among the European nations hems in the private man. Invested with sovereign authority, and needing no higher sanction—for he was not compelled, like Richelieu, to convince his king by argument, or to pry into cabinet intrigues—he forced his way into the history of the world. The King who reckoned a hundred ancestors in Scotland, and held the throne of England by that hereditary right, on which most other states rested, was overthrown mainly by the armed force which he created, and was then succeeded by him.

Yet Cromwell had the self-restraint to refuse the crown itself; that which he was, the general of the victorious army, invested with the highest civil authority, that he resolved to remain.

For when once Parliament had stripped the monarchy of the military authority, the army displayed a tendency to submit no longer even to Parliament. The civil authority became dependent upon the military. Cromwell took it in hand and resolved to uphold it against all opposition. Above all he was forced to suppress those institutions which were most nearly allied with the old order of things. The aristocracy or the episcopacy could not be suffered to exist any more than the monarchy itself. Least of all dared he tolerate Catholicism. Political and religious opposition to all these elements were for Cromwell the end of his existence. In this he discerned the welfare of the country, the advancement of religion and morality, but also his own justification, if in promoting his own cause he went so far as to resist those opponents, who sprang from the very heart of his party. He deemed it essential to bring all the active forces in the country into obedience to his will. Thus it was that he

---

[1] Bates: 'In naturalibus fons mali comparuit: aliene licet ad adspectum sano, intus tamen tabo instar amurrae referto.'

established a power which has no parallel and no appropriate name. It is true that the noble sentiments which flowed from his lips were also the levers of his power, and he did not allow them to interfere with it; but no less true is it that the supreme authority in itself was not his aim. It was to aid him in realising those ideas of religious liberty, as understood by Protestants, and of civil order and national independence, which filled his whole soul. These ideas he regarded not as merely satisfactory to himself, but as actually and objectively necessary.

Cromwell's was in fact a nature of deep impulses, restless originality and wide comprehensiveness, at once slow and impatient, trustworthy and faithless, destructive and conservative, ever pressing on to the untrodden way in front: before it all obstacles must give way or be crushed.

If we ask what of Cromwell's work survived him, we shall not find the answer in particular institutions of the state and the constitution. We are never certain whether he contemplated the continuance of the power which he possessed himself: neither his House of Lords nor his Commons were destined to endure; nor yet the army of which he was the founder, nor the separatist movements with which he started. Time has swept all this away. Yet he exercised nevertheless an influence rich in important results.

We have seen how the germs of the great struggle are to be found in the historical and natural conditions of the three countries of Britain, and we have traced the part played by the republican system in subjecting to England the two other members of the British Commonwealth. But it was Cromwell's victories which made this possible. The vision of the union of the three kingdoms in and through Protestantism, which had floated before the eyes of his predecessor Somerset, he brilliantly realised. His rise was associated from the first with a genuinely English theory, opposed equally to the encroachments of the Scots and to Irish independence. He won a place for it by force of arms, and then first, irregularly enough it is true, admitted the Irish and Scottish representatives into the English Parliament. We can scarcely believe that a parliamentary government of the three kingdoms was possible at the time. The course of events tended rather towards a military monarchy. It is Cromwell's chief merit to have ruled the British kingdoms for a succession of years on a uniform principle, and to have united their forces in common efforts. It is true that this was not the final award of history: things were yet to arrange themselves in a very different fashion. But it was necessary perhaps that the main outlines should be shaped by the absolute authority of a single will, in order that in the future a free life might develop within them.

But for the general history of Europe nothing is of more importance than the fact that Cromwell directed the energies of England against the Spanish monarchy. It was the idea which was most peculiarly his own; the Commonwealth would hardly have done it. We are not considering the political value of this policy, against which there is much to be said; it is only with its results that we are concerned. These consisted in the fact that the European system which had grown up out of the dynastic influence of the Burgundo-Austrian house, and had since been dominant for nearly two centuries, was driven out of the field and forced to open a new path for itself. To the English people itself, and especially to their navy an important part was thus at once allotted. Cromwell did not create the English navy. On the contrary, the views of its chiefs were hostile to him; but he gave it its strongest impulse. We have seen how vigorously it rose to power in all parts of the world. The coasts of Europe towards the Atlantic and Mediterranean especially felt the weight of the English arms. The idea was more than once suggested of effecting settlements on the Italian and even on the German coasts. Such a settlement was actually gained in the Netherlands, and was to be gradually enlarged. It was said that Cromwell carried the key of the continent at his girdle. Holland was compelled however reluctantly to follow the impulse given her by England. Portugal yielded in order to preserve her own existence. England could calmly await any future complications which might arise on the continent.

It was Protestantism on which the internal unity of England was based, and a Protestantism moreover unexpectedly free from any flavour of sectarianism; it was the same idea and the necessity of upholding it, which was the motive power in establishing her foreign greatness, and which reached its full development in that greatness. The influence of France had rescued Protestantism from destruction, but it had at the same time kept it subordinate. On the other hand, it was through Cromwell that Protestantism took up an independent position among the powers of the world, and dispensed with all external aid. The secession from the old doctrine and constitution of the Western Church rose in importance with the rise of those who supported it, and even acquired a greater and more pregnant significance.

So far as home government was concerned, Cromwell possessed two qualities very opposite in themselves, yet supplementing each other, a certain pliancy in matters of principle, and great firmness in the exercise of authority. Had he allowed the tendencies of the separatists and the democratic zeal of the army, in conjunction with which he rose to power, to run their course unchecked, everything must have been plunged in chaotic confusion, and the existence of the new state would have been impossible. Utterly opposite as he was to King Charles in disposition and character, and in the general bent of his mind, yet Cromwell exercised a very similar influence upon the English constitution. The King upheld the idea of the English Church: in defence of this he died. Cromwell was the champion of civil law and personal property. He broke with his party when it attacked these fundamental principles of society and of the state. It was of the most lasting importance for England that he did this without fettering himself with the idea of the kingly power, and relying simply on the necessity of the case. But it was beyond his power thus to consolidate a tolerably durable political constitution. His was at best but a de facto authority, depending for its existence on the force of arms and his own personal character. Such as it was it was felt to be an oppressive burden, at home no less by those who longed for a return to the old legitimate forms, than by his own party, whom he excluded from all share in public

authority: abroad by those who feared him, and by those who were his allies. In Amsterdam this feeling was grotesquely enough expressed. When the news was received of Cromwell's death, there was a momentary cessation of business. People were seen to dance in the streets, crying 'The devil is dead[1]!' And so in London the mob were heard to utter curses when Richard Cromwell, Oliver's son, was proclaimed Protector.

What would or could be the next step? The general belief was that a sweeping revolution was imminent in the Western world, and first of all in England. The Royalists considered that such a revolution would turn out to their advantage.

---

[1] Culpepper to Hyde, Amsterdam, Sept. 10/20: 'The young fry dance in the streets at noonday; the devil is dead, is the language at every turn.' Clarendon Papers iii. 412.

BOOK XIII.

FALL OF THE PROTECTORATE AND THE COMMONWEALTH. RESTORATION OF THE MONARCHY, 1658—1660.

THERE had been a time in England when the crown had been as powerful, the hierarchy as firmly established, as in any of the Western kingdoms. The nobility and the towns, united with Church and King in Parliament, formed a constitution of lasting and, so long as they were of one mind, of vigorous vitality. In such constitutions there can be no lack of disputes. Again and again in England were they actually fought out with the sword, yet the Commonwealth remained essentially intact. It was otherwise in the struggles which broke out towards the middle of the seventeenth century, in which all Britain was involved. In the course of these, under the influence of religious, political and military impulses, deeplying forces manifested themselves which broke the power of the monarchy and the aristocracy, and strove to replace them by a republic, though of a kind hitherto unknown.

It is true that elsewhere in the manifold currents of European political life, republican institutions had now and then appeared,—notably within the limits of the old German empire, on both sides of the Alps, in Upper and finally in Lower Germany. It was still fresh in men's memories how the Republic of the United Netherlands had been founded and successfully upheld. But these free states were all rather detached territories than complete nationalities, and were of moderate extent, enjoying only an imperfect political independence, and internally aristocratic and conservative. Fundamentally different in character was the new English

Commonwealth. It rested on the idea of the sovereignty of the people, which it endeavoured to realise by a system of representative government. In such a system there was no room for aristocracy and church, nor even for such a representation of the local districts in the Lower House as had hitherto existed. It could as little tolerate the magistracy and the old laws, as the inferior clergy and their necessary endowments. What must have been the results had a political organisation of such thoroughgoing socialist tendencies established itself firmly in the great maritime state of England? had Great Britain, now first united, awoke to the consciousness of its unity and strength under republican forms such as these? It would have planted similar states in every corner of the world.

But in the three kingdoms, and especially in England, the old native system was so deeply rooted that men whom particular encroachments on the part of the King had driven to revolt, in their dread of further violations of the constitution, would not break loose from it altogether. The lawful King was an exile, but from across the sea he incessantly influenced his adherents, who had been weakened but by no means destroyed. Among them were the Cavaliers of all ranks who had fought for the father, and who saw in the son their only hope of regaining their position and preserving their estates. Among them too were the faithful members of the Anglican Church, which like all other forms of faith had drawn fresh strength out of persecution; numberless good Englishmen of the old school in the towns as well as in the country missed the authority of the kingly name which their forefathers had honoured. The lawyers too regarded it as indispensable. England was almost divided into two distinct worlds, one of which held fast to the institutions of the past, while the other strove after an unknown future; worlds opposed in disposition, in conviction, in intention—each, if we may use the expression, with a political religion of its own.

It is not necessary to inquire to which of the two Cromwell belonged, but in the heat of the struggle he gained a position which was distinct from either. No one was more keenly alive to the strength inherent in the feeling of sympathy for what is ancient. Never did he lose sight of the exiled King and his allies at home and abroad. Yet with the Republicans, who sought to impose a law of their own upon the victorious power of the sword, the successful general who wielded it could never be perfectly in harmony: as little did he dare to carry out to their conclusions the destructive doctrines of the fanatics, for these would have undermined the ground on which he stood. He clearly saw the necessity for a regular and simple government, and perfectly comprehended its conditions. He knew how to remain master of the forces which had raised him to power, and to govern them. Thus he contrived to render harmless and to keep under the most antagonistic elements: he banished them to depths where they were powerless.

It was because he did all this that his death was a momentous event. When the hand was no longer there which ruled both parties with its iron sceptre they breathed again. The Royalists took heart, for they had regarded the Protector as their chief oppressor; but they were far too weak to move, so long as their enemies, who still retained exclusive possession of political power, remained united. Everything depended on the possibility, now that the great holder of power was dead, of framing a strong union and discovering a durable and satisfactory form for the Commonwealth. The difficulty lay not merely in the comparative competency of individuals, but in the nature of the case itself. The great controversies between monarchy and republicanism, between civil and military authority, between the rule of one denomination and tolerance, which have occupied men's minds in every century, once more reappeared on this arena. On the possibility of their solution depended the existence or the ruin of the party which had hitherto been victorious, and the ultimate revival of their vanquished opponents: it involved the future of Britain and the nature of her influence upon the world.

CHAPTER I.

ATTEMPT TO CONTINUE THE PROTECTORATE.

A GREAT statesman can never be properly estimated by his contemporaries. They are easily blinded by his brilliancy, or else they feel his proximity and the conditions of his rule to be oppressive. Cromwell, like most extraordinary men, died little known, and hated rather than loved. The world saw only the darker side of his career.

Subsequent generations can appreciate the advantage which English trade has gained through Cromwell's West Indian conquests. The mercantile class of the day merely observed that great immediate losses had followed from the rupture with Spain. They counted up the number of merchant-vessels that had thus been destroyed and the millions of pounds that their cargoes were worth. Cromwell had forced the Dutch, however unwillingly, to attach themselves to him in general matters of policy, and thus early indicated the attitude which after many interruptions has been finally accepted. But it was reserved for later history to appreciate this. His contemporaries regarded the Dutch above all as rivals, and as secret or open enemies. They disliked the treaty made with them, and ignored the Navigation Act, which was in their own favour. Cromwell's home-administration was even more loudly blamed. In those points which had caused the rupture with Charles I he had afforded even stronger ground of complaint, he had openly collected taxes on his own authority, had again and again dissolved Parliaments of the most different kind, had been guilty of insolent encroachments upon the course of justice and personal liberty. How many innocent persons had he involved in pretended plots,

and then shut them up in prisons, banished to remote islands, or transported to the West Indies? His tyrannical Supreme Court of Justice had itself shed innocent blood. In the counties his major-generals were little better than pachas. The Cavaliers, to whom Parliament had by solemn agreement granted an amnesty, he had nevertheless harassed with oppressive burdens, a violation of the law worse than any committed by a tyrant[1]. So unpopular was the Protectorate that even Republicans could reproach it with the oppression of their common foes.

Those however were most indignant and discontented who had aided in establishing the Commonwealth under the influence of religious motives, and had since found themselves thrust aside: Cromwell died just when a fresh storm was imminent from that quarter.

But in spite of this his son succeeded him without opposition. In 1657 the power of nominating his successor had been conferred upon the Protector. Not till the very day before his death, during the paroxysm which preceded it, did he announce his choice, and nominate his eldest son Richard as his successor, though in vague and doubtful terms[2]. But on the strength of it Richard Cromwell was immediately proclaimed Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the territories pertaining to them. From all sides the new Protector received addresses of congratulation.

Yet the Protectorate was still very far from being a constitution with definite forms. Oliver's power had been in all respects personal. It was nothing but what his innate qualities, his achievements in peace and war, his victories over his enemies, his authority over friends and allies, had been able to make it. Was it probable that a young man, who, if not inferior to and weaker than most men, was certainly no better, would be capable of perpetuating such a power. If it was to exist, it was necessary first of all formally to constitute it.

---

[1] 'The remonstrance and protestations of the well-affected people of the cities, London, Westminster, and others (Oct. 1659).' A folio pamphlet which states all this in greater detail.

[2] 'If there were any, it was a puzzled nomination, and that very dark and imperfect.' Goddard, in Burton, Diary iii. 160.

As originally established it involved a contradiction which had not yet been solved. Cromwell's power had originated in the command of the army. The civic authority had been joined to it under the title of Protector—but the Protector and the General were none the less distinct. The officers were not unwilling that Cromwell's son should succeed to the Protectorate, but it was no part of their theory that the generalship should also be hereditary. The first step which Richard took on this assumption, when there was a vacancy in the army, to which he wished to appoint a naval officer, they openly opposed. They declared that no appointment could be made in the army without the knowledge of the Council of War, and they also desired to see a general specially nominated to command them in the room of him who was dead. Richard Cromwell objected that he could not be really Protector unless he also possessed the military power; he could not otherwise fulfil the obligations which the law imposed upon him, he would burden himself with an intolerable responsibility, and resign all actual power to another. But his arguments were unavailing. The officers held regular meetings at Wallingford House, and Lambert, whose retirement had been mainly due to similar views, reappeared among them. The man who enjoyed their confidence was Cromwell's son-in-law Fleetwood, who was regarded as representing the extreme religious party in the army and the country[1]. While desiring that he should be their general, they also requested the Protector to commit the posts of confidence, such as the Council of State, to none but men of pious principles, and zealously to carry on the good old cause, the accomplishment of secular and religious reform. Thus the old theories as to a complete reconstitution of the

---

[1] Giavarina (Secr. Ven.): 'Portatisi alcuni d'essi con concetti non interamente proprii facendosi osservare che era loro intentione d' havere per generalissimo il loro luogotenente Flitud e che l' Altezza s. non potesse disponere di qualsisia carica militare senza un consiglio di guerra. Dal canto di Flitud si trova il desgratiate Lambert, qual sotto mano va fomentando et acomdendo gli animi di quelli che sono disgustati.'

state, according to the views of the godly and the separatists, came once more to light now that he who had kept them under was dead. We know the division which this question had long before caused in Cromwell's family; it now became historically important. Cromwell's brother-in-law Desborough, and his son-in-law Fleetwood, strenuously advocated the religious views which coincided with the ambitious claims of the army. On the other hand, Cromwell's two sons sided with the civil power. Henry on one occasion, in a letter to Fleetwood, declares that the separatist clergy would impose as heavy a yoke upon the country as the bishops had done. He reminds him that the duty of the army was not to govern but to fight. Let us, he exclaims, avoid all arbitrary power, and establish a government according to the well-known laws of the land[1]. Henry Cromwell, young, energetic, and not devoid of ability, hoped by limiting its powers to strengthen the Protectorate, and to secure his family in the enjoyment of it. Fleetwood was inspired by the conviction that nothing but the renewal of the old religious zeal could enable the country and the army to carry out the purposes of God. He had bent his knee before his father-in-law, the soldier and hero; to his brother-in-law, who had no personal claims, he would not yield an inch.

But now reappeared the great question of the mutual relations of the civil and military power, a question of life and death for all republics, if not for all states. The officers claimed for the army not merely an independent position, but a decisive voice in the state. The young Protector held it to be his duty to maintain the independence of the civil power which had been entrusted to him and to keep the army in subjection. Among his confidential counsellors were men of distinction, such as Thurloe and St. John, who confirmed him in his resolution. They hoped that under the son it would be easier than it had been under the father to establish the laws and constitutional forms on which the safety of the new order of things depended. Oliver had rejected their counsels with a prompt decision that was almost arbitrary: Richard followed their advice.

---

[1] Lord Deputy Cromwell to General Fleetwood, Oct. 20, 1658. Thurloe's State Papers vii. 454.

But for the attainment of their object only one course was possible, that of summoning a Parliament. The financial difficulties themselves made it desirable. The precarious position of the government rendered it absolutely necessary. The court of Whitehall, for so the Protector and his personal adherents were called, took every precaution to secure the return of desirable candidates. They had recourse once more to those boroughs which had been superseded at the last election, as being most accessible to influence. Nor had they any reason to fear the return of declared Royalists, since the qualifications which excluded them were still in force. The recognised principle was, as was said at the time, that they wanted not a King, Lords, and Commons, but a president, a senate, and a popular assembly. The constitution which Oliver had attempted to establish without any definite result was now to be completed, in order to confirm and secure the interests which the manifold storms of the last twenty years had called into existence.

On the 27th of January, 1659, Richard Cromwell opened the Parliament. In a stately barge, accompanied by an imposing retinue, he arrived at the steps of the Houses of Parliament. The sword was carried before him as he proceeded first of all to hear the sermon and thence to the House of Lords. Like the kings of old, Richard caused the Commons to be summoned by the Black Rod. A tribune decorated with royal splendour had been erected for him: from this he delivered his 'speech from the throne[1].' In the course of it he alluded to his departed father as the 'great peacemaker in the three kingdoms,' thanks to whom each man lived securely in them, and could now hope to enjoy the fruits of that which he had sown. For himself, Richard claimed the right to succeed him in virtue of the acts passed in 1657, in conformity to which he pledged himself to govern with the assistance of the counsel of Parliament, which he had called together out of the three nations now united in a single commonwealth.

---

[1] Publick Intelligencer, Jan. 24, 1659.

As yet however it was not proved whether Parliament would recognise even his civil authority and accept the Protectorate in its present form.

This the Republicans, a considerable number of whom had succeeded in getting themselves returned, definitely opposed. They urged that the acts of 1657 were the work of an assembly, which the arbitrary exclusion of some of its members had robbed of all claim to be a true Parliament, and had only then been carried by a small majority. The constitution thus established was thoroughly unacceptable: it gave the Protector rights more extensive than those of the old kings, and especially those very rights which had been the ground of dispute with the last monarch—the control of the militia and the power of veto through the establishment of a second House. They decided that the new system was inconsistent with the theory of representative government, and was ruinous to England[1]. They even went so far as to ask whether, since it was uncertain that the late Protector had really nominated his successor, and God had interfered to prevent it, it was the duty and the wish of the assembly itself to set up such a successor.

It is worth our while to notice how Henry Vane in one of his speeches combines the leading ideas. He reminds the House of the importance attached to the idea of the sovereignty of the people in the recent struggle with the King. The King had refused to accept it, but it had been sealed with his blood: unless it were true, it must be doubtful whether his execution had been an act of justice or a murder. The original right which Parliament then assumed in the name of the nation it still possessed. The executive authority in the state had, it was true, been entrusted to the Protector, and with ample rights. They had even empowered him to nominate his successor; but in doing so it was never expressly declared that his successor should also inherit this authority for his lifetime: and lastly the nomination itself was doubtful. Vane proposed that they should reverse the order of proceeding, and first verify the right and title of the new Protector and then acknowledge him: he was the son of a conqueror; it was possible to make him the heir by adoption; for it was necessary to establish the constitution on a firm basis if they would exclude the old line[1].

---

[1] Speech of Mr. St. Nicholas in Burton's Diary iii. 119: 'I know not what the messengers of the people shall answer at their return, to such as shall ask what we have done for their liberties, but only "ruina Angliae."'

The wish of Vane's party was to retain the Protector at the head of the Commonwealth as President, but with powers exactly defined and restricted. The House of Lords that had been summoned on the plan laid down by Oliver they would not hear of for an instant, but wished to replace it by an elective senate. The chief power was to rest with the House of Commons because it was composed of the representatives of the people.

The speeches in which these ideas are expounded are acute and logical, and display talent and experience: but they were without effect, because the conclusions to which they led went greater lengths than was considered desirable, and might easily have again immersed the country in the confusions of a civil war. The interests of the Protectorate, which they attacked, were too strongly represented in the House for them to accomplish anything against it. The presence, for instance, of the Irish and Scottish members—thirty from each country—against whose interference the Republicans vainly protested, secured a majority for the government on every important question. Others felt themselves bound by the oath of allegiance which they had taken on entering Parliament. Richard Cromwell was actually acknowledged as Lord Protector and Supreme Magistrate of the Commonwealth. There was no mention in his case of the kingly dignity, as there had been in his father's; and more than this, a debate which was begun upon the rights and liberties of the nation, with the view of limiting his power by defining them, led

---

[1] 'The old family,' 'the old line,' Burton iii. 180. In the Old Parliamentary History xxi. 289, we find that Charles II was termed Pretender, but I venture to maintain that the preceding words 'the Pretender's designation . . . with' etc. refer to Richard, who claimed to be first acknowledged, and not to the old family, who cannot be spoken of there.

to no result. The government did not establish its claim on all the points mooted in the course of discussion, but generally it kept the upper hand. The full authority which had been granted to the father by the acts of 1657 passed to the son, and this extended far beyond the powers of a president. It rested on the principle that it was derived from God and sacred.

All the more importance now attached to the remaining question of the proper relation between the Protector and the army.

The officers were already in a state of great excitement. They felt themselves not merely overlooked, but actually threatened, so far as Parliament displayed an inclination to resent the acts of violence which had occurred under Oliver Cromwell; for they had been the very persons by whom those acts had been committed. In a long address to the Lord Protector they complained that their rights had been slighted, and the good old cause neglected, which involved the liberty of the nation. 'For this cause,' so runs a special remonstrance from the inferior officers, 'we have covered ourselves with blood; we shudder when we think of the account which we must one day give, if we suffer the blood-bought liberties of the people to be again destroyed.' The troops were confined to but a limited circle of ideas: they held that by what they had done and by what had happened they were justified, if not morally bound, in adhering to the ideas which they had once adopted, and to defend them against all who at any time wished to restore the old bondage.

At the same time the army openly advocated the proposal for separating the supreme command from the Protectorate. It was asserted in various ways that the Protectorate had been appended to the generalship, not the generalship to the Protectorate. Oliver Cromwell had been in command of the army before he took in hand the civil government and was declared Protector. In so declaring him, regard had been paid to his personal qualities, his genius, his honesty; but the combination of the two offices was not necessary[1].

---

[1] An Expedient for the Preventing of any Difference, by a Lover of his Country. Feb. 26, 1658/9. 'Let the officers of the army choose their general, and let him have his commission from the Protector and Parliament.'

Their demand was that Richard should exercise the duties of supreme magistrate in the three kingdoms, but that the army itself should chose its general. It was thought that the connecting link between the military and civil power would be satisfactorily provided if the officer so selected should then receive his commission from the Protector and Parliament. It was even doubted whether at present there was any lawful commander of the army at all.

The Protector laid the address of the officers before the House of Commons. On the 18th of April the debate upon it commenced.

Several of the most distinguished officers were members of the House. An understanding was effected between them and the Republican leaders, and the question was seriously discussed whether the Protector ought to be considered as general, or whether it would not be better to appoint another general, or possibly several others. Little as the Republicans sympathised with all the views of the army, yet it was essential for them not to allow the principle which lay at the root of the Protectoral government, and which threatened destruction to themselves, to be finally established. They even warmly supported the claims of the army, and carefully avoided giving them offence, for thus they would have revived the courage of their bitterest opponents, the Cavaliers, and perhaps caused fresh bloodshed. It was a policy which found sympathy and support in the House of Lords, which was chiefly composed of officers.

In the Lower House however the opposite party were far the stronger. The majority there were perfectly willing that provision should be made for the support of the troops and the payment of the arrears due to them. But at the same time they thought it unbearable that the army should wish to erect itself into a separate estate, should hold assemblies, and pass decrees in opposition to those of Parliament. They considered that the honour and safety of the country, no less than the interests of the service, required on the contrary that the assembled officers should return to their garrisons. 'It would fare ill,' they declared, 'with Parliament if it could no longer order them to return to their posts.' The Lower House denounced all assemblies of officers held without the previous sanction of the Protector and Parliament as illegal. It was resolved,—for London was already crowded with disorderly bodies of troops which threatened its liberty,—that every officer should pledge himself in writing never to interrupt the sittings and subsequent deliberations of Parliament. After these preliminary enactments, to which the House chiefly trusted for its safety, it proceeded on the 21st of April to discuss the all-important question of the position which the military power should hold. The Republicans urged that far too much scope would be given to the Protector if they granted him the control of the militia, even in conjunction with Parliament. They alleged instances of supreme magistrates who enjoyed no control of the armed forces—such as the Doges of Genoa and Venice. But they failed to convince the majority, who could not hope to carry through their plans of civil reform except with the assistance of a strong Protectorate. It would be absurd to join with the supreme legislative magistrate another with whom should rest exclusively the execution of the laws. And as regarded any claim of the army to a share in the supreme power, the House was far from recognising anything of the sort. It had already declared that the army was an army of the Protector and the Parliament, and that these should therefore share the military authority between them. No decree had as yet been passed, but there could be no doubt that Richard Cromwell would be proclaimed general of the army on the following day[1].

It was a critical moment for the existence of the system which had sprung out of the rebellion. If it was to be maintained and completed, this was only possible on the condition that the army submitted: but strong in its own position and in the support of a party in Parliament, the army clung obstinately to its claims for independence. It disregarded equally the parliamentary majority and their parliamentary chief: in defiance of their orders fresh regiments were summoned to the capital. On the news of the debates held on the 21st, the troops assembled that evening at St. James's: Desborough then proceeded with a deputation of officers to Richard at Whitehall, to demand the immediate dissolution of Parliament on the following day. At Whitehall counter-preparations had been made. The government, who were supported by the Common Council of London and the Presbyterians, had also gained over some officers, and ordered them to concentrate their troops at Whitehall. Richard delayed acceding to the officers' demands: apparently he wished to await the issue of the impending struggle. What was to decide the result? The officers who had gone over to Richard could not control the subalterns and the common soldiery, who sympathised with the separatist and Republican ideas expressed in the addresses to the Protector and Parliament: they refused to desert their old companions in arms. Instead of to Whitehall they marched to St. James' and joined the rest. The Protector was forsaken even by his own guard; he had barely 200 men with him: resistance was impossible under the circumstances.

---

[1] Ludlow's assertion that this had been already done cannot be reconciled with the Journals, so far as they have been preserved.

In this difficulty it was suggested to Richard that he should throw himself into the city of London, rally the Royalists round him, and proclaim the lawful King and a free Parliament. He would thus permanently secure a position of importance and honour for himself and his family. But Richard was not the man to embrace so extraordinary a resolution: and who could have answered for the results? The city might have given him up, or the army have seized the city, and his own life have been endangered. There was reason to fear that the Royalists would take advantage of the confusion to rise: it was their anxiety on this last head that mainly induced those about Richard's person to advise him to yield.

The officers waited in a house near, till, early the next morning, the Secretary of State handed over to them the orders requisite for effecting the dissolution. The Commons adjourned before the announcement could be made, but when they returned to resume the sitting they were turned back by the troops[1].

So ended Richard Cromwell's attempt to establish the authority which he had inherited from his father on a firmer basis, by allying it with a moderately free Parliament. At the moment when he seemed to have attained his object, he was forced by the army to dissolve an assembly in which he had a majority in his favour.

It did not immediately follow from what had been done that Richard should cease to be Protector. The colonels would have allowed him to remain, provided he acceded to their proposals. But both the inferior officers and the private soldiers thought differently. The Protectorate had never satisfied them, from a political point of view, and still less from a religious one. The army in its assembly declared for a pure Republic, without the presidency of a single person; in other words, without a Protector.

No compromise was any longer practicable. It had been possible for the victorious general who had seized the civil authority to unite it with the military, but when once a split had taken place between them, the alliance could never be renewed. Under Oliver the military power had been the basis of the whole system. Under Richard the civil power would have preponderated; but this the army would not allow. Strictly speaking, Richard never possessed the supreme power. He was overthrown before he succeeded in acquiring it.

---

[1] Cp. Ludlow ii. 641, but the account of the French ambassador, who was near the Protector's person, is, I think, more trustworthy. It is given in Guizot i. 366. I have followed it even more closely than he has done.

CHAPTER II.

ATTEMPT TO FORM A COMMONWEALTH ON A NEW BASIS.

THE monarchical authority which had arisen on the basis of the new system had been shattered by dissensions between the very elements out of which it was composed. The restoration of the Commonwealth followed as a matter of course; but what form could it assume?

The astonishment felt was general, when the army, which had once forcibly dispersed all that remained of the Long Parliament, now resolved to restore it. But in reality it was not so surprising as it seemed. For during the last session the leaders of the two parties had come to an understanding with each other. Together they overthrew the Protectorate, which had attempted to subject them to the discipline of the old civil laws. They united in advocating the doctrines of the separatists, which once more found free scope upon English soil.

The army, which had played the decisive part in the recent revolution, now took the initiative in the work of reconstruction. A declaration drawn up at Wallingford House states 'that they recollect that the members of the Parliamentary Assembly which sat until April 20, 1653, had been champions of the good old cause, and had been throughout favoured with God's assistance. They therefore felt it to be their duty to summon them once more to a renewed exercise of their former rights and powers.' This step was mainly due to the influence of John Lambert, who had upheld the cause of the army from his seat in Parliament, and had in doing so allied himself with the Republican leaders. He enjoyed at this time the greatest reputation with both sides. After

some preliminary discussions, which however failed to bring about a satisfactory agreement, he proceeded on the evening of the 6th of May to Chancery Lane, to the house of the Master of the Rolls, the former Speaker Lenthall, where the most prominent members of the Parliament dissolved in 1653 were either already met or appeared shortly afterwards[1], and presented to them the declaration. They could have no hesitation in accepting it, and obeying the summons to resume their old seats. For six years they had been disregarded and overlooked, and were now by a sudden turn of fortune invested with the authority which was confessedly the highest in the Commonwealth. The next day they proceeded, forty-two in number, from the Painted Chamber where they had met, to St. Stephen's Chapel, headed by Lenthall, before whom the mace, the badge of the Speaker's office, was borne. There they resumed their old seats. The first announcement of their restoration was contained in a declaration, in which they promised to give the Commonwealth such a constitution that not only the property but the personal and religious liberty of each man should be secured, without the rule of a single person, without monarchy, and without a House of Peers.

Such was the formula which was now generally adopted as distinctive of republicanism. It is true that the Commonwealth assumed a shape which was far from implying a free participation of the people. It was in fact an alliance between two parties, formerly opposed, and which had now made common cause against a third which held them in subjection. The executive authority was at first entrusted to a committee of safety, in which, along with eight generals, the three principal Republican leaders, Vane, Haslerig, and Scott, obtained seats and votes. A Council of State was subsequently established, in which more importance was assigned to the civil element: we notice among its members Bradshaw, Ashley Cooper, and Whitelocke—in all there were sixteen civilians and fifteen officers. The Great Seal of the Protector was broken in half, as that of the King had been, and the Seal of 1651, on which the current year was styled the third of restored liberty, came again into use.

---

[1] Such is the account given in the weekly paper 'Mercurius Politicus,' No. 566, which gives the fullest details. According to the statements made in Parliament itself the members were already present.

For appearance sake it seemed desirable that the new order of things should be accepted by Oliver Cromwell's sons. They were offered the payment of their debts, and an establishment proportionate to their father's services, a suitable residence, and an income which in those days was considerable. Richard yielded at once; adapted by nature for a private station only, he demanded nothing of the Commonwealth but its protection. Henry might well have felt tempted to make himself independent in Ireland, but a precautionary measure which his father had adopted for his own security, made such a course impossible. Oliver Cromwell had stationed no officer in Ireland who had not landed property in England, in order to be able to prevent or to punish any attempt at desertion by confiscation of their property. Thus it happened that the Irish army was dependent on the newly-established government in England; they followed at once the example set by the army in England. Henry was finally forced to submit [1].

With the Protector's family fell also all those connected with it: the lawyers who had endeavoured to assimilate it to the monarchy, the advisers who had guided its home-policy. In proportion to their former power they now encountered hate and persecution.

The separatists who had seen themselves excluded from a share in the government, the officers who had seen themselves passed over, and were now masters once more, did not leave it long doubtful on what principle they meant to conduct the administration.

As early as the 12th of May a fresh address was issued from Wallingford House, enumerating the points which were essential in the present crisis. They were chiefly the following:—the recognition of the Republican constitution as a means of securing personal liberty and the rights of property; the establishment of a system of justice neither oppressive nor vexatious, but which should protect the people; religious freedom for the various Christian sects, with the exception however of Papists and Prelatists; the reconstitution of the Universities and of the liturgy in accordance with the strictest religious views; the appointment to state-magistracies of men of tried religious and republican views; the unconditional exclusion of all who adhered to the royal cause; but on the other hand indemnity for all who had taken part in the acts of the government since the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and the confirmation of these acts: and lastly the establishment of a constitution in which the legislative authority should be vested in the people as represented by two Houses, and the executive in a Council of State composed of competent and trustworthy persons devoted to the good cause. These articles merely reflect the old avowed religious and political views of the army. They promise a complete reform of the state, almost such as the Little Parliament had warmly desired: that which neither they nor the Protector could accomplish they hoped to carry out by means of the restored Long Parliament. Their own independence they took for granted in its full extent. They did not demand that a special leader should be given them, but simply declared that they recognised Charles Fleetwood their general as commander-in-chief of the English army. At the head of the list of those who signed the address is Lambert's name [2].

On many important points Parliament agreed with the officers. It proceeded at once to discuss the address, and as early as the 20th of May unanimously accepted the clauses relating to the republican constitution, the administration of justice, the Church and the Universities. It was resolved to entrust posts of confidence and authority to

---

[1] 'No officer would stir to defend his power and government, when Lambert and Fleetwood turned out Dick, because they feared the sequestration or the loss of their lands in England.' Harley MSS. 991, p. 94.

[2] It has been often printed, e. g. in the Old Parl. Hist. xxi. 400. We have only the scantiest notices of the actual proceedings. The best account is in the Mercurius Politicus, No. 567–569.

none but those who had given proofs of their attachment to the Republican cause. The next question was all-important for the preservation of peace, and had formed the main argument for the immediate re-establishment of a Parliamentary power[1]. Parliament took measures for paying the army, and even raised the daily pay of the common soldiers. It solemnly and distinctly announced that all arrears due to the army—and these had again become considerable during the recent troubles—should be paid in full; and declared itself ready to adopt the most extraordinary ways and means for this purpose, for instance the sale of the palace of Whitehall and Somerset House with all their appurtenances[2]. A commission was appointed to inquire into the state of the Treasury, in other words, into the general condition of the public revenue. It ordered not only the further payment of the existing imposts, but the collection of all customs, excise duties and monthly taxes which still remained unpaid.

The effect of these measures and of their success was that the army on its side did not insist upon its claim to independence so obstinately as might have been expected. Parliament enacted that the commissions of all officers both in the army and the navy should be renewed, and signed by the Speaker in the name of the Commonwealth. They contained an emphatic declaration that the regiments to which each officer belonged, had been formed and would be maintained for the service of Parliament; that each officer was bound to obey the orders of Parliament, or of the Council of State appointed by Parliament, and further to be subordinate to his superior officers according to the rules of military discipline. The proposal of the army with reference to Fleetwood was at best but partially

---

[1] Some reasons humbly proposed to the officers of the army, April 28, 1659. 'First because the present great necessities and pressures of the army and navy require it, there being no other visible authority for raising money. If money should be raised it would but more enrage the people and come short of expectation.'

[2] 'For and towards the satisfaction of the great arrears and pay due unto the army.'

accepted. Parliament nominated him commander-in-chief of the forces in England and Scotland, but hesitated to give him the title of general, a title under which Essex first of all, and subsequently Cromwell, had exercised an absolute authority over the army. He was styled merely lieutenant-general. The army felt itself insulted by these ordinances, but did not consider it advisable to oppose them, and thus in all probability endanger their chances of pay. The commissions were distributed in a manner calculated to display the majesty of Parliament. Colonels and officers were summoned in turn to the table at which the Speaker sat; before handing them their commissions, he pointed out to them how great was the confidence which Parliament reposed in them, and how justifiable therefore was the expectation that they would prove faithful. Together with the rest Fleetwood and even Lambert received theirs. They quietly listened to the exhortation to be obedient and loyal to the Parliament and the Commonwealth[1]. All kinds of rumours of impending dissensions were already afloat. The official paper was careful to contradict them. It prophesies the failure of all hostile conspiracies, thanks to the good understanding between the army and Parliament. And in fact so complete was this understanding that the Commonwealth was once more quickened into life. The judges, like the officers, swore to serve it without a single ruler, without King and Lords, with steadfast loyalty. The clergy were promised the continued payment of the tithes which supported them. It contributed not a little to the preservation of peace that Parliament at the desire of the army fixed a not very distant date for the expiration of the session, May 7, 1660, after which the republican constitution based on the representative principle was to come into operation more or less as the army had proposed.

As so frequently happens in England, everything yielded to authority. From all sides declarations of allegiance poured in. This government, like its predecessors, met with obedience, but in its very nature it involved a contradiction, different it is true from the former one, but in some degree analogous to it, which for a time was repressed, but broke out suddenly with full vehemence.

---

[1] 'That the Parliament expected faithfulness and obedience to the Parliament and Commonwealth.' Mercurius Politicus, June 11.

Parliament, while accepting several of the articles proposed by the army, declared that for others a searching inquiry by a large committee was necessary. Every week the official paper announced that the discussion was proceeding; on the 5th of July it reported that the amendments adopted in committee would be shortly laid before the House; and finally on the 12th, that the bill was completed. It also gave the provisions which had been agreed upon. They were enactments of decisive importance for all public and private relations, but at the same time of a nature which confirmed the view which had been expressed from the first, that the army would be no better treated by Parliament than Parliament had formerly been by the army. They were directly and avowedly hostile to the wishes of the army.

The army had demanded the recognition of all laws and proclamations issued since the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and also an amnesty for all acts committed by individuals in the service of the state. Comprehensive as this demand sounds, it involved even more than the actual words imply. It assumed that the Protectorate had been lawful: its acts were placed on the same level with those of any other English government, and all retrospective inquiries were precluded. But this the members of the old Parliament would not concede. They had themselves suffered from the violence of the army under Cromwell's command. All the self-respect they possessed shrunk from recognising the validity of such illegalities. The judicial proceedings alone were accepted in the new bill, but not, for instance, the distribution of dignities and offices, an omission which was most keenly felt. The decision with respect to these was reserved to Parliament. The indemnity was granted but with certain limitations; it extended only to acts connected with the great political changes, and not to those which, as the petition comprehensively expressed it, were directed to the maintenance of peace and order. It was difficult to say what this category might not have included. Those in particular who had assisted in the collection of excise duties, customs, rents, and fresh imposts, were declared liable for all arrears which had not been previously cancelled[1].

The old animosities revived once more. Both Parliament and army were after all but flesh and blood; they had often been enemies, and had for the present been reconciled by the pressure of circumstances. The soldiers had restored the members of Parliament to their seats. That the latter now, justifiably or not, claimed to be the only lawful power, and assumed a position of authority, was intolerable to the others. They would not submit to be threatened by the men whom they had raised to power. 'I do not see,' exclaimed Lambert, 'why the officers should be at the mercy of the members of Parliament, and not rather the members at the mercy of the army[2]'—a remark which expresses the whole point at issue. The two parties which composed the existing state were still at heart opposed, perhaps irreconcileably, to each other. An open collision between them was inevitable, had not a more extended movement disclosed itself, which equally threatened both and thus rendered union for the time indispensable.

---

[1] 'That all offices and places of trust pretended to be given and granted, since April 19, 1653, and before May 7, 1659, shall be and are to the disposall of the Parliament.'

[2] Cp. Ludlow, 1677: 'I know not why they should not be at our mercy, as well as we at theirs.'

CHAPTER III.

ROYALIST MOVEMENTS IN THE SUMMER OF 1659.

LIKE all crises in revolutionary epochs, the overthrow of the Protectorate materially altered the position of parties.

In the first place it did more to revive the hopes of the Royalists than even the death of Cromwell. Not only did the whole system, which had crushed them and deprived them of their rights as citizens, seem to be tottering to its fall, but they found allies whom otherwise they could never have hoped to gain.

The Presbyterians, whom Oliver Cromwell had conciliated and all but won over to his side, were naturally opposed to the new government, from whose Anabaptist leanings they could expect nothing but oppression and persecution. As a party they were still numerous and influential. They reckoned among their adherents the great majority of the towns, and above all the capital, which was only prevented from declaring itself by the prudence of the authorities. Those members of Parliament who had been forcibly expelled in 1648 now formed a rallying point for the agitators. The restoration of those who had enjoyed their seats down to 1653 reminded them that they too had rights which had been violated. Some few even made the attempt to establish their claims single-handed: they pleaded that if it were the good old cause that was in question, it was most adequately represented by the majority of the old Parliament, which had been violently dissolved at the very moment when they contemplated a reconciliation with the King, and not by the factious minority, through whose excesses it was that the privileges of Parliament had been violated. In the capital

the excluded members were as numerous as those who had been admitted, while in the country there were more than a hundred of them. They all demanded to be restored to the exercise of their powers. The opposition was further strengthened by the accession of the Cromwellians, who had sat in Parliament under the Protectorate or had been members of the government during the last few years. Their fear was that the party now in power would treat this complicity as a crime, and would take vengeance on them for their own expulsion. In short the comparatively conservative party in the late disturbances was now impelled, both by the consciousness of its former importance, and by its dread of the revolutionary and hostile tendencies of the new administration, to look about for some means of resistance; but only from the monarchy and its adherents could any such be hoped for.

It is impossible to ascertain exactly how the union of the various parties was effected; without any warning a widespread combination disclosed itself, which had been long and secretly prepared. We are told that the 1st of August had been appointed as the day for the expulsion of those Cavaliers who had not made their peace with the Commonwealth[1]. The very same day was selected for a Royalist rising by the different parties now allied against the government. Throughout the western and eastern counties the old friends of the King, now once more invested by him with full powers, rose in arms. They were joined by some of the most distinguished of those who had formerly been their bitterest opponents. It was arranged that General Massey should seize Gloucester, Willoughby of Parham, Lynn, and George Booth, one of the excluded members, the city and castle of Chester. Plymouth and Bristol, Shrewsbury and Exeter were to be attacked. A general seizure was contemplated of the most important places on the coast and inland. General Montague was to bring the fleet home from the Sound to support the insurrection: assistance was also expected from the Continent.

---

[1] Gregory, Narrative of remarkable affairs of Great Britain, a MS. recently added to the British Museum: 'The day appointed by the Rump for the banishment of the Cavaliers out of England who had not before compounded for their estates.'

Peace had not yet been concluded between the two great powers of the day, Spain and France, but hostilities had already ceased, and both were at liberty to turn their attention to English affairs. It was in fact a moment when both seemed inclined to favour Charles II. The Spaniards were actually in alliance with him, and had secured advantageous terms in the event of their helping to procure his restoration; in the Spanish Netherlands there was a strong feeling in favour of supporting an expedition, consisting chiefly of Irish troops, under the command of the Duke of Gloucester, which should sail from Ostend and effect a landing in one of the eastern counties. The French were less decided in their sympathies. Through their ambassador they still maintained friendly relations with the Republicans; but it is certain nevertheless that the minister in power, Cardinal Mazarin, expressed his approval when Marshal Turenne promised the Duke of York, who visited him in Amiens, that he would convey him across to the English coast, with a sufficient force and even with the necessary artillery [1]. Charles II, who was kept fully informed of all that went on, only waited for a first success to cross over. He was anxious to be near at hand, and set out for Calais under the escort of a French general [2].

But this effort for his restoration was doomed, like the former ones, to utter failure. The suspicions of the Republicans were aroused by vague rumours and a premature ostentation of confidence; letters were next intercepted, revealing with tolerable distinctness the extent of their enemies' combinations and their objects; on this discovery all dissensions were for the moment postponed, and only self-defence was thought of. The Council of State sat day and night [3]. In the capital all important or suspected posts were secured. The main roads in the suburbs were guarded by regiments of cavalry; in all the counties the militia were called out and placed under trustworthy officers. The whole civil and military authority belonged absolutely to the Commonwealth, and numerous as the Royalists might be in the country, yet so scattered were they, that their efforts, wherever they attempted a rising, were in appearance merely the work of a weak and factious minority. In anticipation of an attack upon London, they had selected Tunbridge and Redhill in Surrey as their rallying points; arms had been collected there for the young recruits whom they expected from the country round and from London; and here, on the borders of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, the gentry who were in the secret were to assemble. But even these meeting-places were already known to the Council of State. When the Earl of Lichfield appeared with some eighty Cavaliers in Redhill Wood, he was instantly attacked by the Surrey militia, who were strengthened by reinforcements of regular troops, and driven from the field. In Tunbridge they failed to collect even so insignificant a force as this. Willoughby of Parham was seized in his own house. Massey had been already made prisoner, but escaped under cover of a dark and stormy night. Lord Byron and Colonel White appeared in Sherwood forest with a considerable body of men, only to find themselves confronted by the militia supported by some troops of the line, at the sight of whom the Cavaliers dispersed. In Nottingham the inhabitants took up the Royalist war-cry of the fugitives, but nothing further resulted. In the great towns generally no movement was made; the members of the separatist sects were to have been first attacked, and in Gloucester a list was to have been made of them, and the whole number condemned to death. These intended severities had the effect of driving the separatists into closer union with the Commonwealth. They formed themselves into regiments under colonels approved by the Council of State, and commanded by Sir Henry Vane and Skippon.

In one district, it is true, the Royalist movement gained the upper hand; in Cheshire and Lancashire, where the influence of Derby and Booth excited the inhabitants of all ranks to open hostilities. But even in these counties the insurgents never established their supremacy: Chester castle was successfully held for the Parliament by the commandant. The expectation too that the neighbouring counties would assist or even openly join the Royalist cause was disappointed by the precautions taken by the Commonwealth and the success which attended them. Sir George Booth, who at the outset had been cheerful and full of hope, soon became depressed and anxious. He could not even be sure of the Cheshire gentry who followed him. Meanwhile he was attacked by the Republican troops under the command of their ablest leader, General Lambert; they were in all only 6000 strong, but their skill and experience more than compensated for their numerical inferiority. Booth expressed his astonishment that he who demanded nothing but a free Parliament should be assailed by an armed force. In his proclamations he actually avoided mentioning the name of the King, and, as far as he could, enforced the same reserve in his army. But this precaution failed to save him. Lambert replied that his orders required him to fight all whom he found in arms against the Commonwealth. The engagement took place between Weaverham and Nantwich on the 9/19th of August. Booth and his Royalists retreated from one position to another; not until they reached Winnington Bridge, where they were the stronger, did they attempt a stand. But here too the Republicans were animated by the consciousness of their superiority—they hoped once more to experience the visible assistance of God. With all their old enthusiasm they stormed the enemy's position and gained the bridge. As the Royalists retreated up the slopes of the neighbouring hills they were again attacked: once more they rallied, and then broke and fled. In an admirable despatch Lambert does them full justice[1]. 'The horse,' he says, 'on both sides fought like Englishmen, but ours got the better. I cannot take credit to myself for any great victory, but I regard the enemy as

---

[1] Lettres de Turenne i. 199.

[2] Letter from Lord Taafe, St. P. O.: 'The King was not resolved to cross the sea untill he received a full knowledge of the grounds his friends should have to invite him.'

[3] The Gazette of July 29 gives Lady Mary Howard, daughter of the Earl of Berkshire, as the person who betrayed the correspondence of the conspirators. These sheets supply many facts hitherto overlooked.

---

[1] Letter from Lambert to the Speaker, Northwich, Aug. 10: 'That of the horse was performed on both sides like Englishmen, but ours got the better.'

crushed.' And in fact he was right. Many escaped; others were taken prisoners; among them Sir George Booth himself, who had attempted to escape disguised as a woman. The prisons were filled with those who had been captured or who were suspected of complicity, and whose conviction was thought possible. Their estates were confiscated. The Republicans regained the complete mastery over the two counties.

It had been part of the Royalist scheme that, while the forces of the Commonwealth were engaged with Booth, an attack should be made upon London from Kent[1]. Turenne had himself approved of the plan; but no opportunity ever offered for making even a single attempt to carry it out.

When Charles II left Brussels, those with him were in great hopes of shortly dating their letters from London. But these dreams were dispelled by the unfavourable accounts which arrived. The most zealous Royalists admitted that it was impossible under the circumstances for the King to attempt a landing in England.

They now directed their plans to a different quarter. In order to conclude the negotiations for peace a personal interview was arranged on an island in the Bidassoa, between the prime ministers of the two great powers, Cardinal Mazarin and Don Luys de Haro. Encouraged by those indications of friendliness which have been mentioned, the English Royalists indulged a hope that along with peace an alliance might be concluded between the two powers for the restoration of the monarchy in England, a cause in which their own interests were directly involved. They relied mainly on the King of Spain, the ally of Charles II, to gain over his future son-in-law Louis XIV. The restoration of the King was to be the subject of a general agreement, and would thus be very easily accomplished. The recent attempt, unsuccessful as it had been, had disclosed a deep-rooted antipathy to the Republican régime, and a general leaning towards the hereditary King. Should the two powers declare for him and assist him with an adequate force, the struggle would at once be decided. Their plan was that the Prince of Condé, who was connected both with France and Spain, and was at the head of a formidable army, should throw his forces into England. The Prince was very favourable to the enterprise, which would have suited the far-reaching ambition of his earlier years. Charles II was implored to appear at the congress, and to use his personal influence for the advancement of his own cause.

---

[1] 'Afin d'attirer les troupes qui sont aux environs de Londres et de donner aussi lieu à cette ville d'appuyer ce même dessin.' Bourdeaux to Turenne, Lettres de Turenne i. 297.

The ill-starred attempt to raise the royal standard had not been without its effect upon both powers. The Commonwealth had proved to be stronger than was expected, and a rupture with it might be dangerous. More than this, the whole Royalist scheme rested on a misconception.

It was a prevalent error to suppose that the object of the treaty was a final adjustment of the differences between the two powers. The condition upon which the French mainly insisted, the marriage of the young King of France with the eldest Infanta of Spain, was designed, in spite of the formal renunciation which it involved, to give the house of Bourbon an hereditary claim to the Spanish crown. Though the renunciation had been expressly made, the general conviction had in it no really binding force. Next in importance to this condition of peace was the promise given by France no longer to protect Portugal against Spain. But this Mazarin regarded as applying only to open assistance. He was fully resolved, as the event proved, in spite of his promise, to protect Portugal secretly, and not to allow her to fall into Spanish hands. But it was clear that if no definite alliance was concluded between the two kingdoms, any joint support of Charles II's interests was out of the question. It was all-important for the French, in prospect sooner or later of a renewal of the war, to have England upon their side: but England meant the Commonwealth as yet, and not the King. Proposals had been made to the Cardinal for marrying his niece Hortense to Charles II. She was one of the beauties of the day, and Charles was strongly inclined to give her his hand, provided only that Mazarin in return should bring about his restoration to his throne. It was Mazarin's singular

good fortune to have his niece sought in marriage by the Kings both of England and France. The latter alliance it is certain he refused from a feeling of loyalty, but neither did circumstances allow him to accept the former. It would have alienated his friends in England and, if things went as was intended, would have given his most powerful enemy in France, the Prince de Condé, a position in which he might have been dangerous to the Cardinal himself. The ambassador of the English Commonwealth, Lockhart, who was at St. Jean de Luz, ridicules the ungrounded hopes expressed by the Royalists[1]. Through Lockhart's influence a stipulation was introduced into the treaty which was directly opposed to the interests of Charles II and to the designs of his party.

This is Article 80 of the Treaty of the Pyrenees. It binds the Prince of Condé, whom the King of France again receives into favour, sincerely and entirely to disband all his forces, without making them over to any prince or potentate, whether friend or foe[2]. Its importance cannot be appreciated without remembering its bearing upon England. Should Condé consent to return to France he would be forced to give up all idea of assisting Charles II with his troops, whether they were commanded by himself or not.

At length Charles II appeared at the congress. Mazarin had one interview with him, but spoke with great reserve, and their conversation produced no result. The Spaniards evinced the liveliest sympathy for the King, but never seriously thought of assisting him. Their main object was the recovery of Jamaica and Dunkirk: to attain this they had already opened negotiations with the Republicans, through whom alone it was possible to gain their purpose.

According to his promise Montague had sailed from the

---

[1] Letter dated August 1/11, St. P. O. 'They have still the vanity to think the King of Spain will be able to embark France in their quarrel. I have proposed to the Cardinal, and am not without great hopes to carry it, that by a particular article in this treaty the Prince of Condé may be obliged to disband all his forces, and that it may be not in his power to make them over either in whole or in part to any foreign prince or person whatsoever.'

[2] 'De bonne foy, sans transport au vente vraye ou simulée à d'autres princes ou potentats quelqu'ils puissent être.'

Sound with a portion of his fleet. When he reached England, the enterprise in which he was to join had already been defeated, and his fleet served only to promote the designs of the Republicans.

It happened at the moment that the two Republics of Holland and England were endeavouring to dictate terms of peace to the belligerent powers in the North. The conditions had been arranged at the first meeting at the Hague, with the approval of France. The Republics, without further consulting the French, now took the first steps towards enforcing them. Holland had hitherto sided with Denmark, England with Sweden. They now agreed to disregard all offers made by Sweden; not to allow that power the exclusive control of the Sound, and to prevent it from annihilating Denmark. At the head of the Republican embassy was Colonel Algernon Sidney. 'What paper is that in your hands?' exclaimed Charles Gustavus, as the ambassadors entered his tent. 'It contains,' replied Sidney, 'the wishes of the two powers.' 'You make your proposals' retorted Charles, 'in reliance upon your fleet; I enforce my decrees with my sword. Are Republics to give laws to Kings?' 'Sire,' answered Sidney, 'the acceptance of these conditions is the price of the friendship of England[1].' Such a mode of negotiation displeased the King, and England herself did not adhere to it. But it is not the less clear that the Commonwealth avowedly claimed the position of superiority which Cromwell had won for Great Britain.

---

[1] Bourdeaux to Mazarin, September 29; Guizot 439. Compare Carlson, Hist. of Sweden iv. 341. The exact words used are not known certainly.

CHAPTER IV.

SUPREMACY AND CONSTITUTIONAL PROJECTS OF THE ARMY.

THE men who had overthrown the Protectorate had thus been equally successful in crushing a widespread combination in favour of the monarchy, which had enlisted sympathy both at home and abroad. They excited respect and even fear among foreign powers.

It may be taken as significant of the state of affairs after Lambert's victory, that on the 3rd of September Parliament issued a fresh ordinance, compelling every one to swear never to recognise, not Charles Stuart only, but any of the descendants of King James, and to oppose all attempts at restoring a House of Lords in any shape whatever. Republicanism was everywhere exclusively predominant.

At the same time, however, its supporters were anything but united among themselves. Their joint victory revived the antagonism which had formerly set Oliver Cromwell at variance with Parliament, and had finally destroyed the Protectorate so soon as this allied itself with the civil power. Whatever form the civil authority in the Commonwealth assumed, the army was resolved not to submit to it. The outbreak of the recent disturbances had for the time suppressed the feud: this quelled, the flames again burst out as fiercely as before.

The army considered it absurd that a mere lawyer, like the Speaker, because he had delivered their commissions to the officers, a duty formerly entrusted to the commander-in-chief, should behave as if he himself held that office. They suspected moreover, that in virtue of these commissions Parliament reserved to itself the right of disbanding the army when it thought fit. With this subordinate position the troops were no longer satisfied, now that they had once more drawn the sword and saved the Commonwealth by their blood. From the field of battle itself Lambert's army issued a manifesto demanding the appointment of Fleetwood as general and Lambert as major-general; and though it recognised Parliament as the supreme authority in the nation, gave free vent to its anarchical ideas. More than this, the leading officers had a lively recollection of the annoyances with which the recent resolutions of Parliament had threatened them on account of the share they had taken in the previous government. They had not defended the Commonwealth merely to suffer wrongs at its hands. They considered that the moment had arrived for ridding themselves of all that threatened and endangered their liberties, and finally assuming that position which they claimed as their due. The soul of the movement was Lambert, who had returned to the capital with the greater part of his troops.

In the beginning of October the officers at his suggestion presented a petition to Parliament, in which they complain of the disfavour shown them, solemnly avow their attachment to republicanism, and demand the punishment of those malicious persons who had cast suspicion upon it[1]. They insist most strenuously upon the appointment of the commander-in-chief as the sole means of preventing disturbance in the army. In the next place, no one was to be admitted into the army unless presented by a committee to be appointed for the purpose; and no one, whether officer or soldier, was to be discharged without having been formally tried and condemned by a court-martial.

It is evident that the army demanded a very large degree of independence. Regarding themselves almost in the light of an independent corporation, they are resolved themselves to fill up as far as possible the vacancies in their body, to secure themselves against all change in the manner of their composition, and preclude the possibility of any charges that might be brought against their generals. They took up a position independent of Parliament, leaving it only the duty of providing for their maintenance and the payment of their future services. Under their own commanders, all whose acts however were dependent on the approval of the other officers, they would have permanently gained the power of obeying or not, as they might choose, the ordinances of Parliament.

But Parliament took a different view of its position and rights. Insignificant as its numbers were—for it consisted merely of the remnant of the Lower House elected nineteen years ago, which had been decimated again and again—and ill-recognised and questionable as were its claims, it adhered to them with ever-increasing energy. It regarded itself as the representative of all civil authority in the nation, which therefore the army was lawfully bound to obey. This principle, which had been already laid down in previous sessions, and which the army had then formally accepted, it was now unwilling to abandon, all the more because there were some officers even in England who recognised its authority, while the Scottish army under George Monk had given in its allegiance to it. In the House itself the foremost champion of the principle was Arthur Haslerig, a stern Republican of sullen exterior and reckless disposition. The personal reputation which his strict adherence to his own views had gained for him added irresistible force to his clear and logical reasoning.

Far from acceding even in a single point to the officers' petition, Parliament resolutely and decidedly opposed it. The request that Fleetwood should be appointed general, with which some other promotions were joined, it at once rejected. It declared its readiness to give the officers proofs of its goodwill, but only in proportion to their merits and, as was afterwards added, to their loyalty. It asserted its right to receive all information affecting the public safety, let it concern whom it might, and to decide according to circumstances. As to the question of right of petition which the army had alluded to, it gave no decided answer. It was impossible to allow it to such an extent as to endanger the honour of Parliament, or give room for unlawful agitation. While the army demanded an independent position, Parliament on the contrary claimed for itself the undisputed control of military affairs. Directly afterwards, on the 11th of October, in the very face of the impending storm, it advanced a step further. The first address from the army had proposed that the acts passed during the Protectorate should be confirmed, and Parliament had hitherto merely insisted on a few exceptions: it now not merely rejected it altogether, but passed a resolution of exactly opposite import. All acts passed between the violent dissolution of Parliament in 1653, and the day on which it reassembled in 1659, whether issued by a single person or by his Privy Council, or by a convention claiming parliamentary powers, were to be considered null and void unless confirmed by the present Parliament. The army had demanded that these acts should be valid until actually repealed: Parliament pronounced them invalid until renewed or confirmed,—a distinction of immense importance. The resolution now adopted threatened to undo all that had been done under Cromwell, including the union with Scotland, which, as the official journal informs us, was the subject of a protracted debate. The system of government established in Ireland, the agreements made with the English delinquents, the grants of money which had been made to various individuals, the proposed reforms in the Church affecting both persons and property, all was endangered: the whole legal system of the three kingdoms was thus destroyed at a blow. No other political authority but that of this so-called Rump Parliament, which itself represented only a minority from which all antagonistic elements had been excluded, which had been dispersed by force and again restored, was to be recognised, and its decrees alone were to be lawfully binding;—a principle eminently flattering to the egotistic vanity of its members. Following the example occasionally set by legitimate princes when restored to their thrones, this parliamentary body denounced as unlawful all that had been done during its exile from power. Such a course was perhaps inevitable if it wished to secure a firm footing in its struggle with the army. But it was equally certain that the latter, now that the ground was cut away from under its feet, would be roused to as vigorous a resistance. This Parliament seems to have foreseen, and even to have anticipated an impending defeat. It passed a resolution intended to meet such an emergency. Every attempt to raise money, directly or otherwise, by customs, excise, or imposts, unless approved by Parliament was prohibited for the future and declared unlawful. We shall discuss hereafter the constitutional principles connected with the sovereignty of the people on which this resolution was based[1]. The immediate object was to prevent the army from ever assuming a legitimate position of independence apart from Parliament.

---

[1] The humble representation and petition of the officers of the army to the Parliament, October 6. Parl. Hist. xxi. 461.

Both parties were ready for the struggle. The first step towards a declaration of open hostilities was taken by the Parliament.

The occasion was afforded by a despatch signed by Lambert, Desborough, and seven other officers, and forwarding the petition of the army to a regiment at a distance for signature. This Parliament regarded as an act of disobedience, and at once declared all those who had signed to be deposed from their respective posts, which were given to those next in command in each regiment. It also recalled the general powers granted to Fleetwood by his commission, and entrusted them to a committee, consisting besides himself of six trustworthy members, and among them the chief promoter of the whole business, Arthur Haslerig.

On the first news of these resolutions Lambert summoned a meeting of the superior officers. He represented to them the wrong inflicted upon the army in return for its services in restoring and again saving Parliament. The enactment forbidding the further raising of money, which would have effectually hampered their action, excited their indignation: it would have forced them to supply their wants by violent means, and for ever alienated the nation from them. They were unanimously of opinion that a Parliament so disposed ought not to be tolerated by brave soldiers. Officers and men alike declared themselves ready to follow Lambert to the death. The regiments at once marched upon Westminster. This was on the evening of October 12. The soldiers destroyed the drums intended to call the citizens to arms. A few regiments had been appointed to protect the Houses of Parliament; but no sooner did Lambert encounter a detachment of the Parliamentarian horse-guards than the influence which a victorious general possesses was fully manifested; at his orders the commanding officer dismounted, and gave the signal for deserting the Parliament: others of the troops that had joined the Parliamentarians showed greater firmness, but they could not prevent Lambert from closing up all the entrances to St. Stephen's Chapel[1].

---

[1] Act against raising money; Act for governing the army by commissions. Parl. Hist. 467, 469.

The following morning, when the members attempted to enter, they were repulsed. Lenthall, the Speaker, who had signed so many officers' commissions, asked with astonishment, whether they did not know him. He required their obedience as their commander-in-chief. The soldiers replied that they might know him had he marched at their head at Winnington Bridge. His carriage was forced to turn back.

Some Italians who were present express their surprise that such events could take place, and yet not a drop of blood be shed. They ascribe it to the phlegmatic character of the people, since they by no means lacked courage. The true explanation however lies in the natural tendency of an army united by long service and the joint achievement of great deeds, to hang together for the future. A few officers had been gained over by Parliament; but when a collision was imminent they were swept away by the esprit de corps of their men, or in some cases themselves. Notwithstanding Lambert's deposition by the Parliament, yet his order of the day, commanding all troops to disperse to their respective quarters, was readily obeyed even by those who were hostile to him.

Lambert remained absolute master of the field, and at once hastened to make use of his advantage.

The first act of the army was to constitute itself independent according to its previous scheme. Fleetwood was actually declared general. Lambert was made major-general of the forces in England and Scotland. The officers who had sided with Parliament were suspended till they could be tried before a court-martial. A commission was appointed to decide upon the admission of new officers. The proposals which Parliament had rejected the army now put into execution itself. The last decrees of Parliament, which had occasioned the outbreak, they pronounced to be null and void.

But this very abrogation of Parliamentary authority involved the victors themselves in endless difficulties. They proclaimed to the nation that they had no thoughts of imposing upon them a military and arbitrary power, but that all their efforts were rather directed towards securing to each individual his rightful liberty, both as a man and as a Christian. But between a system based on usurpation, and one resting on law, a gulf is fixed which no human ingenuity can bridge over. The officers even had thought it necessary, in order to establish a civil power, to restore the Parliament, in spite of its known hostility to themselves. This Parliament they had again overthrown, and it was difficult to see what could be set up in its place.

In order to form an administration in some degree regular, a Committee of Safety was appointed, consisting of twenty-three members, which should enjoy not only the powers of the late Council of State, but, as the act somewhat vaguely expresses it, the whole civil and executive authority. Its members were appointed as follows: a smaller council of officers proposed the names, which were then discussed and accepted by a larger body, which met in Wallingford House. The work of nomination was accomplished in a lengthy sitting, lasting beyond midnight. Thirteen of the members belonged to the army, among them the leading generals, Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Ludlow, and the most influential of the officers, Sydenham, Berry, Hewson, Lilburne. Ten were civilians, Whitelocke and Henry Vane being the most prominent,—Wariston and Harrington were also included.

---

[1] The Official Journal (No. 591) passes lightly over this scene. I have followed Bordeaux's and Ludlow's accounts.

That this body was intended as a substitute for Parliament is inconceivable. The committee was on the face of it nothing more than a delegacy of the army itself. The writs were drawn up in the name of the General Council. On October 26 the members met and received their instructions; on the 27th they entered upon their duties.

Within the Committee a special commission was formed, consisting of Whitelocke, now Keeper of the Great Seal, Henry Vane, and generals Fleetwood and Ludlow, for the purpose of drawing up such a constitution as best suited a free state. But it was no easy task to reconcile the military power, now in virtual possession of the supreme authority, with the requirements of a nation long accustomed to parliamentary government: the attempt to do so disclosed the wildest schemes.

By many it was considered enough merely to give a more popular form to the military power as it now existed. They wished to institute a senate, and a great council of the nation, the first to be simply nominated, the latter to be selected by the army and nominated by the senate. But thus all authority would have still remained with the army. By the side of this army a militia was to be organised, of men perfectly of one mind, well-affected and pious, from which the vacancies in the standing army, which was never to number less than thirty thousand, should be filled up. The army and the militia were represented to be the true people of England. What they jointly decided upon was to be absolutely binding as law.

A similar principle is the basis of another scheme, devised by Henry Stutte, a friend and confidant of Vane's.

It proposed that all who had assisted in suppressing the recent insurrection should for ever hold a privileged position. They were to bear the title of Liberators, and enjoy an exclusive claim to posts of confidence and influence. They were to meet frequently for reviews and festal ceremonies, like the old Cretan phiditia, and to admit within their ranks such as proved themselves by good service to be worthy of the honour. From these Liberators a senate of nine or thirteen persons was then to be chosen, to which some of the most

important departments of public business, the care of the army, of religion and of public instruction, were to be entrusted. Every two years they were to render an account to a syndicate specially appointed for the purpose. Not only Papists and Episcopalians, but even Presbyterians were to be excluded from the senate: but the four sects, the Independents, Anabaptists, Fifth Monarchy men and Quakers, were represented.

By this scheme however further provision was made for the establishment of a parliamentary constitution. By the side of this half-military half-religious organisation, a Parliament was to be placed, which should be elected once in every two years from the whole people—only under certain restrictions—those, in other words, being excluded who did not accept the existing régime. It was always to sit for three months, and to possess the legislative and executive authority, excepting only the departments already reserved to the senate. It was to decide on war and peace, taxation and finance, to award all lucrative posts, and to appoint the justices of the peace, but not the sheriffs, whose appointment was to rest with the senate.

In the intervals between its sessions a Council of State was to exercise the functions of Parliament. There were always to be some members of the senate sitting both in Parliament and in the Council. There is no evidence that it was illegal to be at once a member of the senate and of the Council of State. The government of the Commonwealth would thus have been concentrated in a few hands.

Prominent as was the part which religious tendencies played even in these schemes, yet in others we find them holding even more decidedly the first place.

There were many who refused to allow the civil power any coercive authority in matters of religion, and demanded not only complete religious liberty for all Christians, of whatever persuasion—a fact which enables us to explain the good understanding which existed between the Catholics and the army—but also security from molestation for all who believed in the eternal God. That this referred only to the Jews is improbable; it was intended to extend toleration even to those who though not accepting the Christian creed were yet not atheists[1].

The ruling idea in the case of others was that of a theocracy. They looked forward to a time not far distant, the date of which they had calculated, when after a severe struggle, a kingdom of righteousness and of earthly blessings should be set up. Vehemently they protested whenever mention was made of recalling the son of the beheaded King. Christ, they said, is the sole rightful heir to the English as to all other thrones: he is coming now to claim them, the blessed work shall first begin in England. They accepted the mystic doctrine that to the saints was granted a mysterious part in the divine government of the world. Their prayers exercised an active influence upon its affairs, 'they are guided by a spirit of prophecy to seek for those very things which Christ is about to do.[2]'

We are reminded of the representations of the treasure of the saints' merits, and of their distribution by the Holy Father at Rome. But the intermingling of the earthly with the heavenly is so far more complete in the first instance, that an influence on the government of the world is ascribed to the saints. In one way or another man strives to overstep the limits marked out for him by nature. In the present case the aspiration is the more noticeable, because the supporters of these dreams of a new order attained to high power in a great state; but they were not on that account actually dangerous. With their claim to an independent authority, a claim in itself incompatible with an orderly system such as human life requires, there was joined a wild fanaticism which could never find acceptance in the world as it is at present constituted.

---

[1] The Christian Commonwealth, by Mr. John Eliot, Oct. 1, 1659.

[2] Thomas Godwin, A sermon of the fifth monarchy (1659): 'that the prayers of a few saints have a mighty prevalence to turn the state of affairs in the world. And though the saints know not what Christ will do next, yet they are guided by a spirit of prophecy to seek for those very things which he is about to do.'

CHAPTER V.

LAMBERT AND MONK. RESTORATION OF THE RUMP PARLIAMENT.

IT is surprising to find that a man like Lambert, instead of openly opposing these tendencies, became instead their mouthpiece.

John Lambert was a man of brilliant and versatile genius. He possessed a soldier's eye for the battle-field and for the tactics of blockade. Cromwell considered it a favourable omen when Lambert's views coincided with his own. He valued nothing more highly than bravery, even in a foe. It was long remembered how on one occasion he allowed six soldiers of a hostile garrison, whom his instructions required him to hand over to the executioner, to force their way through and escape. He shared with his own men the booty that fell to his share, and the gifts with which his military achievements were rewarded. In the victories gained by the Commonwealth over the Royalist and Presbyterian insurgents in Scotland and England, a great portion of the glory belongs of right to him. He ranked next to Cromwell as the second man in England. To him is due the idea, and in great measure the establishment of the Protectorate; for he possessed the faculty of discovering the proper expedients in political, no less than in military emergencies, and of persuading others to adopt them. But just as in the first fundamental measure which he originated he was careful to assert the independence of the military element in the political system, so he would never acquiesce in its subordination to the civil authority. It was on this ground especially that he opposed the elevation of Cromwell to the dignity of king, as tending to this result. He preferred instead to resign his post, which secured him a large income, and to withdraw with his wife to his home and garden, with the care of which he amused himself, as so many other distinguished men have done in retirement from business. He never opposed the Protector, nor could such opposition have been otherwise than fruitless. He even accepted at his hands a pension of which he stood in need, for in truth he was not of the stuff out of which political martyrs are made. But after Cromwell's death he reappeared with all his original theories, and we have seen how he realised them. The only difference was that he showed a stronger leaning than before towards religious ideas—the result of the position of parties—which ranged the Anabaptist and military element in the Commonwealth against the civilian and Presbyterian. With Henry Vane he was on terms of the most intimate alliance—his wife attended Vane's congregation.

Whether however Lambert sincerely belonged to the separatists, and regarded the future of the country and his own as dependent on their success, must still remain extremely doubtful. It has been said of him that he wished to make himself Protector: this he always emphatically denied, and the line of policy which he adopted, and the dislike which he in great part excited to that form of government, indicate the opposite. He probably cherished far other hopes and ideas.

We occasionally meet with the statement that a marriage was projected at this time between Lambert's daughter and King Charles II. This is not exactly true, but it is the fact that a scheme closely akin to this existed.

Among those who fled from England after Sir George Booth's defeat, was Lord Mordaunt, who had taken an important part in the Royalist rising. He was generally recognised as the most active, devoted and unselfish of all Charles II's partisans. He travelled incessantly between England and the Netherlands; and whether he was in England or in France, his letters contained the threads which connected the King and his adherents. They are extant in the collections left by the Chancellor Hyde or Secretary

Nicholas. The secretary, indefatigable, resolute and reserved, but of boundless activity, was for some time engaged together with Mordaunt in a correspondence which was kept secret even from the Chancellor. From one of these letters we learn that Viscount Mordaunt, after his unexpected escape, proceeded from Calais to the Duke of York, with proposals for a marriage, which even after the recent disaster still offered a substantial hope of the restoration of his house to the throne. The intended bride was a young lady of good family, whose father could render him decisive assistance. After some hesitation he mentioned Lambert's name, whose wife came of a family of distinction in the North of England, and was said to be a woman of high culture[1]. It was supposed that Lambert would shortly obtain the highest post in the Republic, and would then be inclined to promote the King's restoration, if this were for his safety and advantage[2]. The Duke of York was ready to accede to the proposal, provided his brother wished it, since he would do all that he bade him for the attainment of their great object. With the utmost secresy, and without informing the Lord Chancellor, Nicholas wrote on the subject to Ormond, who accompanied the King on his journey to the Pyrenees. Mordaunt wrote to the King himself, and sent also his confidential envoy Herbert Baron, who had conducted the business with the Duke. Charles II considered the proposal premature, and was anxious not to incur the charge of entering upon an affair of such importance without good reason: but he did not altogether reject it, he thought that the negotiation might be continued. Mordaunt had already been recalled to England by the King's friends. It was noticed with astonishment that in spite of their insurrection and defeat these suffered no actual persecution[1]; that Booth himself was treated with respect; that Mordaunt had not only escaped with ease, but was able to return in safety. Mordaunt had at starting expressed himself with great reserve as to the source of his proposal, and the worthy Nicholas is at great pains to clear himself from the suspicion that he, the secretary, had suggested an idea so entirely outside his proper department. At last Mordaunt made it known that the offer had come from a confidential friend of Lambert's[2]. It is clear from this that it emanated not from the Royalist, but from the opposite party, and it is scarcely conceivable that Lambert himself knew nothing of it. His whole conduct had aroused the suspicion of the two friends Fleetwood and Desborough. He must have been aware, that so long as he remained connected with them he could never hope to gain a position of dignity or security, while on the other hand such a position was placed within his reach by an agreement with the King, and an alliance with the royal house such as that now proposed. Nor was it necessary for this that he should definitely break faith with the separatists, since even Charles II had more than once given them assurances. As for the independence of the army, this was more easily provided for under a king than under the Rump Parliament, or a Protector who was under the control of civilians.

---

[1] She was the daughter of Sir W. Lister, of Thornton, and Mary Bellasys. John Lambert, born 1619, at Calton Hall, in the parish of Kirkby Malham Dale, in Yorkshire, married her (her name was Frances) in 1639. Collins' Peerage viii. Notes to Pepys.

[2] Nicholas to Jones, Oct. 1/11. 'If Lambert get himself to be chief magistrate in England, he may (not do) anything so securely and advantageously for him and his . . . . nor his country, as to be a means for, upon some marriage of his only child, to restore his Maj. to his throne.'

Later on we find several indications of direct intercourse between Lambert and the court; but at the time of which we are speaking it was of the last importance for him to secure the complete success of the party whose leader he was, for until he should get the power into his own hands he could not hope to effect anything permanent whatever.

It was at this stage of affairs that he found himself confronted with a man as ambitious as himself, but utterly different in mind and character—with George Monk, his ancient rival.

---

[1] 'It is certain,' writes Nicholas to Mordaunt, on Sept. 1, 'that there has not been any proceeding against any of the King's friends other than the sequestering their estates.'

[2] In a letter from Nicholas who was only gradually let into the secret the proposal is spoken of as 'an intimation you had from an intimate friend of Lambert.'

George Monk belonged to the gentry of Devonshire, a body closely knit together by old ties of blood. Like most other younger sons of noble families he sought a livelihood in the profession of arms. The best military training of the day was to be found in the Netherland wars and under the standard of Frederick Henry of Orange. With him Monk served for ten years, and acquired a knowledge not only of the art of war as then practised, but of the necessary discipline. He returned to England an accomplished soldier, just as the disturbances there broke out. A thorough soldier of fortune—he was nothing more. He had no tinge either of political partisanship or religious bigotry. He served the King against the rebels in Scotland, in Ireland, and for a short time in England. On being made prisoner there he did not hesitate to go over to the captor's side, and even after that changed his colours without scruple. He attached himself first of all to the cause of Parliament, then to the Commonwealth, and lastly to the Protector. To the last he rendered important services in the final subjection of Scotland to England, and gained a position of importance for himself. From Dalkeith House, near Edinburgh, where he had established his head-quarters in the park, he maintained unbroken peace in Scotland. The statement that his successes aroused Cromwell's jealousy rests on an improbable tradition. Cromwell, anxious to be safe at all points, had exacted from him a promise that he would never act against himself or his family: and Monk always declares that he would have stood by Richard as faithfully as he had done by Oliver, had not Richard himself consented to resign the Protectorate[1].

We have no need to inquire whether Monk was really a Royalist at heart: on one occasion the King wrote to him with his own hand. At the time of Booth's rising his friends sent his brother, a clergyman, to visit him, and we are told that Monk received him cordially and gave him an attentive hearing. It is impossible to conjecture what he would have done had the rising succeeded; as it was, it failed before Monk had betrayed the slightest sympathy. He still acted as an enemy of Charles II. He ordered the arrest of some Scottish nobles who hesitated to subscribe a declaration against the claims of the hereditary monarch.

---

[1] Monk declared 'Richard Cromwell forsook himself, else had I never failed my promise to his father on regard to his memory.' Broderick to Hyde, Clarendon Papers 619.

The difficulties which as commander-in-chief in Scotland he had to encounter were of a very different kind. He belonged to the party which recognised the majority in Richard Cromwell's Parliament as their mouthpiece, and was thus an open enemy of the Anabaptists and anxious for the establishment of the civil authority. The overthrow of the Protectorate was a severe blow to his hopes, since it gave the upper hand in England to the views which were most directly opposed to his own. But he resented most keenly the extravagant pretensions of his brothers in arms. Fleetwood, who was the centre of the Anabaptist movement, asserted his claim to the supreme command of the forces in the three kingdoms. Was it possible for Monk, who since Richard's downfall held an independent position in Scotland, to consent to be his subordinate?

His line of policy was marked out for him by the circumstances of his position. In hesitating to grant Fleetwood's demand, or to gratify Lambert's ambition, Parliament won Monk's fullest approval. In the congratulatory address which he and twenty-five other officers presented to Parliament, after praying them to maintain peace and justice, he proceeds to warn them against those ambitious spirits who love to pursue their own selfish aims. He urges Parliament to be cautious in appointing the commander-in-chief by land and sea, and not to invest any one with a greater measure of power than is compatible with the nature and being of the Commonwealth[1]. He expressly declared his assent to the principle adopted by Parliament that the army should owe obedience to the civil power. His next step was to strengthen his position in Scotland; with this object he not only repudiated

---

[1] 'We desire you to be very carefull—touching the measure of that power you entrust with the management of the armies and navies of this commonwealth, that it may be adequate to the nature and being of the commonwealth.'

as invalid the ordinances affecting the method of government and the administration of justice issued by the new rulers in England, but further resolved to reconstitute his army in conformity with the views to which they were most opposed. It contained a considerable number who adhered to Lambert and the Anabaptists; he proceeded at once to get rid of them. The first to be removed were the lieutenant-colonel and the major of his own regiment; their places were filled by two captains devoted to himself. Commanding officers were arrested while on the march and cashiered. He cleared the garrisons in the various forts of all whose devotion could not be relied upon[1]. These measures not only left him supreme in Scotland, but enabled him to exercise a powerful influence upon England. His proclamations sustained the courage of the members of Parliament, even after their exclusion from their House.

It was essential to Lambert, if he wished to secure his own safety and to carry through the enterprises he was engaged in, first of all, by one means or another, to disarm this opponent, to prevent his entering England, which he was preparing to do, and where possible to render his position in Scotland insecure. With this object in view Lambert started for the northern counties with all the troops that could be spared from London, and established his head-quarters in York.

On the borders of England and Scotland the two antagonists met: Lambert restless, excitable, and ardent, Monk calm, clear-sighted, and taciturn. The one enterprising, of boundless ambition and high aspirations, yet unselfish in his aims: the other engrossed in the business of the moment, cold and calculating, and not free from a taint of avarice. It seemed at the time as if Lambert were the more nearly connected with the King of the two. He was engaged in a negotiation with him, which was intended to unite them by the closest ties, while Monk carefully avoided all communication with him even in secret, and had recently openly renounced him before the assembled troops. But apart from this Monk had undoubtedly the better cause. The truth of the principle which he advocated, that there must be a civil power to which the army ought to be subordinate, had been proved by the experience of every age. Lambert's alliance with the fanatics threatened nothing but disorder, should he gain the day: Monk inclined to the Presbyterians, who assumed an increasingly conservative attitude. Lambert was the more genial and brilliant of the two: Monk had the sounder judgment. It was of inestimable importance to him that he had succeeded in awakening the religious as well as the political sympathies of the Scottish people. A convention summoned by him, to which he announced his intention of putting an end to the existing rule of force in England, granted him a subsidy for the support of his army, while he promised in turn to watch over the interests of Scotland in the restored Parliament[1]. It was far otherwise with Lambert. At York he found himself compelled to raise taxes month by month on his own authority, and even to take free quarters, a measure which threw the whole of the county and the neighbouring districts into the greatest ferment. The Scottish people were to a man in favour of Monk; the people of England openly declared against Lambert.

---

[1] Price, 'The mystery and method of H. Majesty's happy restauration.' Maseres Tracts ii. 732.

Once more there were negotiations between the two parties. Three commissioners from Monk appeared at Westminster. They entered into conference with the same number of plenipotentiaries from the English army, and concluded an agreement, by which a committee chosen from both parties was to arrange the preliminaries for the election of a Parliament, and submit them for final acceptance to a general assembly of officers from all the regiments in the three countries. Such an agreement was better suited to the views of the English army than to those of Monk. His commissioners even went so far as to promise that he would reinstate the officers who had been cashiered. From the first however no one really believed Monk to be in earnest about the negotiation. When the conditions agreed upon were laid before him, both he and his council of officers rejected them.

But without any interference on his part affairs in England took a turn favourable to his interests. The encroachments of the army had roused the general feeling of the nation against them. It was asked whence they derived the right to convoke and dissolve parliaments, to impose and collect taxes. Their conduct was declared to be illegal, and insulting to the majesty of the laws; their dissolution of Parliament was denounced as treason; they were required in no mild terms to restore to Parliament perfect liberty to hold its sittings. Now that Monk's refusal had made a general assembly impossible, the army found itself obliged to announce a Parliament on its own responsibility for the following February. It was to consist of two Houses, the members of which were to be elected by the free choice of the people, and was to secure the ancient liberties of the nation. Especial stress was laid upon the separation of the executive and legislative authority, which formed a part of the scheme. The Committee of Safety was henceforward to be styled Conservators of Liberty. The right however of the army to be independent and to govern itself was stipulated for in the clearest terms[2], and this of itself prevented the scheme from satisfying any one in the capital or in the country. The discontent gathered strength daily. The repressive measures adopted by the Committee of Safety—it for instance prohibited all meetings which were held without its permission—merely serve to indicate the amount of opposition it encountered. In some places even the taxes approved by the late Parliament could only be collected by force. It is remarkable how the general discontent reacted upon the members of the government, who now saw the fruitlessness of their efforts. The sittings of the Committee of Safety were very irregularly attended. Sir Henry Vane absented himself for some time, in order as it was said to be nearer Lambert.

---

[1] 'I will procure from the Parliament what may be good for the government of this nation.' Extract from a Scottish account which excited the greatest attention in England. See Mercurius Politicus, Dec. 10.

[2] 'That an army may be continued, nor disbanded, nor the conduct altered, but by consent of the conservators appointed.'

The leading members at Wallingford House entertained suspicions of both. Fleetwood and Desborough began to have doubts as to the policy they were pursuing; they were now themselves inclined to attempt a reconciliation with Parliament[1].

For the peculiar strength of public opinion in a nation lies in its power to influence and carry along with itself even those whom it attacks. The army, which had assailed Parliament without scruple, was now, thanks to the reaction which its conduct produced, impressed with the sense that it had committed an injustice.

It was at Portsmouth that this feeling first openly showed itself. The garrison there, and their commander Morley, had from the first resisted the impulse given from Westminster. The General Council at Wallingford House had found it necessary to send a portion of the army to invest Portsmouth and prevent the defection from spreading. In the meantime however Haslerig, whom Fleetwood had forced to leave London, had entered Portsmouth: and not only confirmed the garrison in their convictions, but obtained an influence even among the besieging forces. The troops, who were sent to isolate the town from the rest of England, themselves fell under the influence of the sentiments which prevailed there; they made common cause with the garrison, and prepared to march on Westminster and London with Haslerig at their head.

A similar change however had also occurred in London; it had been mainly the work of Colonel Markham, encouraged by signs of yielding in Fleetwood, attributable to his jealousy of Lambert. The view gained ground that the suspension of Parliament had been advantageous to no one but the common enemy, the Royalists. On December 24 the greater number of the regiments met in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and resolved to make their peace with the Parliament. The argument which perhaps carried most weight was that the

---

[1] I learn this from a remarkable letter of John Hobart's, dated Nov. 29, in the Tanner MSS. vol. 51. 'Lambert,' are the words, 'of whom and whose party Wallingford House is mistrustful.'

soldier was never better paid than he had been under the Parliament. A general shout arose, 'Let us live and die with Parliament.' The resolution was immediately carried into execution. The troops marched to Chancery Lane, to the official residence of the Speaker Lenthall at the Record Office, and drew themselves up in front of it. His lordship, for they now accorded him his rightful title, was invited to appear at the porch of the house, where the officers expressed to him their sorrow for having suspended the sittings of Parliament. The soldiers expressed their agreement with shouts of approval. They recognised the Speaker as representing the authority of Parliament in his military capacity. They hailed him as their general, as the father of their country[1]. For the moment Lenthall could enjoy the reflection that he was the most powerful man in England. In virtue of his office as Speaker he issued edicts for the preservation of the public peace, which the troops now obeyed.

On the news of what had happened the members of the Rump Parliament who were in London resumed their seats. They were sufficiently numerous, according to the established rule, to pass a valid resolution. They at once proceeded to choose from among themselves a commission, which was entrusted with the command of the troops and the suppression of insurrections. Haslerig and the other leaders in the movement there hurried to London from Portsmouth: no sooner had they dismounted than they went down to the House of Parliament and took their old seats. A new Council of State, consisting of fourteen civilians and seven military men was established, with Arthur Haslerig for president. Haslerig indeed takes the lead throughout. His republican friend Thomas Scott was made a Secretary of State.

Lambert, whose plan had been to press steadily forward from Newcastle towards Scotland was now in a critical position. Indignant at his arbitrary measures and his free quarters the county gentlemen of Yorkshire rose against him in arms. Between Fairfax, who commanded them on one side, and Monk on the other, his situation was perilous in the extreme. At this juncture a messenger from Wallingford House arrived at Newcastle with a report of what had happened in London. The officers were summoned to a council of war, but now at last their courage failed them. Parliament had expressly included the northern regiments under the authority of the newly appointed commission. Unable to face the general change of feeling, which was not without its effect even here, they relinquished the cause which they had hitherto defended, and deserted their general. We find Lambert soon after at Northallerton with only fifty adherents. He too had no other course left but to recognise the Parliament, which banished him to his estate in the county of Durham.

---

[1] 'Owning him in words also as their general and the father of their country.' The account of these half-forgotten incidents is published by authority in the journal of the time, Mercurius Politicus (or 'publicus'), which appeared every Thursday (Dec. 24).

Lambert's wife, whom we have already mentioned, shared apparently her husband's ambitious desire to ennoble their family by a matrimonial alliance. As is often the case, she was more deeply imbued than her husband with religious zeal, and had long cherished high hopes with regard to both these objects. When the crisis came Vane one day asked her whether she was so far advanced in grace as to be able to remain unmoved were Lambert to die for the Commonwealth. Tears were her only answer.

During all this time Monk was still encamped at Coldstream, upon Scottish soil. His troops were reduced to the sorest straits. A room in a cottage served the general both as bed-room and sitting-room, and there he gave his audiences. But his halt here made him a great man. He was visited there by the secret or avowed opponents of his rival. He was in communication with both Haslerig and Morley. He had conquered Lambert without having drawn the sword. On New Year's Day, 1660, a cold clear winter's day, he crossed the borders. On January 11 he joined Fairfax in York, who at once disbanded his volunteers. From a military point of view Monk was now Master of England as well as of Scotland.

CHAPTER VI.

ANTI-REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT. MONK IN THE CITY.

THUS much had been gained, that there was once more in England a civil power independent of the army. This however satisfied no one. It was commonly said that Lambert and his party had first of all oppressed the Parliament, and that now the Parliament was uppermost and was persecuting its oppressors, and that the change was no great improvement after all. But the struggle between the two parties gave breathing time to those who hated both of them impartially. The dislike so recently entertained for the army was now directed against Parliament itself. It owed the general support which it had received, not so much to its declaration that all levying of taxes without its sanction was illegal, as to its admission that such levying required the consent of the nation as expressed in an Act of Parliament. But it had scarcely foreseen the consequences of such an admission. It was palpable that the surviving fragments of the old Parliament were very far from representing the feeling of the nation. Associations had already begun to be formed for protecting the privileges of Parliament against the army, but even these now became aware that if Parliament was to have the power of imposing taxes, it must, on its own showing, be entirely reconstituted. It was at least incumbent upon it to receive back the excluded members; or failing this it would be necessary to elect a free Parliament. But a free Parliament, if it meant anything, meant a Parliament unfettered by the existing restrictions which had served to maintain the Commonwealth under one form or another.

There was already a deep-seated feeling of hostility to the Commonwealth in the mind of the people. In the capital the most pressing grievance was the unsettled state of the administration of justice. It arose from the fact that the commissions of the judges required to be renewed by some recognised supreme authority, and this, in the confusion and turmoil which raged, was no longer possible. No alternative was left but to accept either the rule of the army, or that of untrustworthy and greedy politicians, who clothed their actions in the disguise of political or religious orthodoxy. The citizens dreaded every kind of violence. The goldsmiths in Lombard Street concealed their jewels and money. To complete the distress there was a general stagnation of trade, abroad as well as at home. Each man felt himself insecure and defenceless, and threatened with danger both to his person and his property. Matters had reached such a pitch that the government could no longer fulfil their plainest duties in protecting private persons. It was now remembered that at the first the republican system had been imposed upon the country and the capital against their will. It was determined to endure its rule no longer.

As constantly happened in this period, motives of religion were added to the sense of public and private injuries.

On December 2, 1659, the city celebrated a fast-day to implore the mercy of God at a time when the foundations of government were destroyed. The Committee of Safety was still in existence, and naturally resented this language as an insult. But though it took some precautionary measures, it did not venture to prohibit the ecclesiastical ceremonies. These, it is true, confined themselves within the proper sphere of religion; but at the same time they acquired a certain political significance since the preachers, in both the Presbyterian and Episcopalian churches, impressed upon their congregations, and these in the Presbyterian churches were everywhere numerous, the divine command to obey the powers that be for the love of God[1]. Their exhortations fell upon fruitful soil. The perplexity and distress which prevailed now began to be regarded as a punishment for disobedience to the laws of God and man. A different doctrine was preached in the Anabaptist congregations; but since they had been in power they had lost the support of the Presbyterians. The latter showed an inclination to join the Episcopalians, together with whom they formed a large majority in the capital and controlled public opinion.

---

[1] Letter from Rivot to Wakefield, Clarendon MSS. Bodleian, Oxford: 'When the city fast was, Dec. 2, and the citizens were under deliberation what to do, then all the pulpits possessed either by the Episcopalian or the Presbyterian party with one voice called them to return to their obedience.'

It is unnecessary to enumerate all the collisions which now became inevitable between the city and the Committee of Safety or the army. The apprentices now, as formerly, were the chief aggressors, though on the opposite side. The troops held a few positions in the town, but they were not sufficiently numerous to strike terror into the mob, which was no longer held strictly in check by the magistrates. In pressing emergencies they were reinforced, and once at least they fired upon the crowd, killing two persons. The Mayor and the General then combined once more to restore order, and the reinforcements were withdrawn[1]. A seditious demonstration which had been planned was prevented by the General, who was informed of it in good time. The importance of all this lies in the fact that the city throughout was gradually establishing a new organisation for itself, suited to its present feeling. It assumed that an interregnum had begun, during which the city had the right, according to established precedent, of providing for its own safety under the guidance of the Lord Mayor. Under the very eyes of the regular troops, and without consulting their generals, it proceeded to reorganise the city militia, from which the adherents of the sects were carefully excluded. Still more significant was the remodelling of the Common Council, which had from time immemorial determined the policy of the city. The members of the sectarian congregations were excluded on the ground that they were the recognised supporters of the now detested government[2]. But care was also taken to shut out the interests which were unfavourable to a restoration, and we consequently find that those were excluded who had shared in the purchase of the confiscated estates. The restoration of the Rump Parliament produced no change in the direction which public feeling had taken. Its leaders tried in vain to check it. So far from being daunted, the city made a proposal to Vice-Admiral Lawson to appoint a joint commission of the city and of the military and naval forces, which should lay before Parliament a scheme for a definite settlement of the state[1]. Lawson positively declined, and even required the city to obey the Parliament as he did himself, and to take care that the party of Charles Stuart did not meet with actual support in their midst. Both the army and navy once more made common cause with the Rump Parliament. But the city remained unshaken; it persisted in refusing to recognise Parliament: nor did it stand alone; a large party throughout the country were on the same side.

---

[1] 'The reins of the government were let loose to the multitude.' Mercurius Politicus, Dec. 5.

[2] Very instructive in this connexion are fourteen letters from Bordeaux. (Guizot ii.) My authority for the rest is the Nicholas Correspondence. A thorough investigation of the city archives is most desirable.

On his march towards London Monk was everywhere met by two demands, one that the numbers of Parliament, in which only a very few counties were now represented, should be filled up, another that writs should be issued for a free Parliament. Monk replied that the decision of such questions, relating as they did to civil matters, belonged exclusively to Parliament, and that he as a soldier had no business to meddle with them. On one occasion however he seems to have thought it advisable to express himself more clearly, and his mode of doing so is remarkable enough. He said that Parliament was already taking measures for filling up its vacancies, but the readmission of those excluded in 1648 was not desirable, since they would refuse to recognise the legality of all that had been done in the interval, and they would even wish to restore the monarchy. But the monarchy, Monk declared, with the old union of Church and State was no longer possible in England. It was hopelessly incompatible with the various newly created interests, with the religious interests of the sects no less than the personal ones of those who had purchased the confiscated estates. It would be equally ruinous to set aside the qualifications now required for voting, and to summon a freely elected Parliament. Such an assembly would set its face against those interests, without some recognition of which the establishment of a strong government in England was out of the question[1].

It has often been supposed that Monk had nevertheless a secret understanding with the Royalists; but the arguments which he urges against them are too sound and too much to the point for us to assume that they were merely intended to mask his real intentions.

Monk was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Commonwealth. In this capacity he made arrangements for quartering the troops about the town, which were agreed to. On February 3 he entered London. He rode at the head of his own regiment of horse and immediately behind his trumpeter; his principal officers followed him. He was received with admiration no doubt, but also with feelings of mistrust and anxiety. At Somerset House he was met by the Speaker, wearing the insignia of his office. The Speaker left his carriage, Monk dismounted and saluted him in soldier-like fashion. Once more a powerful general recognised the authority of Parliament as supreme in the Commonwealth.

But the old question, the importance of which extends beyond the immediate troubles of the time, was now revived, whether the two could remain for long on such a footing. Monk had, it is true, acted in concert with the ruling power, but he had also acted independently. It was not till afterwards that it recognised his acts, and then only because they had been favourable to itself. On the other hand, he had declared obedience to the civil authority to be his rule of action, because he thus gained a powerful weapon in his struggle with his opponents. Hitherto they had worked in harmony but from different points of view, and there was consequently no identity of principle. By many, perhaps by the majority of the members of Parliament, Monk was regarded as unfavourably as by the city.

---

[1] 'To agree of some things to be offered to the Parliament for the settlement of the nation.'

[1] Letter of George Monk dated Leicester, Jan. 23, and directed to Mr. Rolle, to be communicated unto the rest of the gentry of Devon. Mercurius Politicus 605. It was answered in a Royalist pamphlet entitled 'Animadversions upon G. Monk's letter.'

They felt offended that the troops which had been the immediate instruments of their recent restoration should have been obliged to resign the best quarters in favour of his soldiery. They declared that the commission which Monk held had expired the moment that he set foot in London, and began to address him merely as commissary and no longer as general. They had already formed plans for a reorganisation of the army, which should provide for its disbandment when no longer required, and should permanently secure its obedience.

Monk was appointed a member of the Council of State, and took his seat there on the 4th of February. Here too however he displayed an unexpected reserve. The predominant faction had prescribed an oath to be taken by the Council in which the claims of the King and the whole house of Stuart were solemnly repudiated. Several of the counsellors-elect had already refused to take it, because they did not wish to pledge themselves irrecoverably to oppose an event which was still possible. Monk joined them. He said that in his army the taking an oath was held to be a very serious matter; he felt obliged at least to wait till the advocates of each side had discussed the matter: in his own case the oath was unnecessary, since without it the Commonwealth was safe so far as he was concerned [1].

In spite of this refusal Monk was solemnly received in Parliament on February 6. He was greeted with extravagant praises as the saviour of Parliament. It was expected that he would in return recognise the cause of Parliament as his own: a suggestion to that effect was in fact made to him [2]. To the praises heaped upon him Monk replied with modesty; but in all that he said besides he revealed the difference of opinion which separated him from the majority. He reminded them how he had referred the petitions with reference to the future Parliament, which met him on the road, to the decision of one that was now sitting: and we have seen that he steadily maintained the necessity for some qualifications: but now, he continued, he felt bound to tell Parliament that they would the more easily succeed in pacifying the country the less numerous and irksome these qualifications were. It was their policy to extend rather than narrow the limits of the party attached to them. The more rational and soberminded of the gentry would, in that case, gladly join them. They would have to be on their guard only against the Cavaliers and the fanatics, their own proper enemies. Conformably to his promise, he then mentioned the services rendered by the Scots, and recommended that they should be promised some alleviation of the existing taxation and a reform in the government. He emphatically protested that nothing would more shock him than that the Scots should be persecuted with fanatical notions.

Such a speech is not that of a man who is awaiting orders which he is to carry out. It was the speech of a general already in possession of power, who comprehends in his view the whole extent of the kingdom, and from his exalted position delivers himself of counsels scarcely distinguishable from commands. His words excited astonishment, displeasure, and anxiety.

The Rump Parliament was now divided into two parties—the men of moderate views both in politics and religion, and the Republican and Anabaptist faction. Monk sided heartily with the former. His idea seems to have been to give them the preponderance in the House, and thus to secure a decisive influence for himself. His first act, after Richard's fall had left him independent, had been to eject the Anabaptists from his army, and he now directed the whole weight and point of his speech against them. Still it was uncertain whether, after all, they would not prove victorious.

It was this party which insisted on subjecting the coming elections to the strictest conditions; they desired, for instance, to disqualify all those who wished to establish not indeed a House of Lords, but merely a power co-ordinate with that of the House of representatives. Monk vigorously opposed them, and proposed qualifications of greater laxity and mildness. In the divisions however which followed the stricter conditions were carried.

---

[1] Skinner, Life of Monk, p 205.

[2] 'This is asserted by the first complete account, which is the work of a skilful hand.' Baker, Chronicle 704.

The prominent question in these parliamentary contests was not strictly speaking that between republicanism and monarchy. The immediate object of the General's efforts was to bring under his control the fanatical party in England, in the same way as he had already done in Scotland. That his efforts would be successful was by no means clear. The officers, who had submitted to Parliament, steadily adhered to their religious opinions, and might as easily take up the cause of the civil power against Monk, as he had against themselves. Their opinions were moreover shared by several regiments, and it seemed not impossible that an understanding should be come to between them and the pure Republicans. That Monk would succumb at once to such a combination was very generally believed[1].

So deep was the religious and political schism which divided the parliamentary and military authorities. But before any open rupture could occur, the feud between the city and the Parliament entered upon a new and important stage.

In its struggle with Lambert the Rump Parliament, in order to strengthen its own cause, had vigorously asserted the rights of the people, whose representative it was. It had required obedience from the army in the name of the people, to whom belonged the right of making war, and had also justified its decision that no taxes should be paid but those imposed by itself, by the right of the people to give their consent to taxes in Parliament[2]. We have already noticed that this measure had a twofold effect: it gained for Parliament the general support of the nation, but it also encouraged the doctrine that Parliament had the power to approve taxes only in so far as it really represented the nation. But we have seen how many counties complained to Monk that they were unrepresented in Parliament. The capital, which had not a single member of its own choice in the House, drew the natural inference that it was not bound to pay the imposts decreed by Parliament. A few cases of refusal had already occurred, but without any further result: the matter however became serious in the extreme when the capital, which contributed the largest share, and whose lead the country was accustomed to follow, took up the same ground. On February 8 the Common Council resolved unanimously that the city was not bound to pay any imposition whatever until the vacant seats of their representatives in Parliament should have been filled up.

It is surprising that the city should thus have ventured to confront Parliament single-handed. It is possible that the report of the renewed dissensions in Westminster gave them fresh courage; but it was from a different quarter, from the Royalists, that the decisive impulse came.

The movement in favour of the King, which had begun so successfully, had long since come to a standstill; the fear that his restoration would be followed by a political and religious reaction, aroused a feeling of coldness and mistrust eminently unfavourable to the supporters of Charles II. It was generally reported that Charles II had turned Catholic during his exile, and a proof of it was found in his recent visit to the Pyrenees, on which Lord Bristol, who had actually become one shortly before, accompanied him. No report could have been better calculated to excite the sensibilities of the city, the Royalist agitations in which had been set on foot and fostered by the Protestant preachers. The King's adherents discovered that it was imperatively necessary to allay this anxiety, if they were to make any way at all. They could answer, reasonably enough, that the King had only taken Bristol with him because he spoke Spanish, and had dismissed him the moment he avowed himself a Catholic; that he had left the King in disgrace. The worthy Nicholas assured his correspondents that no one suffered more for the Anglican faith than the King: attempts were incessantly made to convert him to Catholicism, but he had always remained unshaken. 'He is,' he writes, 'as firmly attached to the doctrines of the English Church as could be wished.' No opportunity was lost of contradicting the report in fly-sheets, which even then found credence. But a more direct denial was necessary to allay the political alarm which was especially serious in the capital, since it had been so deeply implicated in the rebellion. What had it to expect should the old laws of treason be revived against the city as a whole, or against individuals? The King sent his envoy, Mordaunt, an 'Instruction' well calculated to remove such fears[1]. In this document he declared that he would not only confirm the privileges which his ancestors had granted to the capital, but would promote its honour and its prosperity by further concessions. He wished to owe his restoration to nothing but the courage and devotion of the city. All that had been done against him would, in that case, be forgotten. It is not merely matter for conjecture, it is positively certain that this manifesto produced all the effect that was expected. Mordaunt laid it before the two aldermen who enjoyed the greatest reputation in the city, Robinson and Langham, and declares that it had removed all their scruples. It may be looked upon as the deed which united the city to the King, and which really inaugurated the Restoration[2]. Mordaunt had also interviews with other leading citizens, and boasts of the explicit declarations which he got from them. Still more important was his success in gaining over to the royal cause the great Presbyterian nobles, Manchester and Northumberland. He ventured to promise them very definite marks of favour. Their influence with the clergy and the citizens proved a great assistance to all his efforts.

---

[1] Shaw to Nicholas, Feb. 5/15: 'I have no hopes of Monk, who will in a short time be outed again by the sectaries. You will find Vane, Hasilrigg, Lambert, and the rest of that party will compose their animosities.'

[2] 'That no person shall, after the first day of October, assess, levy, etc. any imposition whatsoever upon the people of this Commonwealth, without their consent in Parliament.'

Thus it was that the city, secure of its future under the

restored monarchy, assumed so resolute an attitude in opposition to Parliament. It is certainly somewhat startling to find that the Royalist movement first disclosed itself by an appeal to the rights of the people, which might lead much further than could be wished. But this involved no contradiction for the present. The object was to oppose, as energetically as possible, the military and republican combination on which the Rump Parliament rested; and for this purpose no measure could have been more effectual. It at once deprived Parliament of the means of paying the troops which supported it. The first instance of refusal to pay taxes came into operation against the Commonwealth, and in concert with the King. It was inevitable that the neighbouring counties, which were similarly placed, and held the same views, should have gladly joined the capital.

It was impossible however that the Parliament, which despite its own words, which it already had reason to regret, regarded itself as the supreme legislative power, and as alone possessing the right to impose taxes, should tolerate such contumacious conduct, which implied an attack upon the very essence of its own power. Orders were given to Monk to march into the city and reduce the citizens to obedience to the Parliament.

Some astonishment may be felt that Monk should have undertaken such a duty. For in his struggle with his principal opponents, the Anabaptists, he was openly in alliance with the city magistrates, the aldermen, and the Common Council. His troops had felt this to be the case from the first, and had clearly expressed their feeling. Could he again throw open the city to the fanatics whom it had voluntarily ejected, and draw his sword in defence of the very party whose hostility in Parliament he had himself reason to fear? He declared, and there is no doubt that it was the case, that he did so merely that the duty might not be entrusted to his opponents. At the same time he could hardly fail to have noticed the Royalist turn which public feeling was taking. It is possible that he had already this consideration in view when he refused to take the oath. He could not venture to allow the Royalist party to become his enemy and gain an independent power, such as might have endangered his own position.

---

[1] Instruction for the City of London, sent by Lord Mordaunt, Jan. 12. Lord Mordaunt was himself the chief of the commissioners.

[2] Lord Mordaunt to the King, Jan. 24, 1660. 'I had the city in my eye, and looked on it as the master-wheel by whose motion the successive rotations of all the lesser must follow.' Clarendon Papers iii. 659.

On the 8th of February, late in the evening, the Council of State indicated to the General those citizens who had been the principal authors of the resolution taken by the city. He was to arrest them, and bring them as prisoners of state to the Tower. Furthermore, the city as a whole was to be chastised; the chains, which according to ancient custom were drawn across the streets, as well as the posts to which they were fastened, were to be removed, and the gates of the city to be demolished. For the future London was to be an open place.

On February 9 Monk prepared to execute the orders of the civil power, the authority of which he had recognised. Early in the morning he marched into the city, which was unable to resist his advance. He established his head-quarters at the Guildhall, arrested the citizens whose names had been given him, sent them to the Tower, and removed the chains and posts. Respecting the gates he consulted the Council once more, urging that it was advisable not to irritate the city unnecessarily, and expressing his belief that the Common Council, when it met on the following morning, would consent to pay the taxes. Parliament however insisted that its commands should be literally carried out. It ordered absolutely the demolition of the gates; and, to remove all fear of any resistance, it resolved on Haslerig's proposal, to treat the Common Council as already dissolved, and that a new one should be elected according to the forms now to be established. The dominant party hoped by these means permanently to secure their own supremacy: they wished to impose upon the city restrictions similar to those devised for the next Parliament; a policy, the adoption of which may be regarded as marking the crisis at this stage of events. Should it succeed, Parliament would maintain its monopoly of the supreme power; the only authority which ventured to oppose it, that of the city, would be destroyed; the Commonwealth would reign unopposed.

On the morning of the 10th of February the commands of Parliament were carried out, and the city gates broken

down and destroyed. The soldiers obeyed their orders, but with indignant murmurs. Several officers sent in their resignations to the General. He appeared to take no notice of what was done or said—he chewed tobacco as usual. Once only, on the appearance of Colonel Alured, a fiery Anabaptist, whom he regarded as a spy, he gave vent to his disgust[1]. When the work was done, the troops returned in the evening to Westminster.

The General seems to have hoped throughout to bring Parliament over to his own views. In order not to arouse a more determined resistance, he had while in London given a solemn assurance that Parliament would at once proceed to fill up the vacant seats. But what subsequently happened in the House must have convinced him that this was impossible. The very next day Barebones, who had given its name to the Anabaptist convention, introduced a petition, which reiterated the views of the convention, and finally warned Parliament that attempts were being made to strip it of its military authority, the loss of which would inevitably lead to that of the civil authority as well. The petition was received with approbation. It was once more proposed to place the army under a commission. Henry Vane was in the neighbourhood. It would be interesting to know the details of Haslerig's negotiations with him and with Lambert in order to secure their services against Monk. All around him combined to impress on the General the necessity of not waiting till matters had gone further, but of adopting some decided course at once. The execution of the orders of Parliament with reference to the city had been entrusted to him merely to alienate from him both London and the other towns, which were his only support against his real foes, and whose cause was generally the better of the two. The council which he summoned included, besides the ministers and colonels already there, a few other officers. They resolved unanimously that the General ought to renounce his allegiance to Parliament, and make common cause with the city which he had so recently opposed.

---

[1] Price, who was present, p. 762.

During the night a detailed statement was drawn up, and in the morning it was signed by Monk and several of his chief officers. It reproached Parliament with its Anabaptist tendencies, and with its intention to impose an oath upon the nation. Former pledges, it was well known, had never been kept, and such a measure would alienate all intelligent people. The army, they proceeded to say, had taken up arms, not merely in order to reinstate Parliament, but also to save the falling liberties of the nation. But the grievance which it felt most keenly was that it remained for the most part unrepresented in Parliament. It wished to have no perpetual Parliament, and was anxious to see instead a regular succession of Parliaments duly elected. These demands the General and the army now put forward. They peremptorily require Parliament to issue the writs for the vacant seats within eight days, and punctually to observe the time which it had itself announced for its dissolution, the 6th of May.

This document, which in fact laid down the programme adopted by the army for the future, reached Parliament at the moment when the General, at the head of a few squadrons of cavalry, had set out for the city which he meant to make his head-quarters. A deputation was hurriedly sent after him, to appease him and come to some agreement with him. A conference was held for the purpose at the Mansion House, but it served only to place in a clearer light the irreconcileable differences which separated the two parties. Parliament then proceeded at once to appoint the much-talked-of military commission, which was to consist of five members. Monk was one of the five, but so also were Haslerig and Alured, the latter of whom had been elected in preference to a more moderate candidate. It had also been proposed that the three, whose consent was necessary to pass valid decrees, must always include Monk, but this too was rejected[1]. It was finally decided that his commission as lieutenant-general of the forces had expired, and a bill was read, by which the commission was transferred to Fleetwood[2].

---

[1] Price: 'Though his commission was not formally voted from him, but virtually it was.' p. 768.

[2] Journals, Feb. 11: 'Afternoon; an act constituting Charles Fleetwood lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the forces raised by order of Par-

While Parliament was thus quietly setting aside its own General, that General himself was making common cause with the city against the Parliament. At his request, though with some hesitation, the Common Council, which Parliament had formally dissolved, was convoked, and he himself addressed them. He excused his recent conduct by his anxiety to prevent the execution of the business from falling into the hands of the enemies of order in the nation. He then informed them of the peremptory demand he had sent to Parliament, to issue the writs for the vacant seats within eight days. In this he was heartily supported by the city, with whose newly adopted policy such a demand was perfectly in accord. That the General should not merely have assented to a resolution, on account of which the city had been threatened with a penalty, which he himself had inflicted only the day before, but should have enforced it upon Parliament—was beyond all expectation. Throughout the assembly a deep sense of satisfaction prevailed, such as all feel who see views long cherished by them, amid opposition and persecution, suddenly meet with general acceptance. The citizens greeted the news with shouts of joy; the bells were rung, bonfires were lighted. The soldiers were welcomed with open arms, and the citizens exchanged tokens of the closest sympathy with them. Parliament was ridiculed under its nickname[1], and already a cheer was here and there given for the King.

How far all this really promoted the royal cause had yet to be proved. In the meantime it was clear that the General, whose troops held the city and whose sentries guarded the doors of Parliament, without reference to the new commission, was master of the situation.

---

liament, was read.' Gumble denies these facts, in his anxiety to make the Royalist resolutions of Parliament appear freer than they really were.

[1] Rump Parliament does not exactly give the meaning. Giavarino explains it to his Signorie: 'Vuol dire l'ultima parte del tergo, e esseudo questi pochi membri che sedono il residuo del gia lungo parlamento, gli è Stato appropriato un titolo se ben osceno, e per questo il popolo rostiva abbruciava e lacerava li rump d'animali per palesare l'odio e rancore verso il congresso.'

CHAPTER VII.

RECALL OF THE KING.

As yet no understanding existed between General Monk and the royal court. We possess in full the correspondence between Hyde and the Secretary Nicholas, and not merely is there no mention anywhere made of such an understanding, but the letters express mistrust and the liveliest anxiety. At the time of Monk's advance into England the Secretary observes that it was clear he had some great object in view, but whether it were favourable or not to the King no one knew. This the event might perhaps show. As Monk approached the capital, the Royalist leaders seriously considered the advisability of combining with the fanatics, who might perhaps be induced, in the confusion of a riot, to call for a King and a free Parliament[1].

Advances had been made to Monk at the instance of the King, who invariably endeavoured to gain over those of his old opponents who became powerful, even for example Henry Cromwell and Lambert. Monk's reply was characteristic. He did not reject the proposal absolutely, but the attitude which he assumed after his entry into London was far from satisfactory to the court at Brussels. In answer to a correspondent who had written confidently, the Chancellor tells him that he deceives himself, or perhaps is intentionally deceived. Those who were further from the scene of action came to the same conclusion. Colepepper, one of the oldest

---

[1] Hyde to Burnet, Feb. 1, Clarendon Papers iii. 679. Unfortunately in the edition of these papers, the Old and New Style are not accurately distinguished. The letter quoted must be dated in the New Style, and therefore is of Feb. 4, since on the 14th it was already known in Brussels that Monk had entered London.

supporters of the Stuart cause, who was at the Hague at the time, writing in February, expresses his belief that Monk would be more ready to suppress than to further the new Royalist movement. He rests his hopes of a restoration on a rising of the people, aided by veteran French troops, against Monk and the Parliament[1]. Even after the occurrences in the city, the Royalists were far from depending upon him; they continued to consider by what means a man of his disposition might be won[2].

But they fell, in doing so, into the common error which leads men in times of great disturbance and agitation to expect or fear too much from individual actors. The mighty current of a popular movement carries along with it even those who seem to direct it. We have no right to assert that Monk, when he rode out of Westminster, foresaw the full consequences of his resolve. All that was essential for him was, that he should extricate himself from the machinations of his opponents in Parliament, and gain a vantage ground from which to overawe them. And it is true that this was the immediate result of his step. The Rump Parliament paid more regard to their General now that he was in opposition than they had done while he remained obedient. For the form of abjuration, which he rejected, they substituted a simple oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth. They pronounced against Vane and Lambert, and made every effort to arrange the qualifications within the appointed time. In the divisions on the remaining clauses the moderate party defeated the Anabaptists, though by a majority of only one. Parliament felt that they were in the hands of one stronger than themselves, and hoped to gain him over by judicious concessions, and thus at the same time to secure their own safety. The filling up of the vacancies once accomplished in accordance with the established restrictions, they intended to renew the old law, which provided that Parliament could only be dissolved by its own consent. On this point the judges had been consulted, but did not venture to give any decided answer. Since too the date fixed for the expiration of the present assembly had been observed, Monk had no grounds for complaint. On the very day which he had himself fixed, the writs were ready to be sent out to all parts of the country.

---

[1] Colepepper to Nicholas, Feb. 27: 'A little of that well trained force, His Maj. at the head of them, would multiply the strength of the others as much as a well placed figure the value of cyphers.'

[2] Mordaunt to the King, Feb. 17: 'If I hear his character right he is covetous, surly, and proud, and if this be his nature he will be malleable.'

But the simple fact of his entry into the city had brought Monk into connexion with a party among the people, which was deeply penetrated with Royalist sentiments, and heartily averse to the further continuance of the Republican régime. Nothing could be more directly opposed to its wishes than an election, fettered by the existing qualifications.

Again and again had Monk been obliged to listen to the demand for a free Parliament. Both in the northern and southern counties associations had been formed to resist all taxes except those imposed by a free Parliament, or one at least which again included the ejected members. A renewal of the present Parliament, such as it wished for itself, would in all probability be resisted, and would have deprived the General of the support on which he depended. Fortunately for him, his own interests and the general feeling coincided: after some delay he resolved to give up the elections for the vacant seats, which he had himself so strongly urged, and to devote himself instead to the restoration of the ejected members, as the easiest and most regular method of furthering by lawful means the movement which had begun. Monk had formerly opposed the measure, in the fear that were it carried all would be undone that had taken place since the exclusion; the sale for instance of the confiscated property. He now, before giving his consent, came to a definite agreement with the leaders of the ejected members. They did not concede all that he asked: they refused for instance to confirm at once the acts of confiscation, but reserved them for future discussion. Both the points however on which he laid most stress they gave up to him. They promised to protect the interests of the army, and to assist in bringing about a formal dissolution of Parliament. The latter point Monk regarded as most important. It was the most earnest desire of the nation once more to secure a regular succession of freely elected Parliaments; and his own professions, vague as they were, were yet regarded as pledging him to open the way to that end. It was impossible for him to contradict them without danger. He is still the General, endeavouring to retain and fortify the position which he has taken up, and the strength of which lay for the moment in the support of the people. By the recall of the ejected members Monk gratified the Presbyterians, who controlled public opinion in the capital. The work of restoration was not difficult; all that was required was that his troops should offer no obstacle to the return of the members. But here too the crisis was urgent: it was important to get it over before the writs, which were now ready, could be issued. Before this was done, on February 21, 1660, the members ejected in December 1648 re-entered the House of Parliament and resumed their old seats.

It was now that the catastrophe of the last few days was finally completed. The Commonwealth had begun with the ejection of the members; their restoration implied its overthrow. The returned members formed the majority in the House, and thus had a decisive voice in its debates. The authority of Parliament during this period has been often compared to a ball thrown from hand to hand. The General, with whom the power virtually rested, now threw it to those in whose grasp it had been at the first.

The first act of the new majority was to repeal the acts passed by the former minority since their dissent from the measures of the 5th of December, 1648. This dissent was declared illegal. All that depended upon it was treated as the work of a usurping minority. The old majority resumed their rights. They had been ejected by one general and were now restored by another.

They had however as yet no thoughts of pressing these claims to their utmost consequences. In order to re-establish the lawful authorities it was sufficient at present to repeal the last acts of the Rump Parliament. The military commission, which had been appointed but had never actually got to work, was first of all abolished, and George Monk declared

Commander-in-chief of all the forces in the three kingdoms. The old Council of State was broken up, and a new one chosen, to which only a few of the members of the old one were admitted. The official journal gives the names of those who were to constitute it in the future. At the head, and stretching across the column, appears Monk's name, like that of a general in command above the names of his officers. The Common Council, whose resolutions had given the first impulse to the movement, and which had on that account been declared dissolved by the late government, appears in all the glory of its success and of a recognised legal position. To its own efforts it was chiefly due that the very men who had contested its rights were themselves thrust out of their seats as guilty of unlawful acts. The citizens who had been arrested were released. Measures were taken for rebuilding the gates. The organisation of the militia was left to the city. It presented a list of the officers, all citizens of known honesty and of personal influence in the town, and the list was immediately approved. In return the city promised a loan, to be repaid from the taxes imposed, to meet the wants of the army, which were now recognised as lawful.

At this moment the Presbyterian party had once more the upper hand, and was fully determined to keep it. Parliament enacted that the record of the Solemn League and Covenant should be hung up in the House, and should be read aloud and posted up in every church. Presbyterian ministers, such as Calamy and Reynolds, were once more in favour. The General himself declared that he thought a mild Presbyterianism was the ecclesiastical system most suitable to England.

On the most important of the questions under discussion at the time Monk's own wishes were speedily gratified. On the 1st of March it was unanimously resolved that Parliament should be dissolved at the latest on the 15th of that month or even earlier. It thus devolved upon the Long Parliament to dissolve itself, a point of great importance if the lawful parliamentary succession was to remain unbroken. It moreover refused to prescribe restrictive qualifications for the forthcoming elections. A few were designed to secure the claims of the army, which however

they failed to satisfy. What they contained was of less importance than what they omitted, and generally speaking it is the omissions that distinguish them from the previous conditions. It is obvious that there could be no question of any abjuration of the Stuarts or of any republican exclusiveness: the important point is that the oath of allegiance to a government without King and Lords was abandoned. The Commonwealth was thus given up if not abolished. The future assembly had it in their power, if they wished, to recall the King and restore the House of Lords. Such in fact had been from the first the real meaning of the demand for a free Parliament. In opposition to the usurped authority of republicanism there was a general wish to return to the ancient forms of the constitution. For the accomplishment of this wish the oath was now opened by the disappearance of the Republican oath of allegiance.

And such was universally felt to be the case. The Royalists were in high glee. In a letter from a leading Royalist dated March 16, we read, 'The votes by which the House of Lords was once abolished, are now abolished themselves. The oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth is null and void; according to their own law, to the decree of the members of the Long Parliament, we have once more King and Lords, though we do not see them yet in their old splendour. Yesterday the inscription "The Tyrant is gone[1]," which was placed by the regicides where his statue had stood in the Old Exchange, was publicly and by authority removed in the light of day. "Long live the King," was written up in its stead, and bonfires kindled in the square. From pulpit, press and people, from city and county there is an urgent cry for the King, and with the King for security and peace. Those in authority of all degrees incline to the same side. It is the opinion of many capable judges that General Monk is reserving to himself the honourable duty of restoring the King as his own right.'

But to do so was not entirely in Monk's power. The city, which had taken the initiative throughout; the peers, who had assisted in upsetting the old government; and, after the dissolution of Parliament, the Council of State which it had appointed, had all a word to say in the matter. Even should the feeling in favour of recalling the King prove decisively the stronger, yet the further question remained to be decided, whether his recall should be conditional, and if so what the conditions should be.

---

[1] 'Exit Tirrannum.' So the author, who calls himself Dannemann, writes it. He was certainly no scholar. His letter is scarcely intelligible, but it well repays the trouble of deciphering it. March 16/26, in the Record Office in London.

In view of the course which events had taken it seemed natural that since the monarchy owed its recognition to the ejected members of the Long Parliament, it should now be bound by the conditions which they had formerly suggested, and to which Charles I had so far acceded, that a decisive negotiation respecting them was on the point of being opened with him, when the violent interference of the Republicans broke off the proceedings. It was proposed to make the concessions agreed to by Charles I in the Isle of Wight the basis of a treaty with Charles II. Such an arrangement would have placed the Presbyterians in a position not merely of safety but of temporary supremacy. The Presbyterian peers especially were favourable to the scheme; their demands however were throughout political fully as much as religious, and in both cases were zealously insisted upon. Meetings were held at Suffolk House, in which Lords Manchester and Northumberland took the lead, but which were also attended by Bedford and Wharton, by Hollis and Ashley Cooper. In these meetings they discussed the limitations which it was necessary to impose upon the royal authority which they were about to recall. They were the old much-debated conditions. The control of the militia, the distribution of the high posts of confidence and power, were to be exercised subject to the consent of the two Houses of Parliament. It was said that for safety's sake the King ought not even to write a letter without the knowledge of Parliament. Charles II's friends were astounded to find how many noblemen shared these views: they seemed to aim at an aristocracy rather than a monarchy[1]. The Presbyterians saw in this

---

[1] Samboner to Hyde, March 23; Clarendon State Papers, iii; Mordaunt to Hyde, April 19, ib. 720.

scheme the salvation of their faith and of their ecclesiastical system. Their ministers advocated it from the pulpit.

Even however in the city, where they had once been so powerful, they failed to carry their point: men reflected with themselves that a King was wanted who should be able both to maintain his own position and protect others. Was it reasonable to tie the hands of one to whom they looked for protection? Was it wise to render him dependent upon the Presbyterians, who in 1648 had failed to save his father, though in power at the time? It seemed as though they wished to recall him merely afterwards to ruin him. The King had his rights as much as any other man, and these rights he should be permitted to enjoy: the more honourable the position they granted him, the more securely would they attach him to their interests. Ecclesiastical questions would be best decided by a convocation of ecclesiastics[1].

Agreeably to these views the city, on the 25th of March, presented a memorial to the Council of State. It reminds the Council of the necessity of a constitutional basis of government to prevent further confusion. It asks that an invitation should be at once sent to Charles II, requesting him to return and exercise his kingly functions. It will not prescribe any conditions, but wishes to see petitions presented to him. These petitions were to treat of three points: the declaration of a general amnesty, the payment of the arrears due to the army and a consideration of its other demands; lastly, the reference of religious differences to an assembly of learned and pious men chosen according to the laws. Thus right would be done and in the right way. The city requests the Council of State to join it in this petition[2]. The Council at once took the matter into consideration. Among its members was St. John, who had now attached himself to the Presbyterians, at least we hear of him occasionally at Suffolk House, but in the Council his influence was gone. He left the sitting in rage and indignation. The rest were only doubtful what they should do first, convoke Parliament or recall the King. It was decided that if Parliament were first to assemble and open a negotiation with the King, as the Presbyterians wished, the business would be unduly protracted, and their opponents roused to renewed resistance: it would surely be sufficient if the King gave satisfaction with regard to the three points named by the city. The settlement of the first and second required only moderation and discretion, the ecclesiastical question would present the greatest difficulties. It was thought that the King's best course would be to take some Presbyterians into his confidence and then summon Convocation, not perhaps in its old form, but leaving more to open election, and perhaps with the addition of some foreign divines. The idea was that the next Parliament should merely recognise the King and that then a new one should be immediately summoned under the royal authority. Above all things it was essential to avoid giving rise to any suspicion that their real intentions were at variance with the promises they had given and the hopes they had excited. By showing favour to his enemies the King would convince his friends that he would show favour to them as well. 'The King is King not of a faction but of England. Authority and justice can alone save us[1].'

---

[1] This document I found in Oxford (Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 49. 2). If my reading is correct it was drawn up on March 20, and discussed on the 25th. It has no title.

[2] The city of London to the Council of State, March 25; Tanner MSS. 49. 1.

A statement is extant, written by Speaker Lenthall, in which he warns the King against the Presbyterians, whom he declares to be no true friends to the monarchy, and who might at any moment ally themselves with the sectaries. Hostility towards the latter, and dread of the efforts of the former to secure the supremacy of their own system, equally engrossed and perplexed those who contemplated the situation of affairs from an impartial point of view.

But on the whole everything was favourable to a Restoration. Monk alone hesitated to give the decisive word.

Urged by the increasing dangers of their position, the Anabaptist party in the army had proposed to the General to invest him with the civil authority, in other words to confer

upon him that very Protectorate which they had themselves destroyed. Their influence was still powerful in the army, the interests of which as yet remained unsecured in spite of the efforts made in the last session of Parliament. A conference was arranged between ten officers and ten members of Parliament, at which the former made two principal demands—indemnity for their past actions, and confirmation of their share of the confiscated estates. The demands were warmly supported by the General himself, but Parliament would not accede to them; it pleaded that in doing so it would exceed its powers, its sanction would not be perfectly valid, and the decision would finally rest with the new Parliament. But so uncertain a prospect did not satisfy the officers. To many of them the turn which affairs had taken was altogether distasteful. They neither wished to abandon the Republican form of government, nor to acquiesce in the supremacy of the Presbyterians, nor to leave their title to their possessions doubtful. Even the General himself incurred some risk from an agitation, which however he managed to suppress in England as promptly as he had done a similar one in Scotland. The refractory officers were summarily ejected. Whole regiments were disaffected, and it happened more than once that a regiment which had been reduced to obedience was immediately marched off to restore order in another which had broken into open mutiny. Military discipline was most strictly enforced, and its claims fully recognised for the first time. Early in April an address was presented to the General by most of the regiments, both of infantry and cavalry, in which the principle was laid down, that it was the duty of an army not to discuss the orders of their superior officers, but to obey them unconditionally. This victory of the General's authority over so violent an agitation marks an epoch in the history of discipline. In achieving this Monk continued what Cromwell had begun; but he went beyond Cromwell in recognising the further principle that the General himself must obey the civil power.

That Monk should, like Cromwell, take the civil power into his own hands and make himself independent was contrary to his whole nature. Starting as he did from the

---

[1] Of this sitting the Collection in the Bodleian gives us a detailed account, which was before unknown.

Independent point of view, Cromwell had considered himself justified in opposing and destroying any power hostile to the Independent doctrines. He was without a trace of any feeling of loyalty. His was a self-reliant, creative mind. Monk was cast in a different mould. He had consistently protested against the doctrines held by those who offered him the supreme power. In the heart of the old soldier there still lingered a feeling of attachment to the lawful monarch, under whose standards he had once served. So far he agreed with Cromwell that he refused to place himself at the mercy of the vacillating resolutions of a deliberative assembly. It was this feeling that broke down his original determination to obey Parliament. It is impossible not to perceive the intrinsic difficulty of his position. If the theory of the subjection of the military to the civil power was to be carried out, the civil power must be one of more stability than the Commonwealth had proved to be. Nothing but the idea of personal allegiance could reconcile the dissensions which would probably again break out. It would seem mere cowardice for the General to pledge himself to execute any order whatsoever that might be issued by an assembly of men who were at best but his equals. Into what painful perplexities and dangers had a similar attempt plunged Cromwell! how lamentable was now the position of his family. There was nothing in his example to incite Monk to follow it: constituted as Monk was, he far preferred to secure an honourable, secure, and influential, if not an independent position, under the lawful King. His views were shared by the city and by the majority of the Council of State.

Placed as he was amidst Royalist agitations in the city, the nation, the Parliament, and even among some of his own officers, Monk had yet kept aloof, almost ostentatiously, from any connexion with the King. He now resolved to place himself in communication with him in his own fashion. He commissioned, though still with the greatest secresy, his countryman John Grenville, one of the most distinguished of the Cavaliers, to convey his proposals to the King in the Netherlands. The terms were read out to Grenville, and as soon as he seemed to have thoroughly got them by heart they were burnt: Monk would not yet pledge himself to anything in writing. As far as we know they were precisely similar to those contained in the petitions of the city. The King was required to grant an amnesty and toleration, and to confirm the sales of the crown estates which had been effected. Further, since England and Spain were still at war, Monk thought it inexpedient that the King should date his concessions from Brussels, which still belonged to the Spanish crown, and was therefore practically in a hostile country. He demanded that the King should immediately remove to Dutch territory—a course which was advisable for another reason, namely that in many quarters the suspicion still survived that Charles II had turned Catholic[1]. He bade Grenville tell the King that he had always remained faithful to him at heart, but hitherto circumstances had not permitted him to do him a service. He was now ready not merely to obey the King's commands, but to sacrifice his life in his service[2].

The court at Brussels, in spite of the numerous communications from London, or rather perhaps in consequence of their conflicting character, had no clear appreciation of the position of affairs at home. Beyond the fact that there was a general reaction in favour of the King, they knew nothing, and were chiefly anxious not to offend or alienate any one, not even the adherents of the fanatical party, far less the Presbyterians.

In the fleet Lawson's efforts had been neutralised by the energy of the Royalist agents, and the King could securely count upon the support of the navy. It is clear from the Chancellor's letters that almost as much was expected from Fairfax, who was again stirring in the northern counties, as from Monk himself, in whom they now began to place some confidence[1]. The Royalist plan still was, in the event of a demonstration being anywhere made in favour of the King, to back it up with the assistance of foreign powers, and then when public opinion had decisively declared itself, to accomplish the Restoration. By one party in the court the King was urged, in compliance with his mother's request, to withdraw to France, and to regain his throne with the help of that power, which would certainly be given him. The French ambassador declares that the Presbyterians countenanced the proposal[2]: the Catholics, who were in communication with the court, could have wished for nothing better.

---

[1] 'Para desmentir la accusation que sus enemigos le hazian de que era catholico.' The King alleged this to the Spanish ambassador Gamarra, as the motive which had impelled Monk and other friends. The word 'accusation' would itself imply that the supposition was false.

[2] In the appendix to Lister's Life of Clarendon, iii. 500, there is a fragment entitled 'The General's Paper,' written in May, and produced in the course of the negotiation. For the original proposals we have nothing but the notices given by Clarges and Price, which are incorporated in the histories of Gumble and Skinner. Kennet gives their dates, whether rightly or not I cannot say; verbal transactions do not admit of such exactitude.

At this juncture John Grenville appeared bearing the General's proposals, and with him Mordaunt, who was well informed of the intentions of the city. From their reports the court first learnt the details of the critical events which had taken place. The Chancellor it is true objected that the petitions, which claimed the King's favour, contained conditions, the fulfilment of which might lead to endless complications in the future, and we can easily understand that he felt some scruple in granting them. But the real question to be decided was, whether they should take advantage of the position of affairs in England, which had resulted under Monk's influence from the struggle of parties, or should instead attempt to restore the King independently and on purely Royalist principles. The first course was safe, well prepared, and certain; the second was ill-considered, extravagant in its aims, and the most opposite results might follow from it. The advocacy of the Queeen-Mother, whom he rightly regarded as his enemy, was enough to render the latter distasteful to the Chancellor. I can hardly believe that he hesitated long as to his decision. It was too clearly marked out for him by circumstances. Edward Hyde, who through all the troubles of the last few years, and in spite of the Queen's influence, had retained the full confidence of his

---

[1] In a letter of Hyde's, which has often been printed (April 6/16), he merely says, 'I am persuaded that Monk in the end will appear to have proceeded like a sober man.'

[2] Bourdeaux speaks of the 'parti Presbytérien' as 'disposé pour la France.'

prince, decided in favour both of accepting Monk's proposals and of granting the petitions of the city. He merely added the condition, suggested in a despatch from London[1], that on each point the consent of Parliament should still be necessary. He himself drew up the declaration, which after a few more confidential discussions was signed by the King. In this the King promised amnesty to all who would ask for it, with such exceptions only as Parliament should think necessary. He declares himself ready to accept such an edict of toleration as Parliament, after mature deliberation, should draw up. The confirmation of the sale of property he also leaves to the decision of Parliament. To satisfy the claims for which the General had pledged himself, he promised to take the troops into his service and to pay all their arrears, a matter in which the co-operation of Parliament was absolutely indispensable. The urgent request of the General that the King should immediately leave the Spanish Netherlands caused not the slightest difficulty either to the King or to the Chancellor. For they already suspected the Spaniards of intending to make use of the opportunity for recovering their lost territories. Charles II sent the governor-general word of his intended departure, but set out sooner than he had led him to expect. His fear was that he might be detained, in order to compel him to cede Jamaica and Dunkirk. The declaration and the necessary despatches were got ready on the road. They are dated from Breda, but were given to Grenville, who was to convey them to England, before that place was reached.

Meanwhile the elections for the new Parliament had been completed. Absolutely unrestricted they were not. Among the qualifications which were retained was one which excluded from the new assembly all who had borne arms against Parliament. But Royalist sentiments were already so predominant in the people that no regard was paid to this restriction. In every county men were elected who had borne arms against the Commonwealth. In the towns a considerable number of Presbyterians were returned. Submission to the government and not hostility to it was now the best recommendation[1]. As far as possible those were avoided who had taken any part in the purchase of the confiscated estates.

---

[1] It came apparently from the old Speaker Lenthall. According to a letter from Lady Mordaunt, March 30, 'he (Lenthall) would have the proposals such as he believes the people would accept, but would have them proceede from the King as a free act of grace, which he offers to confirme to them by a free parliament.' Clarendon Papers iii. 712.

The state of public feeling left no room for doubting that the recall of the King was imminent: it was not however destined to be accomplished without a slight disturbance.

The Republicans and Anabaptists found themselves virtually excluded in the new elections. Hitherto they had kept in their own hands the two great keys of power, the majority in Parliament, and the command of the army. They were now deprived of both, and felt that for the future they would no longer command, but would have to dread the vengeance of their opponents.

There are few motives more stimulating than the consciousness of a power which has only recently been lost. The defeated party had no thoughts of abandoning their cause at once; they hoped to save themselves by one determined effort. In every county they rose in arms. Lambert, who had succeeded in escaping from his confinemeut in the Tower, appeared soon after at Daventry, at the head of some troops devoted to their general. His force consisted of four squadrons of regular cavalry and a few irregular bands of separatists. He could never have expected to gain any real success with so insignificant a body of men; but his secret hope was to find partisans in the rest of the army who would declare for him, and then once more to raise the adherents of his party in London.

When Colonel Ingoldsby advanced against Lambert's troops, with a force which though not large was far superior to that of his opponents, the latter requested a conference, which was granted them. They then proposed the re-establishment of the Protectorate, not under Monk, from whom they expected nothing further, but under Richard Cromwell, who would best secure the interests of the faithful and of the army[1]. Already however a directly opposite tendency had become prevalent even in the army. The reply to the proposals was a scornful reminder that their authors had themselves forced Richard Cromwell to abdicate. As Ingoldsby's troops advanced with drawn swords, Lambert's men lost heart. Some of them deserted to Ingoldsby, others sought safety in flight. Lambert had taken up his position in a ploughed field, where the good horse which he rode could be of no service to him. He in vain entreated to be allowed to ride off the field. Ingoldsby himself took him prisoner, and brought him back to the Tower.

It is remarkable that within an army which had once upheld its opinions by deeds of bloodshed and valour, it should have subsequently become impossible to form a party willing to appeal to the chances of war against their opponents. The army had in truth become almost a political corporation, in which the minority had simply to follow the lead of the majority. Even Haslerig had at the last used his influence in reducing his adherents among the troops to obedience.

For a time indeed an opposite result had been feared. Monk declared that should a general desertion take place among his troops, he would raise the King's standard and declare at once for Charles II. The royalist nobles promised that they would join him. At a great review of the regiments of the city militia, in which the Royalist aldermen held the posts of colonels, the most enthusiastic Royalist demonstrations took place. Monk, and a number of private persons of all ranks, who were of the same way of thinking, were anxious to check them. They might easily have ended in a tumultuous proclamation of the King. The same evening however Lambert was brought a prisoner to London. The next day, the 25th of April, the new Parliament met, and things went on as before.

---

[1] Giavarina, April 9: 'Tutti li popoli del paese tengonò fissa la mira per nominar parlamentari che nodriscono humili sensi, in molti luoghi lasciando fuori li principali delle provincie solo perche dubitano, che aspirano a conditioni.'

[1] 'The business they did strive at was, under pretence of security to all interests, to persuade a readmission of Lord Richard to his Protectorship.' See the full account in the Mercurius Politicus, April 23.

It was in Monk's power to have insisted on the observance of the qualifications. The Presbyterians fully expected that he would do so, and the matter was actually discussed; but the time for such restrictions had passed: even those members who had been elected contrary to the prescribed conditions were admitted. They amounted to about a hundred and fifty.

In the meantime the peers of the Upper House met as if by their own right. They elected their Speaker, and entered into a mutual alliance with the Lower House.

Two of the elements of the constitution were thus re-established according to the ancient forms of the English state: the third element was alone wanting,—the King. It was at this moment that Grenville reached Westminster. He brought letters from the King to Monk, to the Houses of Parliament, to the army, and to the city. It was part of Monk's policy that he refused to accept the letter addressed to himself, until Parliament had expressed its sentiments. He studiously appeared not to know Grenville. He wished that the King's declarations should seem to be his own unsolicited act. The members of the Lower House received them standing, and with uncovered heads. The parliamentary tone which pervaded them produced, as was inevitable, the most favourable impression. They were listened to by the Lords with the same marks of respect. The Upper House then proceeded to a resolution which virtually implied the restoration of the monarchy. It simply declared that, in conformity with the ancient fundamental laws of the realm, the government consists and shall consist of King, Lords, and Commons. The authority of the old laws on which the constitution rested, which had once been used to oppose the encroachments of the crown and of irresponsible ministers, was now appealed to against the arbitrary violence of the Commonwealth. 'And whereas,' so runs a second resolution, 'all the troubles of this realm, since it was attempted to destroy its ancient constitution, have been caused by the separation of the head from the limbs, it is necessary first of all to heal this breach and to restore the King to his people.' The abrogation of the old constitution had been declared when the proposal of the Lords for a conference between the Committees of the two Houses was rejected; the first step was now taken towards its restoration when such a conference was actually held on this same first day of May. Lord Manchester spoke in behalf of the Lords. He laid especial stress on the fact that it was the attempt which had been made to devise new political forms which had first caused justice to be done to the ancient constitution of England. It was now proved to be the best in the world: 'Where the word of a King is, there is power.' These views and resolutions were joyfully accepted by the Lower House.

But this unanimity by no means implied that all party-feeling and party-views, even those hostile to the declarations which had been accepted, had disappeared. In the Lower House the Royalists betrayed their intention of effecting an immediate restoration of the confiscated estates. In the Upper House, conformably to the views of the Presbyterian peers, those conditions were revived which it had been previously attempted to impose upon the crown. Mention was made of the control of the militia, of a Parliamentary Commission for the administration of the Great Seal. Many were anxious to draw up terms of capitulation, which should be laid before the King. But Monk decidedly opposed all discussion of the point. He declared that he could not be responsible for the peace of the nation and the army if the King's return were delayed. Charles II would arrive without either money or men, and so could neither overawe nor corrupt any one. It would be just as easy to treat with him after his return as before it.

It was this view of the crisis which had decided Monk's conduct during the last few weeks. No one ventured seriously to oppose him. All idea of negotiation was abandoned, and measures were at once taken for proclaiming the King and for inviting him to return. The proclamation is remarkable for the deliberate way in which it renounces the principle of the sovereignty of the people. It contains the acknowledgment that immediately on the death of Charles I the crown had descended by right of birth and undisputed succession to his illustrious Majesty, Charles II, and that he was by the providence of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. The Lords and Commons, with the city magistrates and other citizens present, promised obedience to the King and to the royal line, for themselves, their children, and their descendants, for ever. Unconditional as this submission sounds, yet it is clear from what has been already related, that a reservation was made in favour of individual rights and claims. And to the last there was a party in Parliament which would gladly have postponed the King's return. Charles II appealed to Monk for aid in putting an end to further delay [1].

Charles II had moved to the Hague at the invitation of the States of Holland, when a formal deputation from the two Houses of Parliament, consisting of twelve peers and six commoners, reached him, with an invitation to return to his Parliament and to resume the exercise of his kingly duties. The spokesman for the Lower House was Denzil Hollis. His speech gave general satisfaction; but it was impossible to forget that he had been one of the five members whom Charles I had wished to arrest on the occasion of his ill-starred visit to Parliament [2].

It was curious too that the fleet which was anchored off Schevening, in readiness to carry back the King, was commanded by Edward Montague, who had, it is true, been for a considerable time in communication with Charles II, but who nevertheless had been among those who had hoped to set the crown upon Cromwell's head. On the 22nd of May the King reached the coast. He was greeted with a general salute from all the guns in the fleet. The next day he embarked in company with his brothers York and Gloucester, the first of whom he had raised to the post of High Admiral. The royal arms had been already substituted for those of the Commonwealth, but the King noticed with surprise that the ships still bore names associated with the Commonwealth, such as Naseby, Durham, and Lambert. Almost the first act

---

[1] Letter to Morrice, May 10/20, in Thurloe vii. 912.

[2] Pepys' Diary i. 2. 12.

of his reign was to replace them by names of royalist sound. The Naseby, on board of which he found himself, he re-christened the Royal Charles. It was his policy thus to endeavour to govern under the standard of the monarchy that Great Britain which the Commonwealth had united and strengthened. As he paced the deck of the vessel, which was to carry him to England, surrounded by all the homage usually offered to royalty, he spoke of his flight from Worcester, of his distress, and of his adventures and escape. Tears of sympathy with his misfortunes filled the eyes of many who heard him. In the evening the sailors spoke of nothing else. At midday on the 25th of May the King once more touched English soil. His landing-place was Dover, where he was received by General Monk. It was expected that the General would have betrayed some sense of his own power and services; but nothing of the sort was visible in his demeanour. It was that of a subject humbly imploring forgiveness for his past derelictions of duty. He welcomed in the King the true holder of the civil authority, at whose feet he laid his own military power. His whole attitude breathed only loyalty. The troops received the King in the same spirit. In the address which they presented to him they dwelt only on the services which they had been able to render in restoring him, and declared their readiness to shed their blood for him in the future. We are told that the sight of the disciplined and high-spirited troops drawn up on Blackheath made a deep impression on Charles II [1]. Thus assured, by the promises of their generals and the aspect of affairs, of the loyalty of the army and navy which had once fought against him, he made his entry into the capital on the 29th of May, his thirtieth birthday.

Indescribable was the pomp and unbounded the joy with which he was received [2]. But he could not for a moment avoid seeing that he had entered into the midst of a life full of independence and activity. On his way through the city he was met by the Presbyterian preachers. They greeted him with shouts, and presented him with a Bible. He replied that the Bible should form the rule of his life: thus he reached Westminster. The Lower House had sat that day and passed two resolutions of different import, which were combined. The first provided that the old oath of allegiance and supremacy should be renewed, the second that the King should be requested to confirm Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, the Statute respecting the power of Parliament to approve taxes, and the other privileges of Parliament. They were presented in the evening, and in the very hall from which Charles I had passed to the scaffold. The cheers of the day were still ringing in the King's ears when the Speaker, with great ceremony, laid the measures before him. He replied that in all that concerned the maintenance of the laws and of religion he was as ready to grant as the people to ask: his whole wish was to make them as happy as he was himself[1].

---

[1] 'For indeed they seemed all men of one age and one mind.' (Baker's Chronicle 733.) Undoubtedly the source of the account of Monk's life given by Gumble and in Skinner.

[2] Coventry writes to Ormond in Carte ii. 337, to hasten the King's return 'to prevent the town's running mad, for betwixt joy and expectation the people hardly sleep.'

---

[1] Giavarina. 'Con acclamationi e benedittioni inexplicabili incontrato dal maggiore e magistrati della città, che gli resero gli consueti tributi di soggettione e vasallaggio, e traversando da una parte all' altra questa lunghissima metropoli nel mezzo di soldati a piedi, che tenevan spallierate le strade andava alzando gli occhi alle finestre, riguardando tutti, levando il capello.'

BOOK XIV.

THE FIRST FIVE YEARS UNDER CHARLES II.

THE RESTORATION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS AT THE RESTORATION.

NATIONS are not guided by comprehensive views, they are rather impelled by powerful feelings. Charles I had rendered himself unpopular by his encroachments upon the fundamental rights of the people, by undermining the constitution of Parliament, and by an apparent leaning towards Catholicism. But during the struggle with him the army and the bigoted sectaries had together established a rule far more distasteful still to the convictions and feelings of the nation. It was the dislike felt to a mode of government which disguised violence and oppression under the cloak of freedom that led to the restoration of the old constitution. The cry for a free Parliament, which was the first raised against the Commonwealth, was implicitly a demand for the monarchy.

It was on this state of feeling that the General relied, who had sided with the Commonwealth in its struggle with his fanatical rivals, but had since found that its own sectarian tendencies threatened danger to himself. Thoroughly sober-minded, always prompt and resolute, and far-sighted enough to discern the course of affairs, and thus to retain the lead in his own hands, he secured free play for the general wishes and feelings of the people. Monk did not beget the Restoration, but he may be said to have assisted at its birth. While constantly engaged with the foes nearest at hand, he at the same time accomplished a higher duty, and obeyed the necessity of things, and, supported by the common consent of the nation, inaugurated a new era in the history of England[1].

---

[1] Skinner, Life of Monk 312.

But what the character of that era would be, how far it would link itself on to past centuries, or how far it gave promise of something new, was as yet veiled in obscurity. So far as we can see, no one had any exact idea of what could and should happen. In the struggle of conflicting elements each man cherished those hopes and schemes which best suited his own position.

There were not wanting some who thought that the time had come for once more raising the English sovereign to the rank of an absolute monarch. They argued that an unsuccessful rebellion left the King more completely king, and his subjects more entirely subjects than before. There is extant among the records of this time a memorial[1], in which the King is advised to revive all his prerogatives under the protection of the old penal laws. Above all however he was to resume possession of the crown domains. Trustworthy persons in each county were to discover the amount they produced, which must have risen considerably, and the new rents were to be fixed accordingly. Moreover, since those crown-lands which had been assigned to the Queen-Mother for her jointure would bear rating at a far higher value than their present one, the King might appropriate this additional revenue to the treasury. Some of the crown-lands had lapsed to other hands, these the King might lawfully reclaim. By these means he would undoubtedly obtain an income three times as great as that which his father had enjoyed; and in his wealth, so urged the writer, lay his real power. By strict laws the nobility of all ranks might be at once elevated above the masses, and rendered permanently dependent upon the crown. Men were more securely attached by the prospect of safety for their property than by consciousness of duty. The commons should be prohibited from acquiring landed estates beyond a certain amount. It would be better for them to turn their capital to trade. It is part of the writer's scheme to connect with the new organisation of the domains a sort of fief-system; each domain was to equip a certain number of infantry and cavalry. In this way the King would be able to dispense with the assistance of the people, which could never be purchased except at the cost of relinquishing his most valuable prerogative. Their secular jurisdiction was to be restored to the clergy, but in return they were to be bound to conformity. They were to inculcate from the pulpit the duty of loyal obedience.

The object of the scheme was to render the King independent in matters of administration and finance; to secure for him a military force of his own, and to separate carefully from each other the various orders in the community. There is no doubt that it was modelled upon the great continental monarchies. France especially excited attention at the time, where the power created by Henry IV was being gradually consolidated—an example which was incessantly before the eyes of Charles I. It was not more than eight years since the youthful Louis XIV, a grandson of Henry IV, after having been excluded from his capital by the revolutionary outbreaks of the Fronde, between which and the movements in England there was a certain affinity, had returned thither amid the applause of the people, and had at once begun to establish the absolute authority of the crown. Why should not the restoration of the monarchy in England lead to results like those which it had produced on the other side of the Channel?

But the analogy between the two cases is merely superficial, while the differences between them are radical and important. Henry IV had made himself master by force of his capital, which was the stronghold of his enemies. He had entered it as a conqueror. Charles I had been worsted by the rebellion, and had been executed by its most resolute leaders. He had fallen a victim to the idea of the sovereignty of the people. So too Louis XIV owed his return to a victory gained under the walls of the capital, to a military success, of which the subsequent revulsion in popular feeling was merely the effect. Charles II had no military force at his disposal. Such a case as that assumed in the memorial had never occurred. There had been no suppression of a rebellion. Even the King's own adherents had merely assisted in restoring him. The real cause at work had been an internal change of relations among the rebellious forces: the strife between the one which had succeeded in making itself supreme and the rest. The English Restoration was essentially a parliamentary revolution. The chief reason for recalling Charles II was the impossibility of establishing parliamentary government without the King.

---

[1] Record Office: State Papers, Domestic Series: Charles II, vol. i. no. 81 (no title).

But though the conditions under which the restoration had been effected precluded the possibility of establishing an absolute monarchy of the continental type, yet this by no means implied that the monarchy would quietly sink into a merely parliamentary position. The recall of Charles II would have signified but little had he not been recognised as possessing certain inborn imperishable rights. The authority of the usurper had been based upon the idea of the sovereignty of the people: it was impossible that the same idea could be the ruling one in the restored monarchy. In later times the American Republic has invested it with world-wide importance; but it was hostile to the whole spirit of the English Restoration. Lords and gentry, the lawyers and the clergy, regarded the restoration of an authority whose prerogatives had from time immemorial been bound up with their own as the best means of preserving their own existence. True, these prerogatives did not create their right, but they implied it. It was the hereditary King whom the people had welcomed back with such enthusiasm. That a young and helpless prince, with scarcely an effort of his own, and unaided by any neighbouring power, should have gained the victory over a haughty, powerful and stubborn foe, was universally attributed to the irresistible force of lawful rights. The right of hereditary succession which had shortly before united Scotland with England and Ireland, was once more hailed as the keystone of that ideal arch, which is called the constitution of the realm.

It followed from this that all the proposed alterations in the composition of Parliament could no longer be thought of. A true and complete representative body would have been too powerful to have permanently tolerated the existence by its side of either Lords or King; it would have in all probability plunged the country again into those confusions from which it was so anxious to escape. Those elective powers must necessarily remain in force which the privileged corporations had inherited as an heirloom from the past. It followed too that the Lords must resume their ancient rights. It was merely the natural consequence of the restoration of the royal family that the King's brothers should again take their appointed seats in the Upper House.

Now however that the various powers of the old constitution had been re-established, while their mutual relations to each other remained as ill-defined as before, it was inevitable that there should also be a revival of the old controversies. The newly-restored King had as lively a sense of his prerogative as any of his predecessors, more especially since this prerogative was closely bound up with that hereditary right which had recently been so brilliantly established. But this feeling was equally strong among both Lords and Commons. So long as the conflict lasted they had united against the common foe. They agreed in repealing much that the late legislative assembly had enacted, and in declaring it null and void: but they would not carry this policy so far as to affect in any essential point the parliamentary system. It is to an eminently royalist Lower House that we owe the chief provisions which for ever securely established this system. What the restoration achieved was merely the return to the ancient basis of the constitution, which led inevitably to a revival of the ancient disputes; however much in the main the crisis had enforced union. But the reconciliation of these differences was rendered even more difficult than of old by the presence of new elements which it was necessary either to expel, to pacify, or to accept, and which had distinct relations alike with King, Lords, and Commons.

The religious question itself presented infinite difficulties. The maintenance of the Anglican Church was a duty which Charles I had inherited; and in the attempt to perform it he had lost his life. Nine bishops of that Church were still living, and besides them a considerable number of those who had been ejected from their offices in it. That all these must be reinstated was obvious: the problem was how to reconcile such a measure with the claims of the Presbyterians, to whose assistance the King's restoration was chiefly due. We are in possession of a scheme for the settlement of the realm, published in Scotland[1]: which after acknowledging the lawful heir to the crown, joins to this the demand that the Presbyterian system should be maintained; firstly, because it is divinely appointed; and secondly, because in the League and Covenant lay the chief security for all the political liberties of the three countries.

Again, on what footing should the three nations themselves stand with regard to each other? Cromwell had united the three Parliaments: but in Scotland especially the union had been regarded as an act of violence, and was as such held to have ended with Cromwell's fall.

On his way from Dover to London, the King was met at Canterbury by the leading Royalists. The warmth of their mutual congratulations was however damped by the petitions which they presented to the King respecting the losses they had incurred. He was irritated at being thus solicited the moment that he left his carriage. On the other hand, he received immediately after from General Monk a list of persons qualified to be members of the Privy Council. They were the leaders of the popular party, who had opposed Charles I from the moment of his rupture with the Parliament[2]. Thus, even before he reached London, the King found himself face to face with the old feud between the Cavaliers and the Parliamentarians, which had filled England with war for so many years.

On the evening of the King's entry the Earl of Manchester welcomed him in the name of the Lords, expressing their hope that he would do justice to the various parties, would reconcile their differences, and moderate the more extreme[3]. A hard task for the young Prince, who during his exile had only judged men according to the extent of their devotion to himself, and their power of aiding his

---

[1] 'Paper concerning the settlement of the government in the three nations,' in Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland. Introduction 13.

[2] Continuation of the Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, 5, 6. Unfortunately we possess no other account of these events.

[3] Speech of the Earl of Manchester in the contemporary account given by Kennet, Register 164.

return; and from this point of view had formed his likings, had concluded agreements, and given promises.

It was clearly necessary to form the Council of State, at least in the main, in accordance with Monk's suggestions. By the side of the leading Cavaliers, who were extolled as models of unshaken loyalty, we find the Presbyterian peers who had renounced the King, such as Northumberland, Say, Manchester, and even some of those who had borne arms against him, such as Lord Roberts. With these were joined Cromwell's old followers who had mainly assisted in reducing the army and navy to obedience, such as Monk and Montague. Even Ashley Cooper had formerly belonged to the same party, till Cromwell refused him his daughter[1]. His recent services in restoring the King procured both for him and Hollis the entry into the Privy Council. Both were in the most intimate alliance with Monk. Lastly, some of those who belonged to the Queen-Mother's party, and had been carefully excluded from the court at Brussels, were now admitted to the Council of State.

So motley and numerous a body could never be trusted with the actual conduct of affairs. This was concentrated in the hands of the old confidential advisers of Charles I, whom he had bequeathed to his son:—Ormond, who enjoyed all that influence over Charles II which able men of the highest rank usually exert over young princes; Southampton, who united to a strong sense of duty a deep devotion to the royal cause, and round whom the friends of that cause had secretly rallied. Next to these came Edward Hyde, the Chancellor, who naturally continued after the King's return to prepare matters for his decision, as he had previously done on the Continent. It seems to have been thought desirable to relieve him of the judicial duties of his office, into actual possession of which he now entered, in order that he might be able to devote himself entirely to the conduct of strictly political business as Prime Minister. This arrangement he at once rejected, on the ground that the King would feel it an encroachment, and that the nation wished the government to be in the hands not of a powerful minister, but of the King himself. Colepepper too was spared to have a seat and a voice among the most intimate advisers of the restored King. Hyde and Colepepper had both been among those who—at the time of the great Remonstrance towards the end of 1641, when the dispute with Scotland was still pending, as to whether the Royalist Episcopalian system should be established, or that of the Presbyterians accepted with its accompanying provisions, limiting the royal prerogative—stoutly advocated the former course, and were on that account summoned by Charles I to his Privy Council. Hyde's conduct during the negotiations at Uxbridge, where the same religious and political questions had assumed a form still more unfavourable to the Royalist views, confirmed Charles I's confidence in him. When shortly after it was thought advisable, in compliance with the wish of the western counties, to entrust the Prince of Wales with an independent sphere of action there, and to form a Privy Council for him, Hyde, Colepepper and Southampton, who had already been engaged in the conduct of affairs at Oxford, were appointed members of it. On the decline of the royal cause in England, which began in 1646, Hyde and Colepepper accompanied the Prince to Jersey. When, after Charles I's execution, a Royal Council was formed round Charles II, they were its most prominent members. After the defeat at Worcester, and Charles II's flight to France, Ormond became their constant ally both in court and council. He formed the closest friendship with Hyde, and we have frequently noticed instances in which they acted in concert. After all that they had previously been and done, after all their services and sufferings, they naturally attained on the restoration of the throne to the highest posts. Secretary Nicholas was their inseparable ally; up to the flight of Charles I to the Scottish camp he had remained at his side, and had since served the son as zealously as he had served the father. Together they represented the principle of Legitimacy in its purest form. The more recently established interests, the school naturally alien to the monarchy, found a spokesman in Monk, who had however done more than any one else to restore them to their allegiance to the King.

---

[1] Compare the note in Carlyle's Cromwell iii. 151.

With Monk, his chief confidant William Morrice was admitted into the highest circle of government as assistant secretary to Nicholas. While still in the Netherlands the Chancellor had made offers of friendship to him and asked for his confidence. In the alliance between Monk and Hyde, Nicholas and Morrice, we see the alliance of elements originally opposed, and which approached each other from opposite sides.

It was thus that within the Council of State a sort of cabinet was formed, such as is wont to grow up almost spontaneously round the persons of new princes: a cabinet composed of men personally trustworthy, who scarcely require any formal appointment, much less any formal definition of their sphere of action. Before the Council Board, for such was the name given to the smaller body, came all questions that necessarily affected the establishment of the new system and required the most prompt determination.

It had been already agreed in Holland previous to the Restoration, that the King should employ only men of undoubted honesty in the most important affairs; and it was expected of them that they should devote themselves to their work with zeal and dexterity, without regard for their personal interests, until the prevailing disorder should be suppressed, and the new order of things firmly established.

Some fugitive notes are still extant in Nicholas's handwriting, from which we can learn what took place at the sittings of these leading men, whose secretary he was[1]. The sittings begin on June 15, in the third week after the Restoration. On the 18th it was resolved, in the presence of the King, that their meetings should be held every Monday and Thursday at ten in the morning, in the Chancellor's room. If we glance over this scarcely decipherable protocol, we are struck at once by the difficulty to which the possession of Dunkirk gave rise. It was debated what troops should be sent to garrison it, whether they should be commended to the special care of Parliament, or should be thrown for their support upon the contributions which they could levy upon the country round. Especial attention was paid to the returns of custom and excise, which came next under discussion. Estimates were made of the amount they had formerly produced, and of that which they now yielded, and also of the modes by which to increase them. The King relinquished his privilege of being exempt from them. Ormond called in a skilful man to introduce a more economical expenditure at court. The treasury was especially embarrassed by the arrears due to the navy. The possibility was long discussed of permanently relieving the distress by raising and paying down a large sum. During the first few months, before Southampton's appointment as treasurer, all the important business of the treasury came before this Board. It also, though the Chancellor had already entered upon the duties of his post, debated how to fill up the great judicial offices, and in discussing this the question arose whether those lawyers, who had been appointed by an authority other than that of the King, should be promoted or not. Of the affairs of the Anglican Church we hear nothing; but the continued agitations of the Anabaptists excited the most serious attention. Information was given of congregations into which no one was received who had not absolutely abjured the authority of the civil magistrate, and precautions were taken against them. Ashley Cooper was sent to the Tower to examine the prisoners. A list of Anabaptists, who were thought dangerous, was laid before the General. Search was made for hidden arms. Prisoners who were released were bound over not to create any disturbances. Under such circumstances it was doubly important to entrust the government of the country to trustworthy hands. Great care was taken to discover devoted sheriffs. It was resolved that the municipal magistrates should take the oath of allegiance. For Guernsey they endeavoured to secure a man who was a landed proprietor and would live on the island, for it was a post of trust. The affairs of the sister-kingdoms also came under the consideration of the Board; but it was thought desirable, when for instance a deputation arrived from Ireland, that the King should be present in person when it was received. Charles II preferred to receive the deputation alone; but he informed the Board that he had promised at once to appoint a commander-in-chief for Ireland and generally to establish a firm system of government. A few days later the Board found it necessary to remind him of the urgency of such a resolution. Nicholas was entrusted with the duty. The King soon after made his appearance at the Board, and told them that he had appointed Roberts Lord-Deputy of Ireland. He then asked what they advised with respect to Scotland. To prevent any outbreak of party-spirit there, they proposed to retain the troops in the country for the present, but they did not insist on the subordination of Scotland to England. They allowed the Scots to hold their own Parliament, on condition of their promising to organise the government in such a way as should recognise the ancient rights of the King. The existing taxes were still to be paid until further notice.

---

[1] Record Office: State Papers, Domestic Series: Charles II, vol. i.

It is consistent with the nature and constitution of the Council Board that it should have abandoned with so little scruple the legislative union of the three kingdoms. Monk was in favour of the scheme. He had mainly paved the way for the re-establishment of Scottish independence by concluding that agreement, which enabled him to march into England. Foreign affairs were discussed by the Board not unfrequently, though less constantly[1]. It was still doubtful whether, by receiving the Portuguese ambassadors, the King would not destroy the existing friendly relations with Spain. General discontent was expressed at the hostile attitude assumed towards the King by the French ambassador, Bordeaux. Claims for compensation on account of some ships which had been captured were sent to the Dutch, from whom however a loan was hoped for.

But, extensive as the sphere of action of the Council Board was, its actual power was small. On every question it required the co-operation of Parliament.

---

[1] In Clarendon's Apology to the House of Lords (Life ii. 459) greater stress is laid on the foreign business of the Council Board than is warranted by these protocols.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONVENTION PARLIAMENT IN THE SUMMER OF 1660.

IT had originally been intended that the Parliament chosen at the last elections should do nothing more than formally acknowledge the King; this done, the King was at once to issue writs for a fresh election, as only a Parliament summoned by the King himself could be considered a lawful one.

But it was now urged that a fresh election if held at once would arouse all the evil passions in the country, and would endanger the conciliatory position assumed by the government. One of the first acts of the newly-restored King was to recognise as lawful that Lower House which had been elected without his writs, though it was true that such a measure did not completely satisfy the legal conscience of the nation. The power of dissolution alone he expressly reserved to himself.

More than this was impracticable, inasmuch as the Lower House, without waiting for the King's return, had, in obedience to his proclamation, proceeded at once to settle the points touched upon in the manifesto issued from Breda, and which had been first mooted in London. A proclamation, dated the 8th of May, states that the Commons assembled in Parliament were busied with certain measures of the greatest importance for the country—an act namely for the security of the Protestant religion, an act of amnesty, and lastly, one for the payment of the arrears due to the army and navy.

The most important, or at any rate the most urgent, of

these was the second—the act, as it was entitled, of amnesty, indemnity, and free pardon; for on this act it depended how far all those who had taken part in the rising against the King should, on his return, be secured or not against the operation of the laws anciently enacted for the protection of the crown. The manifesto from Breda had already declared that a general pardon would be granted. But, in the first place, this announcement required to be confirmed by the formal sanction of Parliament; and secondly, the King had himself announced that certain exceptions would be made. All those who had had a hand in the condemnation and execution of his father were to be excluded from all hope of pardon. Their punishment was in fact almost the condition on which the rest were forgiven. As early as May 12 a debate on this question took place in the Commons, which was of the greatest importance for the political future of the country. A member remarked that, between those who had taken part in condemning Charles I and those who had drawn the sword against him, no real distinction could be drawn. But if the amnesty had any object, it was surely that of protecting against the vengeance of the laws all those who during the Long Parliament had declared against the King, or offended him: only those were to be left to their fate on whose shoulders rested the burden of the King's death—the leaders of the Republicans and fanatics. His words excited remonstrances from all sides of the House. It was urged in reply that it was impossible to put on the same level such an act as the execution of the King, which excited general abhorrence, and participation in a war, which aimed at bringing delinquents to punishment and defending hardly-won liberties. While the Commons thus maintained the general legitimacy of the principles laid down by the Long Parliament, they handed over to the serjeant-at-arms a list of those concerned in the condemnation of Charles I, with orders to arrest those named therein. But even in this point they were anxious to observe moderation. It was resolved that seven only of those who had sat in judgment on the King should be excepted from the amnesty. After the King's return these merciful intentions still prevailed. On the proposal of the

Commons a proclamation was issued ordering all the King's judges, as well as the officers of the court, to surrender themselves within fourteen days on pain of being excluded from the amnesty, thus implying that they might, by so doing, obtain its benefits. They next proceeded to name the seven whose lives were unconditionally forfeited. They were the leaders of the vanquished factions: Harrison, the Anabaptist; the rigid Republican, Scott, and five others who had made themselves generally detested by their violent conduct. They were to be sacrificed in expiation of the death of the King and of the peers who had followed him to the scaffold. The other members of the court were not to enjoy the full benefits of the amnesty, but their lives were to be spared.

For a second list of excepted persons was now drawn up, including in addition twenty other persons, who had taken a prominently active part in the late disorders. The names were read out one by one, and the extent of their guilt was discussed [1]. Prynne had, for instance, denounced Whitelocke as deserving punishment. He was defended by Annesley and Palmer. It might be advisable, they urged, to disgrace him and to inflict a moderate fine, but not to confiscate his estates: for this reason, if for no other, that he had a large family. It was proved that he had also done the King good service, and on these grounds his name was struck off. It seemed however as if the House would not be satisfied with so small a number as twenty. The arrest of the authors who had written in defence of the King's execution was demanded; among others of John Milton the poet. The list of accused, its prescribed limits once passed, grew longer and longer. From the King's judges it passed on to the members of the other high courts of justice, then to those who had abjured the King and who had petitioned against him; it attacked next the major-generals and those who had assisted them in collecting the taxes, the officers and commissioners who had thus enriched themselves. The well-filled sponge,

---

[1] We learn this from an extract out of a fragmentary journal which was in the hands of the author of the Old Parliamentary History, and which well deserves to be again brought to light.

so it was said, must be squeezed dry. The members of the Parliament of 1648 brought forward claims for compensation against those who had then arrested, imprisoned, or ejected them.

Meanwhile the same question had already been discussed in the Lords. That House had, during the month of May, again filled up its numbers. At the request of the King, and on the ground that it is the King's prerogative to award honours and dignities, the House had confirmed the much-disputed appointments made by Charles I after his departure from London. We find more than sixty lords, at least as many barons, and a corresponding number of viscounts, marquises, and dukes assembled in the Upper House, so that more room had to be provided. Lord Chancellor Hyde took his seat on the woolsack. On July 13 George Monk, raised by the King to the dignity of Baron Potheridge, Earl Torrington, and Duke of Albemarle, entered the House. Escorted by two other peers, he handed his patent to the Lord Chancellor kneeling, and was then conducted to his seat by Garter King at Arms. The Commons had granted him an imposing escort; the peers expressed their thanks to the King for his appointment. He was still the hero of the day. In the restored House of Lords the feelings which had produced the Restoration, and the animosity against those who had been in power during the last few years, were far keener and livelier than among the Commons. A committee was appointed to inquire into the injuries which the Lords had suffered in their persons and in their privileges. They wished to make all responsible who had offended most grossly against the King by word and deed, and to bring up for trial those who had assisted in the execution of the great peers, Capell, Holland, and Hamilton. The Bill of Indemnity, in the form in which it finally came up from the Lower House, by no means satisfied the Upper. 'I am consumed with rage,' exclaimed Lord Bristol [1], 'when I think that the blood so cruelly shed of so many noble persons of all degrees cries aloud for vengeance, and can find none; that wicked men decked out in spoils taken from the most loyal members of the nobility and gentry are to enjoy their triumph undisturbed: who is there that can think on such things and not feel his heart burning with rage?' He however advised the Lords, for the sake of the public good, to repress these feelings. For already the accounts of what had passed in the two Houses had given rise to a feeling in the nation that the Bill of Indemnity would, through the number of exceptions, more resemble a bill of pains and penalties than a measure of reconciliation and forgiveness. In the capital especially it excited disturbance. Not only could the government no longer hope to obtain an advance of money which it sorely needed from the city, but care was taken to embarrass it in every way; in the collection of the taxes, in the payment of the troops, and in the maintenance of public order. In this difficulty the King, on July 27, appeared, at the special request of the Council Board, in the House of Lords, and adjured them to lay aside all animosity, all thoughts of revenge, all recollection of their past wrongs, and to accept the amnesty without excluding from it any but the murderers of his father. He read to them the words of his declaration from Breda, which announced that intention. Without such a promise, he told them, neither they nor he would have been sitting in that place. Thus pressed, the Lords resolved that punishment should be inflicted on none but those who had been concerned in the trial of Charles I, but on all of them. The Commons remonstrated. They wished to make good the promise held out in the Proclamation to those who voluntarily surrendered themselves. The Lord Chancellor replied that neither the King nor the Lords understood this to imply a promise of pardon. Blood could only be atoned for by blood. Shipwreck was imminent unless some few were thrown overboard. To spare the chief offenders would be to rob the pardon of the rest of all its value. No one would regard himself as bound to serve a king who forgave all offences. He added that these men would always be dangerous in the extreme, whether they remained at home or were banished from the country, since they could carry on

---

[1] The Earl of Bristol's speech in the House of Lords, July 20, upon the Bill of Indemnity. Somers Tracts vii. 460.

their intrigues from a distance; and pamphlets were already circulated in the country, justifying the execution of Charles I by arguments which would apply equally well to Charles II. With happy tact the Chancellor related that once, on the occasion of his mission to Spain, the King had pledged him to the declaration that neither the nation nor Parliament were responsible for the murder of his father: that had been the work of a small band of wicked and misguided men[1]. This statement produced the most favourable impression: it succeeded thoroughly in gaining its object. For it was of essential importance, and the Commons had from the first aimed at this, to separate the guilt attaching to the murder of the King from all other grounds of charge. It was conceded that even those who had voluntarily surrendered should, 'on account of their abominable treason and murder,' be summoned to stand their trial, but that the execution of the sentence which might be pronounced upon them should be reserved for further Parliamentary sanction. On the remonstrance of the Commons the Lords abandoned their intention of bringing to trial the assessors in the other courts of justice. The Commons in their turn gave up, in deference to the wishes of the Lords, the second list of persons to be excepted. Only men like Lambert and Vane owed their destruction to their name and reputation. It was said that Vane must die for the kingdom rather than for the King[2]. They were both reserved for final punishment.

It was a case of civil war. The most deeply compromised leaders of the Republican and fanatical party, who had attempted to overthrow the monarchy, were to pay for their attempt with their lives, now that the monarchy was restored. Strange as it seems, it was only natural, as affairs stood, that in the court of justice which was formed to try the regicides, not only Royalists but the old Presbyterian peers, Manchester, Viscount Say and Sele, and Roberts, took part, as well as Monk, Montague, and Cooper, who had been formerly members of the Protector's government. Their common hostility to the fanatics had brought them all round to the side of monarchy.

---

[1] Aug. 22. Report of Sir Heneage Finch, Old Parl. Hist. xxii. 435.

[2] 'Mr. Thomas moved, to have somebodie die for the kingdom as well as for the King, and named Sir H. Vane.' Journal, in Old Parl. Hist. 443.

At the opening of the trial in Hick's Hall before the Grand Jury of Middlesex, on October 9, 1660, the president, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, rested his case on the theory of the English monarchy, which though not absolute, for it governed according to the laws, was yet bound by no conditions, and was derived immediately from God; so that no one possessed any coercive power over the King. Such was the meaning he gave to the expression 'the imperial crown of England.' In the subsequent hearings of the case the accused based their defence mainly on two points. They maintained that for conscience sake they had fought for a cause which God by visible proofs had declared to be his own, and also that they had acted in honest reliance on the lawful authority of Parliament. The first plea Sir Orlando refused to admit, as being an excuse which might be used to justify any crime whatever. The second he declared to be utterly groundless, since Parliament consisted of the King himself and the two Houses. No one could imagine that a small fraction of the Lower House, being scarcely an eighth part of the members, could justify them in sitting in judgment on the King, to whom each of them had on admission taken the oath of allegiance, and whom no power on earth was entitled to judge. This is not the place to examine the grounds on which each of the accused was defended or condemned. The greatest impression was made by John Cook, an experienced lawyer, who had been for some time chief justice in Ireland. He relied upon the statute of Henry VII, according to which obedience to the King de facto could not be treated as a crime, and argued that what held good of an actual king, must in equity hold good also of all actual political authority. The court disallowed the argument on the ground that the statute of Henry VII was conceived throughout in a Royalist spirit. The accused were all condemned, without considering whether they had taken part in the execution as members of the court of justice or not. In consequence of the agreement we mentioned above, those who had voluntarily

surrendered themselves were sent back to the Tower. There were still ten on whom the sentence of death was executed. They died in the assurance that theirs was the good cause. Harrison said that God's spirit bore witness to his; men would soon perceive that there was something divine in the cause for which he was dying. 'Farewell,' wrote Cook to his wife; 'though I am dead, my blood will cry out for revenge.' Hugh Peters alone, like Thomas Münzer before him, lost all fortitude. He was scarcely so thoroughly convinced of the truth of his doctrines as were the laymen to whom he had preached them. He staggered on to the scaffold like one drunk. His death was greeted by the crowd with wild shouts of applause. Later writers have taken him under their protection. The executions took place at Charing Cross, on a spot from which the part of Whitehall where the King had been executed was visible[1]. It was to be clear to every one that the sentence was one of requital. The shade of the martyred monarch was to be appeased by the blood of his persecutors. It was blood for blood: but at the same time it established a political principle. At the close of the proceedings Orlando Bridgeman once more brought forward the passages from the statutes in which the King was declared to be the head of the people, the head of the commonwealth, and directly subject to God alone and to no other power. He also quoted the forms of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy which pledged the accused to act in accordance with them. He pronounced it to be the fundamental law of England that no authority, either of a single person such as the Pope, or of a community, nor yet the people, either collectively or through its representatives, could exercise any coercive power over the King of England. He went on to remind them that at the accession of King James I, Lords and Commons, as the representatives of the whole nation, swore to obey and defend him and his heirs with their blood and life. It was because they had violated these fundamental principles that the King's judges suffered the penalty of death. Were the law otherwise, they would be in truth the martyrs which their adherents believed them to be. But in all this there was no proclamation of absolute power. While Bridgeman enforced the doctrine that by the law of England the King can do no wrong and is exempted from personal responsibility, he at the same time laid stress on the fact that the laws afforded a remedy against those who did wrong at the command of the King[1]. It is this contrast between the inviolability of the King and the responsibility under the law of those who execute his commands, which is the foundation and corner-stone of the English constitution. The events of the last few years had awakened in men's minds a sense that it was above all things necessary to establish the first beyond the reach of doubt[2]; but how to reconcile the second with the activity and independence of the prince, which were recognised as indispensable, and what the law ought to be and could be in each case, was a problem that remained to perplex men for the future as it had done in the past.

---

[1] The journal of Oct. 13 describes the 'railed place where Charing Cross stood within which rails a gibbet has been set up, whereon he (Harrison) was hanged with the face towards the banqueting house at Whitehall.'

The regicides excepted, the amnesty was very comprehensive. It declares that all and every treason and felony, or abetting of the same, all crimes and offences against the order of the state, which any one had either advised or ordered, or himself committed, whether singly or in concert with others, in the time between January 1, 1637, and June 24, 1660, should be forgiven and forgotten[3]. So wide a period was taken, in order to include all that had happened from the first combinations between some English magnates and the Scots, down to the complete accomplishment of

the Restoration. In the course of the long disturbances and wars, so the King declares in the preamble, many of his subjects had rendered themselves liable to punishment. He would abstain from any further prosecution of them. No crime committed against himself or his father should any more be made a ground for judicial proceedings, or entail any loss of life, or estate, or honour, or social position. The King hoped, since with certain exceptions he had so liberally refrained from putting into force the old laws, to secure the observance of them for the future. He maintains that for the whole community such observance is absolutely necessary, but that it was impracticable so long as each individual felt that the law menaced him with destruction. While giving his sanction to the Bill of Indemnity, he declared that should any one in future give utterance to revolutionary sentiments, he was resolved, in spite of his natural inclination to mildness, and simply from a sense of duty, to visit the offence with the most unsparing severity.

The old law of high treason had seemed to many like a sword hung over them. Its suspension, so far as the revolutionary period was concerned, revived a sense of security in English society: it was the condition of the success of the Restoration. Moreover, in the matter of the confiscated estates the greatest lenity was shown. The estates of the Crown and the Church, and finally of the exiled Royalists, were restored; a matter easily accomplished. Those only who had come to terms with the Commonwealth, at however great a loss, received no compensation.

It was now possible to discuss in earnest the proposed subsidies, which were absolutely indispensable. They had reference chiefly to two objects, the disbanding of the army and the endowment of the crown. They had already come under notice, but had always been postponed.

We may ask what reason there was to hope that the army, which had once been the holders of power, and could at any moment seize it again either for themselves or for the King, would be willing to allow themselves to be disbanded, and so reduced to a nonentity? That it was so, resulted from the attitude which Monk had assumed towards them.

---

[1] The extracts from this speech given in Echard and in the Somers Tracts are not entirely trustworthy. The concluding speech (State Trials v. 1226) runs as follows: 'Remember that no power no person no community or body of men, not the people either collectively or representatively, have any coercive power over the person of the King by the fundamental laws.'

[2] 'The law in all cases preserves the person of the King to be authorised, but what is done by his ministers unlawfully, there is a remedy against his ministers for it.' State Trials v. 1228.

[3] An act of free and generall pardon, indemnity, and oblivion.

The moment that the declaration from Breda had been received, which left the final arrangements to the decision of Parliament, the army had also accepted it. The council of officers assured the General that, out of gratitude for the discipline which he had introduced, they were ready to obey him, and also the authority which God should set over them; in other words, 'to acquiesce in whatever decision the Lord should bring about from the deliberations of the present Parliament[1]. They saw, as they imagined, in the declaration the settlement of all the points on account of which they had originally taken up arms; the maintenance of the Protestant religion, the privileges of Parliament, the liberties of the subject, the fundamental laws of the land, and even the dignity of the King, whose loyal subjects they professed to be. In its tone the address reminds us of that which was put forth when they first took up arms under Essex, before the rise of the Independents. Since the officers had in the interim taken the oath of allegiance, it might have been thought that no further objection could be taken to them. But it did not suit the plans either of the King or of the Parliament that they should continue to exist. The latter did not wish it, because a standing army and a Parliament are not easily compatible. Colonel Birch remarked that he was himself a member of the army, but he felt bound to say that the liberty of the people was not safe so long as the army existed. In the minds of the King and his government, and even of the General who commanded it, the nature of the elements of which it was composed excited anxiety. No sooner was the Bill of Indemnity passed than the report of a Committee specially appointed for the purpose was read, together with a scheme drawn up by Monk. A short debate followed, in the course of which the old constitutional objection to the army was once more revived. Morrice, Monk's confidant, declared that it kept the nation in a sort of perpetual earthquake. It was finally resolved that

---

[1] 'The humble address of the officers of your Excellencie's (the Lord General Monk's) army in the name of themselves and their brethren.' Baker's Chronicle 772.

the whole English army should be disbanded as soon as possible.

There was no longer any difficulty in finding the necessary money. A Committee of both Houses was entrusted with the task, and the treasurer made his payments under their direction. Not merely were the arrears paid in full, but a small present was added, to the amount of a week's pay. In England and Wales sixteen regiments of infantry, each of them 1000 strong, and thirteen regiments of cavalry, each consisting of 600 men, were selected by lot to be disbanded. Fifty garrisons were treated in the same way. Most of those discharged acquiesced in their fate, recognising in it the hand of God. Many of them resumed the trades which they had formerly followed, with a view to which Parliament voted some relaxations of the law. Many who had served as superior officers and colonels in the army were seen to take up again the handicrafts to which they had been brought up as boys. It is true that others considered themselves betrayed by Monk, and treated with ingratitude by the King. They looked forward to an opportunity of hereafter giving vent to the inward wrath which they were now obliged to suppress.

Together with the claims of the army the King also urgently insisted on his own, after the acceptance of the Bill of Indemnity. That ancient subject of dispute, the tonnage and poundage duty, was readily conceded to him; but he protested that the income derived from it was entirely swallowed up by the weekly payments to the navy. He had received nothing but what the Parliament had at first sent him in Holland: on this he had lived till now; his brothers had not as yet received a shilling from him. He could not even entertain those who visited him in Whitehall[1].

The arrangements for the public administration, the cost of which was then defrayed from the same fund as that of the court, rendered it additionally necessary to secure the King a fixed income. In order to arrive at some estimate of the fixed sum required, it was resolved that Charles II should have an income secured to him equal to that which his father had enjoyed, and besides that this should be somewhat augmented. It was calculated that in times of peace Charles I had received £900,000, partly, it is true, from unlawful sources, but that his expenditure exceeded this amount by £200,000[1]. It was thought sufficient, and there was some difficulty in bringing the House to consent, to resolve that the King should have a yearly income of £1,200,000. In presenting the Bill the Speaker remarked that they hoped thus to enable him to support the splendour of his crown[2].

---

[1] Journal of Lords xi. 184.

It is clear, however, that for this the sum was inadequate. The income which the King already received was estimated at £800,000. It was, it is true, now augmented by £400,000; but in the Council Board it was noticed that the expenditure was in excess of the receipts by a million, and that an additional grant of £600,000 would be necessary to equalise them. During his exile the King had incurred debts to the amount of three millions, and had been obliged to pay exorbitant interest upon them. It was a burden which he felt to be intolerable: for any extraordinary demands he had not a penny at his command: financially he was completely dependent upon Parliament[3]. Charles II deeply felt his embarrassed position. He loved pleasure, was a bad housekeeper, and extravagant. His old Royalist friends made incessant claims upon him; he wished to respond to them liberally. More than this, he secretly cherished extensive designs, to execute which he required an independent income. He determined by some means or other to make himself independent of Parliament; this was the ruling idea of his life, and decisively influenced his foreign policy.

---

[1] The sums from 1637 to 1641 are £895,819 5s. and £210,000.

[2] 'Supporting and upholding that grandeur and splendour which is due to your Majesty.' Grimstone's Speech, Sept. 13.

[3] Ralph, a consistent opponent of the court (Hist. of England i. 30, note): 'They did not undertake to saddle the people with the whole load of government, they took care to continue the (king's) purse in their own power; it was never their design to put him above dependence.' I can find no trustworthy evidence for the assertion that Lord Clarendon had it in his power to secure the King an adequate grant.

CHAPTER III.

FOREIGN POLICY. MARRIAGES IN THE ROYAL FAMILY.

WERE it allowable to use such a phrase as a negative event, I should say that among the most important of such events was the fact that the restoration of the monarchy in England was accomplished without the direct interposition of any of the great continental powers. The political independence of the realm of which the Tudors had laid the foundations, which under the Stuarts had been extended so as to include the whole of Great Britain, and which had recently under Cromwell displayed its full strength to the world, was now confirmed by the manner in which the return of the exiled royal line had been effected.

But the evil which had been avoided during the crisis itself, became again imminent as soon as that crisis was past. King Charles II, long accustomed to look abroad for support, felt himself compelled, by the insecurity of his authority even after his restoration, to seek the assistance of foreign powers in his domestic policy.

He applied first of all to Holland and Spain. In July 1660 the States-General suggested to Charles II the possibility of renewing their old alliance with England. Ormond and Hyde replied, that the promise of protection against external foes, which would have formed the main point in the terms of agreement, was of no value to the King of England; cut off as he was from the rest of the world he needed protection only against his foes at home. It was the time when the possibility of disbanding the army was still doubtful; and when an attempted reaction was expected on the part of the fanatics. The King told the Dutch ambassador that he should consider himself eternally indebted to the Republic, if it would lend him two millions for this object[1]. The Republic did not at once reject the proposal. The Grand Pensionary on one occasion declared it to be practicable. The scheme failed, because the King shortly after allowed himself to be persuaded by the city of London and by the Lower House to renew the Navigation Act of 1651. The impression thus created in the States-General was so unfavourable that it was found impossible to persuade them to support his government by a large loan.

The King disclosed his sentiments still more openly in a conversation with an old friend, who came to him as plenipotentiary from the court of Spain.

The Spanish ambassador at the Hague, Don Estephan de Gamarra, had succeeded in being the first foreign minister to offer his congratulations to King Charles, on his way from Breda to the Hague. He did not allow himself to be deterred, by the suspicious and offensive haste of Charles's departure from Brussels, from so important a duty as that of counteracting at the earliest opportunity the intrigues of France or even of Portugal. His anxieties were set at rest by a cordial reception, and he accompanied the King to the Hague. In the course of the political conversations into which Charles readily entered, he manifested a strong leaning towards Spain. He declared with truth that he was in alliance with Philip IV, and wished to remain so[2].

No more definite negotiations however took place until September 1660, when he was visited at Westminster by General Marsin, an old friend from the Netherlands. Marsin was on the most intimate terms with Fuenseldaña, the Spanish ambassador in France, to whom he supplied an account of his conversation with the King. Charles II did not deny that he had frequently suffered mortifying insults at the hands of the high

Spanish officials in the Netherlands; he declared that but for the kindness shown him by Don Luys de Haro he should be the enemy of Spain. In the course of the interview the rival proposals from France and Portugal were again touched upon. The King remarked that the offers of money which had accompanied them, though he had not as yet accepted them, had made a great impression upon him. Nothing was said of the disbanding of the troops—since the work had already begun. But Charles disclosed to his old and trusty friend a far more extensive scheme: he told him that, so long as the Presbyterians retained possession of all the important posts in the state, he could not feel himself safe. His intention was to dissolve the present extremely Presbyterian Parliament, as soon as the disbanding had been effected, and then to organise an army for himself from his own resources—in other words, without the consent of Parliament[1]. He hoped for Spanish assistance, not through the Netherland government, but through the King of Spain, and perhaps under the management of Marsin himself: above all however he wanted money. Marsin replied that money he should have, if he would restore Jamaica and Dunkirk. The King answered that such terms would not satisfy him: if the Spaniards would decide to support him in his design, he would accept such assistance more readily from that power than from any other, since he was anxious to be the friend and ally of the King of Spain.

One step leads to another. The King was discontented with the obviously inadequate grant made him by Parliament; but when he cherished ideas such as he now expressed, it was inevitable that the suspicions of the other side should be aroused, and that their fears should impel them to make their

---

[1] Letters of Nassau to the Rathpensioner J. de Witt, July 16, 23; Sept. 14, 17, and Witt's answers, Sept. 24, Oct. 8, in the Dutch Collection of De Witt's Letters.

[2] Letters from Gamarra, May 20, 1660, in the archives of Simancas. (Archives de l'empire, at Paris.)

---

[1] 'Necessitaba mucho de tenir algun dinero suyo sin haverlo menester pedir al reyno. Porque aunque para despedir los exercitos le habian ya concedido el bastante, era su intento luego que los hubiera despedido y licentiado el parlamento, formar un exercito de dinero suyo que uniendo los protestantes con los catholicos vaiar (baxar) los presbyterianos, que oy con las plazas y puestos que tenian eran duenos del reyno y que mientras que estubiesen en el estado en que estaban, el no se hallava seguro—Si España se viera en estado de ayudarle en este desiño que riceveria de mejor gaña su assistencia que de otro ninguno, porque su deseo era de estrechar amistady aleanza con el rey.' Fuensaldaña, September 21, 1662.

grant as meagre as possible: this parsimony in turn confirmed his resolution of emancipating himself from such restrictions.

The foreign and domestic circumstances of a country must in the nature of things modify each other. We have already seen in the case of the Commonwealth and of Cromwell how the necessity of crushing their foes at home determined their relations with the European powers. But the case is very different where foreign relations are used for purposes of domestic policy. Charles II did not scruple to ask as the price of his political alliances for help in elevating the kingly power at the expense of Parliament. From the very commencement of his reign he never shrank from using foreign money thus earned in pursuance of his schemes at home.

Fuensaldaña, the Spanish ambassador at the French court, who regarded the alliance with England as the best hope of the Spanish monarchy, and would have desired nothing better than that his court should have acceded to Charles' terms, now proposed a marriage between Charles II and the Infanta Margaret, the second daughter of his own King; connected with which was a scheme for marrying Charles II's sister Henrietta to the German Emperor Leopold. His proposal however came too late. The Infanta Margaret, in whose behalf her friends had already put forward a claim to the Spanish succession, had been previously betrothed to the Emperor Leopold himself. Fuensaldaña's idea seems to have been that by holding out the prospect of this double alliance it would be possible to attach the King of England at least for some time to the side of Spain. But the Spanish court had a lively recollection of the unpleasant complications in which similar overtures to Charles I had plunged them. Philip IV would have nothing further to do with any such negotiation[1]. He would nevertheless have gladly seen a dynastic alliance between the Austro-Spanish house and the Stuarts: the widowed Empress Leonora was at his instance suggested to Charles. She was still young, a lady of great beauty, and had borne children to her late husband.

---

[1] Such was the opinion of the Council of State 'que se hablassen en el casamiento de la señora Infante, dicese claramente que estava ajustado con el emperador.'

It is remarkable that Charles II should have addressed his first appeals for money, and the accompanying offer of his alliance, to Holland and Spain—countries against which he afterwards displayed such vehement hostility. This tendency of his early policy is singular enough. Marsin asserts that Ormond, no less than Hyde, and also Lord Bristol, had expressed to him views exactly coinciding with those of the King.

Meanwhile however France also had made advances to the King of England. Bourdeaux, who was ambassador at the time, and who had in fact, though he stoutly denied it, made proposals to Monk, at any rate through a third person, for the exclusion of Charles II from the English throne, was refused an audience. It was impossible for him to remain longer in England. Cardinal Mazarin however, who still directed the policy of France with absolute authority, was by no means inclined to take up his cause or to make it a ground of quarrel with the English ministers: on the contrary, he made every effort to establish friendly relations between himself and Ormond and Hyde. By means of a confidential emissary, Crofts, who stood high in Charles II's favour, he intimated to the latter that he was anxious to be the friend of the men who were honoured by the King's confidence. Crofts, on the King's authority, communicated this to the two ministers, who were much gratified. Charles II declares in one of his letters that not only was he himself devoted to the Cardinal, but so also were those to whom he chiefly entrusted the conduct of his affairs[1].

France too, like Spain, had matrimonial alliances to offer to the house of Stuart. A proposal was made to the King which not only suited his own fancy, but promised him considerable pecuniary advantage. He had formerly thought of marrying Mazarin's youthful niece, Hortense Mancini, whose talents attracted and whose beauty fascinated him, on the condition that the Cardinal should then spare no effort to bring about his restoration. Mazarin had refused his consent at the time, because he was anxious not to be hampered in his general state policy by personal considerations. Now however that this alliance fell in with his political aims he yielded. The King's mother, whose chief desire was in some way or other to attach her son to France, heartily approved of it. She hoped that she might thus regain her influence over him, and at the same time, agreeably to the original idea with which she had gone to England, procure relief if not complete liberty for the Catholics. Her arrival in England in November 1660 excited in one party a hope, and in the other a fear, that she would acquire as great an influence over the son as she had done over the father. But it was just this possibility which put Charles II's ministers, Hyde and Ormond, who knew how she disliked them, on their guard against her. With the proposal which the Queen made was coupled the offer of a large dowry, it was said of four million francs. It is certain that such an offer made a great impression at the English court[1]; but the arguments against it carried even more weight. Charles II decided that such a marriage would degrade him in the eyes of his people; he was offended at the confident assurance of success which his mother displayed. He complained that she treated him like an infant, whereas he was thirty years old. What respect could Cardinal Mazarin feel for him if he submitted quietly: finally, he declared positively that he would marry but only as suited his inclinations and his interests[2]. Montague, the Cardinal's confidential correspondent, advised him to suppress the report. The matter was either kept a secret or contradicted, and thus soon ceased to occupy public attention.

---

[1] Extract of a letter from Ruvigny: 'Sa Maj. Britannique souhaite fort d'avoir un commerce étroit avec le cardinal; le chancelier et le Marquis d'Ormond veulent être des amis de son Eminence.' October 7, 1660.

Far from gaining her point it was the lot of the Queen-Mother to witness the consummation of another alliance which she thoroughly disliked, between her younger son the Duke of York and the daughter of the Chancellor Hyde.

When we are told that in the autumn of 1659 the Duke of York acceded without difficulty to the proposal that he should marry John Lambert's daughter, we are apt to infer that he was at the time bound by no other engagement. It is certain however that he was in some way pledged to Anne Hyde, whom as maid of honour to his sister, the Princess of Orange, he had frequent opportunities of seeing, and whose youthful grace and lively interest in the questions of the time had won his heart. It is possible that his proposed marriage with a stranger contributed to awaken in the Prince his old passion, and in Anne the wish to secure him permanently. Shortly afterwards the marriage of James Duke of York and Anne Hyde was concluded and consummated, secretly it is true, but under the sanction of the Church. The King had been told of it, and with some reluctance gave his consent. The Chancellor declares that he knew nothing of it: it is difficult to believe that his wife was equally unconscious. Her friends who visited the house thought that they noticed in her behaviour to her daughter something that betrayed her knowledge of her high rank. Beyond this however the matter was kept a complete secret, and the world was not a little surprised when in October 1660 Anne Hyde, who was near her confinement, declared that she was the Duke's wife, and in the pangs of travail solemnly protested that she had known no man but him. The Chancellor declares that the news excited in him the liveliest displeasure towards his daughter, and a presentiment of the difficulties in which so high an alliance would involve him: in how many minds was the fear awakened that he would thus acquire an authority far exceeding that proper to an official of the state, and would establish it permanently. Moreover, for the present, since the King was still unmarried, the new-born child, a boy, was the heir-apparent to the throne. The Queen-Mother, who had throughout opposed the Chancellor, came to England with the avowed object of saving her family from such a mésalliance. Scandalous accounts were circulated respecting Anne's previous conduct: they originated among the Duke's nearest friends, and were disseminated by those about the Queen. The Duke himself was shaken for the time. On the King, who was importuned to declare the marriage invalid, they made no impression. He knew too well the untrustworthiness and the interested motives of those who hoped to make the daughter's disgrace the means of overthrowing the father. But Charles II would not sacrifice the man who held all the various threads of his policy in his hand, to an animosity of which his mother was the chief source. It was at this time that he raised the Chancellor to the peerage, which made his social inferiority less conspicuous. He created him Baron Hyndon, and shortly after Earl of Clarendon. But inferiority of birth in the wife has never been so much thought of in England as on the Continent. To this may be added another and decisive consideration. All the due formalities had been observed in the marriage. The King declared that it seemed as if his brother had taken especial care to make it indissoluble. It would have been necessary to bring the case before Parliament, and it is easy to imagine what an unseasonable outcry it would have raised and how it would have revived all the dormant party controversies [1]. Charles II had an additional motive for opposing such a course in his anxiety to prevent any interference of Parliament in the matrimonial affairs of the royal family. While however he still hesitated to give his decision, his former passion revived in all its old strength in the Duke of York. By the confession of the accuser himself, the falsehood of the reports that had been circulated was proved beyond doubt. The Duke determined, in spite of the presence of the Queen, who persevered in her opposition to the last, to recognise the validity of his marriage. Before the year was ended the Chancellor saw his daughter recognised as Duchess of York. Her appearance and manners were those of a born princess. During the ceremony of congratulation, which all but the avowed opponents of the marriage attended, the Chancellor, in spite of his gout, remained standing throughout, in order not to fail in the respect

---

[1] Letter from Montague to the Cardinal, July 7. In a letter to his mother the King declares, 'qu'après avoir toutes les raisons de son mariage, il se conformeroit à son sentiment pour votre nièce.' In October the King asks, 'si Mlle. Hortense étoit embellie, et si elle avoit de l'esprit.'

[2] 'Par son propre choix et par des interests convenables.'

---

[1] Letter from Bartet, Nov. 10. The King tells his mother 'les presbytériens voudroient se servir de cette affaire pour brouiller, si on l'apporteroit au parlement.'

which he owed to the blood royal. The Duke and Duchess took up their residence in St. James's. Their son soon after died, but several children followed. Two great English queens were the result of this marriage.

The Queen-Mother had come to England in order to break off one marriage, which she had failed in doing, and to conclude two others, one at least of which she succeeded in bringing about. It was that between her daughter, the Princess Royal Henrietta, and Louis XIV's brother Philip, then Duke of Anjou, but who subsequently took the title of Orleans. Now that the scheme for marrying the Princess to the Emperor had been frustrated by the betrothal of the latter to the Infanta, the Queen's proposal met with approval in England. The King declared emphatically that he preferred such an alliance for his sister to the other. The marriage contract was immediately signed.

No opposition was offered by the English ministers, who were not averse to an alliance with France, provided it gave the Queen no influence in England. They even contemplated a marriage for the King himself, which suited the interests of France, and ran directly counter to those of the house of Austria.

Among the political questions of that day there was no more momentous one than the question whether the Spanish monarchy would or would not succeed in reconquering Portugal. With the conquest of Portugal Spain had attained to the plenitude of her power; its defection had destroyed her preponderance in the world. Both Philip IV and Don Luys de Haro had acquiesced in the distasteful conditions attached to the treaty of the Pyrenees, merely because they thus hoped to be enabled to reconquer Portugal, and the French had at least apparently consented to it.

Unable to resist single-handed the threatened attacks of a superior power, the Portuguese turned for aid to England. Even before the King's restoration they had opened negotiations with Monk [1], who was the more ready to entertain them because the Spaniards were in communication with his enemies the Republicans. The subsequent recall of the King revived their hopes of an alliance with England; since the first monarch of the house of Braganza had been on the most friendly terms with Charles I and had rendered him important services. While Charles II was still at the Hague, he was visited by the Portuguese ambassador, Don Francisco de Mello, with proposals for a renewal of the alliance. Don Francisco followed him to London.

---

[1] Account of the match, from a MS. of Robert Southwell, in the Kennet Register 394.

It was at this time, in the summer of 1660, that a marriage was proposed between the King and the Infanta Catherine, daughter of the first king of the house of Braganza and sister of the second, who was at the time under the guardianship of her mother. Portugal offered important political and commercial advantages: the cession of Tangiers and of a fortified harbour in the East Indies, and also perfect religious liberty for English subjects in all Portuguese territories,—offers which made a great impression, especially upon the London merchants, who however took for granted that it would also be possible to maintain their relations of peace and their trade with Spain [1].

It was the prospect of this alliance which impelled Fuensaldaña to make those advances to England which have been already described. Marsin told the King that he must not reckon upon peace in that case. The Spanish monarchy would break with him as certainly as it had previously broken with Cromwell.

It is very probable that Charles II would have preferred an alliance with the Austro-Spanish house to one with that of Portugal, but his advances were in fact rejected much as those of his father had been in 1623. The Spaniards failed to appreciate thoroughly the importance of a dynastic alliance with England. For the second time they preferred a renewal of their relations of affinity with

---

[1] In September Charles II mentions the offers to General Marsin: 'La plaza de Tanger con puerto fortificado de las Indias, el libre commercio en ellas, y el uso de su religion en todas partes.'

the German line to an alliance with the Stuarts Charles II henceforward turned his thoughts to some other quarter than Spain.

It is true that he had previously promised King Philip IV that, if he were restored to his throne by Spanish assistance, he would aid him in the reduction of Portugal. But since the Spaniards had not contributed in any way to his restoration, and had on the contrary united with his opponents, he considered himself under no obligation to them.

Now too that it was impossible for other reasons to entertain the proposals made on Mazarin's behalf, the English court fell back upon the offers of Portugal. The personal relations of the most influential personages did much to determine the course of the negotiations. As to the necessity of keeping the Queen-Mother at a distance, all were agreed, Ormond and Hyde no less than Bristol and Monk. Bristol however would have preferred the Spanish match, or, since that was impossible, at any rate in its stead a similar one with some Italian princess. On the other hand Ormond and Hyde preferred the Portuguese, which Monk also advocated. For in Monk still survived the old Protestant hatred of Spain, against which country he had formerly served. He wished to see Cromwell's policy maintained, not perhaps with respect to France, but certainly in all dealings with Spain and Portugal.

A further consideration, and one which carried the greatest weight, was the prospect held out by Portugal that she would give a large sum, two million crusados, such a dowry as no princess had ever before brought with her.

In the autumn of 1660 the ambassador Mello received a favourable answer to his proposals [1]. With this he hastened to Lisbon, where, in spite of the large demands which accompanied it, it was welcomed with the utmost joy. They were expecting a fresh attack from the Spaniards both by land and sea in the next spring; an attack which threatened to prove especially dangerous, because while the numerous supporters of the Inquisition were in favour of reunion with Spain, the population generally, oppressed by the excessive burden of a protracted war, could with difficulty be roused to resistance so long as resistance appeared to promise no success, but merely destruction. The King was a minor and incompetent. The lawfulness of the regency exercised by his mother had been questioned. This lady, Donna Luiza de Guzman, was a woman who had done more than any man for the liberation of Portugal from Spain. When Mello arrived she exclaimed that no angel from heaven could have brought her better news. The whole nation breathed more freely, for the English fleet would protect their harbours and coasts, while the ancient strength of Portugal would itself be sufficient to face the Castilians on the inland frontier. Before this strong national feeling all religious antipathies gave way. Any one who protested against the marriage of the Infanta with the Protestant King was regarded as an enemy to his country, and even, it was said, as a heretic. The importance of the concessions by which the English alliance had to be purchased, especially that of a harbour in the East Indies, was not overlooked in Lisbon, but they were thought to be more than counterbalanced by the decisive advantages which such an alliance offered. The Queen-Regent declared that it would be worth while to sacrifice all their possessions in the East Indies for them [1].

---

[1] From a note of Nicholas, it is clear that it was some time before the treaty was agreed to, the main obstacle being the assistance demanded, 'if the King shall not ratifye the treaty entirely, he then desires leave to be gone.'

On the return of the ambassador to London in January 1661, in spite of his satisfactory assurances, a further difficulty occurred. The Spanish ambassador remonstrated officially. He suggested to the King other princesses who were younger, fairer, and to all appearance more likely to bear him children than the Portuguese Infanta. The Spanish court pledged itself to provide any of these with a dowry equal in amount to that offered by Portugal. Lord Bristol, who acted in concert with him throughout, undertook at a moment's notice and with Charles's consent, a journey to Italy,

---

[1] Besides the letters printed in Lister, we also find in the English Record Office several other letters from Maynard, the English consul in Lisbon, which have been used here.

in order to ascertain the personal charms of the ladies of the houses of Medici and Farnese, and thus induce the King to alter his choice [1].

For the ministers it was an all-important question whether Lord Bristol would succeed in making the King change his mind. In a queen devoted to Spain, the Spanish interest, to which they were hostile, would have a representative at Whitehall itself, whom they could not have resisted. In conjunction with her, Bristol would have exercised a decisive influence over the King. Moreover other counter-schemes were already disclosing themselves. The Queen-Mother revived her old design of placing by her son's side on the throne of England some French lady, who would have been under her own control [2]. The ministers used every effort to hold the King to their scheme. They represented to him that his government would be utterly discredited were he to withdraw from an affair in which he had gone so far. They had moreover public opinion on their side. The King was persuaded to recall Bristol before his report had been received.

In consideration of the great political importance of this match the ministers were anxious to assure themselves of the consent of Parliament, which however was no longer the same body that had voted the recall of the King.

---

[1] In his account of George Digby Lord Bristol, Clarendon tells us that 'privately he prevailed so far with the King to send him incognito into Italy, to see those ladies, with a promise not to proceed farther in treaty with Portugal till his return; but upon a short reflection upon the dishonour of this design, His Majesty put a quick end to it.'

[2] 'The Earl of St. Albans was very unwilling to give over the hope of bestowing some French lady upon the King, which would have better complied with other ends.' Lord Chancellor to Bastide vii. In Carte (Life of Ormond iv. 109) the position of the Queen-Mother is misconceived, and the match is treated far too exclusively as a design of the Catholics.

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES. THE CORONATION. A NEW PARLIAMENT.

AFTER the settlement of the Indemnity Bill, by far the most important question before the Convention Parliament was undoubtedly the religious one. The Restoration had been the joint work of the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians; but beyond this nothing had as yet been decided as to their subsequent relations, first of all with each other, and then with the separatist sects whom they had ousted from power, and above all with the Catholics whom they had excluded from any direct share in bringing that event about. The European mind was still steeped in religious ideas. As the result of the intimate connexion which had subsisted from the earliest times between Church and State, religious questions were everywhere, but particularly in England, the very kernel of the political. We may fairly ask whether this is not still the case in our own day; though the fact is less noticed.

In order to understand the controversies which were then pending it will be necessary to look back a few years.

When first the King's restoration was discussed in London, a friend of Monk's, hitherto regarded as a zealous Presbyterian, mooted in conversation the kindred question of the reinstatement of the bishops. Monk however objected that the estates of the Episcopal Church had been sold. He doubted whether such a measure would be approved by the nation; finally he said that at any rate he would not pledge himself to oppose it, but would leave the matter to providence; it would be easier to ascertain the feeling of the country when the next Parliament met.

In reality the issue could not be doubtful. Charles I had lost his life because he would neither consent to the demolition of the Church, nor sanction it by his authority: clearly his son could not resume his throne without also re-establishing the Church. Nine of the bishops who had been ejected during the storm of the rebellion were still alive, and had hitherto so far maintained the ecclesiastical authority of the lawful king, as to hold ordinations by stealth. These bishops themselves, with the clergy who adhered to them, gave the most efficient aid to the restoration of the monarchy, which, as they saw, involved their own.

On the other hand, Charles II had already, when in Scotland, solemnly subscribed to the League and Covenant, and the Scottish zealots had still hopes of keeping him to his word. We cannot be certain that these hopes and wishes were shared by the English Presbyterians. The resolutions adopted by the capital, in which they still formed the majority, were directed merely to a settlement of the ecclesiastical differences by means either of a lawfully summoned Convocation or of a national religious assembly.

It was generally thought that a union must be effected between the moderate Presbyterians and Episcopalians. As early as April 1660 the question was, through Monk's agency, made the subject of negotiations between representatives from the ministers of both parties[1].

By the General's desire, the Scottish minister, Sharp, visited the King before he left Breda. He was the first of all the clergy of the three kingdoms who did so. His reception was most flattering. He was followed soon afterwards by a deputation from the clergy of London, who have also recorded their satisfaction at the consideration with which they were treated by the King, and their admiration of his ability and learning. No one however could imagine that the expectations of the Scots would be realised, and that a rule of conformity agreeable to the spirit of the Covenant would be established. Even if the King, wrote Sharp, wished it, he would be unable to carry it through. There were but few who desired it, and scarcely one who would have openly advocated it. On one occasion during the negotiations between King Charles I and the Presbyterians, Archbishop Usher had proposed a scheme for uniting the two denominations, which was rejected at the time by the Presbyterians. Their leaders were now induced to adopt it, and declared that a limited episcopacy would be acceptable to them.

---

[1] Sharp (who was at the time in attendance on Monk) to Douglas, April 5, in Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland i. 18.

By the King's restoration the sequestrations inflicted upon the episcopal clergy on account of their royalist leanings lost their force. The Presbyterians resigned without remonstrance the livings which they occupied: in some cases they voluntarily recalled their predecessors. Ordinances were issued by Parliament, declaring the restoration of the confiscated estates both of Church and Crown to be compatible with the Declaration of Breda. Little regard was paid to the loss incurred by the purchasers. The surviving bishops returned to their posts and resumed their official duties.

In their congratulatory address to Charles II after his return, the bishops reminded him of the close relation which had existed between the Crown, more especially in his father's case, and the Church. He replied that he desired nothing more than to see the bishops restored; but in the existing state of party-feeling he could not directly interfere; he was forced to leave the decision to Parliament[1].

But the difficulty of the question manifested itself at the very first debate (July 9 and 16) held by the House in Committee. Many, like Heneage Finch, whose speech was perhaps the best, would have been contented with a decision that matters of doctrine should be determined by the letter of Scripture, matters of discipline by the laws. But this was far from satisfying others. They demanded an express recognition of the Thirty-nine Articles, which, as all Europe knew, embodied the true Protestant religion, and secondly, the restoration of prelacy. They argued that the episcopal

---

[1] Gregory. 'Considering the severall interests and animosities he intimated that it were fit he should be advised by the Parliament therein and gain their consent.'

system had merely been interrupted for the time by suspension, as the monarchy had been by rebellion: all must be re-established as before. On the other side the Presbyterian views also found advocates, though the advocacy was less vigorous than might have been expected. They chiefly directed their arguments against the assumed divine right of prelacy, urging that were this claim allowed it would be more absolute than the monarchy. The opinion of the majority, to which the King himself inclined, was that a moderate limited episcopacy would most easily unite both parties[1]. But to determine what these limits should be was impossible for the present: the religious question was interwoven with too many other interests, and was besides scarcely ripe as yet. Ashley Cooper, who expressed this view, proposed and carried an adjournment of the debate for three months. The King was requested in the meantime to discuss the religious question with an assembly of clergy.

The Parliamentary road had thus at last led back to the King, who manifested a deep personal interest in the matter. He had appointed several Presbyterians to be his chaplains, occasionally listened to their sermons, and conversed with them. When they expressed a wish for a reconciliation with the Episcopalians, he told them plainly that it would be impossible for one party to draw the other over to its own side: each must advance some part of the distance, and they would meet half-way. He gave the same advice to the episcopal party. But the first attempt at such an amalgamation, a scheme presented to him by the Presbyterians at his own request, and answered by the Episcopalians, made it clear that their object would be hardly gained by such a method. It seemed more advisable to secure the preservation of peace by a declaration from the King, which should however be laid before both parties for their consideration.

It was a momentous crisis in the annals of the English

---

[1] Bunckley said, 'he thought a moderate episcopacy might take in the good of both parties, and urged the King's present inclinations and endeavours for it; that episcopacy in its extent was more boundless than monarchy.' Old Parl. Hist. xxii. 386.

Church and State when, on October 23 the King met the assembled theologians at the Chancellor's residence, finally to discuss the declaration. He was accompanied by Manchester and Hollis, Albemarle and Ormond. On one side stood the new bishops, Sheldon of London, Morley of Worcester, and three others, with a few Episcopalian doctors; on the other the Presbyterian leaders, such as Reynolds, Calamy, Baxter. The declaration was once more read and discussed. It declared that the bishop should in the exercise of his jurisdiction be bound both by the laws of the land, and also by the advice and consent of the Presbytery, the authority of the clergy was confirmed, the revision of the Common Prayer-book promised, and the ministers were released from the oath of canonical obedience and the observance of certain ceremonies.

It was in reality a most important step towards reconciling the two parties, and it met with their consent. Who could foretell what might not be built on such a foundation? It might have been the beginning of a real system of comprehension.

But the King had not yet gained his object.

Pledged to the Catholics by his own promises, he was anxious, at the same time that he reconciled the two great parties, to secure toleration for the rest. A petition was read from the Independents and Anabaptists praying for freedom of religious worship; and it was proposed to add a clause to the declaration, promising religious liberty to all, so long as the public peace was not disturbed[1]. The Catholics were not mentioned by name, but it was felt by every one that the clause was principally meant for their advantage. The bishops sat silent; the Presbyterians for some time did not venture to speak, fearing to incur the King's displeasure. Baxter was secretly admonished not to do so; but it was impossible for Richard Baxter to remain silent where mention was made of papists and sectaries. For in him still lived all the orthodox zeal of the old Protestants, who used their arms impartially against either side. He was no respecter

---

[1] Baxter's own account, Life 276.

of men. With him it was a matter of conscience to oppose to the face the unexpressed intention, of which he thoroughly felt the importance. He declared that there were parties which could be tolerated, and others which could not. Among the latter he included both the Socinians, who had been mentioned by name, and the Papists. No Presbyterian could ask for toleration for them. The King replied, that the law provided safeguards enough against the Papists. But the question is, retorted Baxter sharply, whether the law is to be put in force or not. The King, finding himself unsupported by the others present, allowed the matter to drop. The declaration was published without the additional clause, and for that very reason probably produced a favourable impression. Dr. Reynolds felt no scruple about accepting a bishopric under these conditions; and even Baxter decided that it involved no recognition of the old prelacy. That he nevertheless refused the bishopric which was offered him was mainly because he wished first to see whether the declaration would become law by the sanction of Parliament[1].

In opposing the proposed clause Baxter had on his side the sympathies both of the Presbyterians and also of the Episcopalians, who shared his fear lest its acceptance should open the door for the re-establishment of Catholicism. For it was at this crisis that the Queen-Mother arrived in England, all whose thoughts and efforts were, it was well known, directed towards bringing back her children and the kingdom itself to the Catholic Church. The Bishop of Worcester remarks in one of his letters, that the declaration recently adopted must serve to unite both parties against the Catholics. The moderate Episcopalians and the moderate Presbyterians made common cause against the zealots in either party and also against the Catholics[2].

Parliament, which had been adjourned on September 13, decreed on the first day of its reassembling, November 6, a formal vote of thanks to the King for his declaration. A bill was brought in to make it law, and it came on for discussion on November 28. It was generally expected that it would pass, since it coincided so exactly with the views of the House. To the objection that by an expression in it the consideration of a synod was deferred, it was answered that an amicable settlement would be more likely to be arrived at in Parliament than in an assembly of clergy embittered by misfortune. The honour of Parliament demanded the decision of a question of such infinite importance for the peace of the nation. The members could not count upon a favourable reception in the counties unless they could report that it was done. But the event showed that the extreme Episcopalian party was also strongly represented in Parliament. It was said that the proposed concessions virtually deprived the episcopacy of all power, and while gratifying the opposite party rendered real conformity impossible. The success of the bill depended entirely on its being supported by the influence of the King and the court. Its advocates reckoned upon this, and thought that, as the measure had originated with the King, they were performing at the same time an act of loyalty. In the end however it proved that even the members of the government spoke against it. The Secretary of State, Morrice, remarked in cold and general terms that what was expedient yesterday might be for that very reason inexpedient to-day. Even doctors varied their treatment according to circumstances. Many diseases were most easily healed by time. It was necessary not merely to do a thing, but to do it in the right way[1]. When the question was put whether the bill should be read a second time or not, 157 members voted for it, and 183 against it. The attempt to make the declaration law had failed. There is every reason for believing that the King himself was not displeased that his declaration, now that the additional clause was struck out, should obtain only a provisional validity.

---

[1] Life of Baxter 281. 'All the doubt was, whether this declaration would be made a law, as was then expected.'

[2] 'The declaration will give satisfaction to the honest and peaceably minded men of both parties, and make them cease to be parties any longer, but unanimously join against the common enemy the Papists,' October 23. Lister, Life of Clarendon iii. 110.

---

[1] Old Parl. Hist. xxiii. 28; unfortunately the only extant account of this important affair, and a very incomplete one.

As if to propitiate the old Presbyterian feeling in another way, a bill was passed for the stricter observance of the Sunday. The objection that it was identical with a measure of Cromwell's was disregarded. G. Booth repeated the old saying, that even the devil could quote scripture.

The Convention Parliament next occupied itself with other questions of high importance, such as the abolition of the rights of guardianship belonging to the feudal monarchy, to which Charles II offered no opposition—a marked change since the days of his grandfather, who firmly adhered to them; and an indemnification for the loss of the income derived from them; and lastly and especially, the control of the militia. But the bill relating to the last point contained provisions so oppressive that Parliament shrank from passing it. Every day already brought accounts of acts of violence committed in the provinces by the lord-lieutenants and their soldiers. The fear was expressed that the bill, if passed, would impose an iron yoke on the neck of the country.

It was apparently the feeling manifested by the Lower House on this very question which mainly contributed to bring about its dissolution. At any rate the King interrupted a debate upon it with the announcement of such a resolution. It was plain throughout that this assembly, adhering as it did to the original principles of the Long Parliament, was scarcely likely to recede from the most important decisions of that body. The leading members however also welcomed the dissolution of the Lower House. They were anxious that the Bill of Indemnity, on which the public safety depended, should be confirmed by a Parliament generally recognised as lawful. But no Parliament could claim to be so which had not been summoned by royal writs according to the established usage. The theory of the Restoration, which aimed above all things at re-establishing a constitutional parliamentary form of government, rendered such a measure desirable.

On December 29 the Convention Parliament was closed. It must rank among the most important of English Parliaments. By the restoration of the King and the Bill of Indemnity it founded the England of our own day. It is not true to say that it displayed an excessive royalism. Neither the restoration of the confiscated estates, nor the settlement of the income of the crown, nor yet its treatment of the proposed scheme for the organisation of the army, fully met the wishes of the King and his adherents. It represents the union of the Episcopalian and Presbyterian parties, to which the Restoration owed its success. But permanently to consolidate this union by the establishment of a moderate system of episcopacy was beyond its power. The solution of the ecclesiastical difficulty it was forced to leave to a subsequent assembly.

In one matter especially, the repression of the sects, with which the punishment of the regicides and the disbanding of the army were intimately connected, the two parties in Parliament had acted in harmony with each other and with the government. But the difficulty by no means ended here. It was in the highest degree improbable that the vanquished faction which had so recently been in power would at once acquiesce in their fate. They persistently refused to acknowledge the authority of the state. They shared the hopes in which the regicides had died. They imagined that they saw their figures shining with light in the cloudy heaven above them. Never had the agitation in the Anabaptist congregations been so strong and deep. They exulted moreover in the consciousness that they were still powerful. Major White, one of the officers of the disbanded army, who was among those who were secretly indignant at their discharge, declared that he could, within twenty-four hours, raise a force of 2000 cavalry as well as a large body of infantry. In December a widespread conspiracy was detected, the intention of which was to seize the Tower and Windsor Castle, and overthrow the new government. General Monk was an especial object of detestation: his orders were to be torn from his body, and his life destroyed[1].

---

[1] In the Public Intelligencer of December 12, in Kennet, Register 327, and in Nicholas' notes, dated December 14, the number is given at 2060 horses. On the testimony of Hall, whose name is mentioned in the list, Montague writes to Mazarin 'Il est très vrai qu'entre eux ils parloient souvent de tuer le General Monk, de tuer le roi, de brûler Whitehall.'

The government took measures of precaution and repression. All discharged soldiers and non-resident persons were ordered to leave London and Westminster. The laws prohibiting unlicensed assemblies were extended to the religious meetings of the separatists. These were now, like the rest, to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy.

The immediate effect of these measures was to produce an outbreak of insane fanaticism as wild as any that had preceded it.

The mere act of taking an oath, as for instance to confirm a promise, the sects regarded as sinful. To take an oath of allegiance to the King was an act which shocked their deepest convictions. They regarded it as an unlawful encroachment on the part of the secular power upon the sphere of the spiritual. No security was offered by the King for the most sacred possession of man, his professed religion; how then could they swear allegiance to him? Among the men of the Fifth Monarchy who, like the Anabaptists at Münster, believed themselves called to establish an imaginary kingdom of Christ in the place of the powers of this world, the feeling of indignation encouraged the delusion that all this persecution had been inflicted upon the faithful simply because they had remained content with preaching, and had never been resolute enough to act. Were they but once to draw the sword, they believed that all earthly powers would fall before them; their foes would fly in thousands at the approach of ten of the faithful. So taught Thomas Venner, a cooper, who had become a disciple of Hugh Peters, and had lately returned from New England, in a congregation which met in a private house. He persuaded his hearers, who were about sixty in number, there and then to seize the arms, which were kept close at hand, and to draw the sword of Gideon in the cause of Christ their King. He had no lack of accomplices. On that very morning open demonstrations were made at the doors of the churches. With the stealthy cunning that not unfrequently accompanies the most insane delusions they had not failed to notice that it was the Feast of the Epiphany (January 6), and that the King, who was escorting his mother on her departure, had gone to Portsmouth. They hoped that his absence, and the festivities which usually marked Twelfth Night, would enable them to overpower the guards at Whitehall, once in possession of which they could soon collect their partisans from the various parts of the kingdom. But the incidents of the morning, and the information given by the landlord of the house where they met, had already put the authorities on their guard. Two companies of the city militia, in which the insurgents had no longer any partisans, were ordered out. When Venner appeared no one ventured to join him. Deceived in his hopes, he retired to Kenwood, then still a forest, in the neighbourhood of Hampstead. Disturbed in this retreat, he and his followers once more attempted an outbreak on the Tuesday night. Their plan was to seize the Lord Mayor in his house, and thus render all authorised resistance impossible, and at the same time to release their friends, a large number of whom had been imprisoned. Had they been able to collect only a thousand men, we are assured by a well-informed witness that a general disturbance would have followed[1]. But the cavalry were already under arms, who had been accustomed to hunt them out on previous occasions at Monk's orders. Monk indeed almost regarded them all as his personal enemies, and he considered it his duty to watch their motions. His troop of horse drove the Fifth Monarchy men back from street to street, till they reached a beer-house, which they barricaded. In the meantime the Lord Mayor had also appeared on the scene, and a body of militia had been collected. The assailants however hesitated to attack the house with fire-arms for fear of rousing the mob: they forced their way into the house from the roof. The insurgents thus surprised defended themselves with the double energy inspired by despair and fanaticism. One man alone asked for quarter, but, as he did so, another who lay wounded by him, attempted to strike him with his sword, to punish him for craving pardon from the wicked. All was already over when Monk and the Duke of York, accompanied by a few of the gentry, arrived at the spot. Venner received nineteen wounds before he was taken: he and several others perished on the scaffold.

---

[1] 'It might have had an influence much further.' Philipps, in Baker's Chronicle 757, in all respects a good account of the matter. The notes of the Duke of York are also suggestive. Some useful notices are supplied by the account of the Venetian Resident.

It was the same party which had once rallied round Cromwell, which had raised him to power, and had then been with difficulty kept in order by him, which after his death had again risen, and had during the last days of the Commonwealth held for some time a high position. The assault which its most fanatical members had made upon the state when it was gradually reassuming its old form was inevitably unsuccessful, but it is not without significance. The republicanism which is inspired by religious enthusiasm has never gained for itself an independent position on this side of the Atlantic. Its future lay in America, but nevertheless it long continued to keep Europe, and especially England, in a state of ferment.

For the moment the insurrection could have but one effect, that of establishing the government more firmly and strengthening the already powerful reactionary movement[1]. All the prisons were filled with suspected persons, among them thousands of Quakers. The proclamation prohibiting religious meetings not licensed by the clergy was extended in its application and strictly enforced. It was ordered that no one should be allowed to remain in London who had not taken the oath of allegiance. No one was to have arms in his house who was not enrolled in the city militia.

Escorted by the militia, King Charles II returned from Portsmouth to London. A body-guard was organised for him, in which were incorporated a number of old refugees who now ventured for the first time to return from Flanders, stout and practised veterans of unbounded loyalty[2]. The dissolution of some of the bodies of troops which had not been previously disbanded, was characteristically enough followed immediately by their reorganisation. Monk's regiment was marched out of its barracks, and ordered to lay down its arms and disband itself. After it had received its pay it was reassembled and ordered to resume its arms. It was told that it would in future be called the King's regiment[1].

---

[1] Letter to De Vic, Jan. 25, 1660/1 (Record Office): 'Our late disturbances are now very well over, and have been so far of use to his Majesty's service, as that they have left the kingdom in a better posture to secure its own peace and happiness than they found it.'

[2] 'Gli officiali che sono in Fiandra et i soldati, che supravivono dalle miserie sofferte.'

While the limbs of the leaders of the late outbreak who had been executed were exposed on the four gates of the city, two carts carrying the coffins containing the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, were seen on their way to Tyburn. The corpses were taken out and hung up at the corners of the gallows erected in front of Tyburn. There they remained for the day, which was the anniversary of the King's execution, and for the day following. They were then taken down, the heads were severed from the trunks and carried to Westminster Hall. There they were placed on poles where once the Court of Justice had sat to try Charles I. Bradshaw's head, already green with decay, was set in the middle, for by a ghastly irony he was once more allowed to preside, and those of Cromwell and Ireton on either side[2]. They had once been buried with great pomp and ceremony by their adherents, to whom the future yet seemed to belong. The insults offered to the wretched remains of the bodies indicated how complete since then had been the ruin of the whole party. In the course of the May following the Scottish Parliament passed sentence on the Marquis of Argyle, to the effect that he should be executed as a traitor and his head exposed where once the bleeding head of Montrose had been placed.

Let us glance once more at Scotland. The revulsion in public feeling had been more rapid and complete than in England. The nobility and gentry took a less active part in the progress of the religious movement when they found

---

[1] I have taken this from the account of the Brandenburg Resident, Christoph. von Brand, in the Berlin archives.

[2] Kennet Register 367, 371. Why has Heine never treated this in his own style?

their own rights threatened by the Protesters. The Resolutioners steadily adhered to the League and Covenant, and to its propagation in England, but in this they met with no sympathy even among the Scots themselves. The elections to the magistracies, which took place in September 1660, had gone against them. The leaders of the parties hitherto predominant were excluded. This was the case to a still greater extent at the elections for the Parliament which met on January 1, 1661. It will be remembered how in the year 1648 a popular movement began in Scotland in favour of Charles I, and in opposition to the extreme Kirk party, and that this ended with the defeat at Preston and the Whiggamores' raid. The feeling which had animated that movement, after so many vicissitudes, now regained the upper hand. It wished to connect itself not with Charles II's visit to Scotland when Argyle had been in power, but with the earlier movement which he had opposed. Lord Middletoun, who had been at that time a lieutenant-general in the army, was now as royal commissioner entrusted with the presidency of the Parliament. One of his measures implicitly sanctions the oath of allegiance then taken, by repudiating the counter resolutions passed by the extreme clerical party and Argyle[1]. But this did not satisfy the Scottish Parliament. It laid down the principle that the prosperity of the nation depended on its respect for the royal prerogative; and indicated as elements of that prerogative the right to appoint the officers of state, the control of peace and war, and the convocation and dissolution of Parliament. But since the right of concluding alliances and taking up arms belonged to the King alone, the League and Covenant, which was to have led to a revolution in England, with all that it involved, was declared no longer binding. The declaration was couched in the mildest terms, for most even of those on whose support its authors relied had probably accepted the Covenant, but it was published. The other acts passed by the Presbyterian assemblies in connexion with the Covenant were pronounced intolerable; a general measure of repeal abrogated all that Parliament had done since the very beginning of the disturbances in the year 1633. The endeavour was made to regain at one blow all that had belonged to Charles I in the early part of his reign and to James I. It naturally followed that the restoration of Episcopacy was once more rendered possible, though it was not yet expressly proposed.

---

[1] 'Preamble to the third act of the Parliament.' Wodrow, Eccles. Hist. i. 94.

In England no less than in Scotland this reaction was greeted with applause alike by the pulpit and the press. Even the Scottish preachers commonly spoke of the crime of the Rebellion, in which they boldly included the Covenant to which so many had subscribed, of the sinfulness of armed resistance to the King, and of the extension of the royal prerogative. That was now censured which had been previously praised, and that was praised which had formerly been censured. The current of public opinion still set strongly against the violence and disorder of the Republican epoch. The memory of Charles I's execution was revived. Those, whether Scots or English, who had suffered in his cause were hailed as martyrs. Monarchy and Episcopacy were again identified. We find an author styling himself at once Philobasileus and Philoclerus. It was at this time that Hooker's work first appeared in a complete form, including the previously unpublished seventh book on episcopacy, which it represented as the primitive apostolic form of the constitution of the Church.

Thus favoured by public feeling the reconstitution of the English Church was successfully carried out. The first step was to fill the bishoprics with deserving and devoted men. Conformably to ancient usage, on the reception of the congé-d'elire from the government the election was carried out agreeably to its wishes. Men were elected who in the times of persecution had helped to sustain the spirit of the Church, as Sanderson had done by his printed sermons, Cosin by a skilful defence of its character and constitution. The older bishops consecrated the new ones, and themselves rose to higher dignities. Juxon for instance, the bishop of London, became Archbishop of Canterbury. He was succeeded in the see of London by the sagacious and politic Sheldon.

The coronation of the King had been deliberately postponed to show that the King of England could govern without having been crowned and without having taken the solemn pledges attached to the coronation. When in April it was finally decided to celebrate it, it was purposely so arranged by the revival of all the customary pomp, and especially of the religious ceremonial of former times, as to throw the innovations of the last few years more completely into the background. The wealth of England once more displayed itself in a procession, at the sight of which many a spectator declared that he had never seen its equal in gorgeousness[1]. Even the ordinary formalities acquired a significance from the circumstances of the time: such for instance as the question addressed to the crowd around who represented the people, whether they swore allegiance to the King proposed to them. It was answered by acclamation from all sides—a great contrast to the scene at Charles I's coronation. Equally significant was the oath taken by the King to maintain the evangelical religion planted in the country, and the liberties of the nation; for many doubted his sincerity in this respect. Next followed the anointing with the holy oil, as Samuel had once anointed David to be king, signifying that he derived his power from God; then the King took his seat in St. Edward's chair, the officiating bishop took St. Edward's crown from the altar and placed it upon his head, thus linking the restored dignity of the throne with the earliest times and with the greatest names[2]. Throughout the whole proceeding the closeness of the tie which united the monarchy with the nobility and especially with the hierarchy struck every beholder.

There was no doubt that all this, and particularly the revived importance of the bishops, produced an effect different from that which was expected. In consequence of the violent animosity which was thus aroused, it turned out that at the new elections in the capital the Independents gained the day. The court began to be alarmed for the result everywhere. But this time the example set by the capital was not followed. The very fear lest such should be the case proved of service[1]. Had a majority of the elections terminated in the same way it must have led to a renewal of the old controversies and disputes, perhaps to war. The influence of the government and the revived sentiment in favour of legitimacy combined with the need felt for a quiet and regular order of things, and with the self-interest of individuals, to secure that the choice of the elections should in most cases fall upon men who were royalists in politics and Anglicans in religion. In the country a great number of old Cavaliers were returned[2].

---

[1] Pepys' Diary.

[2] From the official account by Elias Ashmole, Windsor Herald at Arms, in Baker's Chronicle 758.

---

[1] Christoph von Brand, April 12: 'Diejenige, welche ohne das gut königisch sein, haben auf ihre Schanze besser Achtung gehabt, die andern haben lieber ihrer eignen Sicherheit als des Sieges wider die Bischöfliche versichert sein wollen.' Berlin archives.

[2] Letter from Nicholas: 'The elections of members for the future parliament prove everywhere very good and assure us of a perfect affection in the people to his Majesty's person and government.' Record Office, Domestic Series, ii. vol. 35.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT OF THE RESTORATION. THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY.

On May 8, 1661, the new Parliament was opened. At seven o'clock in the morning the King's Master of the Ceremonies, the Duke of Ormond, appeared as of old in the Court of Requests, in order himself, or by a deputy whom he appointed, to receive the oaths anciently imposed upon the members elected to the Lower House. These were the Oath of Supremacy, as it had been drawn up in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, and the Oath of Allegiance dating from the seventh year of King James, both of them religious as well as secular in their import. For it was thought desirable to link together the present and the old system with its union of loyalty and religion. Those who had taken the oaths withdrew first of all to their own House, and thence, on the usual summons, to the House of Lords, where the King was present in person, surrounded with all the traditional pomp of earlier times. Arrayed in the royal robes and wearing the crown on his head he delivered the speech from the throne[1]

It is not merely by successive governments, but also, and this especially since the latter have become so powerful, by successive Parliaments that we distinguish the various epochs of English history. However great the influence exercised by all governments upon the elections, yet they can never wholly suppress the elements of independence, which in the course of the sessions invariably grows in strength.

---

[1] 'Parliamentum inceptum et tentum apud civitatem West-Monasterium die Mercurii, octavo scilicet die Maii anno regni domini nostri Caroli II, D. G. Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, et Hiberniae regis, fidei defensoris, xiii°. annoque domini 1661.' Journals of Commons viii. 245.

The new Lower House might have been fairly taken as representing royalist principles. The first Speaker chosen by it, Edward Turner, was intimately connected with the Duke of York. In entering upon his office he alluded in terms of exaggerated loyalty to the newly restored rights of the monarchy; but this did not prevent him from also reminding the House of the privileges of Parliament, of their liberty of speech, their immunity from arrest, their freedom of access to the King. The Chancellor, in promising satisfaction on these points, took occasion in his turn to extol emphatically the excellence of the parliamentary constitution. He assured the House that the King in every case asked himself first of all what Parliament would think of it.

The most important question with which Parliament had to deal was the confirmation of the Act of Amnesty. That it should be so confirmed by a Lower House elected according to the proper constitutional forms, was allowed on all hands. It was in fact the condition on which the last assembly had so readily consented to retire. There was no lack among the newly-elected members of objections and scruples. The Cavaliers were in no hurry permanently to secure the opponents, at whose hands they had suffered, from the vengeance of the old laws. Once more the King was compelled to interpose his authority in behalf of the amnesty. He reminded the Cavaliers of the offers of reconciliation which they had made during the crisis itself. He adjured them not to involve him in a breach of faith, but rather to let the bill pass in its original form, for to this he had pledged his word. At last the bill was again presented to the King as one which had been confirmed by the sanction of a full, free, and lawful Parliament.

Thus the foundation on which the whole fabric rested remained unshaken. In all other respects the Parliament gave free scope to its royalist and ecclesiastical leanings.

On May 28 the Serjeant of the Lower House appeared in Westminster Hall. He held in his hand the parchment containing the act for the establishment of a court of justice to try Charles I. He gave it to the hangman, who burnt it in the centre of the Hall.

On the same day, on the Exchange, at the hour when it was fullest, the same fate befell the two acts by which England was declared a Commonwealth, and an oath of allegiance to that form of government prescribed.

By way of contrast to this the 29th of May, the King's birthday, was celebrated in every church by a solemn declaration of fidelity to the anointed of the Lord, and to his heirs for ever. It was consistent with this, that on the same day the acts deposing Charles Stuart and providing for Cromwell's safety were burnt by the hangman in Westminster Hall.

Scarcely a year had elapsed since, at the suggestion of the members in the Rump Parliament, copies of the great charters of Presbyterianism, the League and Covenant, had been hung up in the House of Commons and in the churches throughout the country. How different had the course of events been from what was then expected! The Scottish Parliament had already declared these ordinances to be no longer binding. The English Parliament thought it necessary to go further. In order to manifest its abhorrence of the religious and political principles which they contained, it ordered them to be burnt by the hangman.

In the new Parliament those considerations had no place which restrained the previous one from repealing the decrees of the Long Parliament. It condemned its principles in the most emphatic way possible. In particular it declared it to be treasonable to wage war against the King, to make him prisoner, to wish to depose him, or lastly to put him to death. Any one expressing any such intention in speech or writing was to be condemned as a traitor. It was pronounced to be a punishable offence to attribute to the King a wish to introduce Popery into the country, or to charge him with heresy. In the case of the head of the state no one had a right to assume that he professed anything but the orthodox Anglican doctrine. The maxim on which the claims of Parliament had in recent times mainly rested, that the two Houses of Parliament even without the King possessed an inherent legislative authority, was condemned. The disputed question of the military authority was speedily settled. It was decided to belong exclusively to the crown; the opposite view, that it belonged to the people or to their representatives, was denounced as an error of that time which could no longer be tolerated. The attitude of Parliament closely resembled that of an ecclesiastical council which visits heretical principles with its anathema. It returned to the political religion which monarchical England had from time immemorial professed, and condemned the regicides as no better than unbelievers.

But not only political questions which assumed a religious aspect, but those also which were strictly ecclesiastical, came ultimately before this assembly for decision.

In April 1661, shortly before the meeting of Parliament, and in consequence of a royal commission, the proposed scheme for a synod which should arrange a compromise between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, was carried out. In the old palace in the Strand, which has perpetuated in London the name of its builder, a Count of Savoy, the brother of Henry III's wife, a chamber was fitted up. Here the commissioners appointed by the crown met, twelve from each side.

For the Episcopalians the chief spokesmen were Bishops Morley and Cosins, the former of whom, a friend of Ben Jonson, possessed real literary abilities and was a fluent and impassioned speaker; the latter was celebrated for his thorough knowledge of Christian antiquities, the fathers of the Church, as well as the canon law. The other side were represented in the discussion by two of their most eloquent preachers, Bates and Baxter, the latter of whom seemed specially suited for the task, because the presence of the dignitaries of the Church, which overawed the rest, never for an instant discomposed his keen and logical argument.

Their discussions savour somewhat of scholasticism. They constantly use the syllogistic form, and thus merely formal objections attracted as much attention as those which

materially affected the case. The lengthy investigation of points of detail forced the main questions into the background. But it is only with these last that we are concerned. In order to understand what happened it is essential to give some account of them.

The first deals with the authority of the episcopacy. The Presbyterians wished to recognise the bishops merely as presidents, and demanded that their powers should be limited by the presbyteries. The Episcopalians insisted that the bishops should be unrestricted in the exercise of their authority, as the original theory of the office required. In allowing the institution of the presbyteries, or the establishment of chapters on the Presbyterian principle, they stipulated that these should have merely a deliberative voice. This did not satisfy the Presbyterians, since it left the bishops free on all occasions to adopt or reject as they liked the advice given them. They asked that it should be enacted that the bishop should do nothing without the consent of the presbytery. They wished for episcopal presidents, not for prince-bishops. The bishop was to be the first among equals, not a lord over subjects. Closely connected with this was the second point of dispute, which turned upon certain ceremonies recognised in the English Church. The Presbyterians opposed them, mainly because they feared thus to fall once more under the yoke of canonical obedience to the bishop of the diocese. They demanded greater freedom for the minister of the word. In pronouncing the enforcement of the ceremonies to be a sin, Baxter merely meant to imply that the clergy would thus be prevented from including in the administration of the sacraments those who sincerely desired them, but who would not recognise the ceremonial[1].

With reference to the Common Prayer-book, the Episcopalians demanded a declaration of entire agreement. The

---

[1] One of his arguments was: 'To enjoin ministers to deny the communion to all that dare not kneel in the reception of the sacrament, is to enjoin them to deny the communion to such as the Holy Ghost hath required us to receive to the communion.' Life of Baxter 347.

Presbyterians, who still disapproved of much that it contained, offered only a general assent.

The Anglicans throughout laid stress upon ceremonial and conformity as of value in themselves. The Presbyterians advocated inward holiness and conviction as more important. They took their stand on the simple letter of Scripture, and wished to realise the idea of religion in the same form as that adopted by all the Protestant Churches of the Continent. The others appealed to the usage of the first centuries and to the precedents established in England.

The appointed time had passed away amid correspondence and discussion. The moment for decision was imminent. But at the very first question, the first of nine, touching the act of kneeling in receiving the communion, it became evident that no agreement was practicable. Both parties declared as much to the King. Anxious, they said, as both were to give him satisfaction and to restore the liberty of the Church, they were nevertheless unable to agree upon the means by which it should be effected. The conference then broke up.

It ended at the very moment when resolutions were passed in Parliament reinstating the bishops in their temporal privileges, their seats and votes in the Upper House. Charles II was personally opposed to the measure, because he foresaw that the bishops would oppose his schemes of toleration in the House. His prime minister, however, heartily supported it. During the Parliamentary recess, in July, the bill became law, and at the re-opening of Parliament on November 20 the King himself expressly welcomed it as a happy omen that he again saw the Lords spiritual and temporal united with the Commons, and Parliament thus restored to all its old position and glory.

It was inevitable that everything should tend to the re-establishment of the old ecclesiastical system, which was alone regarded as lawful.

Previous to the recess a bill had already been introduced enforcing conformity in the public services and in the use of the sacraments[1]. It had been handed over to a committee, and passed with their amendments. Following the old practice, a convocation of the Church had already been established side by side with Parliament, and to this body was entrusted the task of revising the Common Prayer-book. Among the clergy elected a few Presbyterians had been returned; for instance Baxter and Calamy in London. The bishop however who possessed the ancient right of approving the nominations passed these names over. The Convocation was exclusively composed of Anglicans. The latter however were not so rigid as to reject everything that had a Presbyterian origin. It is well known that some of the most impressive collects in the Common Prayer-book, that for instance for the conversion of unbelievers, are the work of Presbyterian ministers. All their objections however on special points were disregarded. On the contrary some additions were made which are thoroughly imbued with the exclusiveness of Laud's time. The Presbyterians declared that not until now had the acceptance of the Prayer-book been positively distasteful to them.

In all quarters the feeling of hostility to them gained strength daily. The course of events and, to use an expression of the schools, the logic of circumstances proved too strong for them. The interference of the Scots in the disturbances in England, an interference prompted by their missionary zeal in the cause of Presbyterianism, had helped to bring about the ruin of Charles I. The rise to power of the Anabaptists, which the Presbyterians in both countries regarded with aversion, had been among its consequences. When however, in their anxiety to be rid of such a yoke, they gave their assistance in restoring the monarchy, they thus indirectly promoted the cause of the Anglican doctrines which were so inseparably associated with it. These had now gained the upper hand. To this must be added the violent zeal of the dominant party in the Lower House, which saw clearly the necessity of using the favourable moment when public feeling was still strongly opposed to the disorders of the last years, in order to re-establish the opposite doctrines and the old order of things.

In December 1661 a bill was passed which made the taking of the communion according to the Anglican ritual, as well as the formal repudiation of the Covenant and of the doctrine that war could lawfully be waged against the King, the condition of admission into the municipal corporations. Neither Catholics nor zealous Presbyterians were to be tolerated in the municipal magistracies.

---

[1] It was introduced June 29, passed July 9. Journal of Commons vii. 296.

King Charles II, who still retained distinguished Presbyterians near his own person, and felt himself pledged to the Catholics, by no means countenanced this increasing stringency: on the other hand he was not prepared to involve himself in a serious dispute with a Parliament which was in the main so devoted to him. Not only did circumstances render such a step unadvisable, but the position of his finances made it impossible.

At the opening of the session he had again referred to the embarrassed state in which he still found himself, in spite of the grants already voted him, and which arose from the intolerable burden of his debts. He professed himself ready to allow Parliament to inspect the accounts of his receipts and expenditure, since it could thus see for itself that he could not defray the necessary expenses of the state, and that it was necessary to make some more adequate provision for its dignity, welfare and safety than had been done in fixing his income.

The Lower House took the matter into consideration, but showed no alacrity in coming to such a final settlement of it as should satisfy the King. It was engrossed with its own measures in favour of the State Church, in the case of which it felt by no means certain of the King's consent. If Charles II wished to attain his object, it was clearly necessary for him to accede to the wishes of Parliament on these points.

On March 1, 1662, the King once more made a statement of his money-difficulties to the Commons, whom he summoned to meet him at Whitehall. He complained of their slackness in a matter which concerned their interest no less than his own, since there was still a strong Republican party whose extravagant hopes were fostered by the weakness of the crown[1]—an argument which however had been frequently used and without effect. A stronger reason was the declaration made by the King that he would be amenable to their wishes in ecclesiastical matters. He was, he said, as unwilling to be taken for a Presbyterian now, as he had been to be taken for a Catholic during his residence abroad. He was a member of the Church of England, and was as anxious for uniformity as any member of Parliament could be. He wished the Common Prayer-book, in its present form, to be taken as the standard.

---

[1] The king's particular speech. Chandler, Debates i. 51.

The prolonged continuance of the discussions had already been made a subject of reproach against Charles personally. Now that, after these had terminated so satisfactorily, he gave his assent to them, he won golden opinions on all sides, and all hesitation was at an end.

A few days afterwards the House imposed, for the King's benefit, a tax which was inevitably most unpopular, as much because it was a burden on poor as well as rich, as from the nature of the supervision which it required. It was a renewal of the old hearth-tax of the Norman kings. Each household was to pay two shillings to the King and his descendants. Provision was also made for the immediate wants of the King, and a sum was set aside for the relief of impoverished Cavaliers.

On the other hand progress was also now made with the Bill of Uniformity. The Upper House too gave its assent to the Common Prayer-book in its new form. The Lord-Chancellor, in the name of the House of Lords, thanked the two Houses of Convocation. There was no longer any doubt that the acceptance of the book would be declared a necessary condition of participation in the services of the Church. But the peers and the King with them felt no doubt that they would still be able to soften its rigour in some points.

Above all, they would have wished that the Presbyterian ministers who did not conform to the Prayer-book, and who would consequently be obliged to resign their benefices, should have reserved to them out of the revenues sufficient to support life[1]. The act too should, they urged, apply only to the clergy themselves, and not to schoolmasters as well. They brought prominently forward that consideration for tender consciences which had been already promised at Breda.

---

[1] Journals, April 7. It is this apparently which is referred to in what Baxter (p. 429) mentions with some reserve.

But all this had no effect upon the Commons. The last expression they wished to see entirely avoided, as likely to lead to manifold misinterpretations. They again insisted that the promise made from Breda was conditional upon the assent of Parliament, and the necessity of maintaining peace. They rejected all provision for the dissidents from the estates of the Church, on the ground that only he who serves the altar should live by the altar. The income of the benefices would also otherwise be so small that the clergy would be unable to keep up the dignity of their order. To permit exceptions would be to lay the foundations not of uniformity but of dissension. The objection that what is indifferent may be surrendered, they declared to be frivolous, for it was for this purpose precisely that human authority was ordained: namely, to lay down a rule in indifferent matters. With great fervour they demanded the extension of the Act of Uniformity to schoolmasters and even to teachers in private houses; for all depended on the education of the young. The hostile conduct of so many members of Parliament during the disturbances was attributable solely to the fact that they had been wrongly educated: if now a different disposition predominated in the younger generation, the cause lay in this, that education had been neglected by the usurping government. This fault must be avoided for the future; the acceptance of the Prayer-book by the masters was nearly the most essential point [1].

These considerations were brought forward by Serjeant Charlton on May 7, in a conference with the Lords. On the 8th the Lords agreed to them in all important points. The first point was the applicability of the act to the masters; on this they divided, but after it had been accepted, the rest created no difficulty.

We possess no account of the debates of the two Houses

---

[1] Report in Journal of Lords xi, May 7, 1662, above in Kennet.

on the bill, but even the communications between them show how thoroughgoing and narrow were the tendencies which pervaded it. They embraced at once the present and the future.

The bill contains some provisions which gave the Church of England a national and political character such as no other Church possessed. In the first place, no one was to obtain an ecclesiastical benefice or be entrusted with a cure of souls who had not been ordained by a bishop. It was observed truly enough that they thus renounced all connexion with the Protestant Churches of the Continent; they expressly declare that they were only bound to have regard to England itself. The exclusive character of the English episcopacy, which had fallen away from the papacy, but would on the other hand recognise no communion with other Protestants, was thus most forcibly expressed. At the same time Parliament sought to impress on the Church also the stamp of that royalist spirit which inspired itself. The oath which it had for the same reason enforced on the corporations was now imposed on the clergy in a still stronger form. They were required to declare the Covenant to be illegal, and by signing their names expressly to renounce the doctrine of the Long Parliament that arms could be borne against the King: that is to say, on the strength of the royal authority even against the person of the King, or against those entrusted with a commission by him.

On May 19 the Bill of Uniformity, with its various clauses, became the law of the land. The ministers who should not have declared their submission to it by August 24 were at once to be treated as deposed, and their places to be filled up exactly as if they were dead.

Against the carrying out of the Bill in all its rigour, as the appointed day approached, opposition was once more offered in the King's Privy Council. Supported by a petition from the London ministers, Lord Manchester and General Monk took up the cause of their old co-religionists. Their efforts made a great impression on the King; but the lawyers and bishops whom it was necessary to consult held him fast to the resolution he had once embraced. The most active among them was Sheldon, Bishop of London, who set his face against any softening of the terms of the act, or any delay in its execution, as energetically as if the safety of the world depended on it[1].

The state of feeling prevalent in the ruling party displayed itself in this, among other facts, that the two energetic men, John Lambert and Henry Vane, who though implicated in all the republican movements had yet been spared, because they had taken no direct part in the King's execution, were now nevertheless accused of high treason, and condemned: Lambert, who loved life, appealed to the King's mercy, and obtained it. On one occasion subsequently he extols the magnanimity of the Duke of York. Far from affairs of state, which were not in his eyes the only things worth living for, he lived on for twenty years, at first in Guernsey, with permission 'to range throughout the island[2],' afterwards at St. Nicholas' Island, in Plymouth Sound, where his wife and daughter joined him.

For Henry Vane, on the contrary, there was no life outside the obscure and yet withal deep system of religious and political ideas the prophet of which he had announced himself to be. For him death was a necessity of nature, by which the soul freed from prison and bondage attained to complete existence. He saw in the act of laying down this earthly life a fulfilment of a duty, if by so doing he could promote the welfare of his country: of imploring the King for mercy he never dreamed. On his trial he confessed to the very doctrines which the latter most detested—that Parliament was lawfully in existence even after the death of Charles I, and that against a King who was not in possession it was also impossible to commit treason; on himself no other court than the old Parliament had the right to pronounce sentence. He asserted the distinction between the individual king and the king in the abstract, in other words the authority of the state which represents him, and affirmed the right in a given case to obey the latter—a view proscribed by the new Parliament and which the hereditary King could never tolerate[1]. The latter was told that he did not owe mercy to any one who showed no repentance. Even God forgave only those who repented. There was no wish to allow the man to live who was recognised as the most active representative of the republican opinions, the revival of which was momentarily dreaded. So Vane had to die, and to die too on the spot where once Strafford had been beheaded, to whose condemnation he had chiefly contributed. Undisturbed by this or any other recollection, Vane ascended the scaffold with an almost joyous mien; with one hand resting on the balustrade, and holding in the other a sheet of paper on which he had put down the heads of his speech, he began once more to unfold his views before all men. But it was not intended that he should be allowed to do so. At the first objectionable passage the trumpeters interrupted him; when he recommenced and struck the same note, they again broke in. He complained that liberty of speech was refused to a dying man, tore the sheet of paper in half and gave it to a friend who stood behind him; then he knelt down and prayed aloud. He was reminded that he had not prayed for the King. He replied that he was praying to God that He would show the King His holy ways, and suffer him to know the right.

It was the combination of religious with political opinions which had given the Rebellion its distinctive character; it was the same now with the Restoration. It has been said that the Presbyterians would easily have submitted to canonical obedience and the revision of the Liturgy, had not political declarations been demanded of them at the same time. From their apologies we gather the objections, from their point of view well-founded ones, which they urged against the purely ecclesiastical enactments: they were in earnest about the matter; the fact that religious motives determined men's

---

[1] Parker, De rebus sui temporis 27, Kennet Reg. 742.

[2] Warrant dated August 12, 1664. Lister, Clarendon iii. 311. Compare a note in Pepys iii. 452.

---

[1] He was however glad to let the responsibility fall upon others. In his letter, given in Forster, Life of Vane 224, he says 'if he has given occasion—if we can honestly put him out of the way.' Besides the State Trials, I have used here the account given by Brand.

conduct in moments of difficulty, still kept up the credit of religion in the world. But it is true nevertheless that the political springs of action co-operated. While the ministers were required to renounce beforehand all attempts in the future to make a change in Church and State, they on the contrary declared it to be their duty to seek after such a change so far as it should be necessary; each however merely in his own post and sphere of action. That it should in all cases be held treason to bear arms against the King and his ministers was incomprehensible to them. It was very possible that a Royal Commission might be in contradiction to the law of the land, in which case every free Englishman must range himself on the side of the latter. Were the Chancellor to have the right to appoint commissions which every one was forced to obey, where would freedom be? Men's persons and property would in that case be handed over to the caprice of any one who might claim to hold a commission from the King. And it was possible too that some day a papistical faction might gain the mastery over the King and wring from him commissions the execution of which would be ruinous to Church and State. Self-defence was in such cases a natural right[1].

It was these and similar motives, religious and political, which impelled by far the largest part of the Presbyterian clergy to refuse to subscribe the prescribed oaths. Their numbers are estimated at two thousand, but this number includes those who had voluntarily withdrawn on account of the invalidity of the sequestration. Among them a comparatively large proportion were men of learning, talent and conscientiousness. In the service preceding the day fixed for final acceptance or rejection they bade farewell to their congregations. They earnestly protested that it was no accidental fit of spleen which held them back from compliance, but that deliberation and prayer left them no other choice open. The churches were very full, the sympathy of the congregations deep and sorrowful[2].

In this manner was the old controversy, which had so often furnished material for lengthy discussion, decided by the turn of events. Parliament had been formerly Presbyterian, now it was Episcopalian in feeling. Then the Covenant had been introduced, now it was withdrawn. Edward Hyde, the man who had even then brought about the alliance between the monarchy and the episcopacy, in whom the Presbyterians recognised their most resolute opponent, now stood honoured with a feudal title at the head of the administration and the ministry. Whatever too his occasional utterances may have been, it was inevitable that he should use the power which was in his hands for the restoration of a régime which he regarded as the only lawful one in England. But it was also unavoidable that he should thus awaken a widespread discontent. The Restoration rested on the union of the two great religious parties. What would be the effect if, as seemed likely, they again separated from each other?

---

[1] Grounds of Nonconformity, in Calamy, Abridgement i. 260.

[2] Calamy against Walker. The Church and the Dissenters compared as to the Persecution, 1717, p. 86. The controversy which then began was renewed, and carried on with vigour in various controversial pamphlets in the year 1862, on the two hundredth anniversary of the exclusion of the Presbyterians. It did not however, so far as I could notice, make any special impression on the Episcopal Church, or even excite due attention. Nor do I find much that adds to our historical knowledge; the old ground is maintained throughout. We have the usual accusations and recriminations.

CHAPTER VI.

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE. SALE OF DUNKIRK.

It is now time to return to the negotiations with Portugal, with which we broke off above.

Francisco Mello, who had returned to England for the purpose of carrying through the marriage, met, to his delight, with a very favourable reception there. He was given the key of the palace gardens, where the King could be most easily and confidentially spoken with. But during March and April 1661 he was still under constant apprehensions of the failure of his design[1]. He dreaded the counter intrigues of the Queen-Mother and her friends, the remonstrances of the Dutch, the machinations of the Spanish ambassador Vatteville, who had a strong following at the court and in the country, and was able to make rich presents. His threat that Spain would treat the conclusion of the marriage as an act of hostility was not without its influence on Charles II. For to the Spanish monarchy still attached the prestige of a great power, and the trade with Spanish dependencies still formed the chief support of English commerce. How would matters stand should the young King of France combine with his father-in-law Philip IV? One of the first occasions on which Louis XIV actively interfered in general European politics was now when he empowered Fouquet, who was still in his employ, to assure the King of England of the contrary[2]. Under cover of the deepest secresy Fouquet communicated

---

[1] 'As intrigas e os tempos me matam.' Letter by Mello dated March 11, Quadro elementar xvii. 165. Vatteville. Baron Vatteville figures as ambassador of Castile.

[2] Cornbury's Notices of Lord Clarendon's son, who was brought in because a foreigner would not have been believed. In the Appendix to Clarendon's State Papers iii. No. 1.

A.D. 1662.

to the Lord Chancellor the information that in France Charles II's marriage with the Infanta Catherine and generally his alliance with Portugal, was regarded with favour. Louis XIV even promised through Fouquet that not only would he never oppose the alliance of England with Portugal, but that he would on the contrary support it, provided it could be done secretly[1]. Relying on this promise, of which however the Portuguese envoy knew nothing, Charles II could venture,—and he frequently declared that he would not have done so without it,—to proceed with negotiations which would necessarily lead to a rupture with Spain. But he thought it advisable, since it was impossible to foresee what such a rupture might lead to, to assure himself also of the general consent of his people. Contrary to the usual practice a sitting of the whole Privy Council was arranged. At this meeting Charles II brought forward for free discussion the question whether the Portuguese marriage was advisable in spite of the opposition of Spain. The Council found the claims of the Spanish ambassador, who spoke as if his King were so completely supreme in the world as to be able to dispose at will of the hands of foreign princesses, as little to their taste as his warlike menaces. England, it was said, had no wish for war with Spain, it had had war enough; but it dared not shrink from such a war, for to do so would be to place herself in the position of a vassal of Spain. Eight and twenty members were present; they unanimously recommended the Portuguese match to the King.

Such was also the feeling in Parliament, to which at the opening of the session, in May 1661, the King announced as a piece of news which would please them, that he thought of marrying the Infanta of Portugal. The announcement was received with such lively acclamations that he was compelled to repeat it once more[2]. For the King, no less than for his minister, it was unquestionably of great importance that the two Houses united in assurances of support by their shouts of congratulation: should he meet with obstacles in carrying out his intention, he could reckon upon their assistance.

---

[1] 'The King of France doth not only like that alliance, but on the contrary will, if it be need, assist the King of England with all his power, so that it be done in a secret way.' Note of Bastide, April 2.

[2] Letter from Nicholas, May 10. Carta de Marquez de Sande a Regente. Quadro elem. xvii. 200. The opening speech of the Chancellor is very instructive for the negotiations.

They fell in with a political tendency in foreign affairs, as to which we may well doubt whether it really corresponded with their sentiments. For by this act Charles II secretly returned in foreign affairs to the footsteps of Cromwell; just as the Restoration was in reality by no means a thorough-going reaction, but a reconciliation of the monarchy with the opposite elements in society which had grown up during the disturbances.

The contract of marriage signed, a characteristic festivity was held in Whitehall. The Portuguese ambassador was conveyed in a royal carriage to dine with the King. They were alone at the table, both with heads covered; the ambassador sitting at a little distance from the King on his left. The Earls of Ormond and Manchester were in waiting. Several healths were proposed; among them that of the future Queen of England. At this toast, though at none of the others, the King rose and stood uncovered while it was drunk. For the recognised rule was that a sovereign could yield precedence to no one in the world; except, as was natural, to the lady to whom he gave his hand[1].

The Spanish ambassador was deeply chagrined. On one occasion, when indisposed, he replied to an inquiry as to his health, that he felt as a man could feel who had met with failure in his prince's business. He was reproached with not having shown himself liberal where he should have done so. He endeavoured to better his position by attaching himself to the opposition party in Parliament; in order to bring about a reaction he had printed and circulated the addresses in which he had dissuaded the King from the Portuguese match. He did not relinquish the hope of postponing it by agitation, even after it had been concluded.

And even still the Spaniards were, at least in London, more popular than the French. This was shown on the day when the two ambassadors came into collision at the reception of a newly-arrived envoy, the Swedish, a mock-important incident, which was regarded at the time as an event of world-wide significance. A scuffle took place in which the Spanish ambassador gained the upper hand. He drove on at once in triumph to the Swedish ambassador. The populace greeted him with shouts of joy. The French ambassador even declared that he had had to deal with disguised soldiers and the mob of London[1].

At the outset Charles II behaved with tolerable impartiality; but the French told him incessantly that he was nourishing a viper in his bosom: under the mask of friendship the envoy was exciting the people against him. After some time they had the satisfaction of seeing that Charles insisted on Vatteville's recall.

Though contrary to first expectations friendly relations had thus been entered upon between the French and English courts, yet there still existed many differences between them.

How energetically did Louis XIV protest against the claim of the English to their old supremacy over the sea! Charles II was finally forced to concede that it should not extend beyond Cape Finisterre.

A high place among the King's friends was held by Cardinal Retz, who though at a distance still exercised considerable influence over the French clergy. Charles II would gladly have procured him a position at the Romish court, with which the Portuguese match had brought him into a certain connexion. Louis XIV vehemently protested, urging against it that Retz had been guilty of acts for which he deserved to be accused of high treason. The intention was consequently dropped in England. Charles II required the Cardinal, on penalty of losing his friendship, to avoid all that

---

[1] July 5, 1661. Christopher von Brand's Relationes. Berl. Archives.

[1] The official account, which was sent to France (printed in the Appendix to Evelyn) is tolerably colourless. The state of feeling is clearly enough seen from the fly-sheet: 'True relation of the manner of the dangerous dispute, &c. By the heroic gallantry of the Spanish party they became triumphant, and repelled the Monsieurs, although they exceeded in numbre.' Cp. my French Hist. iii. 277. (Works x. 210.)

could occasion fresh disorders in France. Louis XIV had promised in return to observe the same prudence with regard to Charles II's discontented subjects,—a point of far greater urgency for the newly restored King of England than for the French monarch.

What most displeased the English was, that Louis XIV, in a treaty which he concluded at this time with the Republic of the United Netherlands, guaranteed to them the right of fishing as one that was well-grounded, while the English would not allow it on their coast. Louis excused his conduct by urging the necessity of preventing the Dutch from coalescing with the Spaniards, and on the other hand his acquiescence in the large profits which would accrue to the English from the treaty with Portugal.

For at that time the advantages which England obtained through it were rated very high. Tangiers was regarded as the place where the English fleet would be stationed in order from thence to control the trade with both Indies and also the traffic in the Mediterranean. As holding Jamaica in the West Indies, and now Bombay as well in the East Indies, the English would inevitably get into their hands the trade with all the nations of the world. Charles II devoted much zeal to the maritime interests of the nation. Louis XIV found it expedient at present at any rate to abstain from all interference with him.

The events which give an age its distinctive character appear first of all in slight outlines, now in one now in another transaction. Though it was not yet generally talked off, yet the most intelligent foresaw that Louis XIV would take the first opportunity of conquering the Spanish Netherlands. From the traditional point of view of English policy Charles II had little reason to object. He allowed the death of Philip IV to be indicated in France as the period at which he could venture to show himself a not unprofitable ally to France. They were both enemies to Spain in order to rob her, the one of her continental, the other of her naval power. So too they were both the allies of Portugal. This alliance with Portugal against Spain gave both governments a common interest, which formed a link between them, without any public avowal of it.

When Charles II was making his first preparations for helping Portugal, for which the Parliamentary grants were insufficient, two million francs were paid him secretly, for Parliament was to know nothing of it. But for the year 1662 still greater preparations were necessary. Already in the previous year the Spaniards had invaded Portugal, not without success; in the following spring a great and decisive attack was expected under Don Juan of Austria. Fears were entertained for the existence of the Portuguese throne. The French had told Charles II that now he was once allied with Portugal (since the princess who was destined to become his wife came from the House of Braganza, and therefore from Portugal), his reputation in the world depended on the efficiency of the support which he gave to that country. Charles II replied, that it concerned his honour no less than his interest to protect it. His exertions would be such as to satisfy the world. Ten men of war were despatched to the Portuguese coast for its defence. About three thousand veterans from the Scottish garrisons were transported thither to meet the attacks on the land side. But the King declared, and his assurance was confirmed by the French ambassador, that he could not attempt, far less carry out, all this, unless he could rely upon the close co-operation of France. What he required was not merely assistance and support for the moment, but a firm and close alliance [1].

There can be no doubt that in these negotiations there were other motives also at work.

It is true that the Chancellor rejected an offer of money which was made to him personally; but he subsequently himself urged the pecuniary needs of the King, at least under cover of a request for a loan. It looks still more suspicious when we find the French ambassador promising money, and for the precise object of promoting the Portuguese cause in Parliament, on the ground that it was necessary to dishearten those who were opposed to it, and strengthen those who were for it. Louis XIV once gave it to be understood that his treasury was exhausted, but that in the position in which England was placed he would use every effort to overcome this difficulty[1]. That which Charles II had in vain sought at the hands of Holland and Spain, the means of becoming independent of the grants of his Parliament, this France offered him. It was a relation which in other respects too agreed with his policy: he wished to render it permanent. The Chancellor was led by his personal position to share this wish. In this and no other way arose the idea which has done most to bring both of them into disrepute, the idea of handing over to France one of Cromwell's important acquisitions, Dunkirk.

---

[1] D'Estrades to Turenne, Feb. 21, 1662: 'À moins qu'il ne se fasse quelque liaison plus étroite entre les deux rois et qui les fasse agir plus fortement dans une cause commune, les affaires de Portugal seront soutenwes lentement.' Lettres de Turenne i. 345.

Nothing is so fatally damaging to a good name, both among contemporaries and with posterity, as the conjunction of personal aims, which are often somewhat petty, with an enterprise of general importance. The true and proper motives of the latter are in such cases misunderstood, and the personal interest is regarded as the only real ground of action. The historian is astonished when on a closer investigation of the negotiation he stumbles upon causes which possess a certain significance of their own.

In support of the design of alienating Dunkirk in one way or another, reasons were advanced at the time which deserve consideration even from the point of view of English policy generally.

It was remembered that the proposal to garrison Dunkirk already made under Queen Elizabeth had been then rejected on good grounds[2]. A settlement upon foreign soil was to be approved only when it supported itself either by the produce of the soil, or by supplying some staple of trade. At Dunkirk however such was not the case, it would lead to nothing but expense. It would never be possible to establish there a trade with the neighbouring population, owing to the dislike

---

[1] Bastide to Clarendon: 'His Majesty will make as we say an effort in this conjuncture, wherein the King of England is so much concerned.'

[2] I have used here a MS. pamphlet 'touching the late rendition of Dunkirk,' Nov. 3, 1662, which I found in Oxford.

of the latter for the English. The harbour would be of more use in foreign hands than in their own, so long namely as it continued to be of any use at all. The roadstead between Mardyke and Dunkirk was merely formed by the deposits carried by the currents from the English coasts. From whatever quarter the wind might blow, vessels would be always in danger there.

Added to these considerations came that urged by the English ministry at the time, who had no control of any special grants for Dunkirk, which was not strictly speaking incorporated with England at all, but had to meet the cost of maintaining the garrison out of its own very inadequate means. Even after the recent grants voted by Parliament there still remained to be covered a yearly deficit of £250,000. To the Lord Treasurer it seemed a most desirable relief, if he could strike the £120,000, which the garrison of Dunkirk cost, out of his budget, and enrich the treasury by the price of the sale. Admiral Montague, Earl of Sandwich, was also in favour of it. He at times indicated himself as the foremost author of the sale of Dunkirk[1].

Montague would have liked it to be restored to the Spaniards. Clarendon, on the other hand, reminded him that they were not in a position to pay the sum which it was necessary to ask. The alliance with France, which had thriven so greatly, suggested to him on the contrary the idea of using this affair to complete it. In conversation with the French ambassador, Estrades, who was on the point of returning to France in order to undertake the embassy in Holland, he had already assured himself that Louis XIV was strongly inclined to take up the matter before he brought it before the English ministers for discussion. Nor was there any want of objections to it. He was told that it would be better to rase to the ground Mardyke and Dunkirk and fill up the harbours than to hand them over to the French, whom the possession of Calais and Dunkirk would enable to hold a knife to the throat of the English government. If Dunkirk was too costly, it was proposed to move in Parliament for a special grant for it, which would be forthcoming if it were formally incorporated[1].

---

[1] According to Pepys he declared 'if it should in Parliament be inquired into the selling of Dunkirk, he will be found to have been the greatest adviser of it.' Pepys' Diary ii. 357.

These considerations however made no impression either on the King or on the Chancellor. They did not think that the loss of Dunkirk would involve either injury or even danger to England. For Cromwell the possession of this fortress had been important, because he aimed at exercising an influence upon the continent, and at arousing in his own behalf the sympathies of Protestants generally. Not only did Charles II give up all idea of this, but on the contrary he was anxious to isolate the English Church from continental influences. For dealings with Parliament he had still less inclination; he would have seen in it an extension of its authority, which he held it expedient to avoid[2].

Meantime the negotiation with France was already on foot. What the views were which prevailed in it we can see from the manner in which it ended[3].

Estrades was still in Paris, and busy with the arrangement of his domestic affairs, when a confidental agent of the Chancellor's, named Belling, called upon him in order to claim his assistance in the accomplishment of the matter he had mentioned with the King of France. The words are reported as follows: that if a treaty for the sale of Dunkirk could contribute to bring about a close alliance between the

---

[1] Letter from Estrades to Turenne, Aug. 21; and in particular an autograph letter to the King, written on the same day, which is not printed with the other.

[2] Louis XIV says, 'La mémoire des derniers troubles du royaume est assez fraîche, pour faire connaître au roi (d'Angleterre) combien il est dangereux d'étendre l'autorité du parlement en diminuant la sienne.'

[3] Estrade to Lyonne, July 18, Lundi, au soir: 'J'ai parlé à l'homme que vous scavez (Belling's arrival had been announced the day before). Il n'a autre ordre que de me dire de la part du chancelier, que si le traité de Dunquerque peust servir d'une liaison étroite entre le roy (de France) et le roy d'Angleterre, et que S. M. soit persuadée que ce consentement est une des plus grandes marques de la passion qu'il (Charles II) a d'avoir son amitié (de Louis XIV), qu'il (le Chancelier) se fait fort d'ajuster l'affaire, à quoi il travaillera après avoir sceu les intentions de sa Majesté.' This is the allusion in a note of Louis, printed in Lister iii. 206. 'La manière dont M. le Chancelier en use m'oblige fort, et il lui sera bien aisé de lier une amitié estroite entre le roy mon frère et moy.'

two Kings—and it was clear that Charles II could give no stronger proof of his earnest desire to gain the friendship of the King of France than this—the Chancellor pledged himself to bring the matter to a settlement as soon as he could learn the intentions of his Majesty of France[1]. . Louis XIV replied at once that he felt the strongest wish to enter into the closest friendship and alliance with the King his brother, and that by the mediation of the Chancellor, to whom he felt deeply indebted for the manner in which he had conducted the affair. As Estrades, who was crippled by the after-effects of old wounds, could not go at once to Saint Germain, where the King was, the latter came himself to the Palais Royal, whither Estrades had himself carried. There the agreement was concluded, that Estrades, as soon as he could move, should on his way to Holland once more visit England in order to finish this affair, if it was meant seriously, and if too high a price were not asked for it.

In the latter half of August we find Estrades again in England. The King, who acted in concert with Clarendon, had expressly invited him. Clarendon paid him a visit in person, which he only did in extraordinary cases. It was during these same days that the decisive deliberations were held between the English ministers. The critical position of Portugal silenced all other objections; she had lost some strong places of importance to the Spaniards, and had to expect a military catastrophe unless she was energetically supported, and that again was impossible, unless an agreement were effected between France and England. All depended on whether they would agree as to the purchase-money.

The Chancellor had at first demanded far more; finally he decided, with the Treasurer's approval, to fix the sum at five millions. Estrades, who had at the outset offered only two millions, was afterwards empowered to go as high as four. It was not so much in his despatch to the King himself as in his letter to Turenne, that Estrades insisted with the greatest energy upon the granting of the English demand; for were this not granted Charles II would not assist the

---

[1] Ambassade et négotiations du Comte d'Estrades, 1718.

Portuguese, but would leave them to their fate; how bitterly would the King of France one day repent it if, for the sake of so trifling a difference, he abandoned Dunkirk, and with it the defence of Portugal. Turenne, who at the time had a hand in all affairs of importance, and enjoyed the confidence of both courts, was also appealed to by the Duke of York. He would, he declared, have never permitted the sale of Dunkirk, were it not for the interests of France: it was undoubtedly worth the price; but what he chiefly hoped for was by these means to promote the union of the two crowns, a union which would be in all respects so advantageous for both. Charles II, no less than himself and the Chancellor, was inspired solely by the wish to gain the King's friendship, and to fuse into one their respective interests[1]. No sooner had the five millions been agreed to, than fresh difficulties arose on the question whether the payment should be made immediately or by instalments,—difficulties which threatened to be fatal even now to the scheme. Estrades, who had already once prepared to leave, sided however now with the English, who demanded immediate payment. There was no money to pay the English troops in Portugal, and yet each fresh despatch showed that the resistance which was offered to the Spaniards there depended upon their presence and aid. Even at the very last difficulties were still encountered, as to the payment first of all, which was finally undertaken by an Amsterdam house; then as to the appointment of trustworthy persons to receive the money; lastly, as to the form of the treaty. Early in November however Estrades received the order issued under the Great Seal to the commander of Dunkirk, to hand over the place to the King of France.

At last, wrote Estrades to Lyonne on November 28,—at last we have got Dunkirk; all has gone off as well as possible, above all, the result has produced a favourable impression: in the Netherland towns preparations are being made for giving the King a welcome when he comes there. The withdrawal of the Protestant English from the orthodox Catholic provinces paved the way for the further acquisitions which France hoped to make there.

It was precisely on this ground that the Protestant world on its side was offended. The Elector of Brandenburg expressed his regret at the loss of a place which might have served as a citadel against France and Spain, as a bulwark of the Orange interest. The English replied that Dunkirk was only useful as a nest for pirates: as a naval station it was valueless. The King would spend the money which had been paid for it in an annual reinforcement of his fleet. Without Dunkirk England would be in a far better position to maintain their common interests. The Elector's ambassador finds the real reason in the traditional belief of the English, their mistake as he calls it, of treating Great Britain as a separate world, and inferring that it was useless to spend money on a position abroad: at the same time he recognises the pressing want of money. The King of England could not pay his own guards. He could now appropriate to them the taxes which had been hitherto set apart for the garrison of Dunkirk. Moreover the Portuguese war made a close alliance with France an absolute necessity.

It has been constantly said that the Chancellor was bribed to consent to the sale of Dunkirk. Even the sums which he had received were named. The palace which he then erected for himself was nicknamed Dunkirk House. His daughter, the Duchess of York, had in fact received small presents of some value, caskets containing articles of French workmanship, among them, for instance, a watch set with diamonds, which at the time excited general admiration in English society. As to the Chancellor, even in his private papers, in which everything else is mentioned, there is no trace of his having been bribed. He declares himself that he did not receive a single half-crown. His personal and general motives lay far deeper; they originated in the line of policy upon which he had entered and the general attitude which he had assumed at home and abroad. Among the motives for the sale we read that the money would be better spent in maintaining 'a military strength' for the suppression of the threatened insurrection[1]. Clarendon promises that a part of the money paid by France should be reserved for such an emergency, which every one dreaded.

---

[1] 'La plus forte passion, la mienne, et celle de M. le Chancelier était de former une étroite liaison et lier un intérêt avec lui.' Turenne's Letters i. 552.

---

[1] 'The £130,000 that went to maintain those soldiers in Dunkirk would be better spent at home to breed up and maintain a military actual strength for security of prince and people against all civil insurrections.'

CHAPTER VII.

A SCHEME FOR REUNION WITH ROME. CLAIM TO THE DISPENSING POWER. PERSONAL RELATIONS IN COURT AND STATE.

WE possess a report of Henry Bennet, dating from the days when the question as to the Bill of Uniformity was decided. He was a man who even then enjoyed to a high degree King Charles's confidence, and was destined before long to attain to the highest positions. It is evident from this document how serious was the anxiety felt at court lest the general discontent should lead to an outbreak of disturbances and a fresh civil war. Bennet was of opinion that it would be by no means safe to dispense with the precautionary measures already adopted, since to do so would be to encourage factions and weaken authority. It was necessary on the contrary to carry them out energetically, and with this object to strengthen the military force, in London by recalling thither the troops from Dunkirk, and that in the counties by the precautions of the lord-lieutenants: in a few months every movement might be suppressed, and then the King could think of milder measures[1].

Stimulated by the rupture which had occurred between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, the Baptist and Republican sects, whom they had defeated when united, were in a state of eager rebellious commotion. The speeches of the regicides especially, which had been printed singly or collectively and were widely read, kept their minds in a state of ferment. The words which they had uttered when about to die were readily believed, and their speedy return to life was seriously expected. It was reported of Harrison's wife that she had reserved for his return his clothes, which she had bought from the executioner. Tales of signs and wonders, such as we find in Livy, were cherished, and were as widely and as firmly believed. In November 1662 the government surprised and arrested on one occasion six hundred adherents of these doctrines at an open-air meeting. While driven rather than led through the streets of London, they loudly proclaimed their doctrine that no earthly king possessed any lawful authority. The citizens who ridiculed them they summoned to answer for it at the last judgment. It appears from the reports of the trial that a committee existed of the different sects, Anabaptists, Fifth Monarchy men, and the resolutely refractory party of the Quakers, called the Fighters, with the object of preparing for a rising. After some hesitation the Independents joined them. They hoped to win over the most extreme Presbyterians, the Covenanters. The wildest schemes, such as Venner's, reappeared once more. The danger lay in the possibility that even Cromwell's followers, who had as a rule no decided religious bias, and among them many soldiers of the disbanded army, might unite with the Anabaptist enthusiasts. The unpopularity which the Court and Parliament had incurred, the one by its immorality and extravagance, the other by the burdens which it imposed, seemed to render possible even now the subversion of the new government, and the restoration of the Commonwealth[1].

---

[1] Sir Henry Bennet to Charles II. Lister iii. 198.

With the justification of the proceedings taken against Charles I, on the ground that the sovereign was responsible to the people and could be tried by them, was united an appeal to treat the son like the father, and sweep him from the earth with all his sin-stained followers.

And this might easily have happened had the Presbyterians listened to the appeals of the sects. For the adherents of Presbyterianism in the towns, and especially in the capital, still formed the majority. The associations formed to secure the maintenance of the preachers who had been driven from their churches, were a link which held together the faithful throughout the kingdom. It is scarcely probable that the allied Royalists and Anglicans could have resisted a combination of both forces. To encounter it an increase of military force and the assistance of the King of France would have been necessary. The Presbyterians however stood aloof. They still possessed co-religionists near the King's person, who made them promises; but what chiefly restrained them was the recollection of the direction which affairs had taken in the last disturbances, the dread of a renewed supremacy of the Anabaptists and of the Commonwealth, which seemed even more distasteful to them than Anglicanism, so long as this last held fast to the principles of Protestantism.

It was thus a question of vital importance for the political and religious situation whether the King, the head of the Anglican Church, had not himself secretly gone over to Catholicism. It was often said at the time, and it has been confidently reasserted more recently, that Charles II had actually gone over while in exile: before the historian can pass judgment upon him he is bound to ascertain the facts as far as possible from the outset.

It is undeniable that for some years Charles displayed a strong inclination to go over, inasmuch as he constantly associated with priests, and was perhaps once seen himself kneeling at the mass[1]. A natural son, born in his early years, he committed to Catholic care and teaching[2]. Moreover not only did he in conversations with his mother, as appears from later letters, allow his conversion to appear possible, but in his negotiations with Spain he pledged himself to it, provided he were restored to the throne by the help of that power. It was, it would seem, the price which he offered to pay for effective aid towards gaining this end. At the same time however he cherished another project, and one more easily carried out. After his flight from Worcester he entered into communications with Pope Innocent X, which were carried on by the General of the Augustines, who declared that he was authorised to do so[1]. In these he promised that he would in future, as King of England, show favour to his Catholic subjects, if the Pope energetically supported him. The Pope answered by the demand that he should first avow himself a Catholic, and fix a definite period for doing so. But to that length Charles II was neither able nor willing to go. He would by so doing have permanently alienated the Protestant element, have perhaps abandoned the Catholic party itself to destruction, and rendered impossible his own restoration to the throne. After the death of Innocent X similar negotiations were again entered into with his successor, Alexander VII. They were conducted through the medium of two German princes, the Duke of Pfalz Neuburg, and the Elector of Mainz. Charles II then promised, if once King, not to permit his Catholic subjects to be subjected to any disabilities on account of their religion, but on the contrary to place them on a footing of equality with the rest of his subjects. But this offer too had little effect in Rome. At the needy exiled court it was matter of complaint that not even a present of money was made in return for its advances. In short it is absurd to speak of a formal conversion completed at that time. That matters never went so far cost Charles II many a day of poverty. But, it may be asked, did it not happen somewhat later? For in the last moment of his life Charles actually,—we shall see under what circumstances,—accepted the Catholic confession. That very fact however ought to have proved that he had not done so previously. The reigning Pope, Innocent XI, was not really satisfied with the account of it, though two treatises were sent him, containing considerations which had at an earlier time convinced the King of the superior claims of the Catholic Church. It has been doubted whether they emanated from the King in the first instance; but they were in his handwriting, and contained sentiments which he approved. The Pope thanks James II for communicating them, and for the account of the proofs of the Catholic faith which Charles II himself had given on his deathbed. He expresses the hope that he has obtained the divine mercy[1]. We see with what caution the head of the Catholic Church even then expresses himself as to this conversion: there is no doubt that in Rome nothing was known of a confession previously made, or of any such dissimulation throughout his reign. The account of the conversion seems to have been unexpected there.

---

[1] See the trial of Thomas Tonge, State Trials vi. 226.

[1] See Carte's account, which he refers to Ormond (Life of Ormond ii. 254; iv. 109). Lister finds it 'grossly improbable.' Life of Clarendon i. 396.

[2] Angelo Correr, Relatione 1661, mentions this early son, of whom Acton has shortly before told us something: from this, and from his friendship for Arundel and Aubigny, Correr merely infers, 'che il re nodrisca non poca inclinatione al cattolicismo.'

Charles II was far more nearly connected with Catholicism than his grandfather, who contemplated a union of the Churches, and than his father, who hoped by a reconciliation with Rome to transform the Catholics into good subjects; but even he was not unfrequently heard to ridicule Catholic ceremonies and doctrines. He laughed at those who were really in earnest about a confession. He was not exactly an infidel, he had no doubts respecting a future life, but he framed for himself conceptions of God and of divine mercy in harmony with his natural disposition. Like many others of his contemporaries he rejected the confessional. He imagined that behind professions of spiritual motives he constantly discerned worldly views. He accepted the Anglican form of belief as involving his own claims as King, and therefore he adhered to it: but in his inmost heart he wavered between disbelief in any creed and Catholicism. When we find him so frequently avowing his intention of procuring relief for the Catholics, the reason for it must be sought not only in the services which they had rendered him, but also in the sympathy which he felt for them. So again, though he had not formally gone over, yet we find Charles II soon after the commencement of his reign in alliance with the Romish See. Some considerable negotiation for instance took place with Rome as to the appointment of a Catholic bishop. The King wished merely to be assured that the man whom he might nominate would receive ecclesiastical institution from Rome. In the Anglican system the King himself appears as the supreme head of the national bishops who had seceded from the Papacy, as the representative of the now legalised secession. It was a glaring inconsistency that he wished at the same time to establish a bishopric, which would have received its spiritual authorisation from the Pope. But even the idea of going over he certainly never abandoned. Those around him laboured earnestly to effect a reconciliation with the Romish See. A remarkable document of the time is still extant which shows how far their designs in this respect went.

---

[1] Edward Hyde to Msr. Clement, State Papers iii. 291.

[1] Innocent XI to King James II, June 7, 1685: 'A quo (the envoy) intelliges, quam grata acciderunt nobis, quae de editis a Carolo rege catholicae fidei signis, quaeque de eadem scripserit documenta ad nos retulit: in spem enim ea nos adducunt, regem ipsum a Deo misericordiam consecutum esse.' Collection of Roman Correspondence in the British Museum, No. 15. 396.

It is a paper addressed to the Romish See in the name of Charles II, offering to renounce the communion of the Protestant Churches, and return to the Romish Church[1]. In it Charles II declares his readiness to accept the confession of faith put forth by Pius IV, the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the decisions given by Innocent X and Alexander VII in the Jansenist controversy. But along with this complete adhesion on points of doctrine, there was to be not merely the reservation but the further development of a highly independent national hierarchical system. The Archbishop of Canterbury was to be raised to the dignity of Patriarch of the three realms: in his hands the administration of the Church in them all was to be vested, excepting only a few reserved rights of the Apostolic See[2].

In the same way had the Sorbonne revived the memory of the ancient Gallican liberties in accordance with the ideas of the Council of Basle: in the disputes between Alexander VII and the French crown the idea of a French patriarchate had reappeared on the surface. In precisely the same spirit it was designed to establish an English Church. The existing bishops and archbishops were to remain, but they were to be reconsecrated by three apostolic legates specially appointed for this duty alone. A Roman legate was to reside in Great Britain, to exercise merely the reserved rights secured to the Pope. He was to be a native of one of the three kingdoms. By the side of the legate and the patriarch there was to be a provincial synod held every year, and at fixed periods a national council. Together with the privileges of the Church, the right of the King to nominate to the episcopal sees, and the rights of property in the Church estates formerly sold were secured. Above all, neither the present nor any future English King was to be forced to treat harshly those of his subjects who at the risk of their souls wished to remain in the Protestant faith. They were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, though at their own expense. They were to be reclaimed if possible by good teaching alone, without the least coercion. The bishops and clergy who accept Catholic ordination are not merely to retain their benefices, but even to keep their wives: celibacy was not to be reintroduced till later[1]. The Eucharist was to be administered in both kinds to those who wished it, the mass was to be celebrated in Latin, but accompanied with English hymns. A summary of doctrine based on Holy Scripture was to be published. The Catholic preachers were to dispute with the Protestant, but to refrain from the narration of miracles, and moreover not to speak of a material purgatory. Some of the orders were to be revived, the Benedictines of St. Maur for psalmody, others on account of their secluded life, others for the care of the sick, even the Jesuit fathers for the schools; but all were to be subject to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and to avoid the faults which their friends censured in them. The most disputed questions, as to the infallibility of the Pope, his superiority over councils, his right to depose kings, were not to be discussed either in the pulpit, or in printed writings, or in any other way.

---

[1] 'Oblatio ex parte Caroli II Magn. Britanniae regis pro optatissima trium suorum regnorum cum sede apostolica Romana unione.' (Dated du mois de Févr. 1663, in the Archives at Paris. Angleterre, No. 81.)

[2] 'Ab eo in ecclesiae negotiis, certis quibusdam sedi apostolicae reservatis duntaxat exceptis, tria regna gubernabuntur.'

[1] 'S. R. M. exceptum vult, ne vel sibi vel suis successoribus injungi possit, ut illos subditos suos, qui in suis protestantium religionibus permanere suo animarum periculo voluerint, vi inde depellant illisque hac de causâ molestiam creent.'

This scheme is mainly remarkable as showing what was the real nature of the design for bringing England back to Catholicism, which was so much talked of under Charles II. It aimed not at a complete restoration of the Papal authority, but at removing the schism, while it retained as far as possible the independence of the Anglican Church. Its authors expected to succeed in restoring the Episcopal hierarchy to communion with Rome. It was hoped that the Presbyterians would be satisfied with such a position as that still enjoyed by the Protestants in France. From the example of that state they thought themselves justified in inferring that Catholicism and Protestantism could exist together under one rule[1].

It is not perfectly clear how far the King was privy to this scheme, and whether he took any steps for carrying it out. It agrees however both with his views and with his position. If he felt any scruple, it was because that Church whose supreme head he was, advanced claims which he regarded as ungrounded, and even took upon itself to decide points of doctrine. And just as in former times the interference of Rome had been irksome to the kings, so it now appeared even desirable as a counterpoise to that system of authorisation ecclesiastical and secular by Parliament, which was on the point of establishing itself. But it was not to be expected that the matter could have been successfully carried out. The concessions in church organisation and church ceremonies which were demanded from the Romish See, were far too directly opposed to established usage in the Catholic Church, for it to have been able to grant them. We can as little imagine that the Anglican episcopate had approved these projects. In the days of trial its champions had always fought as determinedly against the Papists as against the Independents and Presbyterians. In the works of Sanderson and Taylor we may see with what care and firmness combined the lines of Anglican orthodoxy, as fixed in the sixteenth century, are maintained. That they should take an undoubtedly Protestant confession of faith as their basis was the one indispensable condition of their restoration. And at no price whatever would the Presbyterians, whose zeal was directed against Catholicism above everything else, have suffered that faith, under whatever limitations, to have become once more the creed of the crown. They could not in such a case have restrained the masses who adhered to them. A powerful impulse would have been given to the spread of Anabaptist doctrines; there would have been real cause to dread a fresh outbreak of the civil war.

To avoid incurring the danger that was most feared, the project, though not finally laid aside, was abandoned for the present. The idea had been already conceived of providing for the Catholics in a different fashion, and one more in harmony with the state of affairs in England; yet one which like the former involved consequences of incalculable importance.

When on previous occasions it had been proposed to grant relief to the Catholics, Lord Clarendon had always reminded the proposers that in England the King can repeal no law, but had added the declaration that he had the power to dispense with the execution of the laws[1]. This view he again expressed when the Act of Uniformity was passed. He said by way of comfort, that the execution of severe laws rests with a noble and gracious prince. But while the right of dispensation was held already to belong to the King in virtue of his prerogative, a very peculiar view was taken up with regard to the powers which had been transferred from the Papacy to the King in virtue of his spiritual supremacy, one of the most important of which was the right to suspend the jurisdiction of the lower courts, and to grant relaxation from the penalties they imposed[2]. It was considered to be within his powers to issue a declaration, in favour not perhaps

---

[2] Un écrit sur l'état de l'Angleterre par le Sr. Bataille contains the remark bearing on this point: 'Qu'il leur est permis chez les catholiques d'avoir des églises publiques.' Bataille, Jan. 1663.

---

[1] Letter to Clement: 'You know well that though the King hath in himself power to pardon and dispense with the execution of laws, yet that to the repeal of them there must be the consent of others.'

[2] The King's power in matters ecclesiastical: in the Acts of the year 1660, Record Office. 'What the bishop of Rome could lawfully doe in relaxation of the penalty or suspension of the inferior ecclesiastical jurisdiction, all that is now invested in the King.

of the Catholics only but of all parties, and which should on the basis of this kingly right secure them an endurable existence by the side of the Anglican Church. It appeared as early as December 1662.

In it the King declares that it must necessarily be his first care to secure the genuine Protestant faith, the discipline and constitution of the English Church. Now that this had been done by the Act of Uniformity, he would, agreeably to his declaration from Breda, bethink himself of those who for conscience sake do not conform to the Church, and protect them from molestation in their position. He did not wish to violate the rights of Parliament, but would in the next session use every effort to carry through an act, which will, such are his words, 'enable us to exercise to the satisfaction of all the dispensing power, which we consider belongs to us.' For the peace of the realm it was necessary to deprive the ill-disposed of the means of inflaming the passions of the masses under the pretext of conscience. The King found it compatible with his scheme for reunion to give the strongest and most explicit assurances that he was far removed from anything like Popery. He did not hesitate to publish a denial of intentions, of which the world knew nothing. With greater truth he added, that his Roman Catholic subjects had rendered him so many services, for which indeed the English Church was under obligation to them, that he was anxious that this indulgence might be of service to them as well. The bloody laws which had been promulgated against them might perhaps have been necessary in earlier times. He could never bring himself to execute them. It was not however strictly speaking toleration nor an equalisation of the two creeds at which he aimed. He too meant always to observe the distinction which existed in every well-ordered state between those who dissented from and those who professed the state-religion.

The original compiler of the declaration, which indeed formed part of his plan from the first, was Henry Bennet. It was also laid before the Chancellor, who made some comments upon it, without however concealing that he expected no result from it.

On February 18, 1663, the King opened the new session with a speech from the throne, in which he urged the acceptance of his declaration. It excited surprise that the Lord Chancellor did not also speak, especially since there were besides many other questions of policy and internal economy which required elucidation. It was accepted as a proof of what every one conjectured, that he did not approve of the declaration. The Lower House replied to the King in an address which utterly rejected his proposals, and which was remarkable in other respects. In opposition to his intimations respecting the right of dispensation, it asserted that the King had no right whatever to make promises, since uniformity was an old law of the land, dispensation from which could only be granted by Act of Parliament. Every one was subject to the law, for through election each man was represented in Parliament[1]. It added that the result of the indulgence would be so great an extension of dissent that it would be impossible to carry on the government of the Church or maintain peace in the country. It implied its anxiety lest in such a case Catholicism should once more obtain the supremacy. Far from following the lead given by the King, it requested him to order all priests of the Roman Church, the Jesuits in particular, to leave England, those alone being excepted who were in attendance on the two Queens and in the houses of the foreign ambassadors.

In the Upper House a bill was introduced by Lords Cooper and Roberts, as announced in the declaration; it empowered the King to dispense with the laws which prescribed obedience to the discipline and doctrine of the Church. But such a bill could not pass so long as the bishops continued to sit in the Upper House. The Chancellor, who had once expressly defended the dispensing power, on this occasion opposed it. The measure was thrown out by the Lords.

---

[1] 'The laws of uniformity then in being could not be dispensed with, but by act of Parliament. They who pretend a right, put their right into the hands of their representatives, whom they choose to serve for them in Parliament.' Journals of Commons viii. 443.

The astonished King found that among the very instruments of his restoration he encountered an invincible resistance even to his most cherished designs. How surprising was it in particular that the chief minister, Lord Clarendon, deserted the ideas whose champion he had hitherto always been, and surrendered the prerogative of the crown in this, perhaps the most important point of all.

The only possible explanation is that the advisers whom the King now followed were hostile to him. It was sorely against his wish that Henry Bennet became Secretary of State in place of Nicholas, who retired at the King's request. Ashley Cooper stood at the head of the young men who systematically opposed the Chancellor. Lord Bristol was still a man of importance. He was supported by a large majority of the Catholics. The needy courtiers too, who thought themselves slighted by Clarendon, rested their hopes on him.

And shortly before this an intrigue had occurred at court, which gave all opponents and rivals, open or concealed, of the Chancellor a support near the King's person. In order to understand the factious intrigues which powerfully influenced the administration of the state, we must glance for a moment at the most intimate personal relations of the King.

Charles II had in his early years abandoned himself to a licentiousness, which was more under restraint abroad than after his return to England. It was hoped that he would renounce these habits if he were once married. His marriage with the Infanta Catherine was solemnised in May 1662, at Portsmouth, according to the rites of the Anglican Church, as before according to those of the Catholic. It was expected that the King would for the future live a regular and orderly domestic life, in harmony with the sentiments of the English nation. He had in a sort of way pledged his word to do so. When mention was made in confidential circles of Louis XIV's behaviour in this respect, Charles II highly disapproved of his permitting Madame de la Vallière to be seen at his queen's court. He even declared it to be a

proof of a bad character, and asserted his determination to be a good husband.

The young queen, though small in person, was not without beauty. In her Spanish dress, with long flowing hair, a serene and quiet mien, and dark deep eyes, she might well create a favourable impression. The King, who was able to converse with her in her mother-tongue, was charmed with her genial and gentle disposition, so much in harmony as it was with his own. He was kind to her; he taught her to utter her first words of English, and in the meantime acted as interpreter even when she was addressed in French, which she did not understand, for she had been reared in the loneliness of a cloister, and only for a life of religious devotion. Even now she disliked to be seen in the court circle, she never seemed to be happy till the time came when the King took her hand to lead her back to their apartments. She felt for him the passionate devotion of the first youthful love of an innocent heart. He expressed himself well contented with her.

In spite of all however he was an extremely bad husband. He had till now been fascinated by the charms of Lady Castlemaine, then considered the most beautiful woman in England: wherever she appeared she drew upon herself wondering or even envious eyes; the charm of her love was heightened by her light and brilliant conversation—she was animated by the spirit of ambitious intrigue, which in this form will ever aim at the mastery over those who are brought into contact with it. Even indifferent spectators who saw her shortly before the wedding, at which she wore an aspect of sorrow and deep care, felt a sympathy for her approaching dismissal. She was however resolved to hold her ground in spite of all, and carried her point with the King. He did precisely that which he had found fault with Louis XIV for doing. The conduct he had censured now served him as a precedent. He too resolved to keep the lady at his court and assign her a position in the household of his Queen. That this was not done without some inward struggle may be inferred from the vehemence with which, in a letter to the

Lord Chancellor, he denounces with asseverations, indicating a passion resisted for a time but finally victorious, all those as his enemies who should oppose him in this matter. The Chancellor himself was against it, but all opposition was now silenced. Lady Castlemaine was received into the new Queen's household: on one point only the King was scrupulous, that his wife should learn nothing of the actual relation between them, and of its continuance. Members of the household who were considered as likely to inform her were ruthlessly dismissed. The English who had come over with the Queen in hope of gaining a position through her patronage, not only found themselves mistaken in this, but were even forced to return to Portugal, together with most of the Portuguese ladies.

The bad example set by the King exercised now as before a demoralising influence upon the whole court. The immorality, which seemed almost a reaction against Puritan strictness, became a sort of fashion which, to their friends' surprise, carried away even men of high character, and caused the deepest uneasiness to those who were attached to the crown. The sermon was succeeded by the theatre, which gratified the passions which the former had denounced [1].

In the encouragement of the physical sciences, then just rising into prominence, Charles II took the liveliest interest; and used every effort to promote them, chiefly no doubt because they put an end to the exclusive supremacy of the theological and ecclesiastical tendencies till then predominant. Even in the administration of the state he was attracted by what was new, because it was new, though he easily acquiesced if he failed to carry it out. He was pleasure-loving, careless in his conduct, always entangled in some fresh love-affair, a bad householder; not without industry, when circumstances compelled him to be industrious, but in other respects very ill-fitted for the regular management

of current business, and indifferent to the praise or blame of thoughtful men provided he had his fill of the day's pleasures.

All the more prominently loomed the figure of the Chancellor, who literally lived and moved amid business. He commanded a hearing in the Privy Council when he made a proposal, through his natural eloquence and the superiority which a perfect acquaintance with the subject always gives. He seemed to be instructing the rest in a light easy manner: no one would have ventured to contradict him. His idea was to restore the English constitution, which had during the disturbances deserted its old grooves, exactly to what it had been at the time of the change from the Tudors to the Stuarts, and to develop it further from that basis. He had got into his own hands an immense amount of patronage in all branches of the public service. In England as well as in Ireland the episcopate as a whole was indebted to him for its restoration, and most of the bishops also owed him their nomination. The reorganisation of the judicial bench was still more palpably his work. He was the most prominent representative of the old-fashioned loyalty. Moreover his influence extended also to the treasury. For long no extraordinary payment was made there without his previous knowledge. He had the most intimate relations with the bankers, who advanced money to meet the wants of the state. In foreign affairs the initiative and the maintenance of secresy, an all-important point, rested with him. Without doubt in the conduct of those affairs he had the highest interests of the country in view; still, as we saw in the Portuguese and French negotiations, he was at the same time constantly endeavouring to keep opponents at a distance, and to gain personal support for himself. He considered it perfectly justifiable, by all possible means, to secure himself friends both at home and abroad. The family alliance into which he had entered, through his daughter's marriage with the Duke of York, gave him a decisive pre-eminence, even among the nobility, to whom he belonged since his elevation to the peerage.

---

[1] I avoid using the Recollections of Hamilton in the Mémoires du Comte de Grammont. In general they are trustworthy, they are based on facts; but in particular points, for instance the marriage of the Duke of York, they must give way to more reliable documents.

It was only natural that this colossal power should excite envy and jealousy, but it was obviously not unassailable. Though the kind-hearted Queen remained throughout grateful to the Chancellor[1], as she had promised to be at the first, yet this was of little importance. Far more serious was the fact that Lady Castlemaine used against him the influence which she still exercised over the King. Those opponents whom we have mentioned rallied round her. They were already calculating how many posts would become vacant through his fall, and be available for distribution. Some of them Clarendon managed to win over by promotion, the rest were the more bitter against him. They relied upon the support of the King, whom the Chancellor had crossed in his most favourite schemes.

Out of all these elements a movement was formed which came to an outbreak in the summer of 1663, in the attack which Lord Bristol made upon Clarendon[2]. It was only indirectly due to Catholicism. Bristol was then a Catholic, but the reverse of devout. He was more under the influence of the general idea of toleration, of which he now wished to be the champion. He was a man of energy, talent, and enterprise, but just as his eloquence, for which he was celebrated, was too florid and theatrical, so throughout his career he overshot the mark he aimed at. He never clearly realised to himself the difficulties to be encountered. His was rather a blind impetuosity than a steady courage. In the present instance he was at least as much a tool in the hands of others as their leader. The King, whom he told of his intention, warned him, for he appreciated the situation more correctly. He told him that he would burn his wings. Bristol however may have believed that he was sure of the secret approval of the King.

---

[1] Manchester writes to the Chancellor: 'I have received that assurance from her, that she owned your kindness, and esteemed you so much, as your counsell and your advise should steer her actions.'

[2] Nathaniel Hodges to Dean Hodges, Oct. 10, 1663, among the Bodleian MSS.: 'Although he was a Catholic, yet he was of a public spirit, and rather a statesman than a devotary.' He fixes the blame on some party behind the scenes rather than on Bristol himself. 'Fit agents were employed to give hopes of liberty to the Papists and Sectaries.'

He considered that in the attempt to overthrow the Chancellor lay the sole means of reviving his declining reputation. On July 10, 1663, he came forward with a long-prepared and formal impeachment[1]. It declared especially that the Chancellor, by slanderous reports as to the King's life, and by proposals contrary to the interests of England, was seeking to alienate from him the affections of the people. Among these proposals he did not scruple to bring forward the one relating to a treaty with the see of Rome respecting the Catholic bishopric mentioned above, because he considered it the most effective charge. He asserted that the Chancellor promoted such measures in order to make it appear that he was himself the sole support of the newly-introduced religion, and to get the whole management of affairs exclusively into his own hands. He accused him of high treason. After the articles of impeachment had been read the Duke of York rose at once to inform the Lords that the King highly disapproved of this impeachment. Bristol tore open his doublet, and exclaimed that he received this blow from the brother of his king with uncovered breast; there in Parliament, as a peer of the realm, he was his equal[2]. At this point the Chancellor took up the debate, not so much with the view of refuting the separate charges, as to attack his assailant himself. He asked him, how it came about that he, who was known as a Catholic peer, was now undertaking the defence of Protestantism. Bristol retorted, that he was a Catholic, but no adherent of the Romish court; as a good patriot, he could not suffer it once more to gain a footing in England. He had expressed himself to the same effect shortly before at the bar of the Lower House, where he had been obliged to justify himself for another imprudent remark as to the influence which the King could acquire by gaining over individuals. To remove every objection, he shortly afterwards received the sacrament according to Anglican rites. But flaws were also discovered in the form of his impeachment. The judges declared that it ought not to be permitted to go on. And Bristol, while professing to defend the King's cause, had nevertheless excited his displeasure. How could Charles have possibly allowed the motives for the slanders of which Bristol had spoken to come under public discussion? He treated the impeachment as a personal insult to himself, and was easily induced to issue a warrant for Bristol's arrest. He once told the latter himself, that he would be a pitiful King indeed if he could not gain the better of an Earl of Bristol.

---

[1] Journal of Lords xi. 555.

[2] This scene, which is omitted by the English authorities, is described by the Brandenburg Resident, in his Report.

The position which Bristol took up excited, owing to the celebrity of his name, general interest and surprise. There is a Latin epigram extant in which the question is asked whether he would not still remain master, whether the Earl of famous name would not be Mazarin, in other words, first minister. This possibility excited the most hopeful expectations in all those whom the existing system kept in a position of inferiority[1]. But this only contributed to rouse its defenders to a more determined resistance. When at the opening of the new session in April 1664, Bristol, still bent on carrying out his old scheme, appealed to the Lords by a letter, given to one of the peers by his wife herself, he was compelled to suffer the indignity of having the paper sent up unopened to the King by the House, who expressed his thanks for it, but was secretly surprised that Bristol did not find more support in the Upper House. The Chancellor's triumph in this dispute was complete.

His main strength lay in the support that he gave to the Anglican system, which then possessed the predominance in Parliament. In the Lower House it suited the interests of the country gentlemen and older Cavaliers, who would have nothing to say to the Presbyterianism of the towns—in the Upper House it was represented by the restoration of the bishops, which restored to it its ancient character. Let us not forget that this sentiment was more than a merely temporary one. Anglicanism, as we have said, unites the old tendency to separation from the Papacy with the inclination to cling to ecclesiastical institutions which have once taken root. The historical significance of Clarendon's administration lay mainly in this, that he not only reinstated those ideas themselves, but at the same time restored their ancient connexion with parliamentary government, which thus acquired fresh life.

Clarendon was, it is true, forced to struggle with it himself, but none the less is he to be regarded as one of the chief founders of that system in Church and State on which the English constitution thenceforward rested.

---

[1] Hodges, Oct. 3: 'The Sectaries, especially the Anabaptists, mett more confidently than before; the recusants likewise splendidly apparelled.'

BOOK XV.

THE DUTCH WARS OF CHARLES II.
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROTESTANT AND PARLIAMENTARY CHARACTER OF THE CONSTITUTION,

1664—1674.

ABOUT the middle of the seventeenth century, during a period answering in length to a man's life, the majority of European states underwent those searching reformations by which their future character was to be determined. Then, after a long and bloody war, had the equal recognition of religious beliefs and the independence of territorial powers been established in the German kingdom. Then had the absolute authority of the royal power in France and the preponderance of aristocratic tendencies in Poland been definitely wrought out. The mutual relationships of the Scandinavian confederacy, and also the position of the government in each kingdom, had been firmly settled. In the one, which had been exposed to invasion, the result had been the strengthening of the royal power through the necessities of resistance; in the other, of which the policy had been aggressive, but was so no longer, the preponderance of the aristocracy had been established. Next to these, the autocracy in Russia arose in connexion with the Greek Church, and the dominion of Austria over Bohemia and Hungary in connexion with Roman orthodoxy. In the other kingdoms also, even in the Ottoman, similar antagonisms produced in their conflict permanent and decisive results.

In Great Britain also, after the prevalence for a time of republican forms, or the absolute dominion of an individual will, and of the Presbyterian or the Anabaptist church government, hereditary monarchy with parliament by its side, and the supremacy of the Anglican Church, had been newly established. Still no stable condition had been attained. This may be regarded as the most important question,—How far the three kingdoms might be governed from one centre; for with the Restoration Scotland and Ireland had returned to their former legislative independence. The forms of the Anglican Church, although an attempt was being made to extend them over the neighbouring kingdoms, encountered in England itself the most violent opposition from the Catholics, the Presbyterians, and the supporters of those sects which were called fanatical. Was she capable of resisting it or not? Parliament had indeed identified itself with Anglicanism, the King was most closely united to both; but even so he would not suffer Parliament to gain the preponderance. Already there rose up again between them the most extensive questions as to the limits of the prerogative and of parliamentary rights; each side meant to hold fast what its predecessors had possessed.

At the same time a foreign war broke out. It was the same which had already occupied the Commonwealth and the Protector, the war with Holland; it was concerned with the most important of all English interests, the supremacy at sea. Great as was its intrinsic importance, it was equally important in relation to home affairs. It might help to unite the diverging interests, but the contrary was also possible; it might first bring the antagonism clearly into view. What might not be expected from the prospect of political change under a King to whom every means was right which would further his own ends?

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST WAR WITH HOLLAND, IN THE YEAR 1665.

AFTER the collision with Cromwell the maritime power and trade of Holland had most vigorously revived. The result of a glance over her roadsteads and harbours was astonishing. In Flushing the West Indian, in Amsterdam the East Indian trade of Europe seemed almost to centralise. Dort and Rotterdam were enlivened by the Anglo-Scottish trade, Enkhuypen by the herring-fisheries, Saardam by shipbuilding. The East Indian Company formed as it were a republic which stood forth as a sovereign power. On the goods brought in its ships depended the trade with southern, as well as with northern Europe, and with Germany.

The English remarked that this world-wide commerce, by which they themselves were injured and thrown into the shade, in reality rested upon England itself.

The whole wealth of the Dutch, it was said, was founded upon the fisheries in the English and Scottish seas; their gains from these amounted to several millions; the English wool which, mixed with Spanish, constituted the material for their manufactures, was sold to them too cheap: even English manufactures had to serve them, in so far as English work was first offered for sale in Holland. They drew their largest gains from the still continued sale of foreign products in England,—principally on account of the higher value of English money, which was not rated on the continent according to its true proportion to foreign coinages; if prices were anywhere raised by the English, the Dutch were the soonest at hand to take advantage of them[1]. The old commercial jealousy allied itself to the feeling that England need only make use of her natural supremacy to crush her inconvenient neighbour.

---

[1] Two questions proposed by a friend, with reference to the re-establishment of the Magnus intercursus.

In addition to this the King had his own dynastic quarrel with the aristocratical government then existing in Holland.

Since the marriage of Prince William of Orange with a daughter of Charles I, to which that monarch had consented at the time of the beginning of the disturbances, the houses of Orange and Stuart had been most closely united; the Stuarts received from the Orange family the greatest support which anywhere fell to their lot. Hence it resulted that their opponents in both countries, Cromwell and the Löwenstein party, made common cause. The expulsion of the Stuarts involved the exclusion of the house of Orange, after the early death of William II, from the Statholdership, and from the high posts of military service on sea and land which it had formerly possessed. William III, the offspring of William II's marriage with the Stuart princess, was the first person affected by this. Charles II had undertaken the office of guardian, together with the grandmother of the prince and the husband of his father's sister, the Elector of Brandenburg. It was his intention to reinstate his nephew and ward in the position of his forefathers, an intention brought about by the complex course of events after he himself had been restored to the throne. He said his honour required that he should do in the Netherlands the opposite of what Cromwell had done. The aristocratic party in Holland had in the King of England an antagonist who only awaited the time to step forward and openly declare his enmity.

Under these circumstances the approaches, which were at first made by the two governments in turn, could lead to no real understanding; we may rather wonder that in September 1662 an agreement was once more come to, which at least hindered the open outbreak of the strife. If we read the correspondence between Lord Clarendon and the English ambassador in Holland at that time, George Downing, it appears that the real motive which induced the English government to enter into this agreement lay in the difficulties in which they were afraid of being involved at home. It was

the time of the passing of the Act of Uniformity, and a renewal of disturbances was consequently expected. It was a remark of Clarendon's that nothing could help more to calm men's minds than the conclusion of an agreement with Holland. For the republicans in Holland stood in a natural connexion with the malcontents in England, as almost inevitably resulted from their sympathy in religious matters.

Now however that the Act of Uniformity had been carried, it might be looked on as a means for the further establishment of the royal power and the union of parties if the dynastic and national questions were bound together, and the war with Holland, which the nation wished for, were merged in the attack upon the existing Dutch government, whose position depended upon their anti-Orange and at the same time upon their actively Protestant attitude. Lord Bristol, in confidential conversation, called the King's attention to the advantages which might thus accrue to him. He repeated what he had heard from some members of the former government, that Cromwell himself before his death had been on the point of a breach with Holland, so as to give scope, without any further consideration, to the national interests of the English against her. A great national act taken in hand by the King would to all appearance unite the separate parties firmly with him.

In the meanwhile the misunderstanding between the two nations had gone on increasing. In the treaty of 1662 much had remained undecided. Differences of the most offensive nature were reserved for further discussion, about even the form of which no agreement had been made; as, for instance, it was left to the proprietors of two English ships, confiscated twenty years before, to continue their case, although it had never been decided whether the matter should come before a court, and, if so, before what court, or whether it should be submitted to political negotiation[1]. The jealousy of the

---

[1] The expression 'litem inceptam persequi,' itself awoke later the most violent contest. Clarendon's instructions to Downing, 'making no mention of those particulars which will raise present dispute, and which may be taken up whenever we think fit to do so.' Lister iii. 167.

Dutch East Indian Company had been strengthened by the acquisition of the nominal possession of Bombay,—actual possession it could not become on account of the refractoriness of the Portuguese commandant and the clergy of the place; the English were shut out all the more carefully from intercourse with the natives: an island which had been promised to them in the treaty, Polaroon, was either never given over to them or else was soon again taken away. The English raised loud and passionate complaints; but the opinion of the Dutch was, that if they gave in, the demands of their opponents would only grow larger; and on their side also they had a thousand injuries to complain of. Negotiations were entered upon which only inflamed the passions of each side. Downing's letters betray an increasingly hostile impatience. He says at last plainly, that nothing more was to be expected from diplomacy; the Dutch must be paid back with their own coin, and reprisals must be made; only those who inflicted injury upon them would meet with consideration[1].

Under the impression produced by these communications and by the complaints received from several trading companies about Dutch encroachments, Parliament decided, in April 1664, to ask the King for redress. It promised at the same time to support him with life and property against all opposition which he might meet with in so doing. The King had hitherto been held back by the fear that the need of parliamentary support might be prejudicial to his authority: the initiative taken by Parliament put an end to his apprehensions. He answered that he would try once more the way of negotiation; should it be impossible for him thus to obtain justice for his subjects, he would reckon on the fulfilment of the promise made by Parliament.

---

[1] 'They love nor honour none but them that they think both can and dare bite them.' Downing to Clarendon, September 1663; Lister, Life of Clarendon, iii. 250. In addition to the letters quoted by Lister there is amongst the Clarendon MSS. at Oxford still much to be gleaned.

Whilst however the negotiations proceeded, and many still hoped for the maintenance of peace, he at the same time permitted, according to Downing's advice, the commencement

of hostilities on the English side, though not in the King's name[1].

Always liberal in granting lands in America, Charles II had given up to his brother James, with all rights of government, Long Island and the opposite coast, from the western bank of the Connecticut river to the eastern side of Delaware Bay. For the last forty years however this territory had been colonised by the Dutch West Indian Company; by the side of New England a New Netherlands had been founded, which already possessed many flourishing settlements on the island and on the coast,—amongst others, on a spot acquired by purchase from the natives, a New Amsterdam, which stood in uninterrupted communication with the old city. The English crown on its side had always declared these settlements to be unauthorised, for long ago James I had taken possession of this district. Charles II had no scruples in investing with it his brother and some Cavaliers who were attached to him.

It was, in this case as in others, not actually the Dutch government, but rather the Dutch West Indian Company with whom the English came into collision.

A little while before, Charles II had revived an older company, established for trade with Africa, and placed his brother at its head. The enterprises of this company were especially directed to Guinea; out of the gold brought back by its ships from the Gold Coast the first guineas were struck. The slave-trade diverted one sure source of profit to Barbadoes and other colonies. Even in Africa however the Dutch had the advantage. The manufactures of Leyden suited the taste of the natives: at peace with some, at war with others, they always encroached further; at that time they had acquired possession of perhaps the best place on the whole coast, Cape Corso, the station of Cape Coast Castle; on all sides the English saw themselves excluded or damaged.

---

[1] According to Van Gogh, the King, the bishops, the most considerable members of the government, and the Chancellor Ormond, 'ende meererideel van de vermogenste Koopluyte,' were inclined to peace. Brieve 309.

Against these two regions the English now directed their attacks, which they designated as reprisals for injuries either real or imagined. A little squadron belonging to the African Company, to which also the King added a couple of vessels, led by Robert Holmes, seized Cape Corso; another, provided with a sufficient number of land troops, directed its course against the New Netherlands, and made itself master of New Amsterdam without much trouble. The leader, Colonel Nicholas, a member of the household of the Duke of York, in whose name both these enterprises had been undertaken, gave the town the name of New York[1].

If we observe that immediately after this the English fell upon and seized Tabago, which had been taken possession of by a few merchants of Zealand, and which, thanks to the sheltered position of its harbours against the fury of the hurricanes, was the best port in the Antilles, we shall measure the full extent of this breach of peace. We are almost inclined to ascribe it to a settled plan proceeding perhaps from advice given by the Committee of Commerce established by Charles II. For these enterprises agree most perfectly together. It was as if England, whilst taking the North American coast exclusively into her hands, wished at the same time either to take possession of the wide ocean highway which opens out between the two continents in sight of England, or at least with one blow to clear it of her hated rivals.

Although Charles II affirmed that it was not the Republic but only the West Indian Company that was attacked by this, and so proposed negotiation on the strength of a clause in the last treaty, by virtue of which quarrels between the Companies were to be referred to friendly arbitration, it still is clear that the undertakings in question extended far beyond anything that could have been contemplated by the treaty. The Republic saw herself attacked in her great maritime position generally. De Ruyter, who was cruising before Malaga, received orders to betake himself to the African coast, expel the English, and then strike a blow at their West Indian and North American settlements.

The negotiations which in the meanwhile were set on foot were concerned principally with the demands for money made upon the Dutch by English seamen on account of losses which they had incurred[1]; but in this point there was great disagreement. King Charles found the offers of the Dutch very unsatisfactory. One day the ambassador, Van Gogh, admonished him to keep the peace, for this reason amongst others, that otherwise they would not be able to pray for him any longer in Holland; the King said that he could not care much about the Church prayers for him in Holland, where lampoons against him were written with impunity. 'Fewer prayers but more money, that might be attended to.' On their side the Dutch found the demands of the English much too large; added together they amounted to sixty million gulden. How could so large a sum ever be collected? And, if collected, it would not hinder the enemy from making war, but would rather provide the means for so doing. The rumour that Charles II wished at the same time to bring about the restoration of the Prince of Orange excited all their feeling of independence. 'We are,' so they were heard to say, 'a free state; as regards the Prince we shall do as we think right, but we will not endure compulsion.' If war must some time come, the present seemed to them the best time for it. 'We have more and better ships than the King, we have more credit than he, and we have peace in our land.' It sometimes appeared as if Gogh were commissioned to make conciliatory proposals; and such was the case, but afterwards instructions arrived which recalled them. The same thing was remarked in the negotiations at the Hague. If it seemed at one time as if De Witt did not mean to put aside, at all events not entirely, the demands of England; when the conversation was next taken up his utterances were again all the other way. The consideration in which he was held was still increasing; even the Provinces which had hitherto resisted him were now found willing to provide the requisite contributions.

---

[1] In the Duke's notes, in Macpherson's State Papers, it is said expressly, 'Colonel Nicholas remained there and then called it New York.' p. 27.

[1] The 'Catalogue of Damages,' which Rapin looked for in vain, has been published by Ralph. The most instructive matter however is contained in the letters of Downing, printed in the third volume of Lister, in spite of all their one-sidedness.

The old misunderstandings, about which negotiations were pending, now first became really irremediable on account of the new ones; the English government was even offended that the Dutch interposed so directly in the quarrel between the two Companies, seeing that she on her side kept up the appearance of avoiding to do so. Political were added to mercantile motives; motives of home policy sharpened those of foreign policy. By a kind of natural necessity the two maritime powers were once more drawn into war. They were both filled with eagerness for it. The Dutch wished to maintain what they possessed, the English to conquer what in their opinion belonged to them.

On the 24th of November, 1664, King Charles opened the fifth session of his second Parliament with a reminder of its last promise to him, for the fulfilment of which the time had now come. One of those rare periods commenced, the only one in fact which Charles II experienced, during which the temper of the administration, of the legislature, and of the majority of the people worked together. The government had calculated how much the last war with Holland had cost in one year: with the sums already expended it amounted to more than two million sterling. An independent member, speaking on the side of the government, placed the demand at two and a half millions: far as that surpassed anything that had ever been granted hitherto, yet it was voted on the spot. One condition however Parliament made; the payment of the sum was spread over three years, for no one disguised the fact that it would not be very easy to raise it; the express stipulation was added that it should be expended exclusively on the Dutch war. This however could not lessen the impression made by the largeness of the sum: £2,500,000 amounted to 25,000,000 Dutch florins; how was Holland ever to reach this sum with her 'two hundredth penny'?

At one with Parliament and with the nation Charles II was inspired with the proudest designs. He said to the ambassador of Brandenburg that the concession of his former demands could no longer satisfy him: he must demand compensation for the expenses of war, even the cession of some places as guarantees; for he could not run the risk of leaving it again to the pleasure of the regents or the Companies of the Republic to ill-treat English subjects. The Chancellor gave utterance to the same ideas: for the security of commerce with both the Indies the cession of some Dutch places was necessary; but he added that the King of England was the king of the seas as well, his dominion over the British seas must be recognised, and this included the right of visiting foreign ships, and even of escorting them through the Channel; the question also about the fisheries must be settled. And whilst it was presumed that the obstinacy of De Witt was caused by his hope that the war against the uncle of the Prince of Orange would draw the popular hatred upon the Prince himself, in England without doubt the restoration of the Prince was looked upon as one of the most important objects of the war. The King regarded it, as we have shown, almost as a personal duty: as Cromwell had demanded the exclusion of the Orange party through hatred of the house of Stuart, so he thought himself obliged to demand its recall and the restoration of the Prince his nephew.

Under these impulses the greatest activity was shown in getting the fleet into readiness. It was especially hoped that the Dutch would be overpowered by strongly built and large frigates provided with metal guns: already in February 1665 nearly a hundred were ready. When Charles II appeared in Woolwich to convince himself of the progress of the preparations, many captains who had served under Cromwell and the flag of the Commonwealth, presented themselves to him. Charles II did not consider himself in a position to refuse their services; he looked upon them as people who had been affected by a pestilential contagion, but were now cured. The old captains, such as Lawson and Penn, attained again to high positions. Penn was appointed counsellor to the Admiral, the Duke of York; but Lawson, who liked to behave like a common sailor, produced a still stronger impression that he understood his business thoroughly. The old Cavaliers were not quite content that they were again to receive orders from men of the popular party. Charles II intended however by so doing to follow the example of his grandfather, Henry IV of France, who had united both parties in his service; above all things he must have able men, and their fidelity was not to be doubted, if he only made real use of them, for their honour depended upon the successful result of his undertakings[1].

In the meanwhile in Holland new sources of money had been discovered; for instance, a quota had been put on the shares of the East Indian Company, annuities had been founded, and the fleet had been increased by an extraordinary equipage (such was the expression used) of men-of-war of the first class. The chief command was undertaken by Jacob Van Opdam-Wassenaar, himself one of the most important members of the aristocratic party opposed to the house of Orange: for this very reason he had risen most quickly in the maritime service, to which he had not originally devoted himself; by the most fortunate expeditions in the north and south of Europe he had acquired for himself the fame of one of the first seamen in the world. Now he carried the flag at the maintop, and was followed by six other stately squadrons besides his own, partly under men whose fame vied with his; such as Jan Everts and Egbert Kortenaar, from whom in their youth even more had been expected than from himself.

The English fleet assembled in March 1665 at Gunfleet. It had been impossible to exclude the Duke of York from the chief command, for he thirsted for warlike fame; he looked upon the undertaking as his own especial affair. The fleet, which numbered, like the hostile force, about a hundred men-of-war, was divided into three squadrons, which were distinguished according to the old custom, by red, white, and blue flags. The first was commanded by the vice-admiral Lawson, the second by Prince Rupert, the third by the Earl of Sandwich. They had provided themselves with provisions for five months, so as to command the Channel in case the

---

[1] Courtin's letter, May 14.

Dutch should not venture out of their harbours; but it was the universal wish that they should do so, and that the matter should be decided by a great action. As soon as it was in any way possible, at the beginning of May, the English directed their course upon the Dutch coast; when near to it they were driven back by a change of wind, and they then took up their station in Southwold Bay; but if it was their first object to entice the enemy into the open sea this was attained; besides, the Dutch were of the opinion that they could only obtain lasting peace through a victorious action[1]; their eagerness was more especially spurred on by this threat against their coasts. Jean de Witt appeared at Texel with the delegates of the States-General, to bring about the union of the separate squadrons, and to hasten their departure. He shewed an impatience which almost threw his judgment into the shade. There was an eagerness to retaliate upon the English this visit to their coasts. Wassenaar was ordered to engage.

It was, as it were, an affair of honour between two combatants who are inflamed by a long-restrained animosity, each of whom believes himself to be the stronger.

The first encounter took place on June 3/13 in the neighbourhood of the roadstead of Harwich; the thunder of the artillery was heard in Westminster. In the morning the two fleets manœuvred to obtain the advantage of position, under continued cannonading; at noon, each in a long line, they stood opposite to one another and opened fire—for a time with equal results. On the one side Lawson, on the other side Kortenaar, was mortally wounded; by the side of the Duke of York, his friends Lords Falmouth and Muskerry were killed by one ball; but by degrees the English artillery showed itself superior, as usual; the Royal Charles, with the Duke on board, who was making trial of his artillery, came to close quarters and greeted the hostile Admiral's ship. Opdam sat on deck in his chair and gave his orders, cool and untouched, when one of the first shots from the Royal Charles struck his powder magazine and blew him and his ship into the air. At sight of this the Dutch fell into confusion. The unfavourable wind hindered them from coming to close quarters with the English by boarding their ships. To escape the overpowering effect of the hostile guns they commenced their retreat, during which they suffered very considerable loss[1]. The Dutch punished several of their captains because they did not do their duty, while the English also attributed it to forgetfulness of duty by some of theirs, that the pursuit did not have still greater results.

---

[1] Estrades' letter June 11. Lettres iii. 181.

The victory filled the English with satisfaction and pride. The Dutch ascribed their defeat to untoward occurrences, and would not allow that the enemy were really superior. A great part of their vessels had been led back in good preservation by Cornelius Tromp; De Witt hurried to Texel, so as to prepare the whole fleet as soon as possible for sea again. Cannon of greater calibre were cast, the pay of the crews was raised, and steps taken to increase their number. Every one took heart when De Ruyter, who had been recalled from his enterprises in the West Indies (having in the meanwhile conquered fortified places on the coast of Guinea and captured English ships), arrived in Delfzyl, after a circuitous voyage by the coast of Norway, laden with rich spoil and glorious trophies of victory. It is easy to imagine the rejoicings with which he was welcomed by the whole people. On the proposal of the town of Amsterdam the command of the newly-equipped fleet was entrusted to him. He took his way into the northern waters out of which he had just come[2].

For thither all the merchantmen from the Mediterranean and both the Indies, whose cargoes were valued at more than 300 tons of gold, had taken their course and had found refuge

---

[1] I make use of the oldest account, Kort verhael van de victorye, etc., printed at London in the Dutch language: 'Sulcks dat wy in een linie geralckten, ende als wy tegen haer naedede, so weeken sy af, niet te min stuyrende, so dat niet en was een gevecht boord an boord, maer defenderende d'een gegen den anderen met groot geschut.' A detailed account, which is found in Aitzema in Dutch, is by Coventry; yet in Pepys we see that Sandwich made many objections to it.

[2] Gilbert Talbot to Arlington, in Lister iii. 389–409. Echard already drew from a manuscript (written by G. Talbot), which probably contained the account as he gives it.

in the harbour of Bergen. Lord Sandwich, who had taken the chief command in the place of the Duke of York, for it was not thought advisable to expose the heir to the throne to the perils of another sea-fight, hastened to pursue them there. For this reason he had made a compact with Frederic III, King of Denmark and Norway, in the existence of which it would be impossible to believe, were there not the most unmistakable proofs. The King, who was engaged in various bitter contentions with the Republic, and had already threatened to go over to the side of the English, had promised to look on quietly at the attack on the Dutch in the harbour of Bergen, provided only that half the booty should fall to his share[1]. But the good fortune of the Dutch decreed that the English should make their attack before the necessary instructions had reached Bergen from Copenhagen. The commander of the place had pledged his word to the Dutch, and when the English, too impatient to wait, pressed forward to the attack, he had no scruples in directing his guns against their frigates. They were driven off with considerable loss: still the Dutch would have been lost had they attempted to put to sea in sight of the hostile fleet. It was then that Ruyter appeared on the coast near Bergen, to carry them back under his protection. In escaping they had more to suffer from contrary winds than from the enemy; but still two East Indian and four other ships fell into Lord Sandwich's hands; the remainder brought their cargoes safely to Texel or Vlie.

Had they not returned, the popular movement in favour of the house of Orange, which was already stirring, might have become dangerous for the Grand Pensionary and for the aristocratic government. For even on land, in their immediate neighbourhood, they had to endure a troublesome if not a dangerous opponent in the Bishop of Munster, who by agreement with Charles II attacked Zutphen and Overyssel.

In the first act of the great naval duel the Republic had fought well, but in so doing she still had suffered sensible loss. How long she would be able to endure the war hand to hand with England, which was naturally so much more powerful, was indeed very doubtful. But it was already enough that in the first onset she had not been crushed. The close connexion of relationship between all European states made it impossible that in the long run she should be wanting in confederates.

---

[1] The attack upon Bergen was on August 12, N. S.; the Dutch fleet went out on August 11.

CHAPTER II.

INFLUENCE OF FRANCE UPON THE CONTINUATION OF WAR AND UPON THE PEACE.

THE English government would not have undertaken the war so lightly in the beginning, had it not thought itself justified in reckoning upon the neutrality of the King of France, who indeed on his side wished nothing more than to free his kingdom from the superiority of Holland in shipping and commerce. He was credited with the opinion that the strife of the two neighbouring naval powers was advantageous to him, and we perceive from one of his instructions that such an idea had indeed occurred to him; but this was more than counterbalanced by the opposite consideration, that England if she crushed Holland would attain to a naval preponderance which must be unbearable to all other states[1]. Besides, in his last treaty he had pledged his word to the Dutch to come to their assistance should they be attacked. He declared without hesitation to the English, that he must keep his word if the war went on.

It was an embassy of mediation sent by him to England immediately on the outbreak of the war which made this declaration. Charles II answered that England, not Holland, was the party attacked. He made special mention of the assurance of friendship which Louis XIV had so often given him; he represented it even as a political duty to support a neighbouring kingdom against the Republicans. That however made no impression upon the French; they examined the questions at issue with cool impartiality, and at last proposed this solution: that Holland should renounce her American possessions, notwithstanding that she had an undoubted right to them; and that England on the other hand should renounce the island of Polaroon in the East Indies; that Cape Corso in Guinea should be rased, and the rest of the coast divided between England and Holland. The fact could not be disguised that the rejection of this proposal would lead to the participation of the French in the war.

---

[1] Mémoire du roi pour servir d'instruction à Ms. le Duc de Verneuil et au Sr. comte de Cominges et Courtin, ambss. extraordinaires de S. Maj. d'Angleterre. Il est à craindre que—les provinces ne fussent nécessités de subir le joug et de recevoir les conditions, que le parti victorieux leur voudroit imposer, après quoi il seroit très-difficile aux autres puissances de contester aux Anglois cet empire de la mer.

This was the position of the political question when Parliament, in October 1665, on account of a raging pestilence, met at Oxford instead of in London. It was the Plague, which for the last quarter of a century had appeared in Europe, first in one country then in another, and now visited England as it had visited Holland a short while before. But it did not produce peaceful thoughts in the governments of these countries. Even now Charles II and his ministers were not in the least inclined, out of regard for the French mediation, to give up their claims to the East Indies and to the African possessions which lay on the way to India,—above all, the acquisition of that high naval position which they aimed at. In his speech from the throne the King made no secret of the fact that the sum granted for three years had already been spent; he added, that he now not only needed new assistance, but such assistance as would enable him to defend himself and them against a more powerful neighbour than the Dutch, if that neighbour should prefer the friendship of the Dutch to his. The Chancellor insisted especially on the danger which arose out of the connexion into which the King's enemies at home had entered with the Dutch; he also laid great emphasis on the losses which the adoption of the French propositions as to the East Indies and Africa would bring with it for the English naval power. Both speeches were, as it were, inquiries whether the government should accept the proposals of mediation, or whether they should allow a breach with France to ensue. With loud acclamations the assembly made it known that the latter was their opinion.

The French ambassador, who had managed to obtain admission secretly to the sitting, remarks that this acclamation was the natural expression of the prevailing humour, and necessarily must have prevented the King from agreeing to any except the most advantageous conditions of peace.

The next resolutions corresponded to this statement. The two Houses joined in an address, in which they expressed to the King their resolution to assist him with their lives and fortunes against the Dutch, or any others that should assist them[1]. The Lower House did not delay taking into consideration the demands for supply. Without allowing themselves to be misled by the fact that the former grant, given for three years, had been expended in one, they decided on increasing it by half, £1,250,000 for the next year: the sum was to be collected by a direct monthly tax[2].

With all this readiness of the Parliament, it still became visible that the continuation of the war might involve internal difficulties. Above all there was fear of the Dissenters, to whom sympathy with their Dutch co-religionists was ascribed: resolutions were taken against them of a severity that bordered on cruelty, and that could not but lead to an undesirable reaction; this we shall consider later. An immediate embarrassment was caused by the difficulty there was in collecting the sum that had been voted. George Downing, who had come back from Holland, proposed a change in the method of contracting loans, by which the intervention of the goldsmiths who collected the money from individuals, and so made a considerable percentage, should be abolished, and the Treasury itself be transformed into a kind of bank; just as the Republic raised her own loans directly, the interest upon which could then be more easily reduced. The unavoidable condition for this was, that the sum intended primarily for the war should not be diverted to any object other than the war for which it was intended. The King, who suspected the importance that the English loan system might gain in this way, was won over. Through his personal influence, in spite of the opposition of the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor, the measure was carried through Parliament. But the objection made by the old officials, that a change in the manner of procuring money always acted unfavourably, showed itself likewise to be well-founded; the first results of the operation did not answer to the expectations which had been entertained of it: yet that was the least important of the effects of this attempt. Downing filled a subordinate post in the Treasury; it was a noticeable event that he gained the victory over the Lord Treasurer. The Chancellor, who felt himself mortified through his friend, and who saw in the proposal an attempt to curtail the independence of the administration, made representations about it which displeased the King. In Parliament the opposition turned itself against another of the leaders of the Restoration movement, the Admiral Lord Sandwich. He had indulged in arbitrary conduct in the distribution of the last prizes, on account of which the captains whom he neglected raised loud complaints, and these again influenced Parliament. He was obliged to give up the chief command of the fleet: all that Clarendon, who saw himself already attacked, could do for him, was to provide him with the place of ambassador in Spain.

---

[1] Journals of the House of Lords xi. 688.
[2] Journals of Commons viii. 614.

In the midst of these agitations, which issued from the highest, and reacted upon the lowest circles,—for every one felt the pressure of the taxes levied by Parliament for the war,—it came to pass that the hostility against Holland brought about European complications which could not have been foreseen in the beginning.

Louis broke off the negotiations in which, as his ambassadors told him, the only object of the English was to prevent him from supporting the Dutch. Declarations of war followed on both sides, guardedly worded indeed, but seriously meant, and accompanied by offensive operations at sea.

First of all the King of France, with all his political weight, came to the help of the States-General in their transactions with the European and German powers.

Charles II had given the King of Denmark to understand his dissatisfaction, such was the word used, about the occurrence in Bergen; with so much the more ease therefore did the Dutch and French ambassadors find a hearing with Frederic III. In February 1666 seven different treaties were at once concluded between Denmark and Holland, the first of which contained a defensive alliance, and the remainder did away with all kinds of less important points of dispute; the last however promised an immediate participation of the Danes in the war against England. Not even the Provincial Estates of the Republic heard anything of this; it was the secret of De Witt and his nearest confidants, but Louis XIV was initiated and gave his guarantee for it.

Always accustomed to take the opposite side to Denmark, the Swedes were thrown into agitation; they would have been inclined to support from Bremen, which they still possessed, the Bishop of Munster in his encroachments upon Holland; but even here France interfered. The French ambassador knew his King too well not to grant of his own accord, without being empowered to do so, a written assurance in the King's name that the Danish naval force, which was being equipped forthwith with Dutch assistance, should not be turned against Sweden.

The Elector of Brandenburg had at the outbreak of the war entreated the King of England to take into consideration his differences with the Republic, and Charles had made the attempt to bring him over entirely to his side, for they each had a common interest in the Orange family. To go so far as that was impossible for the Elector, on account of the position of his possessions in Cleves. He seized the favourable moment to make a compromise about the most important point of dispute, the toll at Gennep. By the interposition of the French ambassador, Colbert Croissy, he entered into a defensive alliance with the Republic.

Louis XIV's policy was not calculated by any means only with a view to the advantage of the Dutch; he wished to prepare everything for the undertaking against the Spanish monarchy, which he decidedly contemplated after the death of King Philip IV, and which was foreseen in Europe. What could have appeared more natural than that the two powers who were both threatened at the same time, England and Spain, should unite against him? Such also was the opinion of the provincial government in Brussels, at whose head at that time stood the Marquis of Castelrodrigo, and of the English minister who was sent to him, Sir William Temple. They indulged often in the most comprehensive plans against the aspiring power of France. To keep down the French trade in the Mediterranean, the Island of Sardinia was to be given up to the English; they wished to awaken again in Guyenne the Protestant antipathy to the crown; the English were to mediate peace between Spain and Portugal[1]. They even made preparations to do so. But the central government in Madrid was blinded and trammelled by those exclusively Catholic tendencies from which Portugal had freed herself. For this reason they accepted the offers of the most Christian King to treat with Portugal, which at least at the moment were seriously meant, and refused the mediation of England, to whose own advantage it would now have conduced to bring about the peace. Even whilst Louis XIV was seriously threatening Spain, he gained in Spain itself the upper hand over the English policy.

England was isolated on all sides when, in the spring of 1666, she proceeded to continue the war. She could not even count on the Bishop of Munster; through French influence and the altered position of his German neighbours, he had been obliged to withdraw his troops from the captured places, and lay down his arms.

The two fleets were tolerably equal in force when they appeared on the water in May. The Dutch had stronger vessels, some eighty-eight in number, and better artillery than in the year before; they were led by Ruyter, who enjoyed the confidence of the entire Republic. The English fleet was commanded by General Monk and Prince Rupert. The impatient military ardour of the old leader of the Cavaliers on land and sea was to be moderated by association with the General, the old Cromwellian in whose mind former victories awakened an exalted self-satisfaction, and who still

---

[1] Temple, Nov. 20, 1665, in Courtenay i. 72.

enjoyed the greatest consideration amongst the people and the soldiers: victory under him was looked upon as certain.

Louis XIV did not as yet take any immediate part in the war. But the simple fact that attention must be paid to his equipments, and to the movements of his fleet, had a great influence even at the first encounter. What terror there was in London when the thunder of the cannon of the fleets, which had encountered one another off the North Foreland, was heard, and it was known also that part of the English force under Prince Rupert was not there! Upon the news that the French fleet, which was coming from Toulon, had already reached Belle-isle, he had undertaken to go and meet it. Rather encouraged than held back by this—for he wished to acquire alone the honour of victory—Monk had pressed on to an attack, but had been met by the most vigorous resistance. There ensued the four days' battle, so celebrated in the annals of naval warfare. The first day (June 1/11) brought no decision; the second was unfortunate for the English; Monk had to retire towards the Thames, and was in danger of suffering a defeat, when on the third day the Prince, who had encountered no enemy, returned with his fresh squadron. On this the English plucked up courage again for the attack, but even then on the fourth day, they were at a disadvantage; they were obliged to break off the battle and retire to the Thames, a large number of their ships were sunk, or fell into the hands of the enemy.

As the last year's battle had roused the Dutch, so this year's battle roused the English to arm with the greatest energy. The fleet which after the lapse of some weeks they put to sea was, in the opinion of those who could judge, the best in regard to ships, artillery and crews that they had ever possessed. In the next encounter, on the 4th of August (N.S.), the Dutch had the worst of it. A number of their best and most trustworthy captains perished[1]; they were forced to retreat. Still De Witt found means in a short while to bring the fleet a third time to sea in perfect readiness; and now the French fleet had already appeared in the Channel, to unite with the Dutch. The English thought it wise to avoid an open battle. Not only at sea but politically were they at a disadvantage. The King felt himself called upon to make overtures of peace to the Republic.

---

[1] Estrades, August 12, 1666. Lettres vi. 345.

The war affected equally deeply the party movements of both countries. Sometimes the Dutch sought to land in England so as to enlist on their side the religious and political opponents of the government. On the other hand the English effected a landing, by which they hoped to bring about a rising of the Orange partisans, but which led to nothing except a devastation of the country. The Dutch ascribed the loss which they suffered on the 4th of August to the treachery of the Vice-Admiral Cornelius Tromp, who inclined to the Orange party. From this party, which stood in continued communication with England, De Witt feared an untimely partiality for peace. He opposed this tendency with the reckless energy of a republican faction-leader. A former page of the Prince, De Buat, who engaged in an attempt to form a peace party according to the Prince's taste, and who kept up communications with England, had to suffer for it with his life. Cornelius Tromp, on account of the suspicion against him, was dismissed from his command.

On the other side Monk ascribed his losses in the four days' battle to the insubordination of some of his captains. Through the elder Penn many who cherished sectarian and Anabaptist sentiments had obtained appointments. How should they with heart and soul engage in a war, the fortunate issue of which must establish more firmly the power of those whom they regarded as their bitterest enemies? King Louis XIV had gone so far as to enter into connexion with the republicans in England, the Presbyterians in Scotland and the Catholics in Ireland. For these last also, on account of the division of land recently determined upon, by which they remained excluded from their possessions, were roused into hostile excitement against the English government. In Scotland we find an expert French emissary who imagined it possible to rouse to arms again the anti-episcopal Scots. Algernon Sidney came to Paris and accepted

pecuniary support from Louis XIV. The banished regicides and their adherents assembled in Holland.

It was during this critical state of affairs that London fell a prey to the great fire, which reduced the greater part of the old city to ashes. The fire broke out on the night of the 2/12 September, in a narrow street of wooden houses filled with inflammable materials: driven by a strong east wind it spread unexpectedly to distant quarters and then leapt from street to street. The high-lying part of the town soon appeared like a burning mountain, before which the flames threw an arch as high as the heavens from one side of the Thames to the other. For four days it was impossible to master it. Men occupied themselves less with attempts to check the fire, which seemed to them impossible, than with rescuing their possessions. To the agitation caused by it a terrible suspicion was added. As the fire was raging on the 3rd of September, people would not be persuaded but that it was kindled by the Anabaptists, as a funeral sacrifice to Oliver Cromwell on the day of his victory and his death; others accused the Catholics; the idea grew that the Dutch and the French were accomplices in it. Once, on the rumour that these enemies were already approaching to take advantage of the favourable moment for an attack, an excited mob armed with anything that could be called a weapon, rushed in the direction pointed out to them. Woe to those who by their speech were recognised as foreigners. Public authority had to interfere to rescue them from the fury of the multitude. Only outside the walls had it been possible to hinder the flames from spreading any further, by blowing up a number of houses. But two thirds of the town had already been reduced to ashes,—as the memorial inscription says, 400 streets, more than 13,000 dwelling houses, 89 churches, amongst others St. Paul's Cathedral, and a large number of other public buildings. Gold and silver had for the most part been saved. And as the wealth of a commercial city depends almost least upon what it contains at any one moment, this fire had no very extensive effect upon the trade of London. Still for the moment the loss suffered was very considerable.

Masses of stores heaped up in the warehouses and in the magazines were destroyed, amongst them also many necessaries of war. The destruction of the custom-houses with their papers caused a pernicious confusion in the accounts, and even a loss to the revenue. The chimney-tax, which constituted one of the most important resources of the government, could not possibly be collected in the desolate ruins. And if all exertions must first be directed to the rebuilding of the town, how could the war be continued?

In the next session of Parliament, which was opened at the end of September, it was however determined to continue it, and indeed with all the more exertion because the enemies' military ardour might have increased through the misfortune: the Lower House voted again a considerable sum (£1,800,000). But nevertheless every one felt that it would prove very difficult to collect it; the resolution seemed rather to be an expression of British pride[1] than real earnest; for after all they were come now to the point which had been foreseen in Holland, when the cost of the naval equipments threatened the internal welfare of the English nation[2]. The conviction gained ground that peace was necessary.

The King had already, after a reply from the Dutch agreeing in tone with his overtures for peace, given them to understand on what it depended with him, namely, not on advantages for the house of Orange, but especially on security for the English trade in the East Indies, and had incited them to send now, as they had formerly done in Cromwell's time, their plenipotentiaries to London.

It still seemed possible to separate the interests of France and Holland. For the Dutch on their side feared nothing more than the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands by Louis XIV, who in that case would come much too near them with his irresistible power. In fact, with a view to this they then concluded a quadruple alliance with Denmark, Lüneburg and Brandenburg, in which they only scrupled to include the

---

[1] Chr. von Brand: 'des englischen Humeurs.'

[2] Memoires de J. de Witt, ch. 7, taken from the 'Interest van Holland,' which, though not composed by De Witt, was yet published by him.

Emperor and the King of Spain because they were allied with France against England. It would have served greatly to strengthen the anti-French policy could a peace between Holland and England have been brought about, by means of the power threatened by Louis XIV. This object was also pursued for a time by the Imperial and by the Spanish ambassadors; but they never entered at that time into a real understanding with the government of Charles II. They fancied they saw that, if the King of England did have peace, he would not think of interfering in the continental complications, but would occupy himself with the establishment of his own power at home. Under such circumstances the continuation of the war seemed to them even more advantageous, because it kept France and England at variance with one another[1].

If Charles II wished to have a peace with Holland there remained nothing for him but himself to apply for the mediation of the Dutch ally, the King of France. But, as things stood, that could be acquired only under the condition of not opposing the projects of Louis XIV with regard to the Spanish Netherlands. In Charles's present disposition, that caused him little scruple; besides his position at the time made it necessary, since this is the advantage of an overpowering might, which strives after a distinct aim, that everything which needs its co-operation must be serviceable to it.

The first approach was made in a most circuitous manner by a letter of St. Albans (Jermin) to Henrietta Maria, who was again living in France. Through her intervention Louis XIV was to be intreated to use his influence in procuring the acceptance of Charles II's proposed negotiation for peace in London. The Queen discharged her commission by communicating the letter to the former ambassador, Ruvigny, who laid its contents before the King: to him Louis confided his answer[1]. This answer, with regard to the proposition made, was in the negative, because there were so many reasons against it; but on the other hand its form was so friendly, that England was moved to make further approaches. St. Albans replied to the Ambassador, that his King was not disinclined to allow the negotiations for peace to be held in a neutral place; to this he added however another proposal of wider bearing. He represented a preliminary understanding between France and England as desirable before there was any meeting[2]. 'We do not propose any secret treaty so as to deceive: it is our sincere intention and desire to bring the war with Holland to an end, and then to attain to a true understanding with France.' In a second letter he calls on the Queen-Mother to speak with Ruvigny, and to talk him out of his suspicion that it was not seriously meant: Charles II would agree to those conditions which Louis XIV approved of: his object was to put an end to the war by a firm friendship with France before any official transactions; but an understanding must be come to about the opinions which might be held on both sides. With this intention he came himself, in February 1667, to Paris, under the pretext that he was summoned by the Queen's affairs, and took up his abode with her. His negotiations concerned primarily the conclusion of the general peace with the two powers with whom England was at war. The proposal, which at first emanated from France, that each party should keep all that had come into its possession, was accepted with regard to the differences with Holland, but he demanded that France should give back to England St. Christopher and some smaller West Indian islands which she had seized. This was a difficulty for Louis XIV, because he had in the meanwhile founded a company for the West Indian trade, in doing which he had counted upon these possessions: however he took into consideration that the most important thing for him was to gain, by an agreement with England, free scope for his further

---

[1] Chr. von Brand: 'Wie sie aber bemerkt dass die Absicht des Königs von England dahin gehe, sich in keinen weitern Krieg zu verwickeln, um des Parlaments nicht zu bedürfen, haben sie ihre Politik verändert und den Frieden zu verhindern gesucht.'

---

[1] 'Lettre, que le roi désire que Mr. de Ruvigny escrive au Sr. de St. Albans, 30 Oct. 1666.' French archives.

[2] 12/22 Nov. de nous entre entendre devant que de venir là.

designs; he was ready to resign the island, if in return he could be assured of the connivance of England at the undertakings in which he was engaged. At this point the formation of an alliance between the two Kings came under consideration: it was principally deliberated between St. Albans and Turenne. According to the first sketch, Charles II was to enter into no connexion during the whole current year, 1667, with the house of Austria; he gave an assurance that he had not as yet formed any such. On the other hand a most intimate understanding with France was suggested to him; Louis XIV was to support all interests that King Charles might have in or out of his kingdom[1]. 'Even in his kingdom!' With these words there appeared on the horizon designs which had been formerly cherished and which some years later were to prevail. They corresponded to those intentions which the Queen-Mother always kept in view in religious politics. Even now the official ministry in England took no part in them. Clarendon was in favour of an understanding with France: he wrote an instruction for St. Albans; but there was no notice taken of these plans in it. Also matters did not go so far as had at first been intended. In the declarations which the two Kings interchanged with one another—they were autograph letters from both to Henrietta Maria, which they had before agreed to regard as binding—there is only a general mention of the purpose to bring about hereafter a closer alliance. First each pledged himself to enter within a year into no alliance contrary to the interests of the other. Louis XIV reserved free discretion for his campaign; in return he promised for the present to detain his fleet, by which the Dutch hoped to be supported, in the harbours where it lay.

Between the two powers an agreement about the most important point had been arrived at in this manner, when the peace congress opened in May 1667 at Breda, the place which Charles II had chosen out of those proposed to him. The decision that each party should keep what was in its possession became now the main foundation of the peace between England and Holland. But about this a great difference arose. The Dutch wished to keep both what they had taken during the war, and what they had taken before it, namely the island of Polaroon: Charles II would not give up his old claims, which were in part the claims of the East Indian Company. In the course of June it seemed as if everything might still be wrecked upon this[1].

---

[1] 'Que le roi mon frère veut entrer dans tous les interests que je pourrais avoir dedans et dehors mon royaume.' Lettres de Turenne i. 664.

And how would it be now if the war just broken out in the Spanish Netherlands, into which Louis XIV marched at the beginning of this month, changed the interests still further and drove France quite over to the side of England? De Witt did not deceive himself about the fact that the way was paved for an alliance between the two. At this crisis of the coincidence of so many tendencies, different in kind and as yet not standing out clearly, but still recognisable, John De Witt decided upon the boldest undertaking that the Republic has perhaps at any time carried out. The proposed condition he could not and would not accept, because by so doing he would have countenanced the differences out of which the war proceeded: he wished to do away with them for ever. But the Republic must have peace, because she would have been able to exert no influence over the disturbances just breaking out were she entangled in war in another quarter. He decided to extort peace for himself, and that immediately, by means of an attack on England, who at that time, as we shall soon see, had neglected the repairs of her fleet. Even without French help the Dutch held the supremacy at sea. On those very days when the French pushed victoriously into the Netherlands the Dutch fleet, sixty-one men-of-war strong, put out to sea against England. On June 7/17 it was off the mouth of the Thames. On board, as Commissary of the States, was the Ruwaard, Cornelius De Witt, the brother of John, and fully entrusted with his thoughts and plans, so that with his co-operation such measures as seemed

---

[1] De Witt to Beuningen, June 16: 'Les Anglois persistent à pretendre opiniatrement, que les anciennes pretentions—doivent subsister. . . . Les ministres de France au lieu de nous secourir—se declarent contre nous.'

advisable could be taken without further instructions. There, at an assembled council of war, it was considered feasible to enter the Thames with the lightest men-of-war, and to threaten the proud enemy in the heart of his power. The English were not in the least prepared for such an attempt. The Dutch succeeded in taking Sheerness; then they sailed on to Chatham: here at any rate they were received with cannonading, but in spite of that they burst the chain which was drawn across the river on pulleys, set on fire one after another three English men-of-war, captured a fourth, and sailed on to Upnor. It was thought that, could they have gone further, they would perhaps have been able to demolish the arsenal of England; but what they had accomplished was enough to satisfy themselves, and on the other hand to make the English blush with shame, at such a spectacle as had never been seen since the English flag had waved on the seas.

We shall discuss later the effects of this occurrence on the internal affairs of England: for the peace it was decisive. After one of the two English plenipotentiaries had once more in person taken counsel with King Charles II, the agreement, drawn on all essential points in accordance with the wishes of the Dutch, was signed[1]. Each of the two parties was to remain in possession of the territories and places as well as of the ships and goods which they had seized before and during the late war. All claims made in the negotiations of 1662 were expressly disannulled. Even with regard to the Navigation Act the English assented to the interpretation that Holland could import German goods into England. The peace gave the English one advantage of immeasurable importance. It left the New Netherlands in her hands, which gave a continuity to her North American dominion, without which it would never have been able to develope. What was the loss of Polaroon to set against that? De Witt, whilst he recognised the greatness of this acquisition, and removed the old causes of dispute out of which the war had proceeded, thought that he was securing peace for ever. But the English did not look upon it as conclusive for a moment. The real cause of hostilities, which lay in maritime jealousy, had in fact been strengthened by the enterprise which brought about the peace. An attack, which endangered the safety of London, could not be forgiven the Dutch either by the government or the nation.

---

[1] Already on July 7 De Witt writes, 'L'extinction entière de toutes les pretentions passées, sans en excepter une seule, semble une chose accordée.' Lettres iv. 194.

CHAPTER III.

FALL OF THE LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON.

FIRST of all however the internal agitation became prominent, increasing in proportion as the settlement of external affairs failed to correspond with the expectations which had been cherished.

On the one side the Presbyterians, who had been till now suppressed, rose up again in great force. Amongst other things the pestilence helped them, in so far as it provided scope once more for the spiritual activity of their preachers. Their old religious zeal revived; the public need and the natural duty of religion seemed in themselves to abolish the interdict under which they languished; for no law promulgated by mortal man would excuse them if they should willingly neglect the care for the immortal soul of a dying brother. Whilst the Anglican clergy fled, the Presbyterian preachers mounted once more the pulpits, to announce to the people, ere they were snatched away, the words of eternal salvation; never had they spoken so convincingly, never been listened to so reverently. The consideration which they again won by this means, their growing consciousness of strength, and the fear of their co-operation with the enemy without in any emergency that might occur, caused the Parliament in Oxford, under the impression produced by conspiracies recently discovered, to establish a formula—a shibboleth, as it was called—in order to distinguish those who were dangerous amongst the Nonconformists, from those who could be tolerated[1].

---

[1] 'A test to distinguish amongst them, who will be peaceable and give hopes of future conformity, and who of malice and evil disposition remain obdurate.' The Speaker's speech, October 31, 1665.

They were, in the oath administered to them, once more to declare it illegal for any one, whatever the circumstances might be, to take up arms against the King or his deputies, and to pledge themselves not to think of any change in Church and State: whoever did not take the oath was forbidden under a heavy penalty to approach nearer than five miles to any place where he had formerly taught, to any town with municipal rights, or to any borough which returned members to Parliament. The object may have been to obviate a possible danger, but at the same time it also tended entirely to rob the doctrines of the Covenant of all political influence, and to furnish the Act of Uniformity with a new bulwark. But Church and State in their existing condition were still not strong enough to carry out this regulation in all its strictness. After the first interdict had been once transgressed, the Presbyterians did not look upon themselves as bound any longer to obey. And having through the war abroad, entirely by their own means, gained an important position, they would not now renounce their old principles. They repeated that the obedience demanded of them might easily extend to a case like that which had once occurred, when John Lackland had received the kingdom as a fief from the Pope. And how would it be if Parliament itself forbade obedience to a deputy of the King;—which of the two should in that case be obeyed? The Presbyterians maintained that the oath imposed upon them ran contrary to old English right and law. The president of the court of justice during the trial of the regicides, had himself declared a limitation of obedience to be the law of England. The new act, which already by its severity made a bad impression, contributed rather to give the Presbyterians political importance than to deprive them of it. They made the doctrine, that resistance under certain circumstances was permissible, peculiarly their own; it was a thesis which had a great future.

On the other side, at least in some hot heads, the idea of elevating the monarchical power above all other considerations revived. After the burning of London, which had always offered an asylum to these doctrines, the King was told, 'Now are they thrown down, these walls of the rebellious city: the King must never allow them to be built up again; he has an army in the country to which London must remain open, since the intractable mob can only be governed by force. He must show courage and realise the advantage of his position, he must not suffer the city to become again a curb and a bridle in his mouth.'

It would not however have been possible in such a position of affairs to awaken the strife between these opposite extremes; another difference had broken out in the midst of the dominant party, between the royalist Parliament and the government, which was not so extensive, but which touched upon questions of the greatest importance and drew universal attention to itself.

The grant of £1,800,000 which Parliament had agreed to in October 1666, had been carried before the Lower House had been fully assembled. The country gentry, as they gradually arrived, regarded it as excessive, since it drained the counties of the currency requisite for internal traffic and for the sale of agricultural products. Many plans for raising it were considered, amongst others an extended excise, but no permanent burden was to be imposed, and at last a direct tax, a land-tax and a poll-tax, were again agreed upon. Though the very sensible pressure of these burdens was borne, a very strong impression was made by the consideration of the large sums the country had already collected, and the little it had accomplished with them; the opinion gained ground that the moneys had been mostly used for other purposes, on which they ought not to have been wasted. It is true that the officials of the treasury and the admiralty themselves found the account books unsatisfactory, and were embarrassed when they thought of the possibility of being obliged to give account of them. But this was just what the country gentry wanted, whose temper may be still more clearly perceived amongst other things, by the zeal with which they opposed the introduction of Irish cattle, because it would have lowered the price of English; neither would they hear of any royal right of dispensation, as that would after all have benefited only the higher officials. The government and their officials seemed untrustworthy and even rapacious; the country gentry, who formed the majority in the Lower House, felt themselves oppressed and injured by them; they did not wish to hand over the produce of agricultural labour into the hands of courtiers and members of the government in the form of taxes. The opposition between a country party and a court party began to appear; and this became especially important because it was fostered by aspiring members of the government. On the motion of Robert Howard, who filled a post in the treasury, a proviso was however inserted into the Poll-tax Bill, according to which a parliamentary commission should be appointed to look through the books of the officials concerned in the expenditure, and to examine them personally on oath about it. At this the court and the high officials fell into great alarm, for how disgraceful it would be for the King to permit others to inspect accounts kept in his name. They had thought of gaining over the leaders of the malcontents by personal favours, but had reflected that that would only call up fresh opponents. The decisive division followed on December 7. The court did not fail to call together its friends wherever they might be found, and that was not always in the most decent localities; still it remained in the minority. The proviso was accepted by 119 votes against 83.

It was an important day in the history of the parliamentary system in general. For if forces which are meant to work together are still to be kept apart, it is a decision of the most important nature that the administration, which is the affair of the crown, should be subject to the interference of parliamentary control. Lord Clarendon expressed himself on the subject with the most lively indignation, for that was just the path along which the Long Parliament had proceeded to rebellion. He was besides highly dissatisfied with the course which matters were taking in Parliament. The Upper House thought only of asserting its privileges; in general matters it waited for the suggestions of the Lower House. Even the King yielded much too much to it; in matters which concerned peace and war he allowed it to hold conferences with him, and accepted its advice, and so it encroached further every day. What caused him the most serious concern was the close union into which some discontented members had entered with the leaders of the opposition in the Lower House. The Duke of Buckingham, who was at one time in the highest favour with Charles II, and at another time in disgrace, (we shall presently learn to know him better,) was their leader, kept them together, and guided their steps.

Clarendon formed the resolution of breaking this combination of systematic opponents, by engaging the King to make use of his constitutional rights, and to dissolve the Lower House.

It was the regular way prescribed by the parliamentary order of things for reconciling the government and the Lower House, if their tendencies diverged too widely. But on the other hand it must be especially remembered that, under the circumstances of the time, it was to be feared that the result of the elections might prove contrary to the wishes of the restored monarch. Clarendon would have had courage to venture upon it. But in this question he had the bishops against him, to whom a strong Presbyterian element in the Lower House appeared dangerous. The King, who regarded the Presbyterians as decided though moderate opponents, and who looked on them as half republicans, would not consent to the dissolution.

As in the career of many other remarkable men, so also in that of Clarendon, a contradiction becomes manifest between later intentions and the results of previous actions. He had put the Presbyterians aside that he might establish the Anglican Church; for her sake he had even put himself into opposition to the King; but in consequence the Parliament became so strong, that it no longer recognised the prerogative of the King when Clarendon wished to maintain it; he himself having given it up in one point, could not now assert it in others. The only means which could have led to this end were refused him by the bishops, whom he himself had promoted to their power, and by the King, whose rights he wished to maintain.

But when the members of Parliament saw that a dissolution was dreaded, how must their sense of importance consequently have increased, and at the same time their ill-will against the man who had proposed it!

Lord Clarendon found himself already in this doubtful position, when the misfortunes of the summer of 1667 occurred. They were caused by the resolution which originated with Coventry, who might already be looked upon as an opponent of Clarendon, to fit out no ships of the first or second class[1]. Clarendon had agreed only hesitatingly. Still less could he be charged with the carelessness of the admiralty, which had made the undertaking of the Dutch possible. The navy depended on Monk, who no longer stood in the friendly relations of former years with the Chancellor. But it is the natural fate of a man who is entrusted with the supreme direction of state affairs, that for all misfortunes which occur he is made answerable by the public voice. In the popular excitement, caused by the attack of the Dutch upon Chatham, the people indulged in loud outcries against Clarendon.

Parliament had been prorogued till October 1667; but every one demanded that it should be immediately convened. It was not exactly the friends of Clarendon who insisted upon it in the Privy Council. Many members agreed, because otherwise the troops, which had been levied for the defence of the coasts, could not be paid or kept in order. Clarendon reminded them that this could be effected better by taxes upon the counties. He opposed altogether the convening of Parliament during the term of prorogation, he once more recommended a dissolution, but he was in the minority; Parliament was convoked at once.

And the members assembled in greater numbers than could have been expected in the middle of summer. It would have been unadvisable for any one to stay at home, the whole nation wished to see Parliament assembled. If however the motive for summoning it had lain in the need of a grant of money for the troops, it became manifest at the first preliminary meeting that this was not to be thought of.

Men were indeed confounded by the disgrace suffered in the Thames, but at heart they did not fear the Dutch; apprehension was directed to quite another point. It was thought that the sole object of the land army was to make the King absolute master. For in the meanwhile the distasteful words, spoken by the fiery adherents of absolute monarchy, had passed from mouth to mouth; it was quoted as the repeatedly expressed opinion of the lady who ruled the King by her capricious favour, that he could only govern by force. People were not a little displeased with Lord Clarendon, because he had maintained the possibility of keeping the army in the field without parliamentary grants. The King put off the opening a few days to allow the still missing members time to arrive; but that did not hinder those who were present from proceeding to discuss the principal grievance of the day, the maintenance of the standing army; the country did not want it any longer, it thought itself amply protected by the county militia. One of the members of the Privy Council present protested that it was the King's intention to disband the land army as soon as peace should be signed,—as it actually was in these very days,—but they would not venture to trust this hasty speech, for the King's opinion might easily be changed by his surroundings. The proposal was made, that the express wish of the House for the disbanding of the army immediately on the conclusion of peace, should be carried to the King by those members of the Privy Council who were also members of the House[1]: and this was agreed upon unanimously, as it expressed without doubt the wishes of the country. However repugnant to some the hostile bearing of Parliament towards the government might be, yet its apprehensions were universally shared, and Charles II's speech at the beginning of the session was awaited with suspense; every one hurried to Westminster on the day fixed for the proceedings, July 29. Amongst others was a Quaker girded like St. John, with a bowl of burning fire on his head, who in a loud and penetrating voice called upon men to repent. In the meanwhile the King addressed both Houses. He informed them that peace was now concluded,

---

[1] Evelyn's Diary, July 29, 1667.

[1] Journal of Commons: Jovis, 25 die Julii: viii. 692. From this De Foe appears to have constructed his Solomon Eagle. (Memoirs of the Plague 148.)

and upon acceptable conditions; but he then continued, that if it had been a proof of his affection that he summoned them in his embarrassments, he would give them another by now dismissing them on the spot, as their presence was desirable at home. He added only one thing; he expressed his astonishment at the opinion, which made the people uneasy, that he intended to govern by means of a standing army: he was too much of an Englishman to wish that; he wished to maintain nothing but the laws, those who observed them had nothing to fear. To these words, which breathed steadfast severity and even a threat, the King added a renewal of the old prorogation until October.

But how great was the excitement which must ensue upon this amongst the members of Parliament. Some of them had come from a great distance, travelling under the difficulties of that time in the heat of summer, when they would have been more useful at home; they were dismissed without anything having been transacted, without thanks for their trouble.

We learn that one of the reasons for this rapid procedure lay in the apprehension that Parliament, instead of approving the peace, might rather demand a renewal of the war; the victorious progress of the French awakened England's old jealous antipathies[1]. By a letter from the French headquarters intercepted in the Netherlands, it was learnt that a proposition of decided co-operation with France in the Netherlands was to be made to the King of England, in return for the promise of some seaport or other—a proposition which gave reason for supposing that the Lord Chancellor was in its favour. The Spanish ambassador did not fail to make use of this discovery; it filled the members of Parliament with deep irritation, all the more because they saw themselves shut out from all power of opposition. They had been summoned by the opponents of the Chancellor; he still possessed sufficient power to dismiss them. It stands to reason that all their indignation was directed against him.

---

[1] Ruvigny, October 3: 'Le parlement auroit fait une déclaration de guerre perpetuelle contre la France et la Hollande, si le roi d'Angleterre ne l'eût promtement séparé.'

And over all hovered the apprehension that the external complication and the alliance with France were to help on the extension of the prerogative, perhaps with the aid of military force. It was the commencement of a situation not unlike that which had been caused under Charles I, by the dissolution of the Short Parliament.

Now, as then, a number of lords expressed themselves on the impending question[1]. The Presbyterian peers held a meeting in Guildford. Northumberland, who came from thence to Westminster, seems to have been the first who declared plainly that Clarendon must be impeached; he said so to the Duke of York himself on a visit to St. James'; he added that the nation would not be contented unless other grievances were remedied, and particularly, unless the guards were disbanded. The Duke objected that the want of troops had formerly brought about the rebellion. Still Northumberland held to his opinion; he said he would declare it to the King himself.

Clarendon was still confident in his power of mastering his enemies in Parliament, if only the King did not withdraw his support. Parliament, he said, was only important so far as the King wished it to be important; but if it should perceive that it had gained the upper hand, no one could know what might follow.

But already the King was no longer on Clarendon's side. His policy of tolerance had been thwarted by the Chancellor, who had opposed him also in his financial policy, namely as to the removal of the Lord Treasurer, Southampton, which the King wished. Those who knew, asserted that the King never forgave him this. Southampton had died a short time before: in spite of the representations of Clarendon, who declared that the high offices of state were essential to the maintenance of the crown, the King had put the office into commission, and that too to men whom the Chancellor looked upon as his opponents, namely William Coventry and his friends. For the King wished altogether to free himself from the great men who till now had held him as it were in tutelage. Personal differences also may have co-operated; it had especial influence that Coventry, whom the King regarded as a trustworthy man, singularly free from the universal party feeling, advised the dismissal of Clarendon. Coventry told him that he ought to take a step of his own accord to which otherwise Parliament would force him.

---

[1] Pepys iv. 122. Communicated by Coventry, who wrote a journal, which is well worth being looked for and published.

Consequently there then occurred, as has so often occurred in the course of English history, an open breach between the First Minister and the Lower House. It was not exactly a repetition of Strafford's case, for he had placed himself in absolute opposition to Parliament; Clarendon and the existing Parliament, on the other hand, were united on main points. But between the old right of the prerogative, on which the administration of the state depended, and the demands of Parliament which grew out of its right of granting money, no reconciliation was possible. The King, who himself had a different ideal of monarchy from that of the Minister, and who did not like the independent authority of the administration, which was maintained by Clarendon even against himself, allowed him to fall without scruple. The Duke of York himself was obliged to undertake to inform his father-in-law that the King had determined to dismiss him from his office.

On the 30th of August the Chancellor resigned the Great Seal, which was given to Orlando Bridgeman as Keeper, a man who himself also maintained the authority of the crown in nearly as comprehensive a sense as Clarendon.

A part of the troops had been already disbanded when Parliament re-assembled on the 10th of October. Their first resolution, after the declarations which occurred in the speech from the throne, was to thank the King for what he had done since their last meeting, particularly for the dismissal of the Chancellor.

However the King's concessions did not even now satisfy the Lower House. It took up again the bill about the inspection of the account-books of the public service, which had not been brought to a conclusion during the last session, and appointed one commission to examine the bad management of the last war, and another to examine the circumstances connected with the sale of Dunkirk. They discussed the plan of having subsidies granted for a future war managed by Parliamentary commissioners, who should also pay the troops employed [1].

Especially however was it manifest that Parliament was far from being satisfied with the simple dismissal of Clarendon from his office. What till then had principally served to strengthen the consideration in which he was held, his family connexion with the royal house, now doubled the zeal of his opponents against him. His near relationship to the Duke of York would secure for him a lasting influence even under the existing government; then how would it be if anything happened to the King, and the Duke himself should ascend the throne? Clarendon was by nature revengeful; they and their families would be sacrificed to his revenge.

A great part of the members of the Lower House joined in this opinion with Buckingham, who at that moment led them with overwhelming influence; but other high authorities of state came over to it, Coventry as well as Arlington. The decision of the different factions was that the Chancellor must be arraigned for high treason. I find that the basis of the articles of accusation against him was framed in that office in which he himself had hitherto been chief.

It was represented to the King, who would have preferred to save his old confidant in fair fortune and foul, and whose object in dismissing him had been to save him from a trial, that such a course might turn out to his own hurt. For the Chancellor was energetic and malicious, mysterious and cunning; he would easily persuade his son-in-law to oppose the King, even to take up arms against him; nay, even more might be expected from him; he might well be capable of poisoning the King so as to procure the throne for his son-in-law. But more than this, should the King protect the Chancellor, he would fall out with Parliament, and would be able to do nothing with it; his policy ought much more to be to unite himself in all things with Parliament, and this would make him as powerful in the world as only the usurper Cromwell had been[1]. It is undeniable that Clarendon's presence in Parliament and in the government secured for him a strong support which would have been very troublesome even to the King; after some hesitation he consented. The articles of the impeachment in an extended and enlarged form were laid before the Lower House on the 6th of November.

---

[1] 'Que pour cet effet il sera ordonné un fonds d'argent, qui sera administré par des personnes nommées par le Parlement, lesquelles seront commises pour le payement des troupes, qui passeront la mer.' Ruvigny.

In these the Chancellor was accused of every possible crying illegality, committed through tyranny and avarice: it was even said that he made the earth groan under his building, (the monument of his greatness,) as men had done under his oppression. Further the old complaint of Bristol was renewed, that he had declared that the King was at heart a Papist; he had done this only to conceal the evil which he had committed himself; he had expressed himself with great freedom about Parliament, and above all had advised the King to establish an army, which could be supported by contributions and free quarters, and to subject England to a military government. The man who had gained for himself the greatest merit in the restoration of parliamentary monarchy and the construction of the existing House of Commons, and who had ever been talking of the maintenance of the old laws of the country, was accused of wishing to organise a regiment of Janissaries and to establish himself as Grand Vizir.

It is true that once, in the heat of a discussion about Parliament and the maintenance of an army, Clarendon had expressed himself in a manner opposed to the parliamentary principle. But even that could not be proved unless the

members of the Privy Council were examined on the matter. It was not on this article but on another, namely that the Chancellor in the course of the war had betrayed the King's counsels to the enemy, that it was finally agreed to rest the charge of high treason. The question presented itself whether this information did not proceed from a foreigner, who also could not be examined upon oath. The House of Commons expressly exempted the impeacher, who was the young Lord Vaughan, from answering this question; still it was not thought wise to ground the impeachment in the House of Lords on this point. As it was brought forward, it turned quite in general terms on treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours, the proof of which was to be produced later. The demand made to the Lords was that Clarendon might at once be taken into safe custody.

Clarendon complained that he did not find in the House of Lords as many friends as he had expected, but still they were not entirely wanting. Only at the King's wish had the Lords declared themselves for his dismissal. The majority did not mean to lend their hands to any further prosecution, for it was obvious that the impeachment generally was of a factious character. Others were unwilling to allow Buckingham's reputation to be increased by this proceeding. The Upper House refused to allow the Lord Chancellor to be arrested for an impeachment not resting on definite articles.

This led to active negotiations between the two Houses, which threatened results equally pernicious to both.

The Commons took their stand on the precedents in Strafford's trial; for though it had been decided that this was not to serve as an example, yet that decision referred only to the procedure by attainder, not to what had occurred before; also this trial did not belong to the years of disturbance and rebellion, but to the first year of the Long Parliament, when it still laid claim to wisdom and worth. Now also, as had been the case then, emphasis was laid on the fact that their impeachment was made altogether in the name of the Commons of the land, whose representatives they were; the latest precedent was always the best.

The Lords denied this; they would not let themselves be guided by a precedent which was not supported by an older one, they judged that these years also had been full of disturbance. Above all, they thought that this proceeding would be contrary to the contents of the Petition of Right, according to which the crime must be expressly specified before arrest. Should they give way they would no longer be judges, but mere instruments to carry into execution the will of the Commons. What would be the result should the Commons once be seized with the spirit of faction? That this was perhaps already the case, no one would have dared openly to say. The negotiations were protracted from the 12th to the 28th of November. On the 29th the Lords definitely rejected the proposal for Clarendon's arrest[1].

---

[1] 'Le Duc de Buckingham remontra à son maitre le peu de secret, qu'il y avoit de sa personne, si l'on ne travailloit diligemment à la perte d'un homme, qui par ses artifices et par sa fille, possedoit entierèment M. le Duc de York et de telle manière qu'il luy inspiroit des pensées violentes et capable de renverser toute l'Angleterre, qu'il falloit le prévenir et que pour cet effet S.M. devoit se mettre à la tête du parlement.' Ruvigny 19/29 October.

But on this very day Clarendon had decided to leave London and England.

From many sides it had been made clear to him, that this was the only means of preventing a dispute which might be dangerous to the country. On receiving a letter which contained excuses that were almost insulting, the King said, as he burnt it, that he did not understand it, he felt surprised that Clarendon did not go away; he informed him that he would secretly—openly it would not be possible—favour his escape. But at the same time another motive appeared which could not but prove decisive.

A number of Lords under Buckingham's leadership had adopted the views of the Commons, and had formally protested against the proceedings of the Upper House. Anxiety was felt lest the King should, as he would have had a right to do, appoint a jury of peers to judge Clarendon, and should include in it the protesting Lords themselves. But into their hands Clarendon did not choose to fall. He wrote a letter in his justification which he addressed to the Upper House, then, accompanied by his two sons and some friends, he left London. He found a boat at Erith which after many hardships landed him at Calais[2].

Thus volcanic England threw on to a foreign shore the man who had given her a royalist and ecclesiastical organisation. The historical merit of the Chancellor consists in this, that he united after the most violent revolutions the new England to the old. But to lead it onwards quite in the old way was contrary to the temper of the time, of the nation, and of the King himself. Clarendon's idea was to combine the prerogative of the hereditary monarchy, exercised by means of the high dignitaries of the crown and the Episcopal Church with the parliamentary constitution, and to thrust into the background all contradictory elements. But the King himself was opposed to the exclusive dominion of the Church; he did not like to see authority confined to an old order, of whose use and worth he had no experience; he strove after a change which alone, he thought, would enable him to obtain a comprehensive power. He was not entirely unfavourable to the tendencies which had made their appearance in the times of confusion. At the first serious collision between Parliament which attacked his prerogative, and the minister who defended it, he allowed that minister to fall. He was indeed congratulated on it, because he now had become King in reality. What a mistake! The real advantage remained with the Parliament. It was victorious over the minister who had opposed its claim and laboured for its dissolution. Its weapon against this was its royalist temper, which in no other combination would have been found to a like extent. Even with this restriction the defeat and fall of the Chancellor constitute a very important epoch in the history of the development of parliamentary government.

The dispute between the two Houses was allayed by the fact, that the banishment of Clarendon was decreed with the approbation of the House of Lords. His return was to be treated as high treason, nor should he ever be pardoned without the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

---

[1] Report on the last conference, Journals of the Lords, Nov. 29.

[2] I have in this followed less Clarendon's own account, which was written later, than a letter from his son Henry Cornbury, who was on most confidential terms with him, written at the very time, on the 8th December 1667, to Ormond. 'Being informed from very credible hands, that there was a design to prorogue the Parliament on purpose to try him by a Jury of Peers, by which means he might fall into the hands of the protesting Lords, he resolved to withdraw.' Carte v. 38. The recollections of his brother Lawrence (Correspondence i. 645), dated 1675, are already less exact.

It was at this time that a French ambassador, Ruvigny, on the conclusion of peace again arrived in England. He was commissioned to call to remembrance the gratitude earned by Louis XIV during the course of the war as well as during the negotiations, and on this foundation to form a close and most confidential alliance, such as had always been projected. It is curious what importance was given in it to home affairs. The two Kings were to promise to support one another, even in case their subjects caused difficulties at home, and that too with a considerable body of troops. Louis XIV declared himself quite prepared to undertake such an engagement, and also to agree to other conditions which Charles II might demand.

These were propositions which had reference to the state of universal excitement preceding the fall of the Chancellor; now they were no longer suitable. The Ambassador was once tempted, whilst in conversation with Charles II, to bring them forward, but his tact told him that it would be inopportune. An alliance for external affairs however was continually discussed. The King let it be understood that in his heart he was in favour of it; but in his Privy Council and in Parliament another opinion prevailed. France must make propositions which should convince them that the alliance would prove to the advantage of England. Ruvigny was occasionally visited by members of the government and of the administration; they came at night, without torches, enveloped in great cloaks so as not to be recognised; they all expressed the same views.

The fall of the Chancellor, whose favourable disposition towards France had been exaggerated and even charged to him as a crime, was necessarily accompanied by the prevalence of the inclination towards Spain. In the Spanish state council this event was welcomed as most fortunate for Spain. They found means to send to the Ambassador Molina a supply of money, which to them at least did not seem inconsiderable, to be distributed amongst friendly members of Parliament. These presents of money were even then already usual in Parliament. Molina relates that he had pawned his wife's last jewels to satisfy a member, through

whose interposition the exportation of horses to France had been prevented[1]. And many others are likely to have attached themselves to the Ambassador out of hatred for the Chancellor or for France. This Molina possessed power in the English Parliament. In the days in which the decision against Clarendon still wavered, and his opponents at times even felt themselves in danger, he had promised Arlington to support him with the votes which were at his disposal, but only on the condition that the minister would not then stop at simple neutrality in the French and Spanish differences, but would resolve to obtain assistance for the Spanish Netherlands.

How powerfully the positions of parties reacted upon general politics! This was precisely the great question which at that time occupied Europe.

---

[1] Molina to the Queen of Spain, 28th Nov. 1667, in the archives at Simancas: 'Dare quenta assimismo a V. May., como he conseguido con un parlamentario, que dicesse a Milord de Arlington para assegurarle de lo riesgos que le amenazaron les acusasiones que sabia tenia resuelto hazerle el canciller y que el le pudiese asistir con los de su seguido sera forcoso que se empeñasse, en apoyar la resolucion de asistir alos payses bassos, pues todos los que hasta aora havian aprovado la neutralidad, ya conocian era la total ruyna del regno y que. bien veya no podia estar unido con el quando no estuviesen conformes en un sentimiento tanimportante.'

CHAPTER IV.

CONVENTION OF JANUARY 1668 AT THE HAGUE. THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

ALL the world was terrified by the rapid progress of the French arms in the Spanish Netherlands: there was a general conviction that England would as little endure this occupation now as ever before. And as the Republic of the United Netherlands was also openly threatened by the occupation of the Belgian province, an alliance between the two seemed to be perfectly natural. Amongst English statesmen there was one who even in a subordinate position became important, because he made it the especial object of his life to carry out this aim—William Temple, Resident at Brussels. At the Congress of Breda he had become convinced by conversation with the ambassadors, especially with the ambassador of France, that after the conclusion of the peace, England and Holland must enter into alliance, for their interests were the same. He observed that it was the only means of loosening the alliance between Holland and France, and of resisting the French, who were not only powerful, but had a spirited and energetic government; their ambition embraced Europe, bounds must be set in time to their usurpations, or they would care for no one and would recognise no other power as their equal. He was never tired of urging this upon his government. In September 1667 he found an opportunity of talking about it to the leading statesman of the Republic, John de Witt. Nominally for his amusement, more particularly to please his sister, who wished to see Holland, he undertook a journey thither: when he came to the Hague, he visited the Grand Pensionary. De Witt was still held to

be French in his opinions. The intention of sharing the Belgian provinces with France was imputed to him. De Witt did not deny that this had been the subject of negotiations, but in conversation with Temple he expressed his aversion to it; he described such a solution as offensive and disgraceful; he would infinitely prefer to come out of the affair in an honourable manner, and this seemed to him only possible through open opposition[1]; on that however, he said, the Republic could not resolve unless it had the support of England; England and Holland were united by ties of blood, manners of life, and religion, as if by nature herself; they were threatened in like manner by the supremacy of France; peace once concluded, all old hostility should also be put away. De Witt asked whether Charles II would not be inclined for the sake of the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands, which formed a bulwark for his kingdom as well as for Holland, to conclude an alliance with the Republic. Temple replied that the matter concerned Holland very much more nearly than England. De Witt rejoined that Holland also risked much more; for the moment war was declared French troops would enter the state of Brabant, the Bishop of Munster would again take up arms; still in alliance with England, the Republic would venture; the two united would either conclude an easy peace or wage a glorious war. He reckoned, at the same time, on the Emperor and the princes of the German realm, who would all attach themselves to Holland and England[2].

In the moment of the opening crisis, the future combinations of great affairs were already visible in the ideas of the statesmen, who had before their eyes the general situation of the world.

But England as yet was a long way from consenting to these proposals. Arlington, the Secretary of State, to whom Temple owed his appointment, and to whom he sent his reports, received his remarks and the exhortations of the

---

[1] 'While they had any hopes de sortir de cette affaire par la voye honneste, ils ne le feroient jamais par la scandaleuse.' Temple's letter of Nov. 22.

[2] Temple to Arlington, Oct. 5, N.S. 1667, in Courtenay's Life of Temple i. 118.

Spaniards to the same effect, with much coolness. Much might be said about the demands of honour and generosity, and about the duty of maintaining the balance between the two European powers[1], but more imperative incentives were necessary before entering upon a matter of such wide extent. No gratitude was due to Spain for her conduct in the late complications, and if it was such an important matter for the Republic, let her first break the ice. The English offered their mediation to the belligerent powers, but even after the fall of Clarendon their sympathies inclined more towards the French than towards the Spaniards. The latter were refused all assistance; the government allowed without scruple a Scottish regiment to return to the French service from which it had been called away after the declaration of war; also a part of the guards, which had been disbanded at the desire of Parliament, took service under the King of France. When the Spaniards and Dutch attempted to act upon the government through Parliament, or to acquire personal influence over the ministers, Arlington declared to them that it had been determined in all consultations to keep in sight only the true and real interest of the kingdom[2].

Whither this tended he did not explain. At that time, in view of the general excitement in Europe, Louis XIV had proposed an alternative for the restoration of peace. He would either keep what he possessed, or he would exchange it for Franche Comté and three fortresses in the Netherlands. It also was important for him to obtain at the same time a limited recognition at least of his wife's claim on Spain, as he was already concerned in momentous negotiations on that point with the prince who was next in the hereditary line. The terms of his proposal made it evident that he meant at any rate to hold it in reserve.

Then for the first time appeared in distinct form the idea which was to plunge the world into war for half a century,

---

[1] The Earl of Arlington, Letters to Sir William Temple, Oct. 4, O. S. i. 183: 'Generosity and the keeping the balance even between the two crowns would be points that might by witty men be talked out of doors.'

[2] 'Dat alle de deliberation souden gaen op het waere ende reele interest van het Ryk.' Meerman to De Witt, 5th December, Brieven iv. 559.

and to transform Europe. The renunciation made by the Queen of France of the great inheritance of the Spanish monarchy, was, in spite of the Peace of the Pyrenees, to be declared invalid. Not only the actual demand, but also the future claim, created general excitement. The honour of having taken the initiative in the great affairs of Europe belongs to the Provincial States of Holland and West Friesland, who took them into consideration in December 1667.

They were all agreed in thinking that to look on idly would be the most ruinous course, but more than one opinion arose about the steps to be taken. The first was, that all the powers concerned should unite in a great alliance, and compel France to re-establish the stipulations settled in the Peace of the Pyrenees. This was the decisive course: salutary perhaps for France herself, it would have been of inestimable importance in the history of the world, but it was no longer practicable. The Republic felt itself too closely united with France to be able to break with her at once; the weakness, indecision, and poverty of the other powers would have thrown upon her shoulders the whole burden of the war; the Emperor was even less to be counted upon than was imagined; from Spain, whose interest was at stake, hindrance rather than help might be expected. There remained nothing for it but to agree to the alternative offered by Louis XIV, and on that foundation to bring about peace as soon as possible. For this however two things were needed; first to keep the King of France to his offer, secondly to persuade the Spaniards, whose cause was looked upon as of European importance, to accept it. This expedient seemed to be the only one practicable; for by it a war was avoided, which, as matters stood, would have occasioned a still greater extension of France, and it involved no open breach with that old ally[1]. But would it not be possible to unite to this a confirmation of the renunciation made by the Queen of France? It was discovered that even this could not be attained without war: it seemed enough to avoid anything which might imply a recognition of this claim. And even with these restrictions the Republic decided not to prosecute this object single-handed; it fixed its eyes on the King of England, the only one amongst all the princes of the world whose co-operation might bring about a favourable decision.

---

[1] The resolution dates from Dec. 1/11. We learn the motives from letters of De Witt's to Meerman Dec. 6/16 and 13/23.

In the meanwhile the alternative had been communicated to England also. Buckingham and Arlington held a series of conferences about it with the Spanish, as well as with the Dutch ambassador; sometimes, when Buckingham was unwell, at his private house. The Dutch remarked that the English ministers answered questions with questions, and even positive proposals with other questions, and avoided every explanation on which it would have been possible to depend. They declared that they hesitated especially, because the intention was to keep France to its proposals, by promising to compel Spain to accept them; and the like had never been known either in ancient or in modern times. This touched the great question whether, in hostilities between two independent powers, neutrals might intervene. A short time before, in the year 1659, it had already been done in the case of the politics of the north, but it was in vain that the English were reminded of this; they remained steadfast to their refusal, and declared their opinion that a general league against France was the best thing. It was not that they were determined to consent to such a league, but it did not lie beyond their horizon.

To learn certainly whether Holland might not be persuaded to this was the most important object of the mission with which Temple was entrusted, in consequence of his friendly relations with De Witt. It had long been intended, but had been delayed; now haste seemed all the more necessary. On the 20/30th of December we find Temple at the Hague. His journey had been very troublesome; for, as he says, the frost was too severe to admit of the use of boats, and not hard enough to allow the use of sledges; in spite of his fatigue he still saw De Witt late—at 11 o'clock—that same evening; next morning a second conference followed. His instruction was to insist once more on the necessity of protecting the Spanish Netherlands against the

attacks of France, and to propose the question to the Grand Pensionary, whether it would be possible to prevail upon the Republic to conclude, for this purpose, an offensive and defensive alliance with England against every other power, but especially against France. Temple proposed the question at once with all exactness; he insisted especially upon the words 'offensive alliance against France.' But this failed to produce much effect, because he was not in a position to give a definite answer to the question asked in return,—what in that case did his King intend to do in the affair of the Netherlands? he could only indicate warlike intentions as being the most probable. De Witt replied that the conclusion of such general treaties in any case was not after the custom of the Republic. Least of all would she consent to conclude one against France before she herself had been offended by that power. He adhered to the resolution formed by the Provincial Estates of Holland, and in the meanwhile adopted by most of the others, to hold France to the proposed alternative, and in common with Great Britain to carry it into effect; for whether Spain agreed to it or not, still the Spanish Netherlands must not be allowed to fall entirely into the hands of France. But at the same time Temple's opinion, that Charles II would take the matter into his hands, if only he were assured that Holland would not oppose him in so doing, produced a great impression on De Witt. He still thought that would be the best plan; the Republic would gladly see it accomplished, even if she could not prevail upon herself to undertake it[1].

Temple's presence at the Hague had as yet decided nothing. The question still remained whether an attempt should not be made to force France back within the limits of the Peace of the Pyrenees, in which case England must have taken the initiative; or whether the alternative proposed by France should be carried out according to the proposal of Holland. De Witt was very eager to see what effect his conversation with Temple would produce, and how the English court would resolve.

---

[1] Sir W. Temple's conference with Mr. De Witt, in Arlington's Letters i. 183. Later letters of Temple's, such as for instance those to Bridgeman, Works i. 328, contain additional information. On the other side De Witt's report, which was sent to the ambassador in England 8th Jan., Brieven iv. 609, must not be overlooked.

But the English court had in view at this moment an entirely different issue, of which there was no suspicion in Holland.

Whilst King Charles invited Holland to make an offensive alliance against France, he had already proposed to the French an offensive alliance against Holland. Perhaps the predominant feeling with a part of the nation, but certainly in the government circles, and above all with the King himself, was hatred against Holland. 'Us,' says Ruvigny, 'they distrust; they despise Spain; Holland they hate.' That Parliament declared for Spain was an additional reason why Charles II, who very well knew that his connexion with France had not been a single-handed work of the Chancellor's, should hold to the French alliance. Ruvigny, according to Isola's assertion, had said to him that he must not allow himself to be ruled by Parliament[1]. And to develope his connexion with Louis XIV into a perfect community of interests was moreover his old idea. His new ministers agreed with him on that point. Buckingham and Arlington, who conducted the negotiations with Spain and Holland, offered the French ambassador, in the beginning of December, an offensive and defensive alliance against all other powers, but especially against Holland: France was to come to the assistance of the English should there be a breach between them and the Republic, just as England would make common cause with King Louis were he to come into conflict with Holland. But how easy would it have been for them to bring about another breach with Holland. At the first overtures in the matter, Ruvigny[2] reminded them that Louis XIV was closely allied with Holland and would not

wish to break with her; he wished at the beginning to strike out this condition; the English insisted upon it. But then the demand was inevitable that England must also make common cause with France in her hostilities against Spain. Buckingham thought that this might be managed. It was suggested that in this case the supremacy across the Atlantic in South America, should fall to the English, and that on this side Ostend and Nieuwpoort should also be given over to them.

For England two great lines of policy appeared possible: either alliance with France to the destruction of the Spanish monarchy, on the condition of a great increase of her mercantile and maritime power; or resistance to France for the maintenance of Spain, and preservation of the balance of power on the continent. Charles II wavered between the two; he was determined to choose the one which should offer him the greater advantage. With a view to this he was engaged in extensive negotiations with the Spaniards also.

In December 1667 the English ambassador, Lord Sandwich, offered the Spanish court a close alliance for the protection of the monarchy, and mentioned the conditions under which it might be concluded. He demanded first of all the payment of a considerable sum, a million piastres,—for the King of England could not burden his subjects with the expenses of the war—and secondly, concessions of a comprehensive nature for the English trade, that is to say, the permission to send every year a fixed number of ships to Mexico, Buenos Ayres, and the Philippine Islands for unrestricted traffic; privileges in Antwerp, whither the Dutch trade was to be removed, even free trade with Germany through the influence of the Emperor upon the Hanse Towns, were taken into consideration[1].

These things give us our first insight into the character of Charles II. He was capable of proposing offensive alliances simultaneously to the three neighbouring powers, to the Dutch against France, to the French against Spain and Holland, to the Spaniards against France to the detriment of Holland; but in these propositions two fundamental views always recur — demands for money — supplies, and assurance of world-wide commerce to England.

---

[1] 'Sig niet soude moeten laten maistriseren van het parlement.' Meerman, 19 Nov.

[2] He makes a communication about it on 2/12th Dec.: 'Ils m'ont proposé une ligue offensive et défensive envers tous et contre tous, et se sont expliqués nommement contre la Hollande.' Detailed information about the further overtures can be found in Mignet ii. 535.

[1] Papel que entrego el Cde. de Sandwich al Sr. Don Juan. En retiro 29 (19) Decbr. 1667. Archives at Simancas.

And now in the first days of 1668 (N. S.) Temple happened to return from the continent with communications from the Hague, and at the same time an answer arrived from France.

In the council of King Louis the offers of Charles II had been seriously considered but had been rejected. For it was not exactly co-operation against Spain which the English offered, but only neutrality: that in return they should demand part of the spoil seemed to King Louis like a proposal to take the lion's share; he did not see that he need buy their inactivity. And still less would he hear of the proposal against Holland, for by that he would violate confidence and good faith and his own honour. Amongst the political maxims of Louis XIV almost the most important was that he must fulfil engagements which he had concluded; on this supposition his influence in Europe seemed to depend, for who would unite with him, were he once to show himself untrustworthy? Turenne suggested that such a breach between France and Holland ought to be represented to Charles II as probable, and that this possibility should be so referred to as to prevent him from allowing himself to be carried away by the impulses of the Parliament against France. But the French Cabinet rejected this also. The King declared that he would be faithful to his defensive alliance with Holland as long as the Dutch themselves observed it[1]. To this indeed were added eventual proposals for an alliance against the Republic, but they depended on the contingency that Holland herself should have broken the defensive alliance by giving aid to the enemies of France.

Probably Louis XIV was not indisposed at this moment for peace, on the basis of the alternative. He reserved every further undertaking for the event of the death of the young King of Spain, a weakly child; with this in view he was then engaged in the most active negotiations with the Emperor. A definite purpose always hovered before him, for the execution of which he endeavoured to prepare the way by negotiations of every sort. How was he voluntarily to break his treaty with Holland, by which he had hoped to attach that country to his interests whatever happened?

In England the concurrent declarations of France and of Holland produced the deepest impression. Almost in the same words as those used by Louis XIV, De Witt had also declared in the name of the Republic that the defensive alliance must be maintained, as long as it was not broken by the other side. The English inferred that there was a close understanding between Holland and France. The opinion arose that they really might intend to divide the Spanish Netherlands between themselves, to the exclusion of England. At court, rumours of a new alliance were circulated; it was even thought possible that they might unite for a common undertaking against England[1].

The French answer was obviously entirely in the negative. King Charles felt himself offended, because he found so little acceptance for his propositions; it was just as if France thought herself strong enough to carry out her projects without England[2].

The Spanish Council of State also had found Charles' propositions unacceptable: it seemed to them as if this Prince only sought to draw advantage for himself out of the embarrassments of the monarchy. Their answer had not yet arrived, but it might be conjectured, and without the most decided assurances Charles II would not have declared himself openly for Spain. It appeared, from Temple's negotiations, that Holland, though she might have looked on quietly, would never have lent her active support.

There remained nothing but to accept the offer, on which De Witt had taken his final stand, to enter into union with Holland for the maintenance of the alternative on both sides. For this at least made possible a firm resistance to any further

---

[1] 'Mon traité d'alliance défensive avec les états subsiste et devra toujours subsister tant que les dits états n'en feront aucune contravention.' Mignet, Négociations ii. 542.

---

[1] Ruvigny 12 Jan. (N. S.) 'Que vous ne partagez pas seulement les pays bas catholiques ensemble, mais aussi toute l'Angleterre.'

[2] Charles II to his sister, January 23, 1668. 'Finding my propositions to France receave so cold an answer, which in effect was as good as a refusall, I thought I had no other way but this to secure myself.' Dalrymple ii. 5.

one-sided encroachment by France, and rendered futile for the present, perhaps interrupted for ever, the close union between France and Holland[1]. Anxiety lest Holland, if she should come to no agreement with England, should not only do nothing in the matter, but should even again unite with France, was the decisive motive. Difficulties were no longer found about going to work without previous consultation with Spain. The final resolutions were concealed from the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors, just as much as from the French.

Not all the members of the committee for foreign affairs took part in the decision; the Duke of York for instance was excluded; he at no price would have offended the King of France, from whom he hoped for protection for his father-in-law. Neither did the French ambassador give Buckingham credit for it; but later the Duke always laid claim to the honour of having helped to bring it about. Beside Arlington, Secretary of State, the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, who had hardly learnt anything of the negotiations in the other directions, was especially active in the matter. The King himself showed the eagerness which he bestowed on matters which interested him; he personally laboured to carry it out. After a few days William Temple received an instruction, which now agreed with the proposals of De Witt, in which he was given considerable latitude, on the one condition that, besides the chief treaty, an agreement for mutual defence could be brought about as well; he was at once provided under the Great Seal with full powers for its conclusion; he hurried back to Holland, for which purpose a royal yacht was put at his disposal.

John de Witt was surprised, and even astounded, that the King of England had made up his mind at once, and had fallen in so completely with the Dutch proposals. He now seemed less decided himself. Even at the last moment he again felt scruples about separating the Republic from its tried friendship with France, and allying it to England, with whom it had just been at war. But in this direction tended without doubt the resolution already formed, which now for the first time attained its full significance through the concurrence of England.

A change in the internal affairs of Holland may have had more effect upon the decision than Temple perhaps observed[1]. A short while before, an ordinance had been passed in the province of Holland, that the Statholdership should thenceforth and for ever be separated from the chief command by land and sea. Upon the connexion of the two the importance of the house of Orange had hitherto depended; by their separation it seemed as if the enmity of the King of England, who had always so eagerly taken up the rights of his nephew, must be awakened. Instead of that, Temple was commissioned to assure the Grand Pensionary that the King's friendship for the Prince of Orange should not stand in the way of a union between the two countries, in their own interests. That Charles II, at a moment of such high importance, should let drop all opposition to De Witt and the aristocratic party, might be reckoned as the price for the conclusion of the agreement. The two facts taken together gave De Witt one of the grandest positions that any republican chief has ever occupied in Europe. But did it not become insecure precisely on account of its greatness, in the midst of the conflicts and vacillating positions of the great powers? At first this was not taken into consideration.

William Temple had the rare good luck to be entrusted with a negotiation, which agreed at once with his own political sentiments, with the momentary tendencies of the two stipulating states, and with the great interests of Europe. It could not give him much trouble; for in fact it was only concerned with the acceptance of a proposal, which originated from the power with whom he had to treat. One difficulty however lay in the constitution of the Union, according to which treaties must be laid before the separate assemblies of the Provinces and be approved by them. If this form were now to be observed, there was fear of a delay which might give occasion to adverse action from the side of France, and even cause a change in the temper of England. Temple insisted that this must not take place, and fortunately there was a possibility of quicker despatch. During the last war with England there had been established in the Republic, for the maintenance of unity and energy in the conduct of business, a general Commission of the Provincial States, to which the rights of the States, as far as wars and treaties were concerned, had in a great measure been transferred. It consisted of eight members, two from Holland, and one from each of the other Provinces. De Witt's authority depended principally on the influence he possessed in this Commission, the resolutions of which had hitherto always been carried out. Temple insisted that it must suffice in this case also, and that the ratification of the States-General must follow, without the Provincial States being formally consulted[1]. So much for the form. As to the matter, the objection was made that the Republic was not safe from the Swedes, who were encamped in Bremen in strong force. Count Dohna, who had been appointed Swedish ambassador for England, was at that time still at the Hague. Temple had no orders to negotiate with him and did not know him; but putting aside all ceremony, (for he was unwilling to allow even the smallest delay to occur,) he hastened to him. He was delighted at meeting with a friendly reception, entirely corresponding to his desires. Dohna was provided with an instruction which could be applied to the existing question; he expressed himself even with more eagerness than the Dutch; his declaration of consent and assurance contributed not a little to put an end to all wavering. Temple insisted on promptness on this ground also, that there were in England powerful men who were opposed to the design, and who would welcome every obstacle. How would they answer for it if by

---

[1] 'De vrese ende apprehensie, die men hier nae het rapport van den Heer Temple gekregen heeft, dat Haer Ho. Mog. met Vranckryck souden aenspannen ende de buyt tesaemen deelen, de oorsaecke it van deese groote ende schielycke veranderinge.' Meerman an de Witt: Brieven iv. 631.

[1] In his letter of January 24, 1668 (Works i. 313), he passes it over lightly.

---

[1] I infer this proposal from a later letter of Temple's, March 31, 1676, in the Record Office. I am surprised that a complete collection has not been made of this statesman's letters, which in style and composition might even now serve as models.

unseasonable hesitation they should lose the important offers of Charles II, which aimed at the welfare of the Republic? He succeeded beyond all expectation; his treaties were concluded within five days. The first is a defensive alliance, in which each of the two parties pledges itself, in case the other should be attacked, to come to its assistance, with a fixed number of forces by land and on sea. This was important, inasmuch as Charles II had hitherto considered a common attack from France and Holland as possible; but now, in case of an attack from France, he secured for himself the support of Holland. But the real importance lay in the second treaty, in which England and Holland bound themselves to restore peace between France and Spain upon the basis proposed by the first. The point of the contract lies in the fourth article, in which they agree that if the Spaniards could not be persuaded to accept the alternative by exhortations, they would employ means of greater cogency. In the first draft actual force had been formally mentioned[1]; Charles II had wished to avoid this word, from a certain feeling of the respect due to an independent king; the expression actually accepted, which meant the same thing, originated with Temple. There remained still another question, which was indeed the most considerable of all; namely, how the King of France was to be kept to the conditions which he had laid down. In case he broke his promise, the two powers returned to the more extensive proposition which Temple had first brought to the Hague; they promised at once to take the side of Spain, to wage war against the King of France, and if possible to restore the state of things established by the Peace of the Pyrenees. Count Dohna declared, in a special act, that the King of Sweden, under certain conditions, was minded to join in these agreements.

The convention is to be looked upon as a union of the proposals interchanged between Temple and De Witt, on Temple's second visit to the Hague; it went beyond the point of holding the King to the alternative; a restoration of the previous legal condition was eventually contemplated.

---

[1] 'For the undecency of the word force.' Marginal note of Charles II to the instruction in Courtenay ii. 386. Temple substituted, first 'moyens plus dur,' then 'moyens plus efficaces, media majoris efficaciae.'

That either of these should ever come to pass was indeed not to be expected. For how was Louis to withdraw from a proposal which he himself had made? How little desire there was on the other side to vex him, is obvious from the fact that all reference to the renunciation was avoided; at this moment he could not expect more.

Yet the convention, which was not as yet the Triple Alliance, but which laid the foundation for it[1], is of great importance in general European history. In the midst of the opposing interests of the various powers the general interests of the European community here found expression. The way in which this idea originated, grew up, was at one time predominant, and then again lost ground, would be worthy of a separate narrative. In the two powers who then united it found, during a century, its most important manifestation.

---

[1] In the Swedish Act of January 13/23 it was first spoken of as definitely intended, 'ut foedus jam dictum consequatur quam primum substantiam atque formam pacti tripliciter conventi.' The French distinguish between the 'traité de la Haye' and the 'triple alliance faite en conséquence du traité de la Haye.'

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT IN THE YEAR 1668.

It was not exactly these considerations which determined the decisions of Charles II. The temper of Parliament may have had a certain influence upon them, but this must not be rated too highly. In spite of the antipathy of Parliament to France, Charles II would have concluded a new alliance with that power, if it would have agreed to his proposals. His decisions, which were of an entirely independent character, sprang especially from his wounded self-conceit, and his wish to separate France and Holland.

Although at the time of the fall and impeachment of the Chancellor he had allowed Parliament free action, and had given way to it, yet he had not intended, in so doing, to recognise the subordination of his ministers to Parliament, or generally to make his administration dependent upon parliamentary opinion: on the contrary, his new ministers cared even less for Parliament than the Chancellor had done; under their influence the King returned to the plans which he seemed already to have given up.

It is characteristic of the time and of the King, that a man like the Duke of Buckingham, George Villiers, son of the favourite of James I and Charles I, should have had a decided influence over the state: for no one seemed to be less born for business. He neglected the meetings of the Privy Council if any pleasure called him away; for days he could not be found, and when he again appeared, he had meanwhile changed his opinion. He was one of the first in England who turned night into day, and day into night[1]. He wounded mortally in a duel the Earl of Shrewsbury, with whose wife he had an intrigue; it is said that the lady, dressed as a page, held her lover's horse during the combat; the death of the Earl did not interrupt the connexion, although Buckingham also was married. And it was easy to get a pardon from the King for what had happened: Charles II thought he had done enough when he added to it a strict prohibition of duelling for the future. Buckingham, an old friend of the King's youth, sometimes in disgrace and then again taken into favour, accompanied him on his hunting expeditions, to the races in the country, to the play in town, and seasoned his evening banquet with biting wit, especially with his mimicry, for which he was famous. The King allowed everything that surrounded him, even what was estimable and important, to be turned into ridicule. Buckingham, for his part, entertained the company which gathered round his table with the recital of the liberties which the King allowed himself at his own. Even the turmoil of pleasure did not cool his ambition to have important matters under his control; for these he possessed an inborn talent. Buckingham is a forecast of the Regent and Dubois. In natures of this kind everything works together, amusement and labour, distraction and exertion, good and bad; the most refined culture can go with intolerable insolence; for such men have every kind of ambition, they must be first in everything, and remain first. Social considerations and sympathies caused by hatred of predecessors, determine their political action or inaction. Like the King, Buckingham also was inclined to the French alliance, on the condition that he should share in the increase of power so to be acquired; like the King he also kept in view before everything else the rise of the naval power. If they now both turned away from the French alliance, it was because they wished particularly to prove to their mighty neighbour that they were worthy of greater consideration. Buckingham resembled the King also in his dislike to the

Anglican Church: but his inclination was towards the Protestant sects. He even once took a fit of seeking God in the Anabaptist manner. As soon as he could exercise influence, without consideration for statutes established or sentences passed, he had the prisons opened, in which the so-called fanatics and some of Cromwell's old officers languished. Major Wildman and Colonel Salloway appeared again in state favour. Buckingham, who liked in all things to do the contrary to Clarendon, caused favour to be shown to the Presbyterians also, whom the Chancellor especially oppressed. Everywhere their assemblies for public worship were reopened, first in the counties, then in the capital; the odious acts passed against them were no longer carried out.

At the same time there existed an intention of rescinding these acts in every shape. The idea of tolerance again revived very seriously in the King's mind. The Keeper of the Great Seal entered into a formal negotiation with some of the leading Nonconformists, as for instance with Baxter and Manton, about a scheme of comprehension, which was to be founded on a modification of prescribed oaths and ceremonies, and on a milder formula at ordination. The Presbyterians were then at once to be recognised as members of the State Church; to the adherents of other sects, who would not conform, an indulgence, for three years, was at first to be granted. Their conventicles were to be allowed. There were hopes of succeeding in such views as these more easily than before, since the political course now taken, if it did not originate in the inclinations of Parliament, yet in general agreed with them; for the government, as it was composed, could not be accused of any Catholic tendency; rather a union of the two great Protestant parties seemed to be quite natural.

With this another purpose was connected. In Parliament there were still a number of the former partisans of Clarendon: some of the most considerable men among them, whom Buckingham looked upon as his enemies and whom he wished to remove, maintained themselves in their high position through the support which they found in Parliament; in the King's brother, the Duke of York, they had an ally

---

[1] Ruvigny, January 26: 'Il veille quand les autres dorment, il dine quand les autres soupent, il perd souvent les conseils qu'il aime moins que ses plaisirs.'

who gave them a certain confidence. It was the intention of the influential members of the government to strike a blow at this party, which was also High Church, by accepting the Comprehension Bill. The tendency towards religious liberality was also a continuance of the hostility against Clarendon, who was attacked in the persons of his followers.

When the King re-opened Parliament, on February 10/20 1667/8, his communication about the negotiations in the Hague met with greater favour because they had already attained their object, and the treaties might be described as concluded; it may be that the haste with which the matter was pursued at the Hague was also inspired by the wish to meet Parliament with the news. But if he hoped in this manner to make way for his religious and monarchical projects, his calculations were found to be very mistaken.

Private communications had made known the clauses even before Parliament was actually opened; they were talked about immediately on assembling, and awakened universal excitement. It seemed to the Lower House as if the ground on which it stood was going to be taken away from under its feet, and as if the principles, which were its honour and security, were to be controverted.

To meet at once the anticipated measures, a commission was given to those members who had seats also in the Privy Council, to sue the King for a proclamation to enforce the Act of Uniformity, which was openly neglected. But when the King appeared, and, while demanding a grant of money, also expressed a wish that means might be devised to bring about a better understanding among his Protestant subjects, so as to induce them not only to obey his government but also to give it a willing support, it was felt that he was announcing a scheme tending towards comprehension, and so he awakened all the feelings of opposing parties. Adherents of the court proposed that the recently appointed commission about the Act of Uniformity should be suspended; but this was thrown out with violence; 'whoever proposed changes in the laws of England ought to present himself with a cord round his neck, as in one of the ancient republics.' Hitherto Parliament had been in complete disunion: great was the astonishment when its sudden return to unanimity was realised. It was as if it had been called upon by name.

The Presbyterians, it is true, found advocates even now. Many were willing to attribute their defection to the innovations introduced at a later period into the Reformed Church; but in this assembly arose also defenders of Archbishop Laud; old men who had been in Rome at that time pretended to know that nothing had been more feared there than his victory over the Puritans, and that at his death demonstrations of joy had been made. The principal argument was that the repeal of the laws would produce anarchy, and that tolerance would make an army necessary for the maintenance of order. The proposal that the King should be empowered to arrange a new conference was rejected by a great majority[1], and a new and more rigorous law against conventicles was projected.

Far from breaking up the Chancellor's party, the government first gave it new coherence through this proposal about religion. It seemed often to the King as if the Parliament was led from a distance by his old minister in opposition to the new ones. It was sometimes suggested that the Parliament, which had banished him during a sudden disturbance, might also call him back again. And certainly, just as the Comprehension Bill emanated from party considerations, so also it owed its rejection to them. The new government was opposed by the universal sentiment of the whole Anglican organisation which the Chancellor had founded, and in which ecclesiastical and secular forces worked together. The Anglican tendencies gained especial strength by the relations with Ireland, where the organisation which secured the dominion of Protestantism had been carried out by the Chancellor's influence, and where Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant, Clarendon's friend, guided the administration according to the Chancellor's ideas. As these arrangements at the same time maintained the preponderance of the English part of the population, and secured their landed property, they were of great importance for the internal construction of the English

---

[1] 176 against 70. Grey's Debates i. 132.

State in general, and found powerful support in Parliament. Ormond regarded Buckingham as a personal enemy; to oppose him he prepared at once to come to England, where he arrived before the close of Parliament. But whether he were present or not, he was reckoned as the chief of the Clarendon faction. That any serious effort was made for the recall of Clarendon is not very probable; it would not at all have fitted in with the position of affairs. The existing Parliament rather united the ideas which the Chancellor had maintained with those which he had opposed. It was content to rest on the exclusively ecclesiastical foundation, which it owed to him, but at the same time it made an attack on the independence of the administration and the prerogative in general, in which he would never have taken part. In the opposition Clarendon's adherents now joined his old antagonists. An understanding between Ormond and Coventry began.

The King's demand for subsidies could not be rejected, yet the grant was only small; it was restricted to £300,000: and the means of collecting it were discussed with endless detail. The examination of the past extravagance was renewed; the causes of the misfortunes suffered during the last war were investigated, and found to lie in personal misconduct; precisely those who thought they had been most energetic, saw themselves most actively threatened.

But the attack was especially directed against certain members of the government who had already filled high and confidential posts. It was asked how it was possible that men who had hitherto advised the King badly should now advise him better. Parliament must show him their treacheries and weaknesses, so that he might learn to know them, and give redress by their dismissal. That great claim of all parliamentary government, the claim to decide whether the ministers should stand or fall, was asserted all the more strongly because it had received confirmation from Clarendon's dismissal and impeachment. Even if Parliament, as was now said, had been carried away by surprise in the matter, it still held fast to this claim, especially as an express declaration in its favour had been made by the new ministers, who however were now attacked with great violence. 'We shall remain unhappy,' Seymour exclaimed in the House, 'as long as the King retains his counsellors.'

It was suggested that the treaty which had been concluded must be submitted to the House before a money-grant were made; a demand was made that a definite portion of the royal revenues should be annually devoted to definite purposes.

To obviate the possibility of an unparliamentary government, a new law was introduced to ensure the frequent holding of parliaments; it enacted that the Chancellor should be authorised, in case the King should delay, to issue the writs on his own authority. The remark was made that the King must be subjected to legal compulsion [1]. To which it was answered that a lion confined in a cage did not on that account leave off roaring. The proposal was finally rejected, principally because it had been irregularly introduced.

Thus the strife with Parliament at home entered upon a career of which no one could foresee the end. It was fortunate for the government that it was supported by the successful results of its foreign policy.

The King of France, after the conclusion of the agreement at the Hague, had taken possession of Franche Comté, but he declared that all the same he remained true to his alternative. This new loss and the declaration of the two powers induced the Spaniards to accept it. The Marquis of Castelrodrigo, to whom the choice was left, decided on demanding the restoration of the province just lost, as it seemed to him indispensable for the cohesion of the monarchy; in return he would leave in the hands of the French the strongholds which they had occupied in the Netherlands. His motive was, that this course involved a certain danger for Holland. He did not give up the hope that the two powers might once more decidedly take up the cause of the Spanish monarchy.

This expectation helped to induce the Spaniards, from a desire to have their hands free in that case and to see all cause for dispute removed, to conclude peace with Portugal through the mediation of England, and to recognise the independence of that crown. It was as needful for the one country as for the other. In vain even now the French ambassador opposed it. Lord Sandwich was received with infinite rejoicing when he appeared in Lisbon with the actual document containing the peace concluded. As he explained it, the Portuguese looked on it as the cure for all their evils[1]. Charles II had the satisfaction of concluding, in opposition to France, what he had begun in common with it, the emancipation of Portugal from Spain.

---

[1] 'Compelling the King by law.' Littleton, who actually said this, was thought at the time to have said 'the thing,' but this was afterwards proved to be untrue. Grey's Debates i. 83.

In connexion with these events, it is important that Sweden, in April 1668, though the subsidies which she demanded were not as yet guaranteed with the full security which she claimed, yet decided to accept the convention of January in its full extent: this may be regarded as the first actual completion of the Triple Alliance[2].

To meet the formation of a European opposition, which might at any moment turn into a coalition, Louis XIV felt himself moved, however well he might be armed, to prefer the peaceful counsels of his ministers to the warlike counsels of his generals, and to sign the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. That agreement answered to the conditions established by England and France in private negotiations. All mention of the renunciation also was avoided, and indeed purposely on the English side. Still at the last moment the Spaniards themselves raised the greatest difficulties. Sir William Temple, who now appeared in the splendour of an ambassador, acquired for himself the merit of bringing to a happy end the matter which he had begun.

It is worth noticing how at that time English politics were looked at by outsiders. Every one spoke of the disagreement between the two ministers, Buckingham and Arlington, in home, and still more in foreign affairs. Buckingham was thought to be French, Arlington Spanish in his sympathies. The Venetian ambassador observes no opposition, but rather a co-operation between the two ministers; 'it is their common object, conformably to the old maxims of the crown, to preserve the equilibrium between the great neighbouring powers[1];' by supporting first one, then the other, they would be in a position to obtain from each side what they desired and needed. More by negotiations than by arms did England dictate laws to its neighbours, and maintain at the same time the peace of the world. No one at the present day will believe that there was a definite plan for this purpose; but it was the result of the condition of circumstances, and of national interests also working in secret.

At that time, as far as could be judged, anti-French impulses still prevailed in all negotiations. Sir William Temple, who went as ambassador to the Hague, was commissioned to guarantee the territorial position resulting from the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and to find means for settling the disputes which might arise in consequence. Perhaps for this purpose a new agreement would have to be concluded between the three allied powers; negotiations might be entered into with others, especially with the Protestant princes and states, for their formal entry into the union[2]. The King said once to the Resident of Brandenburg, that he thought his Elector ought to be the cord round the bundle.

In Holland there was a strong inclination to push the matter still further. Sir William Temple, who loved to occupy himself with great schemes, was of opinion that England should take up with all its might the cause of the Spanish monarchy, in return for an assurance of equivalent advantages; but as that was hardly to be attained, he proposed a formal alliance

---

[1] Quadro elementar xviii. 98.

[2] Arlington to Temple, May 1; i. 328. Temple is to arrange 'the satisfaction in money, which we and the Holland ambassadors have conditioned Spain shall give the Swede, without which the Cte. de Dona would never have consented to associate himself with us.'

[1] 'Fu il loro consiglio a tenere la balancie dritta tra le potenti monarchie delle due corone, dicendo essere tale equilibrio stato sempre la regola fondamentale dell' Inghilterra, essere stata questa politica che l'ha resa arbitra del mondo cristiano, mentre contribuendo soccorse ora alla Francia, ora alla Spagna s'é resa dispositrice d'ambidue li regni.'

[2] Temple's instructions, Aug. 1668, in Courtenay ii. 393: 'Declare our desire above all other alliances to see ourselves united more particularly with those that profess the Protestant religion.'

of the contracting powers with Spain, so as to be able to offer defiance immediately with united forces to any attempt of the French to overstep the limits assigned to them, and then to return to the re-establishment of the Peace of the Pyrenees. These had indeed for the most part been the ideas of the King himself. But now they were so no more; he would not overstep the position of mediator which he had taken up. This alone gave him a very important position in the world; he seemed to be the man on whom the peace of Europe depended; it procured for him also other very considerable advantages. Such privileges as Sandwich had proposed as the price of a defensive and offensive treaty could not be attained through the Triple Alliance, but after many evasions that can easily be understood, the Spaniards were ultimately induced to give up their claim on Jamaica, the loss of which they had felt so deeply, and in general on all existing English possessions in the West Indies and in America. This was the masterpiece of Godolphin, then English ambassador in Spain. Lord Arlington expressed to him his acknowledgement and admiration of it[1].

We are reminded of Mocenigo's remark when we realise that, just as a short while before a war, which cannot be called fortunate, had under the influence of European complications effected a great extension of the English colonial system, so now the simple demonstration made by the Triple Alliance secured the emancipation of Portugal and the possession of Jamaica.

And perhaps it might have been expected that these fortunate results would react on the temper of Parliament. But such was not the case.

At the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the ministers had plucked up courage to prorogue Parliament (May 9): in August and again in November 1668 this prorogation was repeated. But the antagonism of parties continued incessantly, although Parliament was not then sitting. For as Ormond, in spite of his hostility to Buckingham, could

not be quite removed from the old confidence of the King, so also other adherents of Clarendon, men like Lord Cornbury, the son of the Chancellor, found support again at court; the ministers had to abstain from talking openly of his dismissal. A dispute arose between Buckingham and Coventry, which led to a challenge, for giving which Coventry was sent to the Tower: every one took his part; never had more carriages been seen driving to the Tower than now went to express sympathy with the prisoner.

There was no doubt that, had Parliament now met in this temper, it would have proceeded to an impeachment of the ministers, by which their lives might have been endangered. Buckingham and Arlington returned to the idea which had ruined Clarendon; they thought of dissolving Parliament and issuing writs for a new election. They imagined that a good result might be expected from it, and that they might be delivered from their enemies without endangering the existing arrangements in Church and State. Buckingham counted on his connexion with the leaders of the sectaries, and thought they would be entirely submissive; he is said to have won from them a promise that they would be content with simple indulgence and would pay money to the King. With the Presbyterians, to whom the government showed much consideration, negotiations were once more opened in the autumn of 1668. They protested that it would always be their work to preserve amongst the people the reverence for the throne. The King, who saw at Arlington's house a Presbyterian deputation which presented to him an address of thanks, in accordance with his own wish, reminded them not to misuse the liberty which he gave them, especially not to hold numerous assemblies: he expressed once more the wish to see them received into the national church; some restrictions however would be necessary, for public peace must also be maintained. Hopes were entertained, and Arlington especially was of that opinion, that the Presbyterians might so far give way that a stronger representation of their party in Parliament would not endanger episcopacy. With these views and anticipations it was considered possible to proceed to a dissolution.

---

[1] Arlington to Sir William Godolphin. Arlington's letters ii. 300. The date 1667 instead of 1670.

Of all the leaders of the restoration movement Albemarle alone still enjoyed uninterrupted consideration; he however set himself decisively against this plan. He felt sure that a new Parliament would take up a thoroughly hostile position to the King and the administration, that those who had been oppressed would, on coming to power, seek to take vengeance on their oppressors[1]. He said that in that case he would leave England rather than fall into the hands of his opponents.

It had already been publicly said that the property of the Church must be appropriated to pay the King's debts. But would not he himself fall into danger if he separated from that Parliament, which from the first had been united to him?

Lately also even tumultuous disturbances had often occurred. First, in the spring, some students and some of Cromwell's old soldiers had united; a kettle served them for a drum; with cries of hatred and moral aversion they had made an attack on Whitehall; they had been dispersed, but not got rid of or destroyed. The memory of Cromwell was as active as ever. Men turned their eyes to Lambert in his prison.

Who would secure the King another time against a storm of this kind? Having fallen out with the Parliament of the Restoration, and distrusting the Protestant Dissenters, he once more reverted to his Catholic policy.

---

[1] 'Ne voyant pas ancune sureté pour leur têtes, puisqu'il faudroit nécessairement tomber entre les mains d'un autre parlement, qui seroit composé de leurs ennemis.' Ruvigny, whose despatches in general give the best information about this.

CHAPTER VI.

SECRET ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE, 1669-70.

THE King's return to his Catholic policy was not caused only by internal, but also by external considerations.

As has been shown, it had been Sir William Temple's idea to elaborate the Triple Alliance into a European confederacy for the preservation of the Spanish monarchy and of the balance of power. The intention was, to include in it Lorraine and Switzerland, the principal Protestant princes, and even the Emperor as well; all were to pledge themselves to mutual defence, and the maintenance of the renunciation made in the Peace of the Pyrenees. In these movements against the schemes of Louis XIV, ardent Huguenots saw ground for some hope that their old independence might be restored. An old soldier, Roux de Marcilly, who had served among the Waldensians, and kept up a chain of communications with the whole of southern France, appeared as early as the summer of 1668 in London, to call the attention of the English ministers to whom he had access, to the great prospect that opened before them; he asserted that Provence, Languedoc, Guyenne, even Normandy, would rebel at the first opportunity; he sought to direct the ambition of Charles and the Duke of York to the acquisition of these provinces[1].

And now that the home relations developed in such a way, that the ministers were on the point of uniting with

---

[1] Ruvigny, Oct. 29, who secretly in a hiding-place listened to the conversation of this man. Roux knew of the proposal of a 'ligue offensive et défensive contre la France, entre l'Espagne, l'Angleterre et les provinces unies;—il s'assure fort de l'Espagne, mais nullement de l'Angleterre.' There is an instructive article about Roux and his horrible end by Haag, France Protestante ix.

Presbyterians and Independents, to oppose and dissolve the Parliament with which the King had fallen out on account of his prerogative as well as of his religious schemes, it almost seemed as if the restored monarchy might just as well take up a Protestant attitude as the Protectorate had done before; and indeed more decidedly and grandly, as the Catholic idea now centred in France, which also threatened the peace of Europe. To resist this power at the head of the minor states seemed a worthy task for a King of England; the idea of the Triple Alliance seemed to tend in this direction.

But we know how entirely different were the considerations from which resulted the convention at the Hague, and the participation of Charles II in this alliance: he still cherished the same intentions, which for the time had been thrust into the background; far from offering his hand to a confederacy, which would have united him still closer to the Republic, he on the contrary entered secretly into a negotiation of an entirely opposite character. For in spite of all this external good understanding, he cherished the deepest repugnance to the Dutch, from whom he still wished to get satisfaction as in an affair of honour, and with whom the interests of his people with respect to trade and colonies again clashed on every side. In Surinam a sort of war continued between the English and Dutch settlers. And if the English commercial undertakings were directed, after the peace of Breda, with greater confidence than before to the East Indies, yet now, as before, they everywhere encountered the rival efforts of the Dutch, who still had a decided preponderance in those parts. Mocenigo follows undoubtedly the universal judgment when he expresses the opinion that England must either give up the trade with the East Indies or the peace with Holland[1].

The African Company had been ruined by the failure of its undertaking on the coast of Guinea; this was also felt in the West Indian colonies, which just then rose into importance through the importation of slaves. From time to time the old dispute was renewed about the lowering of the flag. If

---

[1] 'Non essere a durare per lungo tempo questo commercio all' Inghilterra o la pace all' Olanda.'

the King of England, who in his foreign policy always kept commercial considerations in sight, now looked round to discover how he might at last obtain liberty of action against Holland, the means were easily found. In spite of the Triple Alliance he had not given up for a moment his friendship with Louis XIV. On Ruvigny's return he expressly caused proposals to be made for the renewal of a personal connexion. On his side Louis XIV also was now much enraged against the Republic. He thought it was under an obligation, by reason of the advantages which the French crown had gained for it, to support his claims: instead of this it opposed them, and sought to form a European alliance against them. Louis XIV replied to Charles II's approaches with the declaration, that now the considerations were removed by which he had before been hindered from allying himself with England against Holland. At first Charles II refused to fall in with this overture, because he considered himself on his side to be bound. By degrees however the old antipathies again won the upper hand with him. In a curiously naive manner he expresses them in a letter to his sister in the summer of 1669. 'Roy and King,' so he says there, will, he doubts not, agree very well to come forward against Holland, as it has used them both very scurvily: King (that is, himself) will never be satisfied till he has had his revenge, and is very ready to enter into an agreement upon that matter as soon as Roy pleases.

So little was Charles II disposed to enter into that coalition against France, of which the Republic must always have been the centre, that he rather negotiated an alliance with France against the Republic, and indeed with better prospects of success than ever before. Louis had first declared himself for the Republic, at all events so far as to refuse proposals to its disadvantage; now he offered to co-operate in its ruin.

But as far as the Presbyterians were concerned, Charles II was still less inclined to espouse their cause.

The times were then favourable to Catholicism; it again raised itself most mightily. That it had remained master in Spain and Italy was the work of the former epoch; at that time its connexion with the Bourbon monarchy, which was just approaching the zenith of its power, was of great service to it. We are not speaking of dogma, the inward cohesion of which always produces a strong impression, nor of the machinations of the Jesuit fathers, although they are undeniable: in the European nations other influences of an impalpable kind are also at work; those forms of life which come into strongest prominence exercise an irresistible attraction upon all others. Catholicism was then represented in three great kingdoms—in Spain, which although it connived when France met with opposition from the religious side, yet for its own part held fast by the traditional belief—in France itself, and in Austria, which was just rising into importance; it had still its supports in the hierarchical constitution of the German Empire and of Poland. But more than this, the great national literatures belonged to it, the outcome of the age and of its culture: such were the Italian, which, thanks to the works of noble style which it possessed from old times, and even those mannered works which it now produced, exercised a widespread influence; such again was the Spanish literature, then in its full bloom; and such also was the French, still more sympathetic with the temperaments of other nations, which took its rise together with the monarchy. That there were two prominent literary parties in France (for in literature as in the Church the school of Port Royal played an important part) was no disadvantage, since they both took their stand on the Catholic basis. So also art in its most important branches was a product of the Catholic world. Through these influences, which quietly prepared men's minds, and through the agreement in the Catholic forms of life of the two great states, which were at discord on other points, it was made easy for an active priesthood to make conversions on all sides. Never were they more numerous and striking, especially in the higher classes.

The Protestant world in consequence became justly alarmed: with sure instinct, it saw in the rise of France its chief danger. But Charles II was not the man to put himself at its head and reassure it.

The Restoration in England was in itself agreeable to Catholicism, in so far as it had set aside the most powerful expression of Protestantism which had ever yet appeared in

political power, the Protectorate of Cromwell and the Anabaptist Republic. Although the Anglican Church rose again, this was balanced by the fact that she had preserved, and now restored to its full authority, one of the most important forms of the ancient Church, the episcopal constitution. Charles II intended, as we know, to bring about a restoration in doctrine also, and even a conditional recognition of the Papacy, if only certain concessions were made, and exceptions granted, to the Anglican Church. He wished to attach himself and his kingdom to the great confederacy of the religion and Church to which it had once belonged.

His difference with the Parliament, which had now united itself with the Anglican Church, was principally caused by its opposition to his Catholic tendencies. His ministers might think of supporting themselves by means of the Presbyterians and the adherents of the other sects, but the wishes of the King could never tend in this direction. Should there be a new election, he must at least be sure of the active sympathy of the Catholics, who had shown him during his exile that they were by no means unimportant, but had at their disposal considerable wealth, and exercised a certain influence. He felt himself bound to be grateful towards them, and in them alone had unconditional confidence. Not only his convictions, about which in his case there is not much to say, but also his sympathies, belonged to Catholicism. During his sojourn in France, Belgium, and Catholic Germany, he had imbibed them the more easily because his opponents were precisely the most active adherents of Protestantism. Once more he contemplated, and indeed more decisively than before, the possibility of declaring himself a Catholic.

It has often been thought that the influence of his brother, the Duke of York, who had already really joined the Roman Church, determined him to this step; but serious doubts, as we shall show, suggest themselves against the truth of this, not to mention that Charles II says distinctly that his brother was first attracted to the project at a later time. In the web of political engagements and intentions in which he was now involved, the King himself thought that the time for it was come.

But for that also he needed the support and protection of

France. For if already on the introduction of the Act of Uniformity tumultuous disturbances had been feared, how much more were these to be dreaded the moment he took steps towards a restoration of Catholicism! It was Charles II's idea to carry out his change of religion with the assistance of an armed force, which he still kept together, and, in his present temper, increased. Even to gain the requisite supplies an understanding with Louis XIV was necessary; for who else could have provided them?

In January 1669 the King, his brother, and some of the principal Catholics, Clifford, Bellasis, and Arundel of Wardour, with Arlington's acquiescence, took counsel together and came to a resolution[1]. Arundel himself went to France; in the deepest secrecy he saw Louis XIV. His proposal extended not only to friendship and alliance, but to the most intimate relations between the two Kings, for an object which in greatness and importance has had no equal in the world's annals. He expressed Charles II's determination to be reconciled with the Catholic Church; and to carry out this, he requested the help of the most Christian King, which was at first to consist in supplies of money. Charles II let him know that to provide against every possible danger, he was fortifying his most important towns, as for instance Portsmouth and Chatham, for naval purposes. In the main everything seemed to him to depend on securing from all anxiety the possessors of church lands, the reclamation of which was dreaded now, as it had been in the time of Mary Tudor. He expected the countenance of the Presbyterians and Dissenters, to whom the Anglican Church was more odious than the Catholic. And even amongst the Anglicans, at least so says the Duke of York, there were many who were inclined to Catholicism, so that the resistance would not be too formidable.

In the fortresses of Scotland, as well as in those of England, Catholic or other trusted commanders were placed. The Irish troops were also counted on; for Ormond, though Protestant, was too loyal to resist, and should he do so, the Earl of Orrery would put himself at their head. Charles II made no secret

---

[1] James II's notes, in Macpherson i. 48.

of the fact that it was not only his conscience which drove him to this step; he said, his kingdom was in such confusion that he saw no other escape[1].

The negotiations in detail are hard to ascertain. They were carried on by word of mouth, or the letters to which they were committed have been burnt. They could not encounter great difficulties, for the French court did not deceive itself as to the enmity of the zealous Protestants. We have a letter of assent from Louis XIV (June 1669), with which he dismissed Arundel. Upon this, not exactly to Charles II's liking, the new French ambassador, Colbert Croissy, was first admitted into the secret[2]. Moreover, in consequence of this, the negotiations also about an alliance against Holland were taken up again; the schemes, although different in themselves, had yet a like aim, which afforded a common ground. The two Princes united in the closest friendship; with common forces they desired to re-establish the Catholic Church in England, and to destroy the Republic, which was hateful to them both alike.

It was and remained the presumption that Louis XIV should undertake nothing against Spain, and that Charles II should not be obliged to withdraw from the Triple Alliance. Only this was not to extend to future cases, especially not to the case of the vacancy of the Spanish crown. Charles II acknowledged expressly that the King of France was not bound by the renunciation made by his wife; he even promised his co-operation for the establishment of her claims, and only sought to secure for himself a corresponding share of the profits. As usual he kept in view the consequent extension of his position at sea. The nations of South America must be made to submit to him[3]; he was to receive Minorca and Ostend.

---

[1] Whitehall, June 6, 1669, in Dalrymple 27. I have looked through the correspondence of St. Albans in these years in the State Paper Office; so far as I can understand allusions, which are often obscure, it contains nothing of importance.

[2] In his despatch there is the tiresome note, 'Le mémoire (d'Arundel) et la lettre de M. Lionne manquent.'

[3] 'S. M. T. Ch. promet, les droits sur la monarchie d'Espagne lui étant échus, d'assister le roi de la Gr. Brgne. à se rendre maitre des contrées et places en Amérique.'

The execution of these agreements lay in the far distance; in immediate proximity on the other hand stood the war with Holland and the declaration of Catholicism.

Quite at the beginning, Colbert Croissy made a remark very much to the point on this subject. The declaration of Catholicism would, he said, if it came first, cause so great an excitement in England and in the whole Protestant world, that the war with Holland would scarcely be any longer possible. Far better begin with the war against Holland; for as the nation was injured in her East Indian trade by the Republic, it would be easy to excite her jealousy, she would grant considerable subsidies for the war; at the same time, with help from France, the King would become strong enough for his undertaking, and then also with greater security might advance to the change of religion. The war would afford him opportunity for employing elsewhere such troops as he could not rely on, and for surrounding himself only with those on whom he could most entirely depend, and at the same time also would provide him with an excuse for fresh levies: then, were he well armed by sea and land, and had he at the same time the help of the King of France on his side, no one would dare to take his declaration as an occasion for rebellion; as he would be engaged in war with the Republic, he might punish every kind of intercourse with it as high treason.

Upon King Charles this proposal, which ultimately decided the whole character of the undertaking, made at the first moment a great impression; but he still reserved for himself the right of accepting or rejecting it.

But still another important point, concerning the conditions under which Charles would be willing to undertake the war, remained for discussion. He demanded that in war, as well as in peace, regard should be had for the Prince of Orange. Further he came forward with the idea, with which he had previously begun the first war, of acquiring a firm position in the United Provinces; he claimed as a condition the cession of Walcheren, Sluys and Cadsand to the English crown. But principally he demanded, for he would not endure dependence upon Parliament, very considerable subsidies. Colbert says that when he heard the sum, £800,000, he was thunderstruck, and gave up all hope of bringing the matter to a conclusion. Louis XIV answered, that was to offer an alliance and then refuse to enter into it. After long negotiation he at length consented to allow thirty French men-of-war to join fifty English, and also to pay £300,000 as well. In return for this concession he reserved to himself the power to fix, according to his own discretion, the time when war should be declared, for he wished to provide on all sides for the great undertaking so well as to ensure its success.

In this negotiation, which was carried on in the deepest secrecy, no one took a more active part than the daughter of Queen Henrietta Maria (who had died a year before), Henrietta Anne of England, Duchess of Orleans: she was so far more fortunate than her mother had been, that she possessed to a much greater extent the confidence of Charles II. She is the child who came into the world at Exeter, just as her father's fortunes took an unlucky turn; after adventures and dangers of every kind she was carried safely to France; there she shared her mother's exile, who though in the neighbourhood of the court still led a private life with limited means, till after a short visit to England she was married to the brother of Louis XIV, Duke Philip of Orleans: she was young, beautiful, and charming, a little delicate, but full of intelligence; what gave her life colour is not so much a passion of the kind then fashionable at both courts[1], as her ambition to play a part in politics, and to maintain a good understanding between France and England. Her brother Charles perhaps devoted to no other human being a more real and disinterested affection than to his sister; Louis XIV liked her society. Her consideration at the French court rose or fell according to the degree of the understanding between the two kings. On this understanding it seemed to her that the welfare of both, even the eternal salvation of her brother, depended. For nothing had been more deeply impressed upon her by the Capuchin, who instructed her in religion, than that the Catholic Church was the sole way to salvation; from this point of view, he represented to her even her exile as fortunate for her soul[1]. She lived and moved in the Catholic sentiments which then prevailed; with joy she welcomed the thought that both her brothers were willing at last to declare themselves Catholics, as indeed her mother had always wished. She hated Holland as the principal seat of Protestantism, and she hated its dominant aristocracy, which was wronging her nephew, the Prince of Orange. It caused her infinite satisfaction, that she was the means of bringing about the alliance in favour of Catholicism and of the Dutch war. To her the first overtures were made; it was she who received and looked after the answers; even about money matters and the inmost details of business, memoranda went to her; she removed the final difficulties. As Charles II had already long ago expressed the wish to receive a visit from her, without any political object at all, it can easily be understood that she cordially assented, so as to finish in England the work she had begun in France. But her husband was not inclined to give his consent; doubtless from jealousy, but of a kind which is by no means the most common[2]. Duke Philip of Orleans knew the object of the negotiations which were being carried on, though he did not quite see through them. He thought that the honour of mediating between the two great powers was due to himself. But in general from many other causes, and especially through the fault of the favourite who ruled the Duke, the husband and wife stood on bad terms; Charles II had on one occasion been obliged to recommend his sister to the protection of Louis XIV, and when a breach actually occurred, had much difficulty in prevailing on his brother-in-law to be reconciled to his wife, and to return to the court which he had forsaken. The authority of Louis XIV, and the pressing intercession of Colbert the minister, induced the Duke at last to give his consent, but then only for a journey to Dover and for a limited time. He refused with stiffnecked obstinacy to allow his wife to go to London, nay even to Canterbury[1].

---

[1] So at least might be inferred from the following sentence out of a letter of her brother's to her: 'If you were as well acquainted with a little fantasticall gentleman called Cupide as I am, you would not wonder.' Dalrymple ii. 6. Madame La Fayette indeed says that she learnt something very different from her.

On May 16/26, 1670, the Duchess reached Dover: the King received her with all the devotion which he felt. Just then it was remarked that she had more power over him than any one else in the world; it was said that she would govern England, if only she stayed by his side. Through her influence the stipulations were signed, and the King was induced to promise that they should be ratified within a month. There were present also Queen Catherine, the Duchess of York, Buckingham and Arlington, whose discord, though again highly inflamed, she knew how to allay. Last of all appeared the Duke of York, who however was not satisfied by the course affairs took under his sister's influence. He desired nothing but that the King should publicly go over to Catholicism; from the war against Holland he foresaw complications with Parliament similar to those in the last war.

Still things were not all arranged when the Duchess again left her brother. She undertook to bring about the accomplishment of the treaties as well as their conclusion. Charles II had once more recommended her, in the most urgent manner, to the favour of Louis XIV; a stipulation was under consideration for the purpose of prevailing on her husband to treat her well for the future, by joining to a subsidy to be granted to him the condition that no breach should occur between him and his wife. She seemed still to have a happy future before her; the homage offered her was due rather to her personal qualities than to her rank. She is renowned for the gift of interesting in herself and her doings any one upon whom she deigned to bestow her

---

[1] Notes of the Father Cyprian Gamaches, Court and Times of Charles I, ii. 412.

[2] Louis XIV to Colbert, March 29: 'Comme ma sœur en diverses rencontres a parlé à mon frère de la substance de notre negociation, hors du point le plus secret, il a commis son honneur à ne permettre pas que sa femme en reportast tout l'honneur.' He would at least have wished to accompany her, which Charles II declined.

---

[1] Colbert, May 27. Madame tells him, 'qu'elle ne pouvoit pour quelque raison, que ce peut être, passer Douvres, soit pour aller à Londres ou seulement à Canterbury.—Mme. est en parfaite santé.'

attention: to the enjoyment of youth, beauty, and a high social position, there was added a political importance which according to all appearance must endure. She had succeeded in uniting the houses of Stuart and Bourbon in a common political and religious interest; already a paper of cyphers for future correspondence was on the way to her, when, scarcely a week after her return from England, she died in the château of St. Cloud, after a few hours' violent illness.

She had just attained the ideal object of her life; but what a state of things surrounded her! She was not yet dead when her husband hurried to her rooms to put himself in possession of all her letters, which had been kept secret from him; she herself only thought of her brother, for whose sake alone she regretted not living longer; she thought she had been poisoned, and that by her husband's favourite, the Chevalier of Lorraine. The French maintained that by an unseasonable bath in a river, she had brought upon herself a most virulent attack of cholera. The result of the dissection seems to confirm this; even in England it allayed the suspicions that had been at first awakened [1].

This was a catastrophe of inauspicious omen for the result of the projected intimate alliance.

From a personal and dynastic point of view this alliance might be justified; to the nature of things in general it was entirely opposed. How was France, which had just entered on the epoch in which the renovated Catholic system became completely predominant, to unite with England, where the Protestant idea had taken possession of men's minds, and all the more because it was expressed in the most varied forms? How could a despotic crown, which possessed the most absolute authority over all the institutions of the state, join with one established to carry out the system of parliamentary government; and a power which itself threatened by its establishment the independence of the European states and kingdoms, with one whose task it had been from all times to maintain the Balance of Power on the Continent?

In one of its most essential points the treaty could not be confided even to one, who had hitherto been the most confidential of the King's counsellors, the Duke of Buckingham. He had always wished for, and in fact first suggested, a political alliance with France; and only of this was he informed. It is very curious to see how he imagined that he was proceeding with perfect freedom and independence in the matter, whilst the most important point had been arranged long before. Of something however he was informed; to the acquisitions which England was to make, Goree and Voorne were to be added, so as to include the most important of the outlying islands on either side of Zealand. The subsidy of £200,000, promised for the declaration of Catholicism, was silently added to the £300,000 granted for the war. This treaty was discussed by Buckingham, Lauderdale, and Ashley Cooper, under the supposition that no other existed. Next to them Clifford and Arlington signed; they alone were initiated into the Catholicising schemes.

To what extent not only these schemes, but every inclination towards the Catholics, every relation with them, was treated as a personal secret, is clearly seen in the account of a visit paid by the Papal Nuncio at Brussels to Whitehall in November, 1670 [2]. By the Venetian ambassador he was introduced to Arlington, whom they found in his office; it is characteristic how he procured them an audience with the King. He led them into his sitting-room, and first of all locked the doors with the joking remark, that now they were his prisoners; then he went up a secret flight of stairs to the upper apartments, from which he conducted the King, carrying the light before him: they stepped softly so as to

---

[1] Letter of Lyonne in Mignet. A doubt might be raised by a letter of Temple's to Arlington (the Hague, July 15) in which he remarks that the suspicion had again increased there, 'after so general a possession, which has been much increased by the Princess Dowager's curiosity, to ask her physician's opinions upon the relation transmitted hither to one of them from his brother, who is the Dutch secretary at Paris, and pretends it came from Dr. Chamberlain, though something different from what he transmitted into England.' To pronounce a medical opinion, this contrary statement ought to be seen.

[2] Relatione dello stato, nel quale era la religione cattolica in Inghilterra l'ao 1670, fatta da Mons. Airoldi internuncio apostolico in Brusselles. Corsini Library at Rome; dated Brussels, 19th November, 1670.

awaken no suspicion. After the first greetings, in which the King inquired after the health of Pope Clement IX, the conversation turned on the condition of the Catholics. The King said that he had always found the Catholics faithful, and, if he showed them favour, he expected to find them still more so in the future. The Nuncio protested, that from Rome the Catholics were imbued with no other thoughts than those of the deepest devotion to the King; if it sometimes happened that some priest or another behaved himself thoughtlessly and insubordinately, or went too far, that only arose from the fact that there was no superior in England to keep them within bounds. The King rejoined that in such a case he helped himself, by having priests of this kind sent out of the country without further ado. Whilst they spoke, the Venetian ambassador remained at a respectful distance. After some time the Duke of York entered also, having come down the same staircase; but his remarks turned only upon indifferent generalities. The Duke had not at that time as yet gone over; he is only represented as inclined towards the Catholics. The most decided sympathy for them was shown by the Duchess, whose conversion was completed before the end of the year. About the consultations with France, as may easily be understood, not the slightest mention could be made to the Nuncio.

CHAPTER VII.

PARLIAMENTARY SESSIONS FROM 1669 TO 1671.

WHILST this union with the Catholic world and the negotiations with France, which were as much religious as political, were being arranged and furthered through strange gradations of secrecy, the question about the dissolution of Parliament had been once more discussed in the Privy Council. Buckingham and the two Secretaries of State, Arlington and Trevor, were in favour of it; Albemarle, the Duke of York, and the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, were opposed to it. Bridgeman demonstrated that, in spite of all the promises of the Dissenters, a Parliament in which they had the majority offered no security either for the crown or for the peace of the country. This opinion was also shared by the King, who now already conceived the hope of approaching the matter better at some other time, after the conclusion of the agreement with France. As he now stood on better terms with his brother, he hoped to moderate the opposition by a personal understanding with its leaders. He entered into a formal negotiation with them, which was concerned principally with two points; on his side, that he should desist from his alliance with the Dissenters, on the side of the Parliament, that it should make an arrangement for the payment of the King's debts, and above all that it should not proceed to those direct attacks on the ministers which it had so long and so seriously threatened. The King took them under his protection, for he was himself insulted if those to whom he gave his confidence were attacked[1]. He did not neglect, by the distribution of offices, pensions, and other favours, as far as the power of the crown extended, to strengthen the court's party.

On the 19th October, 1669, the ninth session of the second Parliament of Charles II was opened.

The King this time made no mention of Comprehension; on the contrary, he issued proclamations against the Nonconformists, for which the two Houses thanked him; on the other hand, Parliament also did not proceed to an impeachment of the ruling ministers. On the whole however it did not show itself very tractable. The inquiry about the former administration was again taken up most actively. G. Carteret, who could not deny that as Treasurer to the Admiralty he had conducted the expenditure in a manner to which he had not been entirely authorised, was subjected to a trial in the Lower House, of which he was a member, which ended in his suspension from taking part in its sittings. He still was one of Clarendon's adherents who on their side took his part; it was only very small majorities which on the different points gave the decision against him. The suspension was only pronounced by a majority of three votes (100 against 97).

A similar fluctuation was also noticeable in the matter of the opposition between Ormond and his rival Orrery, who had also come to England, and who, advanced by Buckingham and in favour with the King, began to play a great part. Ormond had at last lost his high office in Ireland. It was intended to subject him to parliamentary impeachment, on account of the arbitrary actions of which he was accused. The Clarendon party was still strong enough to prevent it; on the other hand, Orrery was placed in the position of having to defend himself before Parliament for some despotic acts which he had committed, and some thoughtless words. Hardly recovered from the gout, he presented himself for this purpose, on December 1st, at the bar of the House. There were many who were not satisfied by his answers; but he also had a numerous party on his side, who proposed to transfer his case to the ordinary court of justice, the King's Bench; for this at last a small majority was gained; it amounted also only to three votes[1].

Still some occasions occurred in which there was decided unanimity. It was alleged as a crime against the Nonconformists that they sought to dissolve Parliament and to change the government. The resolution was passed to support the King against all opponents in the maintenance of the government in Church and State as then established—a resolution which obviously expressed the sense rather of the House than of the King himself. In the question of subsidies, only the unsatisfactory decision was come to, that the grant should not amount to more than £400,000, and should be drawn neither from the excise nor from the land-tax. That however was of little use to the King. On the 11th December, the day after Carteret's exclusion, he prorogued the session till February, in the undisguised expectation that by that time many of his supporters who were still missing might have arrived, and that the general temper might have changed.

Just then a change had taken place in the Scottish Parliament, which strengthened him in this hope.

In Scotland the motives, actions and results which appear in England are repeated; but they always stand out more sharply and decidedly.

The sympathies of the Dissenters with the Dutch, which in England were only conjectured, appeared quite openly in Scotland. By means of secret and ambiguous influences from abroad[2], in November 1666 a rising of the most active

---

[1] Colbert Croissy, 18th August, 1669: 'Il espère aussi les porter à lui complaire dans tous les autres points qui regardent l'affermissement de son autorité et l'avantage de sa couronne.'

[1] Journals, 1st December; 'to be persecuted at law;' explained in the Debates 201: 'to the King's Bench.' It is justly said, 'the charge had not been brought against Lord Orrery, if one had been brought against Lord Ormond.'

[2] It is a curious coincidence that at that time a preacher, Gabriel Semple, had by means of his sermons a great share in the first consolidation of the rebellion in Galloway (Woodrow, who speaks of him at length, iii. 267, passes rapidly over the youth of this 'goodman'), and that we read in the report of a French emissary, Mr. de Rethreford (Rutherford?) the following remark: 'Il y a été bien des gens, qui n'estoient pas ce qu'ils professoient; parmi eux il a été un Jésuite de Douay Escossais de nation, qui a été là en qualité de Puritain, et passa sous le nom de goodman: son nom est Semple.' Was Gabriel Semple really a disguised Jesuit? Or is it a Will-o'-the-wisp which teases us?

Presbyterians had taken place. The Covenant was once more proclaimed in Lanark: but government was better equipped than the insurgents; they were immediately dispersed without difficulty on the Pentland Hills. Hereupon the reaction sprang up with corresponding energy. Amongst the nobility and the episcopal clergy, who here also were united in the closest manner, the resolution was taken, not only to demand the abjuration of the Covenant from the ministers and officials, but to make it a universal law for the country. But at and after the fall of Lord Clarendon the government of Charles II, in Scotland as well as in England, withdrew a step from the system hitherto pursued; the assembled troops were dismissed; on the rebels, only the obligation of keeping the peace was imposed. The man who conducted Scottish affairs as secretary, John Maitland, Lord Lauderdale, was more entirely at one with the King than any of the English ministers, in the object of rendering possible for the crown a freer action than was permitted by the preponderance of the episcopal system. What was avoided in England occurred in Scotland: in June 1669 a royal decree was published, signed by Lauderdale, in consequence of which a large number of Presbyterian ministers, who had been expelled from their posts, were restored. And during the impression made by this decree, the elections to Parliament were actively undertaken in Scotland, where there was no republican tendency to be feared; the opposition of parties, neither of which carried away the entire victory, procured for the government a preponderance over both. Lauderdale went himself to Edinburgh as royal commissioner, and opened the session on the same day on which it was opened in England. We saw how doubtful everything remained at Westminster; in Edinburgh Lauderdale had a complete success. He calmed the Presbyterians, but at the same time avoided exciting the antipathy of the prelates and of their party. He found a hearing in the whole nation, because he brought into consideration the idea of a union with England, which was eagerly desired by the Scots, because it comprised an equal share in trade also. In this way he was enabled to carry resolutions, such as could hardly have been expected as yet. A recognition of the royal supremacy was carried through, which gave to the crown an almost absolute authority over the church. In it the organisation of the external government of the church was granted to the King and his successors, as a right inherent in the crown, and indeed to such an extent that, without exciting opposition, it comprised the dispensing power: the Parliament did not hesitate to declare the right of calling out the militia also to be inherent in the crown; it promised that 20,000 armed men should stand at the disposal of the King when and where he desired.

That all this together was calculated to make in England also an impression favourable to the King, there can be no doubt: Lord Lauderdale, before he went to Scotland, said so expressly. It was intentional that, in the Scottish act about the militia, Charles II was also styled King of England. The English pretended to laugh at it, for in battle with the Scots they had till now always remained victorious. Still it was disagreeable to them to see the King assured of an auxiliary force which was independent of them, and might possibly be directed against themselves. Of the nature of the negotiation with France no one had any information or even suspicion; but a rumour that an alliance was being formed could not but spread abroad, and contributed to weaken the confidence of Parliament and to strengthen the courage of the King.

At the opening of the tenth session of this Parliament, February 4, Charles II appeared with the pomp of a military retinue, and expressed himself with unusual self-confidence. He had during the recess taken under his own supervision the inspection of the accounts, about which there had been so much complaint, and in so doing had called to account rather the Parliamentary commissioners[1] than the officials concerned. He declared that he had personally examined the papers, and had convinced himself that not only the subsidies granted by Parliament, but in addition a large part of his other revenues, had been expended on the war. How entirely was this opposed to the claim of Parliament to control the administration! The King opposed it with the assertion of his absolute power over public officials.

---

[1] Ralph gives a memorial presented by them in which they seek to justify themselves as to their intentions. Privately the King says, 'Que l'accusation contre Mr. Carteret et autres est un pur effet de l'envie de ceux, qui veulent avoir leurs charges.'

In their former conferences the members of the opposition, which was led by Robert Howard, who was held by his adherents to be the ablest man in the English kingdom, had discussed and come to an understanding as to the principal points at dispute; at the next impending debate about the subsidies, which the King demanded with great emphasis, it must be proved whether they were still masters. Their first motion was weaker than was expected, as its only object was to put off altogether the debate on the King's speech; they seemed to wish above all to gain time. The proposal was rejected by a small majority: they came forward with a second, still to put off at least the discussion about the subsidies, but that was also rejected. On February 18 they had already got so far as a debate about supplies, which must be decisive in the existing situation; Arlington said it was the day of the great crisis. In the existing position of parties, it was at the same time a decision about external affairs. The House resolved itself into committee: after a lively contest it was decided by a majority, which had already increased to thirty-seven votes, to grant subsidies to the King. It was counted as a great victory that a fixed sum, not to be exceeded, was not again voted, but that a tax was established out of which the necessary supply was to come; it was a wine-tax for seven years, which it was calculated would bring in annually about £300,000.

The King had conquered once more, and was in consequence happy. He expressed his gratitude to the friends who had supported him, being well-satisfied that now there was no need for a dissolution of Parliament.

Another source of revenue also, which might be made very lucrative, was put in his power; it was the sale of his feudal estates. He also succeeded in allaying by his word a dispute between the two Houses, which already in the last session had led to the most violent contests. In one point only he failed. In the discussion about a rigorous bill against the Dissenters, a clause was proposed for the extension of the supremacy in England as had been done in Scotland. It contained a reservation of all the rights and prerogatives which the King had ever asserted. This clause was rejected, for it would render doubtful the laws upon which the constitution of the state depended, even the Magna Charta itself. On the other hand, the Conventicle Bill, which forbade all meetings of the Dissenters under penalty of heavy fines, was passed. This indicates once more the perfect understanding between Church and Parliament, on which the condition of the kingdom in general depended; opposition was made to the extension of the royal prerogative and the consequent favour shown to the Dissenters. But what else could have been expected? No serious disputes were occasioned either by this or even by foreign affairs.

Parliament was in favour of the Triple Alliance, and would gladly have seen the proposal to include the Emperor, on the condition of the mutual defence of all parties concerned, agreed to. Some weight was attached on the other hand to the representations of the ministers that the King might in consequence be easily drawn into remote complications. They were very careful not to say anything against the Triple Alliance, which indeed was retained in the secret agreements with France, and also not to injure the interests of Spain, with whom so profitable a treaty had just been concluded; they respected the sympathies of the nation which inclined in that direction; though they refused to extend the alliance, no one would have been able to foresee from their expressions an impending change of policy.

At the re-opening of Parliament, which this time was only adjourned, on October 24, 1670, the contradiction between what was intended and what was said appeared in an ambiguity that could no longer be disguised. Lord Keeper Bridgeman praised the Triple Alliance, and made mention of the further treaties for the benefit of trade and the marine, which were already conducted or still being negotiated. At the same time he referred to the advance of the naval power not only of Holland but also of France. From the necessity of keeping pace with these powers, and of fulfilling the obligations entered upon, he drew the conclusion that England must be better equipped at sea, and demanded subsidies in order that she might appear next year on the sea with a powerful fleet.

This doubtless was the fleet with which it was intended, according to the treaty with France, to attack the Republic of Holland; for it was at that time the intention of the English ministry to begin the war in the spring of 1671. But Lord Keeper Bridgeman was ignorant of this intention. He had been for some months excluded from the committee for foreign affairs, and might be of opinion that the policy still prevailed, in the formation of which, at the time of the introduction of the Triple Alliance, he himself had assisted. He expressed himself with all the greater caution: Parliament, which on its side was still as well disposed as it had been in the last session, passed unanimously the resolution to support the King according to prevailing circumstances; or, as the phrase runs, 'proportionable to his present occasions.' The proposal was made, that the subsidies should be appropriated expressly to the object of maintaining the Triple Alliance; but against this it was urged that this restriction would, as far as the King was concerned, have a hateful sound [1], and the formula was thought sufficient, that the continuation of the policy introduced by the Triple Alliance was expected. This might be explained in many ways, but however explained no one could have a suspicion that the ships which were being built were to serve against Holland, with whom an alliance had just been concluded. Parliament and ministers move side by side as yet without quarrel; they even still sometimes act together, but in so doing they follow opposite directions.

Sometimes the temper of Parliament seemed so favourable that Arlington formed the hope of winning it over to a union with France, and even to the idea of Catholicism; but when these points were once seriously touched upon, it became evident that that would never be attained.

---

[1] 'La restriction parut odieuse et désavantageuse au roi et à son royaume,' as Colbert expresses himself in his despatch.

By the occupation of Lorraine (September 1670) Louis XIV had especially excited all old anxieties about his encroachments; the Dutch, who affirmed the necessity for an extension of the Triple Alliance[1], found a hearing with Parliament; even in the debates about the subsidies there was already shown, as soon as taxation of French products was approached, an especial disaffection towards France; no minister would have dared to confess that he was on good terms with that power.

And still more strongly, almost in the feeling of the old Elizabethan times, was the aversion to the Catholics expressed. Complaints arose about the increase of the Catholic chapels and places of worship, about the great number of priests and Jesuits in London and the counties, their convents, fraternities, schools, the spread of their religious books and the favour shown to recusants; the King was called upon, in an elaborate and urgent address, to put an end to these evils. The appearance, in Ireland at least, of Anglican bishops side by side with Roman Catholic bishops produced a great impression. Father Talbot was consecrated archbishop of Dublin, and was accompanied thither, and received there, with all the reverence due to this dignity. From the Irish Catholics arose again the bitterest complaints about the injustice done them by the new regulations, and with the ministers, especially with Buckingham, they found a hearing; but as that was ascribed to his old hostility against Ormond, Ormond's party (which was the old Clarendon party) set itself with the greatest energy in opposition: in this matter it had on its side the majority of the House of Commons, which was already influenced by the renewed oppression of the reformed Churches in France.

Nobody would be deceived on the point; the least suspicion of the Catholic scheme would have kindled Parliament into a blaze. Arlington also and the zealous Catholics, who had wished at first that the declaration of Catholicism should precede the war against Holland, now acknowledged that this was impossible. In February 1671 Arlington confessed to the French ambassador, that the King could not think of that declaration, if he had not first found an opportunity in the war of providing himself with good troops and fortifying his strong places.

---

[1] 'Qu'il était de la dernière importance pour le bien des deux nations d'estendre la triple ligue et d'estre prêt à s'entresecourir.'

In April 1671 Parliament was again adjourned, and indeed for a whole year, till April 1672; time was wanted to carry out in the meanwhile the great stroke which was projected.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SECOND WAR AGAINST HOLLAND, 1672.

THE expression 'Cabal ministry,' which is used in English history only with hatred and contempt, is not quite intelligible. The five men, the initial letters of whose titles formed this name, were only a commission for foreign affairs, from which the members of the Privy Council, who at other times were admitted to consult about these affairs, were at this time excluded. Their common action consisted in regularly meeting to take measures for carrying out the French treaty which they had concluded, and in being in the King's confidence on that point. Amongst themselves they were very different.

Thomas Clifford must be looked upon as the soul of the Catholic project. The names of his forefathers appear from the time of the Conquest, fighting for the King against Wales, Scotland, and France; similarly Hugh Clifford of Ugbrooke, who belonged to the younger and less wealthy line, took part in Charles I's war against the Scots in the year 1639, as commander of a foot regiment; he died of an illness which he then contracted. His son was Thomas, who already had made himself remarkable at the University by a fiery insubordination of conduct and even of mind; and afterwards in Parliament, where he represented Totnes, he introduced the knightly spirit, with which he was filled, into civil affairs as well. He spoke well and made an impression. His personal consideration was increased by the bravery he showed in the naval war against Holland; this paved his way to the Privy Council; at least this motive was brought forward in the Gazette which announced his elevation[1]. Still it was not to the Anglican party that he attached himself; Clifford was one of the most zealous Catholics at court; only in the combination of religious freedom and royal despotism did he see salvation for the state. He thought that the King fulfilled the obligations of his office, if he procured right and justice for his subjects; by other parliamentary laws he was not bound; especially was it one of his duties to care for the freedom of conscience of the different creeds. In this he agreed with the secret intentions of the King, who took pleasure in his spirit and in his bold partisanship, and on Arlington's recommendation advanced him from post to post in his household. Clifford had not great means; he was therefore esteemed all the more highly because in money transactions he kept his hands clean; he was passionate and inconsiderate, but good-natured, amiable, a true friend[2]; and if he cared for the chase above all things, he still showed himself receptive of the literary and social culture of the time; we hear of literary societies which met at his house. His horoscope had been drawn, and foretold him fortune and power, but an early end: he accepted both, if only he could again make way for Catholicism. He was most closely united with the Duke of York; like him he abhorred the Triple Alliance, and generally all connexion with the Republic, about whose leaders he spoke with insolent contempt. He was present at the first consultation in which the declaration of Catholicism was decided upon. He also had at first thought that it would suffice for that purpose, if the King kept London and the country in order by some new fortifications, and quietly increased his troops; then no one would dare to move: but sooner even than the Duke of York himself, he went over to the opinion that the war against Holland must precede the declaration of Catholicism.

Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, who promoted this nobleman of ancient stock, was himself a citizen by birth; he is said to have been originally destined to be vicar of the small place from which he afterwards took his feudal title[1]. But the royalist impulse which seized the youth of Oxford, when Charles I stayed there, led him to take arms; he was wounded; a deep scar which he carried on his face daily reminded the prince, whose exile he shared, of his determined loyalty. He had been drawn into politics by the Earl of Bristol, and like him had gone over to Catholicism; but he never showed himself very zealous in his religion; he sought above all to show his gratitude to the King, who had not been able, without difficulty and expense, to make a vacancy in the office of secretary of state, which he wished to give him. Arlington was one of the ministers of the old stamp, whose chief object was to serve their prince, to give him counsels according to the state of affairs, and then to carry out his commands. He was thought to be Dutch or Spanish in his sympathies, but he took without hesitation the French side when the King inclined that way. We find him changing as all the complications of the time and of its politics changed, doing so definitely, prudently, and with good sense[2]. He differed from Clarendon in this, that he promoted others more disinterestedly, which, as in Clifford's case, was of use to him afterwards. To maintain himself in a position of authority and activity, in the midst of all the powerful persons at court and in the state, in church, and in parliament, amongst all the manifold influences brought to bear upon the King, required no less flexibility and tenacious cleverness than did the conduct of foreign affairs. Arlington was regarded as the man in England who least overstepped the line of good conduct. He possessed the culture of European society of that time; by the excesses which were in fashion at the court he was little affected; his hours of leisure he dedicated to the study of the literary products of that fruitful age. One passion he did

---

[1] 'He had made it his choice to take the share in the warmest part.' Lodge, Portraits v. 258.

[2] 'A valiant, incorrupt gentleman, ambitious, not covetous, generous, passionate, a most constant, sincere friend.' Evelyn, Diary, ii. 86.

---

[1] Evelyn's Diary ii. 114.

[2] Mocenigo: 'Conoscendo con sua rafinata prudenza l'inconstanza del paese, quanto è maturo nel consultare, tanto è lento nell' essecutione caminando con passi dubiosi in tutti li negozi.'

feel—that was for building. He and his wife, who was related to the house of Orange, wished to have everything around them not only good and comfortable, but also rich, magnificent and princely. The foreign ambassadors found themselves in good quarters at his house.

With the repose and circumspection which characterised Arlington, it would be interesting to know more of his opinion about the return to Catholicism than can be discovered with certainty. It may be believed without hesitation that he remained stedfast to that scheme, which had been worked out a few years before. An understanding with the Roman see must necessarily come first, and Louis XIV wished to take this upon himself; he proposed to the English that a French bishop, whom he was just sending to Rome, should be entrusted with the matter. Arlington thought it would be necessary in that case to join with him at least one well instructed English divine. In conversation he suggested three conditions: the security of the appropriated ecclesiastical estates, the cup for the laity, and the introduction of English hymns at mass. Charles II besought the King of France to send him a learned theologian, who was however also to know something about physical science, so that he might see him without difficulty. Above all the man must be familiar with the Fathers and the Councils, so as to do away the scruples which he still felt on the controverted points. It is evident the matter was seriously meant, but it was still far from being settled. The Duke of York, who since the death of his wife, who had died in the Catholic faith, had gone on increasing in zeal, appeared occasionally very impatient. Arlington remarked, that even if the King were just as zealous in the matters of religion as the Duke, which was far from being the case, he still would not dare to advance a step before he had armed and had taken the necessary measures against such a rising as might be expected. He was astonished to find the Catholics weaker, especially in serviceable men and good heads, than he had expected[1]. On the other hand the Protestant animosity grew

from day to day. When the French ambassador spoke of the matter, Arlington told him with great decision that it would be rash to step forward with the declaration of Catholicism, before the war with Holland had begun, and before the King on this pretext had fortified his strongholds, and provided himself with good troops[1]. It was the original opinion of Colbert himself, to which now Arundel and Clifford, as well as Arlington, and at last the Duke, agreed.

Buckingham still fluctuated as before, between friendship and antagonism for Arlington. But he was no longer the centre of all affairs. To expel him from that prominent position had perhaps been an ulterior object with Arlington, when he took the Catholic project in hand; for he thereby in the chief matter got the better of his old rival, who was not informed of it. After the death of the Duchess of Orleans, Buckingham had undertaken an embassy of condolence to France. The honours which Louis XIV offered him, he had eagerly snatched at; he considered himself the principal mediator of the alliance between the two courts, of whose ultimate object he was however ignorant; in this light he was also regarded on his return to England; people thought him bribed by France, as the Chancellor had formerly been[2]. He endeavoured to dispel this rumour, and was even heard to declaim against France. Indeed he took up the war against Holland, by preference, as an English war: France was not by any means to be regarded as the principal power to whom help was to be given. Especially he remained stedfast to his intention, on which he was very seriously bent, of freeing the Dissenters from the yoke which the Anglican Church had laid upon them[3].

To aid in this attempt especially, Ashley Cooper, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, attached himself to him; he

---

[1] Letter of Feb. 28: 'Que les catholiques étoient plus faibles et en nombre d'hommes et en bonnes testes et gens dont on se puisse servir, qu'aucune autre secte.'

---

[1] 'Qu'on ne pouvoit plus avec prudence songer à cette affaire, qu'après que l'Angleterre seroit entrée en guerre avec la Hollande, et que le roi son maître sous ce prétexte auroit de bonnes troupes sur le pied et ses places bien fortifiées.'

[2] Airoldi: 'Il popolo odiando il nome, non che la natione francese, crede alle prime impressioni che formo il grido publico, che egli era guadagnato dalla Francia.'

[3] Compare his speech about tolerance in the year 1675.

had himself within the last few years written a treatise on tolerance[1]. It was the great idea, which immediately sprang up, as soon as a state church with extensive and exclusive rights was established. It is in this sense that, in combination with his friend John Locke, he designed in the year 1670 the constitution of Carolina, in which toleration occupied an important place: Shaftesbury was one of the eight Englishmen to whom the colony was granted. It was part of the nature of this statesman, whose character appears only later in its full light, that he seized the ideas which had the greatest future; hence his versatility and gradual rise. As tolerance then appeared, it had a very monarchical and at the same time a highly popular appearance; it depended only on the connivance of the King, and might yet procure for him who defended it an influential patronage in the capital, where the Nonconformists were in great force. They held at that time meetings, at which sometimes 1000, sometimes even 2000 citizens were present. Out of consideration for the King, the magistrates of the towns allowed this to take place. Richard Ford, Lord Mayor of London, though a zealous Anglican, did not think it wise to take steps against it.

Lauderdale also agreed to this; he had already carried out analogous changes in Scotland, and was in correspondence with the Presbyterians in England about the further extension of these changes. He was one of the most learned ministers who have ever lived, perfectly acquainted with, and clearly determined about all questions of religious politics which came up, absolutely devoted to the King, to whom he had attached himself simply because he deviated from his father's system, otherwise rough and domineering to every one, obstinate in his views; he was a man of a disagreeable appearance,—his red hair hanging in disorder over his forehead.

These five men agreed in wishing to strengthen the royal prerogative by moderating the uniformity laws, with the help of France, and during the excitement caused by a foreign war; but otherwise they were attached to widely different

---

[1] Life of Locke, Works i. 7.

principles. Lauderdale was a Presbyterian, Ashley Cooper a philosopher, Buckingham, if he had any opinions at all, an Independent, Arlington a moderate Catholic, Clifford a zealous one. Only the two last were in possession of the secret; the three others were all the more securely excluded from it, because they had been initiated into a part of it, and thought they knew the whole. With the idea of restoring Catholicism were united in the minds of its champions the most extensive schemes against Parliament. The Duke of York spoke out without reserve that the war must be carried on without parliamentary help; Parliament must only be summoned again, when the war had been successfully finished, and Catholicism had been declared, when it had become possible to acquire by force what could not be acquired amicably. In his eagerness he even hinted, that it would not be possible for a king and a parliament to exist any longer in England side by side[1]. That Buckingham and Ashley Cooper agreed in intentions of this kind cannot be supposed; their position depended entirely on Parliament, for they were powerful in its assemblies, the one by his personal influence, the other by his eloquence. Of Lauderdale that could not be so unequivocally asserted. To his influence was ascribed a pamphlet, which at that time awakened general attention; it was the thesis written by a Scot, Hamilton, for his doctor's degree, which argued that the legislative power and the right of imposing taxes had been lent by the Kings to Parliament and might be resumed by them[2]. Lauderdale regarded Parliament only as an instrument of power.

What was the opinion of the King? The undertaking agreed with all his sympathies and antipathies, with his hatred against Holland and the exclusive rights of Parliament, with his inclination toward France and Catholicism.

---

[1] 'Que les affaires sont ici dans un état, à faire croire, qu'un parlement et un roi ne peuvent plus subsister ensemble, qu'il ne falloit plus songer qu'à faire fortement la guerre aux Hollandais sans le secours du parlement, auquel on ne devoit plus avoir recours qu'après un heureux succès de la guerre et de la catholicité et lorsqu'on seroit en état d'obtenir par la force ce qu'on ne pouvoit avoir par la douceur.' Colbert, 14th July, 1671.

[2] Baxter's Life, iii. 88, cannot be otherwise interpreted.

This did not prevent him from lending his ear also to the representatives of the opposite tendencies. But he was at home in schemes hidden from the world, and always retreating deeper into secrecy: in the main points they were even his own work, and he approved of steps being taken for their accomplishment.

We must recognise this as undoubtedly the greatest mistake into which the monarchy of the Restoration had fallen, and one of the most momentous mistakes for the monarchy in general. For it brought about a conflict with Parliament, which included all great questions of the present and future, and in which the crown at that time needlessly attempted what was impracticable. Parliament had become more tractable since the year 1669; it had desisted from attacking the ministers, and from the exercise of control over the expenditure; it was prepared to make considerable grants; it only held fast to two points, religious uniformity, and aversion to France[1]. And these were the very points attacked. But was it not the interest of the whole of Europe to resist the encroachments of the French? And the King, in disregarding the ecclesiastical laws which he himself had ratified, threatened the foundation upon which the public order of English affairs in general depended. We know how deeply the development of the state had been impregnated with Protestantism, and moreover how the Restoration had come about without any real assistance from the Catholic powers, by means of a union of the two great Protestant parties in a parliamentary way. To this the idea of now joining the Catholic world, and adopting the principles of absolute monarchy, was directly opposed. If rightly understood this was not the example set by Louis XIV. For undeniably he was in unison with the great interests of France, when he made it his object to secure the eastern boundaries of his kingdom against every foreign influence, and not so much to overpower as to absorb the Spanish power, with which Valois and Bourbons had contended for two centuries. To this all precedents led him, on this the later position of France in the world has depended. Arlington himself once said that Louis XIV strove after universal monarchy, and that his wings must be clipped in time. Instead of this an alliance was concluded with him. The maritime advantages, which were demanded as conditions, lay in the far distance, and were besides uncertain; on the other hand, to annul an alliance which opposed his claims was of immediate advantage to Louis XIV. The King of England gave up to destruction the foremost bulwark of the East-European, the Germanic, world, which could offer him resistance: that in so doing he took revenge upon the Dutch could afford him only a subordinate satisfaction, for in the meanwhile the navy of France grew, and Louis XIV formed his decision never to suffer the weaker of the two other sea powers to be crushed. This was disregarded, in order that an undertaking might be entered on, which was opposed to the nature of things. For one of the most important objects, if not the most important of all, was always that of becoming master of Parliament; but the means taken for this object were rather likely to bring about the contrary. The impartial must exclaim that the English monarchy, in so doing, transgressed the limits of its rights. The dissolution of Parliament was a constitutional procedure, and might perhaps have been of use to the crown in England, although not in the same degree as it had been in Scotland; so at least we might think on looking back, but to allow Parliament to remain as it was, and to adopt measures which tended towards an entire change of the state of things, and for this cause to demand the help of a foreign power,—was an undertaking which must lead to the most difficult complications.

The Dissenters themselves, though they owed their meetings to the royal lenity, were yet greatly disturbed when, in the beginning of the year 1672, the preparations of Louis XIV against Holland, and the probability that England would assist him in his undertaking became known. 'All Protestant hearts trembled[1].' For the Republic was regarded as the great bulwark of Protestantism. The same idea was expressed by the Elector of Brandenburg at the first indication given by the French of their project; there was only one opinion about it in all the Protestant world.

---

[1] I find this in a Dutch memoir, 'Discours sur les affaires d'Angleterre 1672,' where it is said of the ministers, 'en faisant entrer le roi leur maître dans une étroite alliance avec la France, ils le portèrent en même temps à donner une liberté générale de religion, qui estoient les deux seuls points, sur quoi il resta quelque fermeté au Parlement tout soumis d'ailleurs à l'autorité royalle.'

[1] 'The great preparations of the Frenche . . . . . do make now the protestant hearts to tremble.' Baxter, Life i. 89.

Still the last word was not uttered, still negotiations went on with the Republic. The charges against it did not seem sufficient to justify a new war[1]. Downing had been expressly sent to Holland, on the ground that he was thought to be the man best fitted to promote hostilities; but even he did not this time find sufficient pretext. Inclined to give way as much as possible, the Republic sent a new embassy to London, at the head of which was Meermann, who was well known in England and, as may be imagined, found friends among the English; a number of eminent members of Parliament did their best to bring about a reconciliation; Ormond especially exerted his influence for it, he indeed was counted one of the principal supporters of Protestantism. At court there were men in the most confidential positions, who opposed the design. All were against it who had been excluded from the commission for foreign affairs; amongst others, Prince Rupert appeared as a zealous antagonist of the French. The French ambassador feared that the King, pressed on so many sides, would consent to the mediation offered by the Spaniards[2]. But it was just these influences which hastened an opposite decision. Louis XIV had at last fixed the spring of 1672 as the time for the common undertaking; on the English side also the preparations were complete. Those who had taken part in the matter would have been lost had they attempted to draw back; war or a peaceful settlement was the very point of controversy between the two political parties. Arlington said, in the beginning of March 1672, that an end must be put to the agitation, and the idea that it was still possible to bring about an understanding with Holland must be abandoned. The order was issued to the commander

---

[1] 'Apporter au plustost une matière propre à declarer la guerre.' Colbert, June 4.

[2] Colbert, March 21: 'Les Cabales, que presque toute la cour et ce qu'il y a dans la ville des membres du parlement font, pour en detourner le roi, me donnèrent une mortelle appréhension, que les offres d'Espagne ne fussent à la fin reçues.'

of the fleet at Portsmouth to put to sea with such sail as were in readiness, and to seize all Dutch ships that they might meet. The war broke out even before it was declared.

The Dutch fleet from Smyrna, swelled on its voyage by the Spanish and Portuguese merchantmen, lay just then at anchor with a rich cargo off the Isle of Wight. It was on March 13/23 that the same captain who had opened the former war, Robert Holmes, steered towards them. Jealous lest another should share the booty which he hoped to gain, and the honour which he expected to acquire, he abstained from summoning to his aid a passing squadron. As soon as he reached the first Dutch vessel, without allowing much time for overtures, he fired a volley into it. The Dutch were secretly prepared, and answered with a heavy fire from both decks. A battle ensued, in which the English after all only captured two well laden ships, one of which came from Messina, the other from Smyrna, and on their side suffered heavy loss. Holmes himself was seriously wounded; but he had gained his most important object; once more, as eight years before, he had opened the war between the two naval powers.

Only after this, and hastened by it, did the declaration of war, in which Buckingham had a hand, appear on March 18. Two motives are expressed in it which are worthy of notice—the opposition of colonial interests especially in the East Indies, and the expression of wounded honour. The occurrence at Chatham had been represented at Dort in honour of Cornelius De Witt, in a painting which was insulting to the English. Allusion was also made to medals of like import; certainly this kind of monumental vainglory made bad blood in England, as it had done in France. But the English nation did not at the time allow that that justified the recommencement of the war. The manifesto, when it was published on the following day, was rather condemned than approved.

Just at this time, March 15, the new Declaration of Indulgence had appeared. In it the King protested that he wished to maintain the institution of the Anglican Church unimpaired and in itself untouched, but at the same time he declared all penal laws against Nonconformists to be suspended; he promised to appoint places for the divine services of the Protestant Dissenters; the Catholics were to remain restricted to private worship. It is affirmed that the original intention was to put the Catholics on the same footing as the Protestant Dissenters, but that this was prevented by the refusal of Bridgeman in such a case to affix the Great Seal to the ordinance. But it still seemed to the Protestant Nonconformists as if the Catholics were better treated than they were themselves, in so far as the favour shown to them began at once, whereas in their own case it was restricted to places which were to be hereafter appointed, and was made dependent upon the approval of the magistrates. The declaration was received by the Catholics with rejoicing, in which the Protestant Dissenters hesitated to join. The first proposal, which was for an unconditional expression of thanks, was set aside by them, neither could they agree on a more moderate one. At last, introduced by Arlington, they expressed their gratitude verbally to the King. Old Presbyterians like Baxter would far rather have seen a union with the State Church, under the conditions which they had proposed; they thought that now, with their scattered congregations, they were no longer distinguished from the Independents; the former connivance even seemed to them better than permission on official approbation, by using which they feared to come into conflict with Parliament[1]. How often before this had Parliament rejected the claim, which the King now established without more ado! In other matters also Parliament was set aside. Proclamations about the control of political publications appeared, authorised only by the approbation of the Privy Council. The army, against which parliamentary antipathy was directed with especial activity, was increased, and assembled in the neighbourhood of London. But the greatest excitement was caused by a measure which was adopted in the Treasury. The bills for the repayment of advances made by the bankers upon the revenues of the year 1672, were not to be honoured in the course of that year,

---

[1] 'Some were for avoiding terms of approbation, lest the Parliament should fall upon them.' Baxter, Life i. 99.

but the total sums that came in from the taxes were to be used solely for the necessities of the war. The Treasury was closed against the creditors of the state. This was excused, on the ground that the King paid as much as twelve per cent. interest, and it was computed that on the whole, by these transactions, he was deprived of the fifth part of his revenue; in future only six per cent. was to be paid, and an entire change in the management of the state debts in general was contemplated, somewhat in the way of the French administration. But now, not only the banks which had provided the advances, but also the private persons who had placed their money in them, amongst whom were many who possessed nothing besides, were most seriously affected. Against their claims, which might be pursued at law, the bankers demanded security; that the Lord Keeper Bridgeman refused to put the seal to a declaration for this purpose[1] was the reason of his fall. It is a disputed point which of the two, Clifford or Ashley Cooper, had the greater share in the measure; both were impelled by personal ambition as well; Clifford, who arranged it, was raised to be treasurer; Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury, for he appears now with this title, to be chancellor of the kingdom.

Probably no government ever stood in a more strongly marked antagonism to the nation or the estates, at the beginning of a foreign war, than did the English government at this moment. Not that the nation would have objected to take retaliation on the Dutch, but the combinations, by means of which it was to be done, seemed to be an attack on its own laws, ordinances, and institutions; the French ambassador had the assurance to write to his sovereign, that but for fear of him and his power all England would be in a disturbance, that the King himself would draw back were he not bound by interest and honour to the promises he had given.

---

[1] Colbert, November 21: 'Les banquiers, aux quels le roy a trouvé à propos d'oster la jouissance de ses propres revenues en payant l'interest des sommes pour lesquelles ils en jouissoient à raison de 6 p.c., ayant demandè au dit roi, qu'il luy pleust leur accorder une déclaration par laquelle leurs créanciers ne les puissent point contraindre pour le principal, le garde de sceaux a refusé de sceller cette déclaration, en la disant contraire aux loix du royaume.'

Only when the schemes which he had formed under other circumstances, and had afterwards developed further (for he loved them and hoped much from them), were on the point of being actually carried out, did Charles II perceive the dangers to which he was exposed in consequence. But they were his old ideas, and he also could now no longer retreat.

The squadrons of France and England had joined, and lay in Southwold bay; it was on Whit Sunday, June 7, that De Ruyter induced the somewhat unwilling captains of the Republic to take a step which may be looked upon as the culminating action of the Dutch navy, namely to venture an attack upon the fleet of the two great powers. The French were easily driven to one side, and the actual battle appears as the continuation of the former naval duels between Holland and England. Like the previous ones, this was especially momentous for the commanders. Admiral Ghent, who had led the fleet to Chatham, and had refused most obstinately the honour of the flag to the English, was determined this time either to conquer or to die; he was shot in the first half hour; on the other hand, the vessel of the Admiral Lord Sandwich was set on fire by the Dutch captain Daniels; in attempting to save himself the Admiral perished. Again the Duke of York held the chief command; he also was obliged to change his ship, and that more than once. The Dutch have always maintained, and in the state of affairs it is easily credible, that their men were much more eager to engage than the English. The upshot of all was, that this time again it was impossible to say on which side the advantage remained.

But whilst the Republic held its ground on its own element, 'the wild element' as one of their historians calls it, it succumbed all the more entirely to the superior strength of the French forces in the war by land, for which in its existing condition it was unprepared. In a few weeks forty strong places fell into Louis XIV's hands; he took Utrecht and threatened Amsterdam. What was his motive, and what the original motive of Charles II, in undertaking the war? Mainly without doubt their hatred of the leaders of the aristocratical government, which in Charles II was caused naturally by the affairs of the Orange family, and in Louis XIV by the opposition which they had made, and were still making, to his great European schemes. It happened that the people, on whom they were making war, themselves carried out their wishes. During a party tumult that suddenly broke out, they murdered the two De Witts, who were among the greatest men of that time, and the greatest aristocratic Republicans of all ages.

Still the object pursued by the two powers was not hereby fully attained. For it was not only the men who were to be overthrown, but their system also; the desire was to make an end of the independence of the Republic, of the support which it gave to Protestantism, and of its opposition to monarchical principles. It seemed to fall in with this wish, that upon the ruins of the aristocratical government the authority of the Prince of Orange was established, by means of the goodwill of the people and the state's instinct of self-preservation; but in none did this pulse beat more strongly than in the Prince himself: he was indeed far from consenting to proposals which might have been personally advantageous to himself, but which would have cost the Republic its independence. As in the last days of the old government proposals had been made to the King of France, so now by the new government proposals were made to the King of England, to which he might well have agreed; and probably a more advantageous peace for both powers might have been attained. But Charles II was of opinion that his nephew, whose elevation he hailed with joy, still depended too much upon Bevernigk and Van Beuningen. He insisted, for this reason also, upon the accomplishment of the conditions which he had put forward, because otherwise the advantage and glory would fall only to the share of the King of France, and that must necessarily awaken the jealousy of the English. Buckingham and Arlington betook themselves together to the continent; their embassy, which created a great sensation, appeared as a joint one, and the first place was given to the man of older title; but in reality nothing depended on what Buckingham might say in the way of peace or compliance; Louis XIV was informed by his ambassador that only Arlington was in possession of the secret, and of the resolution that had been come to. They met the King at his head-quarters in the neighbourhood of Utrecht, and concluded with him a contract with the object of holding fast to the conditions previously agreed to, that is to say, the demand of the places stipulated for England, and the continuance of the war till they were granted (Heeswyk, July 16). This was even more the wish of the English than of the King of France. Arlington brought forward two arguments; the first was that Charles II, unless he finished the war with glory and attained full satisfaction, could not think of the accomplishment of the Catholic project[1]. He was in this the interpreter of the zealous Catholic party, to which he had been attached for years. But the second argument was necessarily still more efficacious; he told the King, that if the war were not continued, all the partiality of the English for the Dutch would make itself felt[2]: this it was that especially decided Louis XIV, for nothing would have been less to his mind than alienation from England. The two powers put forward their new demands, on the foregone supposition that the Republic would reject them.

On the English side it was principally the consideration of internal relations that contributed to this. The summoning of Parliament could not now be put off for very long, but then the continuance of the war, and the prospect that it offered, was the principal inducement to persuade the House to make a considerable grant of money, of which there was now absolute need. A fortunate end to the war might also make the accomplishment of the further schemes possible. Lord Clifford persisted that if the Republic would not accept the conditions proposed to it, the war against it must be carried on until its entire annihilation[3]. It seemed to him as if in this war both external and internal objects might be attained.

---

[1] '(Arlington) m'a advoué, que pour réussir dans leur grand dessein il fallait continuer la guerre jusqu'à ce qu'on la puisse finir glorieusement.' Colbert, June 20.

[2] He represented to Louis XIV 'la pente qu'il avoit cognue dans la nation angloise à favoriser secrètement la Hollande.' Letter of Louis XIV, dated August 29.

[3] 'Il ne feint pas de dire, qu'il faut continuer la guerre jusques à l'entier anéantissement des états généraux, à moins qu'ils n'accordent à l'Angleterre la Brille, Flessingue, l'isle de Cassant avec l'Escluse.' Colbert, July 9.

CHAPTER IX.

ORIGIN OF THE TEST ACT.

AFTER having been twice prorogued, Parliament at last met again on the 4/14 February, 1672/3.

The Speaker Turner had been promoted: in his place one of the secretaries of state recommended Serjeant Job Charleton; the House accepted him without hesitation, but respectfully put off all further business till he should have been confirmed by the King. When this had been done, the King made his speech from the throne, in which he referred to the necessity of the important but expensive war in which he was engaged, and to the good results of the declaration of Indulgence; Lord Shaftesbury followed with a fiery exhortation to carry on the war[1]. He justified it on the ground of the apprehension, that otherwise France would have united with Holland against England; for the Republic saw in England its one rival in trade and maritime power: since it aimed at universal dominion, it was the natural enemy of all monarchies, but especially of the English; from interest and aversion, it cherished an inextinguishable enmity towards England. The presumption in Holland was that the English nation would no longer support their King against it, but the King had no doubt of the devotion of Parliament, and he only needed its support to render the old enemies no longer dangerous: 'delenda est Carthago,' he exclaimed.

That the war must be carried on under circumstances which were still very favourable was the universal conviction. The proposal to grant £70,000 monthly for eighteen months, that is to say, £1,260,000, was supported by the former opponents of the crown and passed without challenge.

---

[1] Journals of Commons ix. 245.

But if Parliament, with regard to the war, united once more with the King, it at the same time still reserved to itself the free discussion of measures taken for home affairs. When the King referred in his speech to the Indulgence, he emphasised his intention to maintain it: his words were, 'I shall take it very very ill to receive contradiction in what I have done, and I will deal plainly with you; I am resolved to stick to my declaration.' He lived in hope that the straightforward expression of his personal will would stifle all opposition.

This indeed did produce a certain impression. When on the 10/20 February the declaration of Indulgence was to be taken into consideration, at first every one was silent; for there were still scruples about opposing the strong expression of the royal will: the proposal was even made rather to pass to another subject[1]. But Parliament was, not without reason, likened to waters which are all the deeper the calmer they appear. The beginning once made, the opposition broke out all the more violently. It was said, that by his declaration the King repealed more than forty acts of Parliament; the judges and officials, who had taken their oath to carry them out, he ordered not to do so; their appointment was sanctioned by the Great Seal, the declaration was not; on what ground was obedience due to it? At the publication of the declaration neither lawyers nor theologians had been consulted. If the King had been led astray by his Privy Council, it was the duty of his Great Council, the Parliament, both to himself and to the people, to inform him of it. Parliament was almost unanimous on this point. The question only was, whether the anxiety which the declaration awakened, should be set forth to the King in an humble address, or a definite resolution be passed on the matter. The first course was recommended, amongst others by Sir Thomas Osborne, as the more considerate; the last by Meres and Lee, as decisive and necessary. Their opinion was accepted by the House. By a considerable majority the resolution was passed, that penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended except by Act of Parliament. It was a resolution by which Parliament after all openly opposed the King and his views: in an address, which was otherwise respectfully worded, this was verbally adopted. Charles II answered shortly that the address was of importance, and he would take it into consideration.

At court there was an uncomfortable feeling, since the grant of supplies, which had been regarded as expressing the acquiescence of Parliament in the policy recently adopted, became in consequence doubtful. For only after further divisions, and then together with the other acts, could the bill become law.

There was still hope of avoiding further opposition by a conciliatory movement. The King let it be understood, that he had not meant to use his spiritual authority in any different sense from his forefathers; still less to disturb any secular law; if Parliament, which doubtless agreed in his object, would suggest another bill which attained it better, he would gladly accept it.

The impression at first made by this message was very favourable. On the first day the resolution was passed, though with some opposition, that the King be thanked for his declaration. But already on the following day there was a change of temper. It was thought that although the King declared that he wished to advance in a parliamentary way, he still reserved to himself another alternative; he might say that his right in spiritual matters had never been called in question, but to see how often in reality this had been done, it was only necessary to recall the abolition of the High Commission. An address was drawn up and accepted, in which the King was told without circumlocution, that he was very much misinformed if he thought that in matters ecclesiastical he could suspend penal statutes; the crown had never exercised such a right, it was opposed to the idea of the legislative power. He was asked to give a more satisfactory answer.

The King thought fit, as the difference of opinion was on a constitutional question, to take the advice of the Upper House, which at that time he visited almost daily; for in so important a matter he was not inclined to proceed without the Lords. They received his advances favourably, but when it came to a decision, they still did not enter upon the question of right. They only expressed their approval of the King's intention to decide the question in a parliamentary manner. The King found no support in the Upper House.

---

[1] February 10. Grey's Debates ii. 13. With more detail in 'Dering's Proceedings in Parliament 1670–1672,' MS. in the British Museum.

Besides these principal points of dispute, others also had come into consideration, likewise of great importance. During the recess, the Chancellor had ordered some fresh elections, and thereby managed to carry some acknowledged adherents of the prerogative: they were rejected in a body by the Lower House, which denied the right of the Chancellor to issue new writs. Moreover the Chancellor saw himself threatened with impeachment, because he had affixed the Great Seal to the declaration of Indulgence, which the House alleged to be illegal.

This might have been expected from the position of parties, the anti-parliamentary bearing of ministers, and the deep indignation which the conduct of the court, at the outbreak of the last war, had awakened in Parliament. Notwithstanding, the King was much confounded. In confidential circles he expressed his opinion that, were he to give way as his father had once done, the same fate would await him[1]: he could not therefore give way; but then he would be obliged to dissolve Parliament, and that would at once make the continuance of the war impossible.

More seriously than ever the dissolution of Parliament was taken into consideration. Shaftesbury, who felt himself threatened by it, and Clifford with his anti-Protestant impulses, were in favour of the dissolution; of Buckingham it was asserted, that he had pledged himself to carry through the attempt in which Charles I had failed, to remove the opposing members from both Houses, and at the same time to keep the town in order by calling out troops[2]. It was for such a crisis that Lauderdale had prepared the help of the Scots; he advised that Newcastle should be occupied by them; what had been destructive to Charles I, the intervention of the Scots, would now be helpful to Charles II. But had not Charles I cherished the same hopes and yet fallen? Ceaselessly the father's shade hovered over the son, who saw precipices on each side of his path. And at least one of the ministers, and he the most farseeing, the Earl of Arlington, warned him, under existing circumstances, against the dissolution, to which he had formerly been favourable. For by it he would draw upon himself the unquenchable hatred of the people: Parliament would be worshipped. Enough, that Parliament already promised subsidies; it was not so far wrong, when it maintained that the Indulgence Act could not be looked upon as legal. For him the continuation of the war was all-important; upon its result depended the question, whether a future Parliament might not grant him what the present one refused[1]. Charles II wavered. He feared, on the one side, that Parliament would go further and impeach his ministers, on the other side, he was afraid of losing his subsidies, and, as in that case he must conclude peace, of losing also the support of France.

So matters stood, when the French ambassador put into his hands a letter from his ally, advising him to submit for a while to the demands of Parliament. I do not discover that Arlington had instigated him, but his principal argument was repeated by Louis XIV. He remarks that, if Charles were to give way at first to the pressure of Parliament in religious matters, it would be possible for him to carry on the war; this done, he could return to his former scheme sure of the result; he, the King of France, would then be ready, not only according to the wording of the treaties, with some 6000, but with 12,000, with 15,000 men, even with all his might, to support him in his schemes and establish his authority.

---

[1] The Marquis de Fresno recounts conversations, in which his own opinion, that this was a very similar situation, was expressed also by other witnesses of the former events.

[2] Burnet says, 'Sir Ellis Leighton assured me'—and if it is certain that Leighton said that, (and I think there is no doubt of it,) it cannot be easily disregarded.

---

[1] 'Pour casser ce parlement et convoquer un autre et reparer ce que celuy-cy, se prévalant des conjunctures et tems, aura extorqué du roi.' Colbert Croissy, March 9.

Charles II assuredly still had some feeling for the independence of his crown; French help in home affairs he had formerly heard mentioned with great unwillingness; only in cautious terms did the ambassador express himself about it; but the King had now come to such a point that, in opposition to Parliament, he had a still more sensitive feeling of self-respect: if he gave way to it, he could only do so with the secret reservation, that he would upon some future day still assert his authority. He might be determined to make use of French help only in the most extreme case, but he did not reject it. He replied to the ambassador, that the good advice of his King had more weight with him than the words of his most faithful minister; he would accept it without hesitation, and was glad that another expedient was offered to him. The next morning he caused the Commons to be summoned to the Upper House. With his crown on his head, sitting on the throne, in regal robes, he declared that what he had said in reference to the penal statutes should have no further consequence, and should never serve as a precedent: he insisted at the same time upon his demand for a grant of subsidies. The Chancellor added that the evening before, the King had caused his declaration to be cancelled, in presence of him and of other members of the Privy Council, so that it could never have any consequences, and could never be brought forward as an example. This declaration now satisfied the Commons; the members of the opposition remarked that, if in the former answers an element of falseness had appeared, the present answer was as full as possible, and deserved likewise all possible gratitude. Already violence and the outbreak of new disturbances in the town had been feared; the news of the King's compliance filled every one with satisfaction, and bonfires were lighted to celebrate it.

That this decided the question about ecclesiastical authority and the right of dispensation, was probably the opinion of no man, least of all of the King himself; he desisted in consequence from carrying out his Declaration, and indeed also from asserting expressly his right so to do, but he did not therefore give it up; secretly he reserved its establishment for a better opportunity in the future.

Just on such points, it may often be remarked in English history, the intentions of one party, even when kept secret, call out the opposite views of the other. As against the King, the Lower House passed resolutions with the object of preventing for ever machinations of this kind. Whilst it took the Indulgence Bill into its own hands, it pursued the object, as Nicholas Carew expresses himself, of making the Protestant Church so strong, that it should never stand in need of tolerance from the Catholic Church [1]. Complaints were made, that the King's favour was abused by the Catholics; everywhere they were to be found in motion; no law was carried out against them; they were seen in the highest civil offices, above all in the highest military ones. A petition was addressed to the King, in which he was once more entreated to banish the Roman Catholic priests, and above all the Jesuits. Whilst excluding the Catholics from Indulgence, there was still an idea of receiving the Protestant Dissenters, if not into the Church, at least into the State, which was allied with it.

The first of these plans was scarcely taken into serious consideration. For the Church required ceremonies; in its organisation, once established, nothing could be changed; but the Presbyterians would not submit to this, and the acceptance of the doctrines only of the Church was not sufficient. Nor did the zealous Dissenters themselves demand this. Their principal representative in Parliament was Alderman Love, of London; he declared it to be an impertinence for men of his party to lay claim to preferment in the Church [2]; they did not even desire to be exempted from tithes or the poor-rate of the parishes. This was, as we have indicated, the view of a great number of Dissenters. An indulgence issuing from Parliament would meet their wishes; in return for this, they submitted to exclusion from the Church. To this the Lower House agreed. After a long debate it decided to deliver from the penal laws imposed by former Acts of Parliament all who, even if they deviated with regard to the constitution, yet professed the doctrine of the Anglican Church, and took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. It was objected that a Parliament ought not to repeal laws enacted by itself; the answer was, that the position of things was changed; now they must obviate the danger of being swallowed up by the Catholics, or, as William Coventry, who in the whole of this matter exercised a decisive influence, said, it was necessary to act on the defensive against Popery and political intrigues.

---

[1] Henry Herbert; Grey's Debates ii. 35.

[2] 'He has no kindness for them that desire so immodest a thing as preferment in the Church.' Grey's Debates ii. 40. Even in the debates of the year 1703 Burnet lays great weight upon this proceeding.

With this the question arose, whether it would not be necessary for the Church to exclude the Dissenters at least from Parliament. Many voices expressed themselves loudly in favour of this, for whilst giving the Nonconformists liberties, the government ought not to be plunged into confusion; it would not be good to let them take part in the legislative power, and so put into their hands authority over the Church itself, which they so hated. But the opinion of the majority was opposed to it: for the exclusion would make them enemies of the Church, which much rather had need of friends. Coventry remarked, that it was necessary to be careful not to keep good Protestants out of Parliament, whilst Catholics who made up their mind to take the sacrament according to the Anglican ritual might make their way into it[1].

The apprehension which Coventry expressed, and the universally prevalent wish to exclude the Catholics unconditionally from Parliament, led to the most memorable determination of this kind which has ever been taken: it was decided to make not only the taking of the sacrament, but also the acceptance of a certain view respecting a transcendental doctrine connected therewith, the stamp and condition of any share in the legislative power in the kingdom.

On March 12/22, the bill against the increase of Catholicism, already agreed to by the Lords, was brought up for the third reading. At this moment a member, otherwise little distinguished, of the name of Harwood, proposed still to insert the proviso, that in future no one should be admitted to any office or public position unless he abjured the doctrine of transubstantiation, and confessed that in the sacrament merely the substance of bread and wine remained[1]. Many opposed altogether this scholastic and ecclesiastical oath; others declared it useless to associate it with eligibility for Parliament, for the Catholic who took the oath of supremacy might also be brought to deny transubstantiation. Coventry rejoined that he had gathered information on that point; for taking oaths like that of supremacy the Pope could grant dispensation, because they were forbidden by papal bulls, but the doctrine of transubstantiation was one of the articles of faith; from these the Pope could not absolve. There was a further change made in the words, that is, the word 'merely' was struck out because it might offend the Lutherans, and it was made a matter not of oath but of subscription[2]; but there was no objection taken to the main point, since what was wanted was once for all a distinction between Protestants and Catholics; there was no other to be found from which a dispensation could not be obtained. Although the proviso had appeared as an amendment, in which case it was not usual to insert it at once, this time it was so inserted. The proviso was added to the act whilst on the table of the House, and in this way it was sent back to the Lords on the following day[3].

With the Lords also the antipathy to Popery carried the day; some amendments were made, which however did not affect the main point.

---

[1] Debate on March 11: 'If Papists will take the oaths and abandon their principles, making nothing of the sacraments, shall not Protestants sit here on the same terms.' Grey's Debates ii. 94. The debate is wanting in the Parliamentary History.

[1] According to Dering the proposal was worded, 'That all persons, that were to have any office or employment, should abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation, and swear, that in the sacrament after consecration there is merely the substance of bread and wine.' The debate relates to these words, which are also wanting in Grey ii. 97.

[2] The form is said to have originated with Thomas Meres. 'Th. M. tendered an amendment to the proviso, where instead of "swearing" was put in "should declare" (subscribe), and the word "merely" was left out;' so that Harwood and Meres are the originators of the Test Act.

[3] 'An act for preventing dangers, which may happen by Papist recusants,' a name which it now for the first time received.

On this question again the Catholic and aristocratic sentiments of the fiery Clifford flamed up. He came to the sitting of the Lords with no intention of speaking; but the presumption of the Commons, in drawing into their debate an ecclesiastical doctrine, and establishing a formula as a standard of faith, impelled him irresistibly into opposition; he characterised the bill as the 'Monstrum horrendum informe ingens' of Virgil; he added that, if it were adopted, everything would become uncertain, even the right of the Lords to sit in Parliament, and the stability of the Anglican Church, about which the Commons would take upon themselves to make laws.

In the Lower House the news of these utterances produced a considerable excitement. Although it was not quite in order, and did not quite accord with the consideration which was due to ancient usage, still the Commons took notice of the speech; it was also thought that they must put together their grievances; the old saying was heard, that the greatest grievance was the bad advisers of the King, the originators of all these disturbances.

But in spite of Clifford's speech the Lords yielded in all disputed points; the Queen, whose household they wished to exempt from the law, because her right depended upon a state treaty, had to be satisfied with not being mentioned by name in the new act.

In the meanwhile the Subsidies Bill had also reached its last stage; in accepting it the King at the same time gave his consent to the new religious bill, which was called the Test Act.

It was not condemned by all Catholics; for it contained no prohibition of their private religious services; they were not persecuted, they were only excluded from public offices, and from the favours of the monarch; and this might be expected from the nature of human society. The majority now sought to make it, once for all, impossible for the antagonistic minority to increase its power, and perhaps even to gain the preponderance; who could deny that they had good reason for it?

And now the next step would have been, to unite together, on the other side, the State Church and the Protestant Dissenters. This aim had not been lost sight of; a bill with that object passed through the Commons. But even then it met with opposition from the bishops, and that too, as was said at court at least, in spite of a promise already given. It was sent back from the Lords with a number of amendments, which the Lower House was not disposed to accept. On March 29 a conference took place between plenipotentiaries from both sides; the King, who had already reached the Upper House, waited till it was finished: it led however to no results. At seven o'clock in the evening he closed the session.

Even without this the result of the session was extremely comprehensive and far-reaching. The King's intention had always been to unite Catholics and Anglicans, and to oppose them to the Presbyterians. The result of the sessions in 1672/73 was, that the Anglicans and Presbyterians, if they were not united, had yet advanced much nearer to one another, whilst the Catholics had been as good as excluded from the state[1].

This was the consequence of the scheme for the restoration of Catholicism in England. Let us now consider the results brought about by the war with Holland, undertaken in common with France for the furtherance of this object.

---

[1] Journal of Lords xii. 584. So Colbert affirms, 'Les Protestans (Anglicans) qui avoient tout promis aux sectaires, pour en être secourus dans leur commune poursuite contre les catholiques, ayant obtenu ce qu'ils désiroient, ont formé tant d'obstacles et de difficultés au dit acte de compréhension, qu'il n'a pas été possible aux presbytériens de les surmonter.' April 10, 1673.

CHAPTER X.

PEACE WITH HOLLAND.

THE grants of Parliament made it possible to resume in the summer the war against Holland; but its other decisions subjected the conduct of the war to considerable restraints.

As the Test Act prevented the Duke of York from filling the post of admiral, the chief command of the fleet was assigned to Prince Rupert, expressly because he was a zealous Protestant[1], for which faith his family had suffered so much. He thus obtained a high and brilliant position, such as he had always desired, at the head of the great squadrons of England and France, which numbered 150 sail. But the opposite party in the King's Council was still very powerful; the powers granted to the Prince were restricted; he did not enjoy, for example, the right of nominating even one of his officers, and the accustomed authority of the Duke was not at one stroke set aside. The manning of the fleet was made difficult by the exemptions which the watermen had acquired; all preparations advanced slowly and proved insufficient.

In the Dutch Republic, on the other hand, the conflict of the two parties was not at this time noticeable: the experienced De Ruyter, who belonged to one party, and the stout-hearted Tromp, who belonged to the other, worked together most admirably; the motives of religion, of patriotism, of honour and advantage, animated the whole people. In the reports we read, how the crews in the sight of the

---

[1] Exact Relation: 'His tried constancy to and zeal for the reformed Protestant religion.'

enemy said their prayers, after which each sailor and soldier took his glass of brandy; then full of good courage they got ready to await and repulse the impending attack.

So it happened on May 28, 1673 (O. S.), some miles to the E.S.E. of West Kappel, a united squadron of the separate divisions of the Anglo-French fleet made, in spite of the unfavourable character of these waters, an attack upon the Dutch fleet, in the hope of finishing the matter with one blow. After a long and bitter struggle, in which the ships on both sides suffered severely—it is impossible to say which suffered most—the allies found themselves obliged to draw off. After two further encounters of a less serious character, Prince Rupert thought it advisable to withdraw to the English coast to repair his ships[1].

By land the French succeeded in taking Maestricht, which was looked upon as the key to the Spanish as well as to the United Netherlands. The King of England was far from feeling jealous of this; he ordered the repair of the ships to be all the more urgently carried on, in the hope that, if he could on his side obtain a decided advantage, the Dutch might be brought to a satisfactory peace.

At the congress of Cologne also, which was then assembled for the establishment of universal peace, Charles II persisted in his former demand for concessions. Even the Swedes, who had undertaken to mediate, rejected them; for if England had formerly remonstrated against Sweden having possessions on both sides of the Sound, how much more inadmissible was it that England should lay claim to fortified places on the Dutch coast; it would have the most prejudicial results for all the northern powers[2]. And why, added the Dutch, did Charles II demand towns as securities? They ought much rather to be granted to themselves, who had now for the third time been unjustly attacked by the King. Still Charles II persisted in his demand, and indeed, as we know, not solely on account of the great position which those acquisitions would have given him, but also because he thought it especially necessary with a view to Parliament; for his government would be reduced to an untenable position, if it, as well as the French, did not on its side also acquire a considerable advantage. He said he wished to hold fast to the French alliance, because that was most conducive to the royal authority, but, should France alone reap the profit therefrom, it would be impossible[1]. The Swedes at the time proposed a truce, and even let fall threats in case it were rejected; but this made no impression in England. On the contrary, Charles II formed once more the plan of an invasion of Holland.

---

[1] Extract from the daily register kept on board the Golden Lion: Valkenier ii. App. 5.

[2] Colbert, July 3: 'Les médiateurs la croient de dangereuse conséquence pour le roi leur maitre et pour toutes les puissances du Nord.'

The intention was again to effect a landing on the Dutch coast with the land force, which had been collected and which was being rapidly increased, either when the fleet was making its attack, or as soon as it should have gained a considerable advantage[2]; in this way the Republic would be compelled to accept the conditions of peace offered to it[3]. First the Duke of York was fixed on for this undertaking, then Buckingham, who desired it most earnestly, was mentioned; at last it was decided to take into service for this special object the French general Schomberg, a Protestant, who by his generalship in Portugal had acquired a great name; for a man was required who knew how to inspire the troops with the spirit and discipline of war. About 12,000 men were collected at Yarmouth, and awaited the favourable moment for their transport; as soon as that had been effected, Schomberg was to have the sole command.

Better provided with all necessaries, and also furnished with comprehensive powers, Prince Rupert put to sea again in July; the King, whose plans and ideas were concentrated on this undertaking, had accompanied him for a part of the way. He again joined the French under Vice-Admiral Jean d'Estrées.

---

[1] 'S'il n'avoit aucune place pour son partage.'

[2] Colbert, May 25: 'Aussitôt que la flotte aura obtenu quelque avantage considerable sur les ennemis, le Duc de York s'embarquera avec toutes les troupes—qui sont propres pour une descente.'

[3] 'De forcer les Hollandais par une vigoureuse descente à donner à la France et à l'Angleterre la juste satisfaction qu'ils prétendent.' (27th July.)

Both sides were looking eagerly forward to what might occur. All felt that it was a moment of decisive consequence.

On the 11/21 of August, in the morning, the English and French squadrons fell in with the Dutch fleet at Texel, which advanced with a favourable wind and eager for the fight.

Edward Spragge, who enjoyed perhaps the greatest reputation amongst the English seamen, and who at that time led the blue squadron, hove to, against the Prince's will, when he saw Tromp bearing down upon him, whom, it is said, he had promised to take back to the King as a prisoner. The two admirals' ships lay broadside to one another and exchanged shots for seven hours without a sail being touched[1]. During these long wars the Dutch also had thoroughly learned the use of artillery; Tromp praises his men because they had fired three times before the English had fired once. The English ship first became unserviceable; the main-mast fell overboard: when Spragge stepped into the boat to go on board another ship, the boat too was struck by a cannon ball—Spragge perished as Lord Sandwich had done. Round this combat between the blue squadron and Tromp the whole battle gradually centred; on the one side the Prince took part in it, De Ruyter on the other. Towards evening the Prince thought he had the advantage and might strike a decisive blow, were he supported by the French squadron, which in the meanwhile had held aloof: but his signals to attack were in vain; D'Estrées was not to be prevailed upon to take any part in the engagement. At sunset the English saw themselves obliged to draw off from the battle and tow home their damaged ships[2].

Though it cannot be considered a defeat, this naval battle was decisive for Charles II. For now the accomplishment of that project of invasion, on which so much of his external as well as of his internal policy depended, was no longer possible; and moreover the behaviour of the French vice-admiral in this battle had filled the English with indignation, and rendered generally doubtful the continuance of the alliance with France, which formed the corner-stone of the policy of that time.

---

[1] Letters of Captain Tobias and of Admiral Lieutenant Cornelius Tromp, in Valkenier v. 100.

[2] The Prince's account, with the remarks by D'Estrées, in Sue, Histoire de la Marine iii. 37.

The conduct of Count d'Estrées was blamed not only by the English but also by his own officers. In a letter of the Marquis de Martel, he is said to have dishonoured the nation, and brought upon the English every possible evil. A later collection of secret information confirms this: he is not charged with any cowardice, but with self-will; and the worst of it was, that the English supposed that, in so doing, he had acted according to secret instructions from his King. It is evident that France could not take any pleasure in seeing either the establishment of England upon the Continent, or the ruin of the Dutch navy, for then the sole naval supremacy of England, which no one desired less than Louis XIV, must be expected. And it might also seem as if D'Estrées had had directions from the King to this effect. At least, after the battle, he said, as an excuse, to his officers, that the King of France did not wish his fleet to be endangered, and he had hinted that he distrusted the English[1].

So in the decisive moment, in the heat of the battle, the old natural jealousy between England and France interfered to break the alliance which they had concluded for the ruin of Holland.

It is not worth our while to follow the contradictory statements, the excuses, complaints and evasions, which were now interchanged; the only question is, what was the opinion of King Charles II and the English nation upon the matter. The King seems to have believed in the excuses, if we may infer his thoughts from his utterances. He was too closely bound to the French alliance to wish to break it on account of a still doubtful act of neglect; as, just at that time, Spain allied itself with Holland, he would himself have been inclined to make common cause with France against Spain. But at court and in the country there was only one voice of indignation against France. The subsidies paid by this power were regarded as a disgrace to England. She was chained by them to the triumphal car of France; Vice-admiral d'Estrées had only wished to see whether the English fleet was earning its pay; he was present at the battle as at a duel between gladiators. Prince Rupert formed around him an anti-French party; his friends took care to animate absent members of Parliament with the same feelings as excited those who were present.

---

[1] Mémoire pour servir à l'information secrète, in Sue iii. 65. 'M. le Vice-admiral a donné à entendre après le combat et surtout à M. la Gramcey, que le roi ne vouloit pas que l'on hazardât ses vaisseaux dans le péril, et à même fait connaître, que l'intention étoit que l'on se méfiât des Anglais.'

On the 20th of October Parliament assembled for its eleventh session. The marriage of the Duke of York with a Princess of Modena, in the Catholic and French interest, which was then announced (we shall consider it later in its proper place), was well calculated to excite Protestant feelings and anxieties; it then caused a short prorogation: the real opening did not take place till the 27th of October, when the speech from the throne called attention to foreign affairs. The King complained of the contemptuous manner in which his proposals of peace had been rejected by the Dutch: he demanded supplies for the continuation of the war; for, as the Chancellor said, 'England would no longer be a free country if she allowed herself to be robbed of her dominion at sea; with just jealousy she watched the growing greatness of any prince at sea.'

The King had a number of unwavering adherents; it was thought that some of the leading members of the opposition, such as Robert Howard, Littleton and Garroway, had been won over by personal favours; Arlington and the King did not neglect to speak with others besides, and trusted they had convinced them; the court awaited the result of the parliamentary debates with a certain amount of hope.

But against the prevailing temper of a great assembly, attempts of this kind to gain influence will never produce any result. The very first introductory debate went against the government. Formerly, in granting supply, it had often occurred that the principal question as to whether a grant should be made, had been decided affirmatively before the House went into committee on the question; this time also the proposal was made, but it was rejected, and that expressly on the ground of a desire to discuss at the same time grievances, and above all religious grievances. In Committee, Coventry, who after Clarendon's fall had been looked upon as a possible minister, and who now appeared at the head of the opposition, opened the debate; he enjoyed the reputation of a perfectly well-informed man of business in all matters of trade and marine. It is curious how he connected maritime and religious questions with political ones, for the purpose of opposing the alliance with France, which was harmful for both, for religion as well as for trade. 'In former days'—it was in these words that he expressed himself—'Spain was more rigorous in religion, now it is France; Spain now assists Holland; France in the last war would conclude no capitulation with any town unless the priests were considered in it; it becomes thereby powerful amongst the Catholics; and we read in the French Gazette that the Papal nuncio has received the order not to oppose the progress of the French arms. But that is not in the interest of England: she may carry on war against Protestants, but not against Protestantism. And it is falsely maintained that the Dutch hinder the growth of our trade. They may have some advantages in the East-Indian trade; in other places, since the Navigation Act, we get the better of them. In distant and barbarous countries, it may be of some use to us to acquire a harbour, but not in Europe; is it probable that through war we shall gain the world's commerce? The Dutch compete with us by industry, parsimony, and by underselling us. From them, who will come to us, thus divided as we are in jealousies and fears of Popery, and even of the Inquisition? He that knows least has most fears; a stranger does not know what you have in your heart. This is enough to confirm my opinion that we should grant no money. It is curious that England and Holland are kept apart by a Prince who is destructive to both. If we follow only our national interests, we can in all probability obtain a satisfactory peace. But on that account the House must not put it out of its power to assist the King once more; for we cannot so entirely trust the sincere desire

of the Dutch for a peace; we shall be certain of it if we are prepared to grant money for a good reason[1].' In this way Coventry brought forward his motion, that they should refuse to pay the supplies, unless the obstinacy of the Dutch in the peace negotiations made it necessary.

This motion was accepted verbally by the House. So this new condition was added, besides the previous demand for religious security.

It was thought, from the very first moment, that in this an extensive political scheme might be perceived; for by a conditional grant, the judgment on the negotiations with Holland, and in fact on the conduct of external affairs in general, would be conceded to the House. I cannot discover whether this was the original intention; but after the exercise of the prerogative had brought the country into such imminent danger, it lies in the nature of things that a tendency should arise towards restricting it, at least in the present case. Misuse led to restriction.

But this motive of principle influenced the King as well; it seemed to him necessary for the dignity of his crown to resist Parliament. And already the Lower House proceeded to other antagonistic resolutions. It declared the existence of a standing army, and even the retention of certain ministers, to be grievances. But these were precisely the points about which the King was most sensitive; he would not allow matters to go so far as a formal decision on this question. Just as the name of the most hated minister, the Scottish Lauderdale, was being uttered, Black Rod knocked at the door and the prorogation of the session was declared, although it was only the ninth day of the debates.

In favour of this decision no member of the Privy Council and no minister, out of care for himself, would have dared to give his advice; the French ambassador, Colbert Croissy, undertook to represent its necessity to the King[2]. It had come to this, that the French ambassador interfered, acting as if he were an English minister; he had a secret understanding with the principal advisers of the crown; he was less scrupulous than they, only because he had no responsibility to fear.

---

[1] Coventry's speech is in Grey's Debates ii. 203. It is there in oratio obliqua, which would weary the reader as well as the author. I have not added a word to the contents, the sequence of the ideas is obvious.

[2] Colbert, November 13; a letter already communicated by Mignet ii. 221.

The motive was that, even without a Parliamentary grant, means could be found to keep a fleet at sea, which, united with the French fleet, would rule the Channel, frustrate all the efforts of the Dutch, and oblige them to agree to peace on favourable conditions.

This calculation was founded on the prizes taken from the Dutch, which had already yielded a very considerable sum—reckoned at half a million—and on the receipts from the regular revenues. Charles II caused Pepys, whom he had taken into his immediate service, to make a computation of the requisite expenditure for a new armament in the ensuing summer, and of the revenue still available. The deficit amounted to £1,400,000. Colbert Croissy was of opinion that the sum was purposely exaggerated, so as to make an understanding between the two crowns impossible, and endeavoured to persuade the King that a much smaller one would suffice. It was not the King himself, but Arlington, who agreed to this remark; Colbert pledged himself, if they would content themselves with a moderate sum, to do everything in France to procure the grant, and to labour for that purpose not like a French ambassador, but like an English minister[1].

But whatever he might say or promise, the hope of obtaining an honourable peace, without the help of Parliament, had to be given up. The only thing to be thought of was, to obtain a better basis for new negotiations.

On the ground that the King was deserted just by those upon whom he had most counted, it was determined to deprive them of their lucrative positions. These were some

---

[1] Colbert, December 7: 'S'il me faisait connaitre, que le roi son maître voulust bien se contenter d'une somme modique, je me chargerais à représenter à s. M. plustot comme un ministre d'Angleterre que comme votre ambassadeur toutes les puissantes raisons, qui les forcent, de vous demander cette assistance.'

members of Parliament, like Robert Howard, who had received offices with a salary of £5000; also Littleton and Garroway; but it made the greatest sensation that the same fate befell the Chancellor, the Earl of Shaftesbury. The King thought that he was bribed by Spain: only thus much is evident, that, through the mediation of the Spanish ambassador, a favour relating to affairs in Carolina—the deliverance of some prisoners—was granted to him, and it was hoped he might be won over in consequence[1]. But in general he passed for untrustworthy, crafty and deceitful. The Duke of York ascribed the opposition, which his marriage met with, to the influence of the Chancellor. To all those who were decidedly attached to the Duke, and to the French alliance, it seemed like a deliverance of the government, that they should get rid of these men from amongst them. Still the French ambassador did not accept the congratulations offered him upon it: he judged that a discharged minister, clever and malicious as this one was, in perfect freedom, might, in a country like England, become very dangerous.

Shaftesbury laid aside the robes which he wore as Chancellor of the kingdom, buckled on his cavalier's sword, and proceeded to the Exchange, where every one was assembled: he, who had but now been feared and hated, was received with all the greater joy. He had no scruples in going over, the very moment he left the ministry, to the most violent opposition. It may serve for his excuse, if it be true, as the French ambassador declares, that Shaftesbury had obtained information about the secret treaty, about which Arlington, in the internal conflicts of the ministry, had informed him, for the purpose of winning him over against Clifford: both ministers had demanded the Test Act, to get rid of Clifford, who could not take the oath. The discovery of a plan, which had been kept concealed from him, which was opposed to all his ideas, and in which he was still compelled to co-operate, would at least justify his indignation, even though this plan had now been given up. Clifford's removal might already be looked upon as the catastrophe of the entire system constructed for the re-establishment of Catholicism. When he departed, Evelyn said to him, 'I hope I shall see you often, and as great a person again.' 'No,' answered Clifford; 'I shall never see this place, this city, or court again.' The prediction of his horoscope might seem to him to be accomplished. Not long afterwards, he died at his country seat. He is said to have committed suicide: a deep melancholy, which had seized him, led to this end. Without doubt he was in earnest about Catholicism, but with this feeling his ambition, even his enjoyment of life, was united. Life was no longer worth anything to him, as it had neither a personal, nor an ideal, aim. Evelyn, who alone gives any information about him, certainly believes in the suicide[1].

---

[1] Marques de Fresno to the Spanish Council of State, December 6, 1672: 'Que se diese libertad a Juan Rivers su pariente y otros compañeros, que se hizieron prisoneros en la playa de S. Catalina en la Florida, a donde aportaron llevando su remato a Virginia a una plantacion (Carolina), en que el y otros cavalleres deste reyno son interressados.'

That it was impossible any longer to think of the Catholic scheme, was declared by Arlington himself, who was convinced by the sight of the general Protestant agitation, although, only a year before, he had founded upon this scheme the renewal of the French alliance. The King said no more about it. The French ambassador, with whom it had not originated, but who had devoted to it all his energies, entreated his King to recall him. It was not as if the secret schemes had become known in words, but with sure instinct the intentions which had prevailed in them were discovered; in several pamphlets, statements coming pretty near the truth might be read. Colbert was assured by his friends in Parliament, amongst whom was the poet Waller, that it was the general opinion that the French alliance was intended to bring about the re-establishment of Popery; there were not four members of Parliament to whom peace with Holland did not appear to be the sole means of maintaining Protestantism. Clifford's successor at the treasury, Osborne, avoided returning the visit paid him by the French ambassador. Under these circumstances, Colbert thought it advisable to withdraw; he said, 'as if he had been standing before God,' that he could be of no service to his King in England. In his place he recommended his predecessor Ruvigny, because he was a Protestant.

If anything was still to be done with Parliament, and if a separate peace with Holland was to be avoided, it could only be by divesting the alliance with France of its religious and monarchical tendency. Ruvigny came over provided with money for presents to influential members, so as to dispose them in favour of France. Moreover, he told them that Louis XIV was far from intending to bring about a change in the mode of government in England, on the contrary he had advised Charles II to allow Parliament to direct the expenditure of the supplies it granted. King Charles expressed himself in the same way; he declared himself ready to entrust the expenditure of the money to Parliament. In the Privy Council, the proposal was made to lay before Parliament the treaty with France, since only that one was known, which had no bearing on religion. Arlington bade the King observe that this might some day be looked upon as a very harmful precedent for the rights of the crown. Still Charles II decided upon it; for his habit always was, to labour for the nearest end with every means in his power. 'I shall,' he said to Ruvigny, 'give up something of my rights to maintain the alliance with the King.' And to escape the necessity of a separate peace with Holland, he published proclamations against the Catholics, in accordance with the last resolutions of Parliament, though he was much opposed to them in his own heart. And always inclined to believe what he wished, he thought he already perceived a fresh change of temper in favour of the French alliance, which he still hoped to maintain. In this hope, when Parliament was re-opened on January 7/17, 1673/4, he once more asked for supplies, not so much to carry on war as to bring about peace, for which purpose it was necessary to take up a strong position. The new Lord Keeper, Finch, followed with an elaborate explanation about the peace negotiations at Cologne, the failure of which he ascribed to the insulting and imperious behaviour of the Dutch; at the

---

[1] Diary ii. 87. His authorities for the horoscope are Shaftesbury and Sir E. Walker, Garter King-at-arms.

beginning of the debate, the Secretary of State reverted to the danger, which the trade and the colonial relations of England would run, if the navy were not put into a condition to command respect.

But it was perceived at once, in both Houses alike, that no effect was produced by acts of compliance and representations such as these. The unexpected prorogation had excited an increased hostility against the advisers of the crown. The Lower House concluded, from the conditions of peace submitted by the French, according to which Catholic churches were to be erected in the conquered Dutch towns, that England was after all to help in the establishment of Catholicism: it declared it a matter of conscience no longer to persevere in such an alliance. But more than this; for forty years the Catholics had not shown themselves so undisguisedly in London as they did at this moment; the Test Act must be extended; religion must be secured against the contingency of the King's death[1]. The extreme seriousness of the anxiety expressed is hardly comprehensible to posterity. If Shaftesbury is to be believed, there were, in and round London, hosts of Catholics, ready to use force against Parliament and its Protestant leaders. From the discontented Catholics, amongst others Lord Bristol, to whom Clarendon's followers were just as obnoxious as he had been himself, this met with no contradiction. The King was thanked for his last anti-papal enactments, but an attempt was made to carry him much further. The Lords demanded that he should banish all Catholics, who were not householders, ten miles from London, and during the session should permit none of them to come thither without special permission. The Commons added, that the militia should be kept in readiness to resist any tumultuous movements of the Papists or other malcontents, in one hour after summons had been given in London and Westminster, in other places in twenty-four hours; as though the whole body of Catholics had been so greatly stirred up by the connivance hitherto shown, followed by the present repression, that they were now determined

---

[1] Speeches of Birch, Clarges, Jones, January 12. Grey's Debates ii. 228.

and ready, with the support of France, and in the expectation of a successor to the throne of their own faith, to proceed to open violence. In the later years of James I, and in the time of Charles I, the agitation had been directed at the same time against prelates and Popery; now it was different, for the prelates were agreed with the Commons against the Papists: the agitation was inside the Anglican Church, which from her alliance with Parliament derived new vital power, inclining her as much in this direction as formerly she had been inclined in the opposite one.

Face to face with a wavering government, which was at variance with itself, Parliament renewed its attacks upon the ministers.

The Lower House resumed proceedings with the impeachment of Lauderdale, in which it had been interrupted by its prorogation. It treated as criminal his conduct in Scotland, by which he had threatened England herself; also his zeal for monarchy in general, and especially a remark which he was said to have made in the Privy Council, that a royal edict was to be reckoned higher than an act of Parliament. On this ground the King was requested to deprive Lauderdale of office, to exclude him from the Privy Council, and never to see him again. Buckingham and Arlington were arraigned on account of their share in home and foreign politics. They both appeared in person to defend themselves. Articles were formally drawn up about which they were examined. Their answers waver between evasion and half-confession; it would be useless to try and learn the truth from them. The accusers knew too little positively to be able to put questions which might have gone to the mark; the accused only tried to prove themselves on every point free from responsibility. But what a condition for authority to be in, when its management of affairs is treated as a crime, if the results are unfavourable. The same sentence was pronounced upon Buckingham as upon Lauderdale. He himself acknowledged the principle, that none ought to sit in the council of the King, of whom the nation did not have a good opinion. Arlington obtained, through his friends and through the Dutch party, a majority in his favour. A petition for his dismissal was thrown out, but the impeachment was still suspended over his head[1].

If already there was hardly any longer a doubt about the responsibility of ministers to Parliament, it was now established beyond recall; this proceeding contained a precedent which lent new strength to the constitutional principle. The opinions, which Arlington and Buckingham had maintained against Clarendon, were now put into operation against themselves. Matters had not yet advanced so far that the King would give way at once, but still he did not reject the demand as unjustifiable; he said he would take it into consideration.

Hand in hand with the humiliation of the power of the ministers went the attempt to limit its exercise. An end was to be put to the prevailing practice, according to which accused persons might be sent to prisons out of England, to Scotland or the colonies. The Habeas Corpus Act, which is reckoned a second Magna Charta, was carried in its chief points and sent to the Upper House.

Of no less importance was the zeal shown in attacking the military force which had been increased during the war. Many defended it, for a time might come when it might be needed to repel a hostile invasion; Venner's insurrection also had been quelled by regular troops. But the majority still regarded a standing army as a dangerous weapon for the overthrow of religion and law. For the troops were pledged to obedience, even in case of a breach of the law; a King at the head of troops was not wanted, but, as it was strikingly enough expressed, a King at the head of the laws. Charles II was called upon to disband the troops which he had taken into service since January 1, 1664.

These resolutions were not as yet laws, but in themselves they had a great deal of weight; they expressed a prevailing tendency which admitted of no compromise. Far from being able to cherish the hope that Parliament might be induced in one way or another to take a further share in the Dutch

---

[1] Ruvigny, February 1, maintains that it was the notification of the King's will, made in a speech on the subject, that saved him.

war, the King, on the contrary, had to expect every day that he would see his alliance with France declared a national grievance.

That was precisely the chief object which both parties kept always in view. The matter stood thus: after long hesitation Spain had decided to make common cause with Holland; to this the capture of Maestricht, by which both were equally endangered, had especially contributed. But on the conclusion of this alliance it was remarked, that its object would not be obtained so long as England continued to be allied with France against Holland. Spain promised therefore to undertake a mediation between the States-General and the King of Great Britain, upon conditions which were at once announced; but if that could not be attained, Spain pledged itself to break with England as well as with France[1].

It might be doubted whether this promise were seriously meant. For how was Spain to venture once more upon the struggle with England in which hitherto it had suffered such heavy loss? But whatever may be asserted, discord in the legislative bodies will always react upon external relations. There are extant some reflections by the Marquis of Fresno, from which it is evident that Spain was in favour of war with England, because the English King, though he might receive subsidies from France, still would shortly be obliged to have recourse again to Parliament, over which he was not supreme. The English Parliament now seemed to Spain to be a support, of European importance, for its policy and its existence. Like the French, like the King himself, Spain also distributed money among the members; with all its embarrassments, the Spanish Council of State still knew how to make a few thousand doubloons available for that purpose; to accept money was as yet looked upon as no disgrace in Parliament. But the matter had still another side. Since it had once become apparent that the King's French alliance had also a Catholic tendency, Parliament saw in union with Spain a religious support. At times Fresno was ordered from Madrid to interest himself for the Catholics in England; but he refused to do so. For Parliament's inclination towards Spain depended upon no other consideration than its apprehension that, by the King's alliance with France, its religion and liberties might be injured; he himself regards it as remarkable, that the Catholic kingdom should be allied with both Lutherans and Catholics, but he does not think it offensive, since it proceeds from the complication of affairs. To defend Catholicism, and at the same time to keep the popular good-will in England, he declared to be impossible, and an attempt to do so even dangerous; for if the hold on Parliament were lost, certainly nothing could be accomplished at court.

---

[1] 'Toutes sortes de raisons font voir, que si le dit roy de la Grande Bretagne s'attache à ne point vouloir faire la paix avec les états généraux, l'on ne peut attendre l'effet, que l'on peut désirer des armes de S. M. Catholique, à moins qu'elles agissent avec celles des dits états.' Dumont vii. 242.

The alliance between Spain and Holland, with its intentions regarding England, awakened at first great disgust at the English court; Lord Arlington even declared it to be infamous. But the temper of Parliament was so decided, and the situation was so dangerous, that at last he even offered to agree to the mediation of Spain. Early in February 1674, the King came forward, to lay before the two Houses the Dutch proposals of peace, which had been transmitted to him through the Spanish ambassador, and to ask their opinion whether he should accept them or not.

The French were surprised that he said nothing about his alliance with France, and did not even put in a word about the armaments which would be necessary. In the Lower House it was also remarked, but from an opposite point of view, that no mention had been made of France; they were discontented that the King did not in plain terms declare the alliance with France to be dissolved. The opposition wished first to know whether it was a peace in common with France, or a separate peace, about which the King wished to take their opinion. To this it was replied that the King's whole speech indicated the intention to form a separate agreement. After these explanations, the Houses gave their votes. They advised the King under existing circumstances to agree to the proposals of the Dutch, and to negotiate for such conditions as might secure him an honourable peace. The negotiation was carried on by the Marquis de Fresno, who looked upon the office as a great honour; it led, after few conferences, to a conclusion in accordance with the agreements made between Holland and Spain[1], and at the same time turned out more favourable for England than could have been expected. Important concessions were made to the English flag, the Dutch at the same time pledging themselves to a considerable payment of money; such possessions and districts out of Europe as either party had seized from the other, were to be restored[2]. The French were not expressly mentioned, but, as a secret article was added to the treaty, forbidding either of the stipulating parties to support the enemies of the other, the alliance with France was hereby virtually annulled. The French ambassador, to whom this article also was made known ultimately, did not fail to complain of it. The King said that the Spanish ambassador had proposed it quite at the last, and had declared decidedly that if it were not accepted, the peace could not be concluded; the matter had already gone too far to admit of new difficulties being raised; he had been deceived by the Spaniards, but would remember it against them. But by this he did not secure the friendship of Spain, he only felt the necessity of giving way to Parliament.

Of all the results of this conflict the most important was the increased strength of position which Parliament won. As yet none of all its constitutional claims had been fought out, but it had given to the English administration an entirely Protestant character, and had interfered almost independently in the complications of Europe.

---

[1] Treaty of August 30, 1673; Dumont vii. 242.

[2] Treaty of Westminster, February 9/19, 1674; Ib. 254.

CHAPTER XI.

UNION OF PARLIAMENT WITH THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

CHARLES II, against whom these exertions were directed, and from whom these results had been wrung, was not on that account absolutely hated; the great majority forgave him even his moral faults, for he was easily accessible and affable; a thousand witty sayings of his were passed from mouth to mouth, which won for him a reputation of superior intellect; however much his Dutch undertakings might be objected to, still with one interest of the nation they were in accordance; in their ultimate results they were not disadvantageous, and in other points he at least did not proceed to extremities; he always knew how to give in at the last. What above all secured for him men's esteem and consideration, was apprehension of his successor, who, as regards moral conduct was no better than the King, but was at the same time inflexible and obstinate. Whilst Charles II allowed merely an inclination towards Catholicism to appear, the Duke of York had gone over finally with all due form. This had occurred immediately before the outbreak of the war against Holland in the spring of 1672; under the direction of Father Bedingfield, a Jesuit, the Duke observed in the strictest manner the ordinances of the Church; he might be seen to accompany the King to the door of the chapel, where the sacrament was to be administered according to the Anglican ritual, and then, in the eyes of all, leave the procession and go away. No representation of the inconveniences, which by this means he drew upon himself or his brother, produced any effect upon him. He preferred to resign his office as Lord High Admiral, rather than take the oath against transubstantiation prescribed in the new Act[1]. The union of parliamentary and Protestant principles, which was regarded as the salvation of England, made it appear the greatest of all dangers, that a prince of such decidedly Catholic opinions should ever ascend the English throne and, by possession of the royal prerogative, attain to the exercise of its rights.

The hope which had at one time not been without foundation, that Queen Catherine might give the King and the country an heir who should live, now no longer existed. It created great excitement when she began to show signs of weakness, which seemed to indicate approaching death; this, in the opinion of a French doctor who examined her condition, was to be expected with certainty, within a few months. It was thought that the country would, with one accord, entreat the King to marry again without delay; for every one wished to see an heir of his body; it was even mentioned to the King himself, who in his sensual way let fall the remark that, if he was to marry a lady of equal birth, she must be beautiful, indeed very beautiful.

Queen Catherine, who never was anything but a foreigner, in her retirement can hardly have learnt anything of all this; she always showed the same submission to her husband, and survived him several years. She herself had no enemies, but the enemies of the Duke of York were the opponents of her marriage. They had recommended to the King a marriage of kin, which was not forbidden in the Holy Scriptures, but it could not be concealed that, according to human laws, the children of such a union would not have an undoubted right to the succession. The necessity of a separation was again brought forward, and Charles II, by the active interest which he showed in the debates about the divorce of Lord Roos in the Upper House, seemed to betray a certain inclination for it. Buckingham always used his influence in that direction. During the late crisis, this thought reappeared with increased strength. The leading members of Parliament told the King that they would so arrange the affair that the succession of his children by a new marriage should be secured. Shaftesbury, who at that time was still Chancellor, could have made use of the authority of his office for the legal accomplishment of this object, and doubtless would have done so [1]. The intention was, to marry the King to a Protestant princess, so as to put an end, once for all, to the anxiety about the succession of a Catholic. But it can be said with certainty, that with Charles II this was not feasible. With all his faithlessness he was not without consideration for his wife; he said that to separate himself from her would be as bad as giving her poison. Besides he was involved as deeply as ever in an illicit connexion. A French lady, whose acquaintance he had made in his sister's suite, Mdlle. de Querouaille, had then returned to England; the King of France himself had encouraged her to listen to the passion which Charles II displayed for her; even the serious Arlington and his wife interested themselves in it, for they wished to disengage the King from other connexions into which Buckingham allured him. The lady was raised to be Duchess of Portsmouth, and gained the greatest influence over him.

---

[1] 'Relatione circa la conversione del duca di York.' In the Altieri Library at Rome.

But if the Duke of York kept his rights in this way, it seemed to his friends that, although he had daughters, it was yet desirable that he should have a son sprung from an entirely equal marriage, who might some day be his heir. They sought eagerly for a new wife for him. The King also considered the selection very important; he knew that his brother in all his actions was dependent upon priests and women.

There were again some thoughts of bringing about an alliance between the house of Stuart and the Austro-Spanish house; as matters then stood, it would have been agreeable even to Parliament. By a Spaniard of the well-known name of Oñate, the attention of the English court was directed to the blooming Archduchess Claudia Felicitas, daughter of the Archduke of the Tyrol, Charles Ferdinand, who had died a few years before. Not without giving information to the Court of Madrid, to which at that time the Catholic project was also communicated, the King sent, in February 1672, the Abbate Guasconi, a Florentine, who was acquainted with the young lady's mother, Anna, of the house of Medici, to Innsbruck, and afterwards to Vienna, to introduce the matter. But on the part of the house of Austria, conditions were made which could not well have been reconciled with the Anglo-French alliance. It seems as if the Duke had wished to agree to them, while the King would not withdraw one hair's breadth from his great ally. And so no kind of understanding had been come to when, in March 1673, the Empress Margaret died, and the Emperor formed the idea of marrying the Archduchess himself: it is no wonder that she preferred the reigning Emperor to the Duke of York. The Duke was then offered one of the still unmarried sisters of the Emperor, but he did not think it very becoming to accept the hand of the sister of his successful rival. This time also the union of the two houses was frustrated.

Attention was again directed to ladies connected with the French court. The first was Maria Anna, the daughter of a prince of Würtemberg, a brave commander who had distinguished himself in various military services, and amongst others in the service of France; her mother, Isabella of Aremberg, was at that time in Paris; the young duchess was being educated in a convent. Here the Duke's confidential chamberlain, Lord Peterborough, saw her at the grating; he thought her handsome, well-educated, gentle and serious, and well adapted for his prince. But her mother was looked upon as an intrigante; Mdlle. de Querouaille especially did not wish to see her at court. But when she then herself proposed a French friend of her own, a princess of Elbœuf, it was objected that she belonged to the house of Lorraine, and might open the way at the English court for the enmity of that house against Louis XIV. I mention in passing these circumstances, because they reveal the personal side of the politics of the time[1]. King Louis now proposed a daughter of the Count Palatine, Philip William, of Neuburg, who at that time was on better terms with him than any other German prince. The information obtained about her did not sound so favourable as to determine the Duke in her favour. At last the Princess Mary of Modena was taken into consideration; her mother was one of Mazarin's nieces. Lord Peterborough, who at once hurried to the spot, gave a very favourable report of her personal appearance; though she was only fourteen years old, she was perfectly developed and tall for her age: he praised her dark eyes and raven hair. Still other difficulties presented themselves in this case. The Roman court, which itself inclined rather to Spanish than to French politics, did not wish to see the consideration of the house of Este increased by such a brilliant union; and the Princess, who had already dedicated herself to the cloister, required a papal dispensation. Against this Cardinal Barberini urged that the English Catholics most earnestly desired the Duke's marriage with a Catholic princess, and that no other but this one was available; he even remarked that there was no need to be so much troubled about the objections made by the Roman court; the marriage ceremony had already been accomplished by proxy before the Roman court issued its dispensation, which it then did, as the Pope said, for the sake of the advantages which in time might grow out of it for the Catholic religion[2].

---

[1] Colbert, April 17, 1673, according to the communications made by the King himself and the Duke of York: 'Le chancelier s'est joint à ceux, qui veulent rompre le mariage du roi, et M. le Duc de York me dit, que ce ministre et ses adhérens avaient dessein, de faire espouser au roi une princesse protestante.' These letters of the ambassador are the source of the following information.

The principal reason for the haste shewn was the approaching meeting of Parliament, which, if once it were assembled, would not allow the marriage to take place: at the time when the matter was decided on officially, the French ambassador calculated that there would still be time before then. Peterborough, in his proposal, had made its immediate acceptance a condition. Cardinal Barberini believed

---

[1] Besides the French despatches, I make use of Halstrade's 'Succintes Genealogies,' 1685; they contain authentic information about Henry Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, which is of importance in this matter.

[2] 'Per i vantaggi, che la religione cattolica in progresso del tempo ne potera recevere.' See also the actual document in the Altieri Library, 'Circa il matrimonio tra la duchessa Maria d'Este ed il Duca di York.'

that he was furthering the cause of all Catholics when he hastened it by his recommendation[1].

Parliament, which assembled on the 20th of October, 1673, decided, even before the actual opening, to petition the King not to allow the intended marriage of his brother with the Princess of Modena to take place, and further not to let him marry any one but a Protestant. The King interrupted the debate by a short prorogation; then he answered that his brother's marriage with the Princess of Modena was not merely proposed, but was already concluded. Soon she herself, accompanied by her mother, arrived at Dover. This time no new religious ceremony was thought necessary. The Bishop of Oxford only asked Lord Peterborough about the wedding, and then declared the marriage to be valid. As early as November the newly-married pair appeared in London.

Even at the last the King had been entreated to delay the marriage; but it was opposed to his dynastic principles to allow Parliament any influence in the matrimonial affairs of the royal family; and moreover the matter had already gone too far for him possibly to withdraw without dishonour. He risked the consequences whatever they might be. But what could they be?

The marriage was the work of the King of France, who had proposed it and carried it through on both sides; it was the most complete expression of the alliance with France: the antipathy towards France, identical before this with the dread of Catholicism, must now be doubled. We have already shown how closely connected with this was the opposition which the King found in Parliament.

But above all the Duke of York, the heir-presumptive to the throne, became the object of general dislike. He had formerly not been disliked; his union with the Clarendon party had won for him a position in Parliament; but these ties were loosened by the gradual progress of his conversion to Catholicism, and his old opponents gained ground against him. A princess of the house of Austria, for which the nation then felt sympathy, would, although Catholic, have been less displeasing. But that the Duke should marry, under the influence of the King of France, a Catholic lady, who also belonged to the French party in Europe, brought him into complete opposition to the feelings of the great majority of the nation.

---

[1] 'Perche aprendosi il parlamento redeva impossibilitati ogni matrimonio con principessa catholica.'

Men do not only live in the present; they wish to be secure of their future. But what could be expected from a prince who was the offspring of such a marriage, and would be brought up and formed under influences equally distasteful?

If the restoration of the house of Stuart rested on a combination of hereditary right and parliamentary principle, then a decisive contradiction was contained in the fact that Parliament had become entirely Protestant, whilst the Stuarts threatened to bring back Catholicism.

Just at the moment that this marriage came distinctly into sight, it had been mooted that the crown of England should be bound by Acts of Parliament to the Protestant faith, which should be made the condition of its possession[1]. But how much was necessary before such a plan could be accomplished! In the first place men's thoughts and wishes took another direction. There was living a member of the royal family who, in fact, if the female succession were to be disregarded, might be looked upon as the next heir—this was the Prince of Orange, whose personal character answered to all the wishes and expectations of the nation: all eyes were directed to him.

Amongst the children of Charles I, the Princess of Orange and the Duke of Gloucester, who both died young, represented a different mixture of character from Charles II and the Duke of York; they seemed to be more serious, to have a firmer hold on morals and religion. The young Prince William of Orange made a good impression when he appeared in England, and every one perceived his likeness to his mother the Princess; at his first meeting with his two uncles, whose Catholic tendencies he disliked, he showed himself to be a confirmed and immoveable Protestant. From extravagances, clothed as they were with the charm of wit and intellect, he likewise naturally kept aloof. He liked bodily exercises because they fatigued him, especially hunting; he went early to bed; a good drink of beer was dearer to him than an exciting banquet. In the difficult relations into which his descent and legal claim to the highest offices of the Republic brought him from the first, he developed a calm, sensible bearing. Prince William III of Orange was one of the rare men of early moral maturity who, at their entrance upon the stage of human affairs, are already all that they ever will be, and perhaps ought to be. Many a high-flown speech is ascribed to him in which, when an unexpected fate elevated him at once to the position which his forefathers had occupied, he refused proposals of the two neighbouring kings, which aimed at the debasement of the Republic. I am unwilling either to give credence to them or to reject them. But in reality the grand action with which he makes his entrance into history, is that he put far from him an elevation and establishment of his own position, which was offered him at the price of loss to the State. His inward pride would not allow him to be the representative, even though it were the hereditary representative, of a degraded and dependent country. He refused even to take the proposals of Louis XIV into consideration; to his uncle he answered with conditions which, though troublesome, would still have been bearable; and even from these what was most burdensome was afterwards struck out. When we saw how closely the interests of Parliament and those of Spain at that time coincided, the Prince formed a third party to this alliance: the direction of that course of foreign policy of the Republic, in the conduct of which the De Witts had fallen, he now took in hand, but with much greater ability; he was their successor in relation to home affairs as well. The commission for secret affairs, upon which the authority of De Witt depended, remained in existence. The Secretary of the States-General, Gaspar Fagel, a former adherent of De Witt's, was advanced by the

---

[1] On July 10, 1673, the King said that he expected these resolutions from the Parliament: 'L'exil de M. le Duc d'York est une acte, qui exclurroit pour jamais tout Prince Catholique d'Angleterre.'

Prince's express wish, to be Grand-Pensionary, and in this manner became head of the commission, only with the instruction always to impart the most important matters first of all to the Prince. By this arrangement the Prince, with whom Fagel stood in the most intimate relations, became master of the commission, and to a certain extent head of the State. With considerate circumspection, for which the learned statesmen found an example recorded by Livy in Roman history, they knew how to satisfy the people in the midst of revolution, without undermining the respect due to those in authority. On this double foundation the Prince's power grew up. The misfortunes of the times when there had been no Statholder had everywhere called forth the conviction, that the return of such times must be for ever prevented. At first, in the Assembly of the States of Holland, the proposal was made by one town to declare hereditary the office of Captain-General and Statholder, and it was accepted by the towns and the nobility. In accordance with this, on February 2, 1674, the United States of Holland and West Friesland determined to grant to the Prince of Orange and his male heirs the offices of Statholder, Captain-General and Admiral-General. Not only did Zealand and East Friesland support this, but they expressly extended the right of inheritance to later descendants. Some days after there followed in the States-General a resolution, that the office of Captain-General and Admiral of the United Netherlands should be hereditary in the Prince's male line. Every one exerted himself to show him sympathy. Rich presents followed, the richest being from the East Indian Company. Especially he was entreated to marry as soon as possible and so establish the statholder dynasty. It is curious how, in the midst of the Republic, an hereditary princedom arose in the form of a supreme magistracy.

This result, which had a certain affinity to the restoration of monarchy in England, now made the greatest impression upon Charles II; he began to value his nephew more highly. Till now the Prince had stood in close connexion with Parliament; Shaftesbury, Halifax, Coventry's nephew, and Robert Howard, are named as his friends: but he was

also connected with those who opposed the French alliance, such as Ormond and his son Ossory. Since they one and all thought how to secure themselves against the vengeance of the Duke of York and his friends of the French party, it seemed to them a desirable expedient to marry one of the Duke's daughters to the Prince. And to this idea Charles II now also consented. The Prince had the highest reputation in England; he might some day become all the more dangerous, because many ascribed to him personally an eventual right of succession. The marriage of the Prince with the Duke's eldest daughter seemed to the King to contain a security for the Duke himself during his lifetime, and for the throne generally.

Negotiations were entered into about this affair before it was mentioned to the Duke. The French indeed warned him, that by it he would rush headlong into evident danger. But present considerations seem to have overbalanced concern for the future. He at last agreed not to object, should the Prince ask for the hand of his daughter.

It agrees again exactly with Charles II's character that he determined to prorogue Parliament still longer, because it would have insisted upon entering into the great alliance against France, and yet that at the same time he allowed an intimation, which must bring about the most complete understanding, to be made to the Prince of Orange, whose whole interest tended in that way. The prorogation was arranged with Lauderdale, who in spite of Parliament remained in office, without Arlington's knowing anything about it. Arlington was entrusted with the mission to Holland, and of that Lauderdale did not hear a word. Arlington even had only to carry out the political side of the mission; the dynastic question was entrusted to young Lord Ossory, who was sent as his companion.

In December 1674 we find the two ambassadors at the Hague. The grounds of the political agreement were discussed with Arlington. The Prince complained that Charles II allowed Englishmen to take service with France, but not with the great Alliance; for his own part he declared that, if he had formerly stood in connexion with members of the opposition, this was no longer the case. Ossory, who came to the Prince in a particularly confidential relation, did not execute his commission literally; instead of awaiting a demand, he advanced with a kind of offer. The Prince answered that, however grateful he might be for the honour which was intended for him, he could not accept it at once, but would come to England and introduce himself to the Princess; he would first learn from her whether his person was disagreeable to her or not. He was in the midst of war; the Princess was still very young; he meant without doubt what he said, although the Duke, somewhat indignant with Ossory, professed at least to regard the answer as a refusal.

Indeed everything was as yet doubtful. Among the Prince's parliamentary friends there were some who dissuaded him from agreeing to the marriage. They assured him that they would exclude the Duke's children from the succession, and would declare him, the Prince of Orange, grandson of Charles I, to be the next heir to the throne[1].

This was the result of Charles II's attempt, when once the parliamentary constitution and the Anglican Church had been established in close connexion, to restrict their dominion by the unrestrained exercise of the prerogative. His idea of reintroducing Catholicism into England, and of giving free scope to the great neighbouring kingdom for its proceedings on the Continent, although under certain conditions, proved itself to be the most disastrous which an English government had ever entertained. For even in the thoroughly Royalist Parliament there survived a religious conviction and a political tradition, which uncontrollably opposed him. At that time the prerogative was beaten back on all points, the alliance with France annulled, and Protestantism securely established. To avoid the risk of like dangers in the future, the possibility was contemplated of placing on the throne a prince who in all points answered to these principles. But much was still wanting before this could be attained; of all the pending questions, as has been shown, not one had,

as yet, been altogether definitely determined. Whilst King, Parliament, and Church, all three indeed forming only one party, strove with one another, other elements arose which opposed in principle all of them together, and interfering in their conflict, themselves endeavoured to rise independently into prominence. In every other point also men's minds were in a state of eager excitement.

---

[1] For this paragraph also I have been able to derive much from the correspondence between Holland, England, and France.

CHAPTER XII.

MOVEMENT IN LITERATURE.

THERE was still living the philosopher of the epoch, Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, whose incisive sayings had for more than a generation set all minds fermenting. He had formerly devoted himself in Oxford, with as much zeal as any one else, to the scholastic doctrines as they were there taught, but later had entirely put them aside, at first during his travels on the Continent, where he thought he saw that the world was occupied with entirely different problems from those which were proposed in Oxford, and then after his return, by renewed study of the old classical literature, particularly the poets and historians. A decisive influence over his education was exercised by the political occurrences of the time. During many years he enjoyed the peace which Richelieu's supreme authority had produced, and the free literary intercourse which it favoured[1]; he loved the intellectual atmosphere in which strangers moved in Paris. On his return to England, the first outbreak of the civil disturbances, which affected all men's thoughts and actions, terrified him and moved him to return to Paris. Between the opposite impressions of salutary repose under a monarchy, and wild civil war, caused by the attempt to limit the Prince's power, his theory about state power, I will not say originated, because it hangs together with all that he perceived and thought, but at least ripened and attained a form in which it could be expressed. Still perhaps the conditions of France did not satisfy him; from the bottom of his soul he hated the preponderance of Catholicism on which the stability of France depended. Hobbes is one of the greatest opponents of hierarchical influences in the state who has ever existed. In the combination of absolute civil power and its protection from all religious influences lies the peculiarity of his system. According to him, the state originates in a universal consent, independent of all opinions, reposing on the necessity of peace, which is needed by all, and which exists by the transfer of every personal right to one supreme power. This power he ascribes to the chief magistracy, in spiritual as well as in secular affairs. He not only emancipates it from the religious element, by which it has supported itself from the earliest times, but he makes the religious element subject to it. For, from the impossibility of controlling religious aspirations, he deduces the mischief which has befallen England and the confusion of the world in general[1]. He claims for the supreme power the right to exclude those doctrines which are not compatible with obedience, and even to determine what is to be reckoned as good and what as bad. Not that he questions the moral law of nature or revelation, but the one he wishes, by the declaration of the state, to withdraw from the domain of individual opinion[2], to the other he gives an entirely transcendental meaning. He interprets literally the words 'the Kingdom of God is not of this world.' He ascribes to the state the right of preparing for it, but also the right to determine the way and manner in which that shall be done. In the great struggle between Church and State, which was caused by their very union, Hobbes, without loosening their connexion, places himself in the front rank of the champions of civil power. And doubtless it is good that great contrasts should appear from time to time in all their sharpness. Hobbes attacks the divine right which the various parties, whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian, assert, as well as the claim of the fanatical

---

[1] Auctarium Vitae Hobbianae. Opera, ed. Molesworth i. xxiv.

---

[1] Leviathan c. xviii. 'Actiones ab opinionibus ortum habent; in harum ergo regulatione consistit regulatio civium;' or as it stands in English, 'in the well governing of opinions consisteth the well governing of men's actions.'

[2] 'Non quaerimus, an furtum sit peccatum; quaerimus, quid furtum dicendum sit.'

sects to personal inspiration. But his principal antipathy is directed against the Catholic idea which, though banished from England, may come back any day, and will then be more pernicious than ever. It would be worth discussion how far this hostile impulse has influenced his philosophical system, even when it seems independent of it; his attacks on Aristotle are evidently connected with it. In one passage he has investigated at great length, which of the doctrines of that philosopher it can have been that had procured for him an entrance into the universities patronised by the Papacy, and in what connexion they stand to it. In so doing he comes into opposition with the elementary conceptions on which the entire modern view of the world depends; that is to say, he combats the doctrine of the individual rights, for according to him everything proceeds from the conception of the collective body. He derives political society from the right of all men to all things, the consequent war of all against all, and the necessity of founding, for their protection, a supreme authority armed with the sword of justice, to which each voluntarily resigns his original right; and so he is led to the assumption of an absolute authority before which every individual and corporate right vanishes. Even the modified form in which, after the example of the Scots, the doctrine of national sovereignty was then taught, namely, that the Prince was of more consequence than each individual, but of less than the community, he rejects unconditionally, for in that case two sovereigns would be set one against another. But besides the Prince, who represents the universal will, there can, according to Hobbes, be no further representation of that will; to divide the civil power would be to contradict its idea. From this abstract theory, the truth of which lies in the assumption that the individual depends, for his rightful existence and his security, on the state whose original foundations may never be injured, Hobbes advances immediately to the consideration of the concrete questions then under discussion. According to his view, the Lower House represents the boroughs and counties by which it is elected, but in no respect the nation. Parliament is summoned for a definite object; to go beyond that lies outside its competence. The disputed rights of the militia, of taxation, of justice, and even of legislation, he claims for the Prince. Who would deny that even here polemical considerations influence him? Sometimes he allows his intention to appear, of maintaining unimpaired from his point of view the rights of the Stuarts, with whom he stood in close connexion, just as he endeavoured to bring into agreement with his fiction of a contract the right of conquest out of which the English monarchy had arisen. This however does not affect the sum of his teaching, which only aims at representing the origin of civil power in general; its form might just as well be aristocratic, and even democratic, as monarchic; it being premised, that the power itself is regarded as the representative of the nation and the expression of its universal will, and is subjected to no limitation. From the beginning no one was beguiled into thinking that this doctrine of absolutism corresponded to the old idea of the monarchy. Hobbes had given the young King in Paris instruction in mathematics, but even then he was excluded from the court. His principal book, the Leviathan, could only appear under the protection of the Commonwealth; when, under its rules, all spiritual censorship of the press had been abolished, he returned to England. But his book won him no friends, and he was attacked on all sides with violence. With Cromwell's administration the ideas of Hobbes have a certain affinity; but Cromwell never separated himself so far from his religious sympathies as to form any connexion with Hobbes, who on his side regarded the Protector as a crafty hypocrite. After the Restoration Charles II treated the philosopher with personal friendship, and gave him a pension. But the publication of the Behemoth, an historic dialogue in which Hobbes represented the occurrences of the last ten years from his own point of view, was forbidden by the King. For Hobbes stood in open antagonism to the religious ideas as they had taken form after the Restoration. As formerly the Presbyterian Parliament under Cromwell, so now also the Anglican Parliament threatened him with religious censure. From the two universities, which he had wished fundamentally to reform, he met with bitter hostility. Into the Royal Society, of which he approved, he still could not gain admittance; amongst its members also his paradoxes and violence had made him enemies. The King once remarked, Hobbes' hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him[1]. Hobbes found a refuge in the family of Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, to which he had for many years been attached. His books are for the most part dedicated to one or other of its members; he accompanied them to their country houses, for instance to Chatsworth; there in the morning he took long walks over the neighbouring hills, in the afternoon he buried himself in his studies; he was supplied with all that he wanted, tobacco and lights, and then left alone. Hobbes attained the greatest age that nature grants to man; still every year he published something. But even in the Cavendish family he was looked upon as an eccentric character whose opinions no one shared.

The world withdrew from him because he had taken up a position outside its passing struggles, and even the ideas amongst which it lived. But in spite of this estrangement from the world around him, Hobbes continues to possess an increasing historical importance. Men and things change, but ideas expressed in words and in writing can soar above this change, and exercise an influence over the most distant epochs. We know that the idea of a Republic ruling unconditionally was constructed in France upon Hobbes' doctrines; that the greatest ruler of modern times has declared himself the representative of the nation almost in the words of Hobbes. Scientifically also Hobbes exercised, even in his own time, the greatest influence; he stood in active connexion with the most remarkable intellects of the time; many of them recognise the impulse they received from him.

In England already by the side of the old philosopher arose a young man who, with many points of connexion with him, but still more of difference, was destined to be placed at once, by the judgment of all, pre-eminent above him. This was John Locke. Let us glance at their relationship.

In his theory of the State, Locke also sets forth a primitive condition, out of which men passed, by means of a contract, to civil and political society; this is not far removed from the war of all against all; but by the side of the hostility of one against another he also recognises, in accordance with the implanted law of nature, a condition of peace which, for the very purpose of avoiding war, is next worked out into society and the state. This, according to him also, is brought about by the individual's resignation of his right to help himself in favour of the community, or of those who are esteemed the most fitted for the maintenance of public order, but this with reservation of the individual rights of each, which no one can resign, and of property. Hobbes had always before him the absolute power of the state, Locke a closely-limited monarchy. Hobbes lays the emphasis upon unconditional obedience to the sovereign, Locke upon the mutual obligation between Prince and people. In one of his earlier writings he characterises the Prince as the person in whom the people have bound up their freedom, their property, and their safety[1]; whoever attacks the Prince offends the people: but even a prince may not break this consecrated chain. Hobbes opposes the constitutional theory; Locke is its champion, and has materially advanced its development.

The historical impulses from which these two philosophers received their bent were entirely different.

Hobbes constructed his system when the rush of sectarian opinions was undermining the state; Locke, on the other hand, constructed his when the restored Church system was making preparation to suppress all divergence of opinion. He also greeted the King's restoration with joy, because by it came security from the ambition of the professing children of God; but from the first moment he busied himself with the admission of the Presbyterians into the State-Church. One of his earliest compositions is concerned with this question; he regards it as soluble, if only the fewest possible ceremonies are introduced. This was also the opinion of the moderate Presbyterians.

---

[1] Sorbière, Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre, 80: 'S. M. le compara très bien à l'ours, contre lequels il fait battre les dogues pour les exercer.'

[1] Letter of a person of quality, 1675: 'Every individual subject is under the fear of the King and his people;—the whole people have bound up in the prince and derive from him all their liberty, property and safety.' (Locke, Works x. 222.)

Already also latitudinarianism with reference to speculative doctrines makes itself felt, and Locke was one of its disciples. Only how was it then possible to attain moderation? episcopacy, in its connexion with monarchy, against which Locke's father had once borne arms in the army of the Long Parliament, advanced to a dominion which might become intolerable.

In the midst of this conflict Locke conceived the idea, that Church and State in general ought to be separate from one another.

We have a treatise of his in which he makes clear to himself the differences of the twofold society, the civil and the religious, in which man lives[1]. The aim of the one he sees to be the enjoyment of the present life, that of the other the acquisition of future salvation; he is of opinion that the one has laws which originated in its own bosom, and has the right to punish those who transgress them, and thereby disturb the well-being of their fellows; in the other case, on the contrary, the legislator stands above the society, his punishments are those of eternity; the society has no other chastisement for the transgressor than exclusion from its number.

The two authors coincide in assigning to the religious element a transcendental domain; but with Hobbes, opposition to religious influences is the stronger; he ascribes to his sovereign the right, and even the duty, of pronouncing concerning the worship of God: with Locke, antagonism to the influence of the temporal power over the religious society has the upper hand; he leaves to this its own justification. Locke, like Hobbes, secularises the civil power; but far from subjecting the Church to it, he rather refuses it the right of exercising any influence over the religious society.

But Hobbes penetrates deeper into the original strife of the elements which constitute the world, when he assumes a state of things in which property did not yet exist. The division of possessions is, according to him, the work of the civil power, which therefore always reserves a right over them. Locke on the other hand ascribes to the right of property, which he derives principally from labour, a more individual basis; according to him it precedes the state, which is an institution established for the preservation of property, and its object is the peaceable enjoyment of the good things of this world. Hobbes sees in money the measure of all possessions, as it were the blood of the state, in the same way as he compares the treasury to the functions of the heart, since the state presents itself to him as a living organism; Locke declares money to be merchandise as much as any other goods; he makes personal property his basis.

Hobbes has been reproached with caring too little for others; even when he was travelling nothing occupied him so much as the excogitation and construction of his theory. Locke's journals show that he kept his eyes wide open to the reality of things. He shone in the witty society of the day; through his connexion with Shaftesbury and William of Orange he was concerned all his life with political transactions and occurrences, in which he took part by many pamphlets. Hobbes was a dogmatist who would endure no contradiction; his strength consists in the clearness of his definitions, his sharp-cut conclusions, and the convincing logic of his train of thought; to him the individual disappears before the universal, freedom before necessity, subjective morality before objective law; when we read him we cannot escape being profoundly impressed; he is deep and bold, pithy, austere, and even terrible. Locke on the other hand takes his stand definitely upon the right, that is upon the spiritual and moral needs, of the individual; he purposes to unite the mystery of revelation, to which he holds fast, with the reason of the individual; he could not be called profound, but he is by no means superficial; he is sometimes lengthy, but never tedious; he keeps to that moderate elevation of flight which contents the majority, he never loses himself in clouds; we follow him with easy and quiet assent; it is as though we listened to the arguments of the healthy human intellect. Hobbes belongs to the great agonies of the seventeenth century; Locke appears as one of the chief forerunners and founders of the eighteenth.

While these philosophers, each in his own way, combated the central idea of the Anglican Church, whose existence

---

[1] In King's Life of Locke.

depends on forming an alliance with the State while preserving her hierarchical character, that Church had again established herself in full possession. Without doubt she owes this also to her intellectual merits. Never had the English Church more active bishops, more intelligent preachers, more learned theologians, than in the ten years after the Restoration. The works of Pearson, Sparrow, Hammond, Bull, have won for themselves almost a canonical authority. The political position of the Church however also contributed to this result. Jeremy Taylor, who in a comprehensive work seeks to remove all the doubts which were raised about her doctrines and position, refers sometimes in the course of it to political questions also. The doctrine of the original compact meets with no approval at his hand; he derives the royal authority from paternal power and the will of God. He denies the right of resistance, and the right of calling the King to account if he break the law. But he holds fast to the view that the King, if not bound by the law, still by virtue of the oath which he has taken, is bound to the law. In general the English Church did not forget for a moment how closely she was united with the parliamentary system, but only so far as this was in harmony with the course of English history, in which the monarchy also occupied an important place. Upon the co-operation of these elements her original foundation rests, and also her restoration at that time; Church and constitution are woven most closely together.

This union was attacked not only by the philosophers, but also by those who were separatists through religious conviction, most strongly by the Quakers, the sect which at that time bestirred itself most actively.

Originally the Quakers shared with the Anabaptists not only their principles, but also the intensity of their impulses [1]; peaceful men dreaded possible violence at their hands. But by degrees they grew calm. The man who in this matter exercised most influence was without doubt George Fox, who in curious apparel, clothed entirely in leather, a man of tall

---

[1] Baillie, 1656, iii. 323: 'If their partie goe on in its grouth, their fury is lyke to goe to immercefull killing of all their opposers.'

and vigorous frame, wandered from place to place, and everywhere exercised over the lower classes, especially the artisans, being himself one, an irresistible power of attraction by his fiery exhortations, his fervent prayers, and occasionally by his sensible words. He however declared himself against the presumption of identity with the Divine nature, to which some of the enlightened gave themselves up, even to the contempt of all law; he also opposed all violence and self-assumption. Revolutionists, he exclaims, instigators of disturbances, all such as take up the sword, belong to the world; our arms on the other hand are only spiritual. He imagined that he saw in the restoration of the King the mighty hand of God; it was not as yet all that should come, but it helped in God's cause. By means of the united action of the enthusiastic Fox and the learned young Barclay, the sect ceased to be dangerous to the state. Only one thing it would not endure, the interference of public authority with its assemblies. Through their doctrine of inward light, which contained in itself a share in the Divine Being, their claim to full freedom of worship became doubly strong; for man is the abode of God; the relation between men and God, or between members of the same faith, could not be submitted to the interference of a magistrate [1]. They did not consider that thy owed any obedience to the Conventicle Bill. But they were not merely content to establish their spiritual claim. Once, in August 1670, young William Penn, whose conversion to the Quakers had caused the greatest sensation, because in this way he had renounced a glorious future in the service of the state, had spoken in the assembly in Gracechurch Street, and had been on that account arrested. When before the jury, he derived freedom of conscience from the fundamental rights of Englishmen; he denied the right of the legislative power to make the enjoyment of its privileges dependent upon any confession of faith. When it was suggested, as it was at this trial, that Parliament would make submission to the Act of Uniformity a condition for legal protection, he declared it to be a national impossibility; for no Englishman could be so perverted as to allow those liberties which, before the strife between Catholicism and Protestantism—between Uniformity and the Dissenters, had been his recognised rights, to be attached to a religious confession[1].

---

[1] Barclaji, Theologiæ Apologiæ 316.

It is remarkable that the recognised omnipotence of Parliament, united as it was with the Church, should have met with limitation from this side. The claims of the spiritual idea found a basis in the constitutional principles of English liberty. The jury could not be brought to declare that meeting illegal.

There were still men in England who were occupied neither with the supremacy of the Church, nor yet with the enthusiasm of the sects. In reality it was the feeling of weariness about political and religious disputes which produced, even during the civil war, the réunion from which the Royal Society proceeded. Its first rule was, that amongst its members there should be no mention made of religious and political disputes; the advance of mathematical and physical sciences, at which in those days intellects of the first rank in all nations laboured together, seemed to promise better food for the mind and better results for its activity[2]. But neither the Universities nor London offered a secure abode to these 'scientific nonconformists,' as they were happily called. Gresham College, where the members had assembled from time to time, was taken as quarters by the troops of the Protector and the Commonwealth. What would happen if the Anabaptists, as seemed very likely, were to keep the upper hand in the state? All hope of a fostering care for science must in that case be given up.

On this account also many wished for the restoration of legitimate monarchy. For indeed under the Stuarts there had already been frequent mention of the establishment of a school of science, entirely independent of all other considerations. The Lord Chancellor Bacon had given expression to this feeling in his New Atlantis; there he had established the ideal of a scientific institution, which should be founded only for scientific purposes, and should be provided with every possible means for their attainment; he called it Solomon's House: this idea, upheld by Bacon's fame, hovered before all minds. No one deceived himself about the fact that Bacon's knowledge, notions and attempts had still been very defective; the influence of his writings on posterity lay in the confidence with which he pointed to the study of nature as the key to the knowledge of objective truth, and expected the completion of a philosophical science as the result of empirical investigation. On the King's restoration men were much occupied with kindred schemes. Some had in their minds a philosophical monastery, others a comprehensive and free educational institute; sometimes the establishment of a mathematical and physical college was spoken of. Probably the plan which had the greatest dimensions was that advanced by a Swede at that time in London, of the family of Skytte, in which the enthusiasm for learning seemed hereditary. It was the same Skytte, who some years later proposed to the Elector of Brandenburg the selection of some definite town exclusively for the advancement of liberal science. At that time King Charles took his proposals into consideration, but the English nevertheless thought it more advisable to stay in the path which they had already entered[1]. The members of the older association, Boyle, Wilkins, Goddard, Petty, Wren, formed themselves, with other men of the same disposition (amongst whom were many, like Robert Moray, who had returned with the King) into a better organised society, pledging themselves to make regular contributions for scientific purposes[2]; the King, who affirmed that he himself was one of the Virtuosi (for this expression was then applied to science also), assured them of his especial protection; after some time, he gave them corporate rights,

---

[1] 'No Englishman can be so sottish as to conceive, that his right to liberty and property' (amongst other things the taking away of books was looked upon as a crime) 'came in with his profession of the Protestant religion; or that his natural and human rights are dependent on certain religious apprehensions.' From the appendix to the report of the proceedings, State Trials vi. 991.

[2] Sprat, History of the Royal Society 53. They wished to arm themselves with sober knowledge against 'the enchantements of enthusiasme. Spiritual frenzies can never stand long before a clear and a deep skill of nature.'

[1] From a letter of Hartlieb. Kennet Reg. 870.

[2] Memorandum in Weld, History of the Royal Society, 65.

and bestowed on them the title of the Royal Society. Hence it has been called 'the King's Privy Council for philosophy,' or his 'Parliament in the affairs of nature'; so highly was this authorisation of the Society valued.

According to Bacon's model, the object of the Society was directed to the establishment, in the future it is true, of a system by which the causes of things should be explained, but for the present it was content to abstract itself from all theories, and merely to investigate facts. When a foreign scholar, who had visited the Society, said shortly afterwards in print that the greater number of its members were in favour of Gassendi, but that the mathematicians were for Descartes, his remark gave no little offence, for the Society had no connexion either with the one or with the other, nor had it made lectures its object, as he implied, but rather investigations and experiments.

This was precisely what the times required. The Society, which at first included in its number many members of medical colleges, acquired for itself the merit of putting beyond all doubt by its experiments Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood. In consequence of the improvement of the telescope, the most important astronomical discoveries had been made during the last years; good and continually improving instruments were procured; consequently one day Saturn's ring, or as it was still called, his belt, was observed in the presence of the King. It was in astronomy that Charles II took the most lively interest, on account of its relation to navigation. He founded the Observatory of Greenwich which, by observations regularly and uninterrupedly made and recorded, has become of the greatest importance for astronomy; the first Astronomer Royal was a member of the Society, which provided him with his instruments. The discovery of the air-pump was taken up by Robert Boyle with such zeal, that it has even been inscribed to him by his fellow-countrymen. The Magdeburg hemispheres and Boyle's vacuum are indissolubly connected. Of the older members of the Society, no one rendered it greater service than Boyle. But of the questions which occupied natural philosophers throughout the world, those were without doubt the most important which

related to the laws of motion. The Society had the merit of perceiving their importance and of keeping them under discussion, and then enjoyed the great good fortune that amongst its members appeared the genius who solved them, Isaac Newton. Rising above all isolated attempts, there was established a secure and unalterable theory, which all later attacks only confirmed, and which embraced the universe.

It is true that the Society intended to deliver scientific investigation as well from the machinations of the sects as from the superintendence of the Church; amongst its members were Socinians and freethinkers; but the majority were attached to the established Church, even those who did not agree with all her Articles. On the whole Bacon's point of view was maintained, that the domain of natural should be separated from that of supernatural knowledge: Newton protests against the mixture of physics and metaphysics; two of his most important works conclude with a lofty recognition of the Creator of the world, as distinct from the world itself[1].

To those laws of nature also, upon which human society rests, investigations were directed. A simple citizen of London, John Graunt, conceived the happy idea of deducing from the lists of mortality, and the information given there as to the age and disease of those who died, general results[2], which threw unexpected light on the eternal economy of nature with regard to human life, and which pointed out a law in what seemed to be chance; the further investigation of these results has occupied succeeding generations in all countries. At the same time, a basis was thus gained from which the actual population, their proportion in town and country, as well as in the different counties, might be reckoned. One of the first founders of the Society, William Petty, who possessed the peculiar faculty of laying hold of material things in their intellectual relations, and of turning them to public use, took in hand the register of taxes and the returns of receipts from the direct and indirect taxes, and so advanced one step further in the calculation of the state resources in general[1]. He calculates first those of England, and then those of foreign countries, as far as they furnished similar materials. It was of immediate importance that the comparison with France could be made on a more extensive scale. We see here the science of statistics in its beginning, still feeling its way, and attaching too much importance to calculation, but on a better foundation than hitherto; in the competition of nations, the care for internal prosperity, which is the origin of all national strength, is introduced with fuller consciousness. With regard to trade, a similar point of view had been adopted long before. The first impulse in this, as in many other matters, was communicated from Italy. In Tuscany especially, a peculiar combination of improvement in the country and in commercial policy was observed; amongst other things, it had great effect on a question which was also much considered in England, namely that, wherever the export of precious metals was allowed, ready money was always to be had, whilst in Spain, where the export was forbidden, the greatest scarcity of it was felt. To this was added the example of Holland. There were clear-sighted merchants who, from their experience on all sides, had inferred rules which England need only follow to attain its great destiny. Every one seemed imbued with the idea that England could and must become the greatest emporium, the universal warehouse of the world[2]. The growing science had its origin in a practical interest, and nourished the sense of nationality.

---

[1] From Sprat we see that the following is the opinion of the Society as a whole:—'It is a religion which is confirmed by an unanimous agreement of all sorts of worship.' Cf. Evelyn's Letter to W. Wotton respecting Boyle. Diary iii. 346.

[2] 'Natural and political observations on the bills of mortality 98; the foundation of this honest harmless policy is to understand the land and the hands of the territories.'

It is not our province to enter into the learned labours of this epoch; it is enough that they were not discontinued during its storms; but the mighty movement with which the English mind was occupied, entirely concerned as it was with the contests of the present, yet containing the germs of the future, could not promote calm contemplation of what was remote and bygone; what was attempted in this way, even by men of genius, has proved of no great importance. I must reserve for another place the estimate of the works on contemporary history, and examine their trustworthiness as to matters of fact. By far the most important are Clarendon's two works, about the times of the Rebellion and of his own administration; they are the labours of his first and second exile, filled with the sentiment of passing events; the mirror of his position, of his efforts and ideas, written with the same continued and easy-flowing eloquence which characterised his speeches; they express the impression left upon him by men and things, and are thrown upon the paper almost without revision, as can be observed from the neatness of the manuscript, which exists at Oxford; they are memoirs and history in one, a splendid memorial of the time, especially of all those men who defended in the kingdom of England its ancient laws and the Anglican Church. It marks the literary character of the epoch, that men occupied themselves so much and so seriously with contemporary history. Hobbes himself made the attempt from his philosophical point of view, if not actually to represent, at least to judge it, and to subject it to his theory. On the other hand the naked facts appear in various diaries, as they presented themselves to the unprejudiced eye, with fresh local colouring. We find diplomatic records of rare truthfulness. Burnet soon made his appearance, who not belonging to the same party as the Chancellor, took up a different and a lighter tone. The events, which at two epochs led to great but opposite results, compelled contemporaries to treat them as of historic importance.

And can it not be said of the poetical literature of this time, that it represents principally the impression produced by prevailing circumstances?

The theatre was principally an affair of the court; it was even obliged to serve those in power in their most private animosities. Lady Castlemaine once caused Mrs. Hervey to be brought upon the stage, as she was in real life, having been displeased by her freedom of speech, and all the more because she paid no heed even to the King's presence, and this served to attract him. The actress who undertook this, and who succeeded very well in it, was punished for it by a short imprisonment; that was all. Similarly Buckingham revenged himself for the opposition, which he encountered in the sittings of the Privy Council from Coventry, by causing him to be put upon the stage in a way that could easily be recognised. I have mentioned above, how the antagonism, which arose in consequence, ended in Coventry's losing his high position, and that again contributed to throw him into the opposition, where he played such an important part[1]. In other ways also the theatre reacted powerfully upon life. The director of the Duke's theatre, William Davenant, who had the strange fancy that he was Shakspeare's natural son, had indeed a great influence upon the externals of the drama; he introduced shifting scenes and caused female parts to be represented by women. But that again contributed to the disorders of the court, for it was precisely towards actresses that Buckingham directed the King's inclinations; his connexion with Moll Davis and Nell Gwyn, and the offence which they gave, date from this; on the occasion of a demand for money, they were once mentioned even in Parliament, and for this on the other side an outrageous revenge was taken. A mere imitation of the French style was not to be seen on the English stage. The French, who came to London, were struck by the difference between the two; they could not reconcile themselves to the neglect of the unities of time and place, but they considered the more powerful delineation of character as even worthy of imitation[2]. There were a number of older pieces which always attracted the public; the two theatres had as it were divided them. In the representations of the time it is particularly the indecency,

---

[1] 'Two essays in political arithmetick, concerning the people &c. of London and Paris,' and others of his essays.

[2] Lewis Roberts, 'The treasure of traffik, 1641,' is very thorough and instructive on this point; not less curious is Henry Robinson, 'England's safetie in trade, 1641': for example, the recommendation of a bank. 'Erecting a bank or grand cash on such foundation and security as all men may think more sure there, than in their houses.'

---

[1] About both these matters I only find mention made by the French ambassador.

[2] St. Evremond: de la comédie Anglaise. Œuvres iii. 275. The best critic of this literature, Macaulay, has made admirable use of the comedians to gain a view of the private life of the time.

in many places rather sought for than avoided, which has struck posterity. That this was then regarded as right or proper cannot perhaps be said, as the ladies through a certain dread of it, only came in masks to the first representations; but the play served for amusement, and corresponded at the same time to a political sentiment. As the Puritanism and Republicanism faction had entirely destroyed the theatre, the Royalists, in opposition to this exaggerated strictness, threw themselves with a distinct purpose into the opposite extreme.

A similar opposition also appeared in lyrical and didactic poetry, most strongly in the poetical remains of young Wilmot, Lord Rochester, who already, through his father, belonged to the court, and was looked on as the man in England who had the most intellect and the least decency[1]. It may well be that Hobbes contributed by his philosophy to make the young men at court deny the value of moral ideas. Rochester designates the colleges and schools which adhered to them as respectable mad-houses; he sees hypocrisy in virtue, cowardice in decency, and a kind of morality in the rejection of all restraint; and, as he thought, so he lived; in a few years he had ruined himself. For he who withdraws himself from moral law must incur the penalty of nature.

The most effective and most celebrated work of the reaction against Puritanism is Butler's Hudibras. In the outline of the story we recognise a not very happy imitation of Don Quixote, but otherwise the work possesses an originality of conception, diction and metre, in which again every imitation has failed. And if Butler has held up the religionists, who aspire to power, to the derision of centuries, yet he has not fallen into the other faults which have just been mentioned. He has similarly lashed, in his way, the extravagances of the court. Of the poets who attached themselves to the Restoration, he has most of the old English sentiment.

One merit the others possessed to which Butler did not aspire; they sought to bring poetical utterances into accordance with the speech of daily life and society. A form was aimed at, which we may designate as the modern classical form, and which then attained a certain perfection in France; the foundation in England of an institution like the French Academy was even taken into consideration. Abraham Cowley has the credit of having contributed most to remodel the pedantic manner of his predecessors, in the style which afterwards remained prevalent in England. He is full of geniality, and in the lighter styles has sometimes succeeded most happily. Still Rochester, who took his stand with decision upon the new ground, (if a foreigner may express his opinion on the point,) would, as regards form, deserve the prize. The accompanying tendency towards an imitation of the poets of antiquity, and principally of the Augustan age, was especially appropriated by Dryden. Horace, and his interpreter Boileau, were regarded upon both sides of the Channel as the law-givers for poetical productions. Dryden himself shows in his prefaces a delicate feeling for the appreciation of the ancient poets. But original works could not, at this stage of cultivation, be produced in England as they had been in France. For the value of the French poetry of this time cannot be ascribed to imitation. It was much more the temper which was formed in that epoch, and remained victorious and still genuinely French, that was expressed by Corneille and Racine; their works rest upon a feeling common to the nation and society, which they promote while they express. But in England things had not advanced so far. The ideas of the Restoration were far from ruling the nation. In the general disunion each had to seek his own way, there was nothing but the effort of talent, the success of which depended on the favour of the moment.

---

[1] In speaking of Rochester's 'Upon Nothing,' Johnson has called to mind Passerat's Nihil (Johnson, Lives of the Poets i. 299). But how much higher Rochester stands!

Of Dryden's works those only in reality possess the power of attracting and interesting us, in which he followed no model; such as the Religio Laici, which carries the direct conviction of truth, and his satires: the characteristics he gives us of public men, as they were or as they were looked on by the party to which he belonged, have even an historical value.

Amongst the poets of the time there was but one who

carried his world in himself, and attained to that ripeness of intellect without which the production of great works is impossible; this was John Milton. We know him as the most intellectual champion of the freedom of the press. In all the changes of political and religious movement, in the times of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, he took an active part; he hoped even in its last moment still to maintain the falling Republic. Then those very men came to power, against whom he had fought his whole life long; he was in danger of being implicated in the ruin which overtook the regicides; only in consequence of the amnesty did he recover the freedom he had already lost. But as the event had been irretrievably accomplished, and for him there could no longer be any question of taking active part in the movement of the time, he turned back from the struggles of the day to the studies of his youth, and undertook to finish those works which he had always had in mind. It seemed to him worth while to lay down in a thesaurus the knowledge of antiquity and the classics, which he had acquired by the unwearied labour of long years. How often in his life had he read from beginning to end the Holy Scriptures, which with simple faith he looked upon as God's word revealed! He thought of showing the world what they actually contained, with regard to those points about which opinion was divided. Milton belonged to those who went still further than the first reformers; much that these had left standing, he looked upon to be an outcome of tradition and of the theological schools; especially he deviated from the Athanasian doctrine, which maintained the upper hand in the Greek and Latin Churches, to the side of the Arian conceptions; for the co-essentiality of the Son and His independent Godhead he could find no warrant in the words of Scripture. He wrote down a system of biblical theology, which he provided in the most learned manner with all its references, which however was not printed till a century and a half after his death[1]. But by the side of these learned special works, he was engaged in quite another occupation. Milton tried his hand from his earliest youth in poetical productions in the Latin, as well as in the English tongue; he could in this respect enter into the lists with any contemporary; but—and this was wanting to the others—he had also formed for himself by serious and ceaseless studies, especially in theology, a poetic intuition of the world, which coincided with his religious convictions. He was now far advanced in years, comforted by no domestic happiness, rejected by the world, as it then was and as it was becoming; afflicted with gout, struck with complete blindness; for him there was, as he bewails, no longer any difference between morning and evening; he was surrounded by unbroken darkness. But in this condition he received, if we may adopt his metaphor, the visit of his Muse, who inspired him in his sleep, and put into his mind verse not conceived before. As in his life in general, so also in the Epic poem which he composed, he discarded all conventionality; he wished, by rejecting rhyme, to restore to Epic poetry its old freedom: the iambic which he uses is sonorous and varied, solemn as in public worship, and confidential as in quiet talk; for him there was no meaning in striving after a form of expression suited to the times; he held by Spenser, as Spenser had held by Chaucer; obsolete forms, which he does not scorn, do not interfere with his intelligibility, and correspond to the dignity of the subject which he has chosen for himself. It is the fall of the first man, the loss of Paradise, but above all the transcendental world with which the religious idea has surrounded human life. Often already had this subject been treated poetically; from Cædmon the Anglo-Saxon, in accordance with the conceptions which had taken root amongst the Germanic peoples in general, down to Du Bartas the didactic poet of Protestantism. The same regions are the domain also of the immortal poet of the Divine Comedy, and of many successful attempts of modern Latin poetry. On his Italian journey Milton had seen even dramatic representations of his subject, which had not failed to produce some impression upon him. The learned poet knew all this, and kept most of it in his remembrance, but the independence of his poem was not disturbed by it. For whilst he

---

[1] Joannis Miltoni Angli de doctrina christiana ex sacris duntaxat libris petita disquisitionum libri duo.

studied biblical theology, the spirit of poetry breathed by most of the books of the old covenant and by some of the books of the new, had touched and impressed him wonderfully; upon this foundation his images arose. He strove to form them in accordance with Scripture; and even for his gigantic fable of the combat between the good and the bad angels, he finds some authority in the Apocalypse; he establishes by a passage of the Scriptures his transcendental anthropomorphism. He then interweaves boldly into those supernatural battles recollections of ancient history. Everywhere we feel that the poem originated in a mind that was occupied at once with classical studies and with a theological work. The figure of the Messiah corresponds to the author's dogmatic conception; the divine nature of the Father is manifested in the Son; against Him therefore is directed, contrary to the idea of those who had gone before, the rebellion of Satan and his satellites. We recognise in this poem Milton's point of view with regard to theological controversies, how he discards the doctrine of an absolute decree, distinguishes between knowledge and predestination, and maintains the idea of the freedom of the will; he ascribes human guilt only to man himself; the Atonement, which is at least announced, depends with him upon the satisfaction, foreseen from the beginning, of the Son, who was made man[1]. Theology and poetry have never been more intimately blended. I do not know whether Milton's theology does entire justice to the profundity of the Christian dogma; for his poem his conception was no misfortune, it is thereby brought all the closer to the general comprehension. Doubts and contradictions disappear before the grandeur of the forms represented, before their terror, their splendour and their grace. Milton first with entire success rescues Satan and his habitation from the popular distortion that still prevailed[2]; but he did not on that account diminish their terrors; to how many has not the depths of the infernal regions as described by him appeared too horrible! We breathe again when, led by his hand, we rise out of night and horrors to the bright Empyrean where the eternal Godhead rules: with all his anthropomorphism Milton avoids too near an approach; he keeps firm the boundaries between his worlds. The poetical charm of the work lies in this change; we feel quite at home even with Milton only on earth. Over the representation of Paradise there is poured out a mist of repose and satisfaction, of innocence and idyllic happiness, such as otherwise can only be caused by a happily-depicted landscape; all that the dazzled reader has ever seen, all the happiness that he has ever dreamt of, passes before his inward eye, in words both charming and profound, and full of ideal truth. It is above all to these representations that the popular fame, which Milton has acquired, is due; but the most general impression depended even in these points on the religious and poetical intuition of the world, at which all ages have laboured, and which now again appeared in a form original in conception and grand in treatment.

---

[1] Compare the introduction and notes to Summer's translation of the theological works. Prose Works iv. and v.

[2] We see this best if we compare him with his contemporary Cowley (Davideis Bk. i).

The world still lived in these intuitions, but it had begun to estrange itself from them, as had already occurred in France, and as the other poetical productions foretold for England also. What contrasts there are in this literature! Hobbes and Locke; William Petty and George Fox; the scientific dogmatism of the Universities and the free research of the Royal Society; Clarendon and Burnet; Rochester, Dryden, and Milton. As in the state, so in literature, there was separation and rivalry, and yet they were not simply struggles of different individual minds. We see as if with our eyes how two ages are separated from one another.

END OF VOL. III.