should steer its course without fear or favor. This system of enlightened despotism he called by the name of "thorough." As one of Charles's favorite advisers he urged upon the king a firm stand against the exaggerated demands of the Parliament and the Puritans, but it would be a mistake to make him responsible for all the ill-advised measures which followed the dissolution of 1629, for as early as 1633 he was sent as Lord-Deputy to Ireland, and was out of direct touch with English politics for some years.

Ship-money.

Certainly Wentworth cannot be charged with the great blunder committed in connection with ship-money. We have seen that Charles's system left him in constant need of funds. So slim were his revenues that he could not even maintain a navy large enough to protect the English shipping. The legal remedy for the inconvenience would have been to call a Parliament and ask for supplies, but Charles would not take that step. He hit upon a subterfuge. In former times monarchs had, when the country was in danger, ordered the counties bordering on the sea to furnish ships. Charles issued such an order in the year 1634, with a certain show of legality; but in the years 1635 and 1636, against all law and precedent, he ordered the inland counties to contribute money to the same end.

The case of John Hampden.

Although a navy might be good in itself, plainly Charles's way of getting it was a piece of very sharp practice. Indignation swelled like an advancing tide, and when a country gentleman, John Hampden by name, preferred, rather than pay his assessment, to suffer arrest and trial, he made himself the hero of the hour. When the case came up in court, the judges by a bare majority decided against Hampden, but so general was the disaffection following upon his trial, that it required only an occasion to show that the loyalty which had bound England for ages to her royal house had suffered fatal impairment.

Charles interferes with the Presbyterian Church.

That occasion was furnished by Scotland. In the year 1637 Charles, with his usual neglect of popular feeling, ventured to introduce the Prayer Book and some other features of the English Church into his kingdom of Scotland, a country which, as we know, was Presbyterian to the core. The answer of the Scots to this measure was an insurrection. They drew up a national oath or Covenant, by which they pledged themselves to resist to the utmost any attempt to change their religion. Their unanimity and enthusiasm gave them irresistible power. In view of it Charles at first hesitated, and to gain time proposed negotiations; but finally, when he found that he must either keep his hands off or fight, he chose the latter.

War with Scotland.

There followed the campaign of 1639 against the Scottish Presbyterians or Covenanters, which is known as the First Bishops' War, because, among other innovations, Charles planned to put the Scottish National Church under the rule of bishops. The campaign was a miserable fiasco. Owing to lack of funds, the king led northward a mere rabble, and when he came upon the Scots found himself compelled to sign a truce. Between his Scottish and his English subjects, whom he had alike alienated, his position was now thoroughly humiliating. In order to avenge himself upon the Scots, he required effective money help from England, and effective money help from England involved calling a Parliament. In one direction or the other he had, therefore, to make concessions. Charles fought a hard battle with his pride, but finally, feeling that the Scottish matter was more pressing, he summoned a Parliament (1640).

The Second Bishops' War, 1640.

Thus the long period of government without a Parliament had come to an end. When, however, the Parliament, known as the Short Parliament, began, instead of voting money for the enslavement of the Scots, to remind the king of the nation's grievances, Charles flamed up as of old and dismissed it.

Once more, in spite of his lack of funds, he conducted a campaign, known as the Second Bishops' War, against the Scots (1640). But when the second experiment had failed as badly as the first, he had finally to acknowledge himself beaten.

The Long Parliament.

In November, 1640, he summoned another Parliament, which he felt he would not be able to send home at his will. It has received the name of the Long Parliament, and is the most famous legislative body in English annals. It sat for almost two decades, witnessing, and itself initiating, the transformation of England.

Triumph of the Parliament.

The Long Parliament was no sooner installed than it practically took the whole government into its own hands. The king's innings were over and it was now the turn of the rival power. Burning for revenge, the Commons turned first upon Laud and Wentworth, and ordered them both under arrest. Wentworth, who had lately been created earl of Strafford, was impeached for treason, but when the case against him threatened to break down, because the evidences of treason were insufficient, the Commons simply legislated him out of the world by a bill of attainder.[1] The frightened king to his lasting shame signed the act, and on May 12, 1641, sent the dauntless defender of the throne to the scaffold. The aged Laud was spared for the present, but in 1645 he also fell a victim to Puritan passion.

The king is stripped of his authority.

At the same time the Commons turned fiercely upon the grievances of the past. As the Scots would not leave England till their expenses had been made good to them, Charles, to get money, had to accept every bill. Naturally the Parliament pressed its advantage to the uttermost. The irregular courts, such as the Star Chamber and High Commission, which had furnished arms to the tyranny of king and Church, were abolished. The Star Chamber, it

[1] "An impeachment followed, in some sort, legal rules; a bill of attainder was an act of power for which no reasons need be given" (Gardiner).

will be remembered, had been employed by Henry VII. against lawless nobles, but Charles had used it chiefly to silence inconvenient critics. Out of the mass of enactments similarly aimed at the king, we select the following: ship-money was declared illegal; the king's position in the Tunnage and Poundage issue was condemned; Charles had to agree that there should be at least one session of Parliament every three years (the triennial act), and was obliged to promise not to dissolve the present Parliament except at its own pleasure. Thus in a few months the mighty prerogatives which the sovereign had acquired in Tudor times had shrunk to a shadow. Could a king of Charles's obstinate and perfidious mind submit to such a terrible abasement?

Unanimity of the Parliament.

For nearly a year the king endured these restrictions. But he was watching his chance, and the first division among the Commons was his signal to strike. The Commons had agreed admirably on all the political questions at issue between themselves and the sovereign, but in the summer of 1641, when the religious issue was broached, ominous signs of division began to appear. Laud's insistence on ceremonies had created a strong sentiment against the bishops by whom the ceremonies had been enforced. In the Long Parliament there was a large body of men who believed that if the Church was to become really Protestant, the system of Episcopal government would have to be abandoned. But a powerful minority cherished a sentiment of loyalty toward the Church of their youth and deprecated radical changes. Under the circumstances Puritans and Episcopalians in the Commons frequently came to hard words, and naturally, as soon as this opening in the hitherto solid phalanx of the opposition was apparent, Charles deftly took advantage of it. He threw in his lot with the Episcopalians, and so once more rallied about him a party.

Puritans and Episcopalians in the Commons.

Charles attempts to arrest the five leaders.

In the assurance of renewed strength, he planned in January, 1642, to strike a blow at the predominance of Parliament. Summoning his troops, he marched to Westminster, and entering the chamber of the Commons attempted to arrest the five leaders, Pym, Hampden, Hazelrigg, Holles, and Strode. But the birds had flown, the city rose about him, and fearful for his safety he withdrew into the country.

The breach is complete.

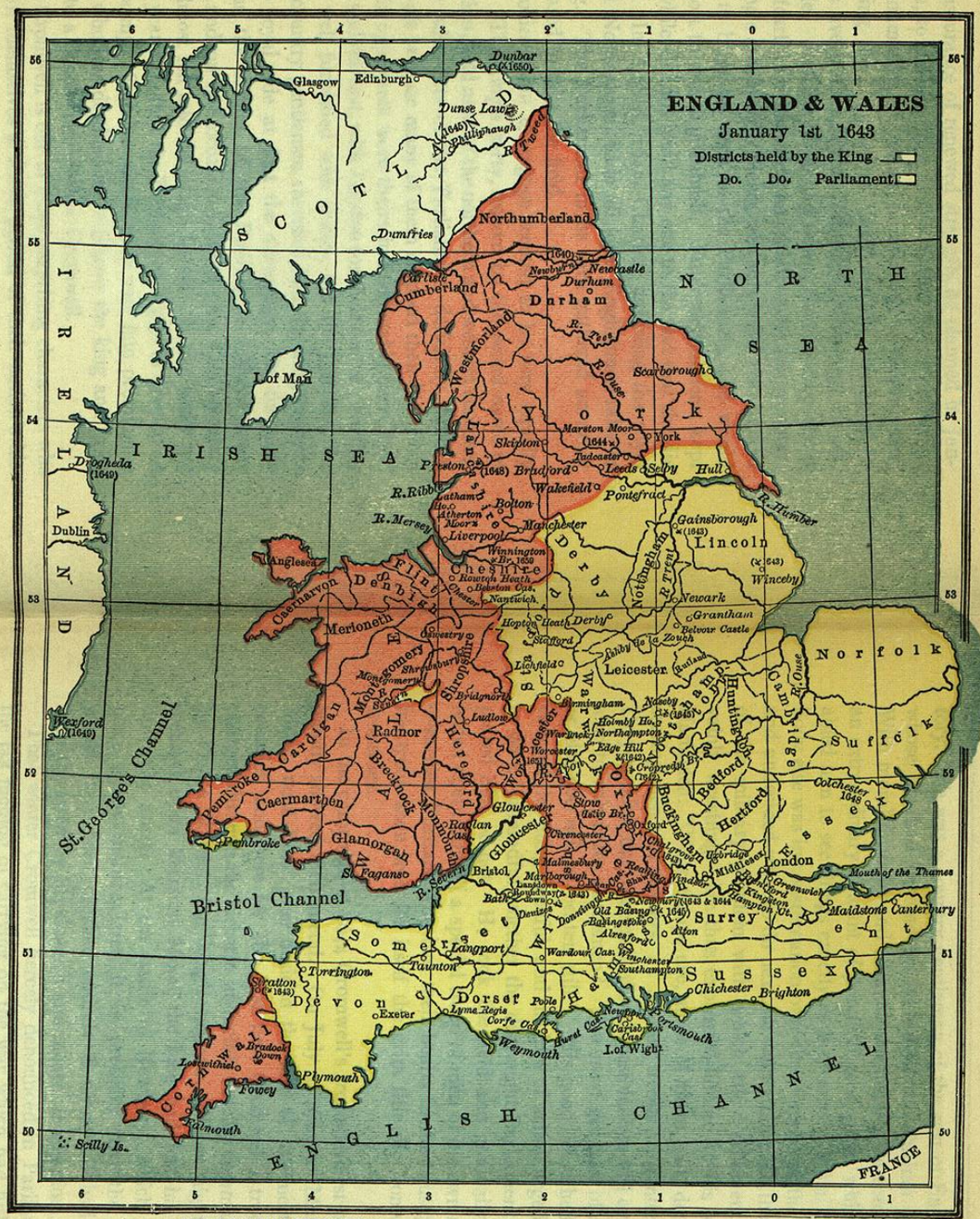
The king's attempted violence was sure proof that he had no mind to bend his neck to the Parliament, and would rather resort to war than submit. Futile negotiations, kept up for a while, did not blind any one to the fact that the die was cast. In August, 1642, Charles, unfurling the royal banner at Nottingham, bade all loyal Englishmen rally to their king. The Parliament in its turn gathered an army and prepared to take the field.

Early successes of the king.

The parties about to engage seemed to be very equally matched. The king's party, known by the proud name of the Cavaliers, held most of the northern and western counties, while the adherents of the Parliament, derisively dubbed Roundheads because many of them cropped their hair close while their opponents wore theirs in fashionable curls, held the south and the east, with London for their centre. Neither side was well furnished with troops, but the fact that the slashing country gentlemen crowded into the king's service gave the royal side at first the advantage. In the early campaigns the armies of the Parliament suffered many reverses, and on one occasion London, the Parliamentary centre, almost fell into the king's hands. It was really not until the year 1644 that the Parliament began to develop an efficient army. Simultaneously there rose into prominence the man who was destined to overthrow the king and bring the war to a conclusion—Oliver Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell is one of those surprising characters who sum up in themselves a whole period of their nation's his-



NOTE TO THE STUDENT:

Observe that the King drew his support from the North and West, the Parliament from the East and South. This constituted an advantage for the Parliament because the East and South were the wealthiest districts; it is also a significant fact that the East and South were further advanced in civilization.

tory. He was a country gentleman of the east of England, whose life had become bound up in the Puritan cause. With moral firmness and religious enthusiasm he combined an extraordinary amount of practical good sense, which enabled him to see things exactly as they were. When everybody else was in consternation over the victories of the king and undecided what to do next, he went straight to the core of the military problem with which the Parliament was vainly wrestling. He thus expressed himself to his cousin Hampden: "Your troops are, most of them, old, decayed serving-men and tapsters. . . . Their troops are gentlemen. Do you think that the spirit of such base fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen? You must get men of spirit or else you will be beaten still." His good sense had discovered the thing needful, and his love of action urged him to do it, unmindful whether the distraught Parliament supported him or not. He took the field and gradually collected about himself a special troop of men of his own mind —earnest Puritans who had their hearts in the cause; and his troop soon won for itself the grim title of Cromwell's Ironsides.

The Ironsides at Marston Moor.

In the campaign of 1644 Cromwell's Ironsides first prominently showed their metal. On July 2, 1644, at Marston Moor, near York, was decided the fate of the northern counties, and here for the first time Cromwell's troopers charged through the hitherto invincible cavalry commanded by Prince Rupert, the king's nephew. When night descended upon Marston Moor, the king had lost his hold upon the north. At the battle of Newbury, which took place a few months later, it is probable that the king would have been crushed entirely if Cromwell had not been thwarted by his sluggish and incapable superiors.

Army reforms.

That winter Cromwell fiercely denounced in Parliament the lax method of carrying on the war which had hitherto

prevailed; and so convincing were his criticisms that the Commons voted a number of sweeping reforms. By means of two ordinances, the Self-denying Ordinance and the New Model, the army was completely reorganized. By the Self-denying Ordinance members of Parliament gave up to trained soldiers the commands which they owed to favor and influence, and by the New Model the army was reorganized and put on a strictly professional basis. The spring of 1645 found Sir Thomas Fairfax at the head of the reformed forces, and the fiery Cromwell in command of the horse.

Naseby, June 14, 1645.

The effect of the change made itself felt at once; the campaign of 1645 proved decisive. At Naseby, in the heart of England, the king made his last formidable effort. The gallant Rupert plunged, as so often before, through the squadrons of horse opposed to him, but his reckless pursuit took him miles away from the battle-field, and before he could return, Cromwell had broken the king's left and centre and won the day. For almost a year the king still held out, vainly hoping for relief from this or that small circumstance. In May, 1646, judging that all was over, he surrendered to the Scots, who occupied the English north.

Alliance of England and Scotland.

How had the Scots been drawn upon the scene? Mindful of the king's hostility to their Presbyterian system, they had followed with sympathy the struggle of the English Puritans, and late in the year 1643, yielding to the solicitations of the Parliament, had signed a treaty, called the Solemn League and Covenant, and taken the field. Their aid proved of great value in crushing the king, but was given only in return for a grave concession: the Parliament was obliged to promise to put the English Church under the Presbyterian system of government. The Puritans owed their existence, we have seen, to the growing hatred of ceremony and Episcopacy; but now that ceremony and Episcopacy were overthrown and another system had to be found,

a considerable number leaned toward Presbyterianism. A majority, it was found, could be had in Parliament for the religious concession demanded by the Scots, but a minority, calling themselves Independents, objected strenuously, holding that the possibilities of tyranny in the Presbyterian system were every whit as great as in Episcopacy, and contending vigorously for the toleration of any and all Protestant sects. But at the time the need of the Scottish aid was so great that the treaty was voted.

Presbyterians and Independents.

Though in the Parliament the Independents were a mere handful, they enjoyed an influence out of proportion to their vote through the circumstance that they commanded the powerful backing of Cromwell and the army. Under the circumstances the Parliamentary majority was obliged to proceed with caution, especially while the war continued and the troops had to be kept in good humor. Thus the contention slumbered for a time; but as soon as the battle of Naseby had been won and the enemy scattered, the quarrel between Presbyterians and Independents assumed a more serious aspect.

The king's calculation.

When the king surrendered to the Scots he was well informed of these differences of opinion among the victors, and hoped, in his small-minded way, to find his profit in them. Let the army, representing the Independents and their view of tolerance, only fall to quarrelling with the majority of Parliament, representing the Presbyterians and their system of religious uniformity, and his turn would come. While Parliament and army mutually consumed each other, he would step in and seize the spoils.

The Parliament tries to make the king accept a Presbyterian settlement.

Herein Charles calculated both well and ill. In the year 1647 the Scots surrendered him, on the payment of their campaign expenses, to the Parliament. The Presbyterians thereupon, having him in their power, tried to hurry through a settlement with the captive monarch. Utterly neglectful

of the desire of the army for religious toleration, they promised Charles a restoration on easy terms if he would only give his royal assent to the Presbyterian establishment. The Scots meanwhile were carrying on a secret negotiation with the king, looking to the same end. The result of all these intrigues was another civil war, all for the benefit of the king. He might rub his hands in glee over the thought that he had set his enemies by the ears. In the result, however, Charles's petty calculations shot wide of the mark. Although the royalists rose, the Scots invaded England, and the Presbyterians aided the king as much as they dared, their combined forces were no match for the victors of Naseby. In a short campaign, conducted in the summer of 1648, Fairfax and Cromwell laid their enemies at their feet. The army was supreme in England.

The civil war of 1648.

Before attacking any other problem the army was resolved to settle its long-standing account with "that man of blood," the perfidious Stuart, by bringing him to trial. As the Presbyterian majority of the Commons objected to this course, it had to be swept out of the way. On December 6, 1648, a troop, under the command of Colonel Pride, expelled the Presbyterian members, to the number of about one hundred and forty, from the House. No more than fifty or sixty commoners retained their seats, who could hardly be expected to resist the army. They continued to exercise the duties of Parliament, but the people fixed upon them the contemptuous term of the "Rump."

Pride's purge.

The way was now cleared for the trial of the king; but as there was no provision in the law for such a step, it became necessary to resort to illegality. By an act of the servile "Rump" there was created a special High Court of Justice. The end, of course, was to be foreseen. The army, with Cromwell at its head, would not have proceeded to such extremes of violence if it had not been profoundly convinced

Trial and death of the king.

that with this king, whose every act was a subterfuge, whose every word an equivocation, there could be no peace. The High Court of Justice found the king guilty of treason, and on January 30, 1649, he was executed on a scaffold erected in front of his own palace of Whitehall. He had never been shaken in the conviction that the right, during the whole course of the civil war, had been with him, and he died courageously in that belief. To awestruck royalists his death invested him with the halo of a saint and martyr who had perished in a vain effort to uphold the Constitution and the Church.

The army in power.

The king's death had been preceded by the dissolution of the House of Lords because of the refusal of that body to join in the prosecution of the king. The English Constitution, therefore, was now a wreck; king and Lords had disappeared, the Commons were a fragment. The power lay solely with the army, and the burning question of the day was whether the military revolutionists would be able to build a new constitution grounded in sound principles and acceptable to England.

The ideal of the Puritan republicans.

For eleven years the leaders of the army attempted with really noble zeal and sincerity to realize their ideal of government. That ideal was born of the deep religious conviction that every man must indeed be a follower of Christ, but that he should be allowed to worship after his own fashion. In consequence, Cromwell and his friends desired a government of upright Puritan men who tolerated every belief but Popery. Unfortunately, the vast majority of contemporary Englishmen were either Episcopalian or Presbyterian, and royalist to the core. Therefore the Puritan experiment, however nobly inspired, was doomed to end in failure.

The Commonwealth and the Protectorate (1649–60).

The Commonwealth.

On the death of the king, the "Rump" voted that England was a Commonwealth without king or Lords, and appointed, provisionally, a Council of State to act as the executive branch of the government.

Cromwell conquers Ireland.

There was work enough ahead for the young republic. In Ireland the Commonwealth held no more than a few isolated outposts, while in Scotland, an allied kingdom, Charles II., the oldest son of the dead sovereign, had been proclaimed king. In the clear recognition that the Commonwealth could not live with Ireland and Scotland ranged against it, Cromwell was despatched to reduce the neighboring kingdoms to submission. In an irresistible campaign of the year 1649, he disposed of the Irish, after cowing their spirit by two bloody massacres at Drogheda and Wexford. Then a rule of force was established such as Ireland had not seen before, and a great part of the land was confiscated for the benefit of the conquerors. This done, the victor turned to Scotland. At Dunbar (1650) Cromwell's soldiers, whose tempers were like the steel with which they smote, scattered the Scotch army; and when a second army, with Charles II. in its midst, struck across the border in the hope of stirring up an English rebellion, Cromwell, starting in pursuit, met it at Worcester, in the heart of England, and won the crowning victory of his life (1651). Charles II. escaped, after various romantic adventures, to the Continent; but the Scots were compelled to recognize the Commonwealth and be merged with England in a single state.

Cromwell conquers Scotland.

Dismissal of the "Rump."

With peace reëstablished throughout the British dominion, the question of a permanent government became more pressing. Everybody clamored for a settlement and the termination of the long disorder. Only the "Rump" Parliament was in no hurry, and the fifty or sixty members who composed it not only clung to office, but even planned to perpetuate their power. Naturally, the soldiers, who wished to see practical results, watched the delays of the legislators with growing impatience. In April, 1653, their great leader, Cromwell, despairing of good from so narrow and selfish a body of men, resolved to have done with them. He invaded the "Rump" with a detachment of troops and ordered the members home. "Come, come," he shouted in indignation, "we have had enough of this. It is not fit you should sit here any longer." Thus the last fragment of the old Constitution vanished from the scene.

Barebone's Parliament, 1653.

A new Parliament, freely elected by the nation, would have been one solution of the difficulties which now confronted Cromwell. But such a Parliament would have immediately called back the Stuarts, and Cromwell was ready to try all other means before he declared that the great cause, which to his fervid mind was that of God Himself, had failed. In conjunction with a number of officers he therefore *nominated* an assembly of Puritan partisans who were to act as Parliament. In an opening speech he told them that they were called because they were godly men. But although they meant well, they were inexperienced and crotchety. The town wags, immensely amused at their provincial manners and ideas, called them Barebone's Parliament, from a certain worthy member whose evangelical name of Praise-God Barebone invited their ridicule. Luckily, after a few weeks a party among the nominees recognized their own unfitness and brought about the closing of the session (December, 1653).

The Protectorate.

As some government had to fill up the gap, the army officers now drew up a Constitution in forty-one articles, called the Instrument of Government, which placed the chief power in the hands of Oliver Cromwell under the title of Lord Protector. By the new Constitution the Lord Protector, to-