gether with a Council of State, was to exercise the executive power, while a Parliament of a single House, from which all partisans of the Stuarts were excluded, was to perform the legislative functions of government. The new attempt came nearer than any of the others to being an equitable solution of the political difficulties into which England had been plunged; but, unfortunately, even the partial success achieved was accompanied by the disfranchisement of the royalists, and was primarily due to the fact that the new Constitution placed in control an entirely efficient man.

The domestic difficulties of the Protector.

The five years (1653–58) of Oliver's rule as Protector were beset with ever-recurring difficulties. His very first Parliament insisted on revising the Instrument of Government. As that was tantamount to calling the whole settlement in question, Oliver in high dudgeon dissolved the Parliament (January, 1655). For a while now he ruled without a legislature. There were frequent attempts upon his life, republican conspiracies, royalist risings, the cares and annoyances inseparable from rule. The Protectorate, with its one-man power, was, if possible, even more offensive to the strong republican element in England than to the royal adherents of the Stuarts. Oliver confessed with sorrow that "it was easier to keep sheep than to govern men." But his brave spirit was undaunted and he met every difficulty as it arose. He called a second Parliament in the year 1656, and with this he got along more smoothly for a while. The traditional English conservatism governed this assembly, and it tried to fall back upon the lines of the old Constitution. It created a second House to take the place of the abolished House of Lords and offered to make Oliver hereditary king. But Oliver, who had no love of baubles, and already exercised a virtual kingship as Protector, declined the dangerous title. When this same Parliament came up to London for a second session and followed a course incompatible with the maintenance of the government, Oliver reproachfully dismissed it, like its predecessor (February, 1658). His bitter experience with his legislature must have convinced him, if he stood in need of proof, that the nation was not with him. Disguise it as he might, his rule rested upon the army and was a military despotism.

The failure of toleration.

In all this time the great principle of toleration, which Oliver had mainly at heart, made no progress. Oliver's original idea had been to give all Protestant Christians the protection of the law. But the fierce religious temper of the time prevented people from seeing any right outside of their own faith. Oliver, like all men who are ahead of their time, was left without support. The animosities of his antagonists, as well as of his followers, forced him, therefore, before long to trench upon his principles. In 1655 he began persecuting those who held to the Book of Common Prayer, and long before his end he had the bitter conviction that the government of the Puritan Commonwealth rested on no single principle that had taken root in the nation.

War with the Dutch, 1652–54.

If Oliver was thus reaping failure at home, he heaped triumph upon triumph abroad. From 1652 to 1654 there had been a war with the Dutch, caused by English jealousy of the immense commerce of the rival republic. The immediate cause of the rupture was a measure, called the Navigation Act (1651), devised to increase English shipping. As it was declared by this act that foreign ships could bring to England only such goods as were produced in their own country, the Dutch, who were carriers for the whole world, were dealt a severe blow. In the war that followed, the English, after a few preliminary losses, got command of the Channel, and Cromwell was enabled to sign (1654) a favorable peace which greatly strengthened his credit in the eyes of the world.

Oliver makes war upon Spain.

Soon after, in 1655, Oliver made war upon Spain, finally going so far as to enter into an alliance with France against the common foe. Jamaica, in the West Indies, was taken from Spain by an English fleet, and Dunkirk,[1] in the Spanish Netherlands, after a victory of the allies on the Dunes, opened its gates to Cromwell's troopers. Since the days of Elizabeth, the name of England had not enjoyed such respect as it did now. Oliver's arm reached even to the Alps, and at his command the duke of Savoy ceased persecuting his Protestant subjects.

The death of Oliver.

Thus to the end the Protector held the rudder firmly. But his health was broken by his great responsibilities, and on the third day of September, 1658, he passed away. It had been his " fortunate day "—that was his own word—the day of the great victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and was to his mind, heavy with the disappointments of his reign, perhaps no less fortunate because it brought the end of tribulation. His last prayer, in which breathes all his Christian fervor, all his honesty and charity, has been recorded for us. "Lord," ran a part of it, "Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do Thy people some good. . . . Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too."

Anarchy.

Cromwell's death was followed by a year of anarchy. As the Commonwealth was founded on the army and not on the consent of the people of England, its continuance depended on the army's finding a successor of the same metal as the great Protector. But that was impossible. Oliver was succeeded by his inoffensive and incapable son, Richard, who in May, 1659, resigned an office calling for powers which he did not possess. Then the "Rump" came back, once more pretending that it was the authoritative government of England. Sections of the soldiery

[1] Dunkirk was held only till 1662, when Charles II. sold it to France.

disputed the claim and rose in rebellion. Clearly the only escape from the intolerable imbroglio was to call back the son of the dead king. The people themselves were more than willing, but to insure success some resolute man at the head of an armed force would have to take the initiative. The man wanted was found in General George Monk, one of Cromwell's most capable lieutenants and his representative in Scotland. Monk, at the head of his soldiers, came to London, and calling back the surviving members of the Long Parliament obliged them to dissolve after issuing writs for a new election. With the way thus cleared, Charles II. from his exile in Holland issued a general pardon, and when the new Parliament met was enthusiastically invited to mount the throne of his ancestors. The new Parliament declared that "the government of this kingdom is, and ought to be, by king, Lords, and Commons." When Charles entered London on May 28, 1660, the houses emptied their eager population upon street and square, and the reimpatriated king was cheered like a conqueror.

Monk calls back the Stuarts.

The Restoration. Charles II. (1660–85) *and James II.* (1685–88).

Character of Charles II.

Charles II. was one of the most popular monarchs England ever had, but his popularity was due not so much to his virtues as to his vices. To understand this remarkable circumstance, we must remember that the Restoration is a general movement of reaction. It marks not merely a return from the Puritan experiment of government, but also a revulsion from the austere and colorless scheme of life which the Puritans had imposed upon society. Like one who had thirsted a long while, the Englishman of the Restoration threw himself greedily upon splendor and distractions. Now Charles II. had lived long in France, and there his self-

indulgent nature had drunk its fill of the gayety and licentiousness which characterized the sumptuous court of Louis XIV. Upon his restoration Charles became the apostle of French manners in England; profligacy became the fashion of the day, and the king added to his constitutional function of sovereign the far more congenial rôle of master of the revels. The country, out of sorts with the Puritan ideals, applauded, admired its sovereign's witty sallies and studied courtesy, and joined the dance and sounded the pipe around the "Merry Monarch" of an England once again resolved to be likewise merry.

His political opportunism.

Charles had a good deal of natural sagacity, but little energy and no moral fibre. In the end his resolutions usually succumbed to his indolence. His pleasures went before everything else, and when a conflict threatened with his ministers or Parliament, he was in the habit of giving way, with the joke that whatever happened he did not care to start again upon his travels. A monarch so intelligent and supple, so unencumbered with Stuart obstinacy, was likely to make himself both popular and secure.

The reaction.

No sooner was the monarchy restored than the desire seized the victors to be revenged upon their Puritan adversaries. The king's general pardon issued from Holland was subject to parliamentary revision, and the Parliament, far more vindictive than the sovereign, resolved to punish all who had been instrumental in bringing Charles I. to death. Thirteen revolutionists were executed, and a contemptible and revolting vengeance was wreaked upon the body of the great Cromwell. It was dragged from its tomb and suspended with iron chains from the gallows.

The revolution not in vain.

Such scenes apart, the Restoration was far less violent than similar events in history, owing largely, it must be admitted, to the humanity of the king. Yet to the defeated

and dejected Puritans, whose leading survivor was the great poet Milton, it looked as if the return of Charles had closed upon them the gates of Paradise, and made vain the civil struggle of the past twenty years. But that was not quite the case. As the Petition of Right and most of the early enactments of the Long Parliament had received the royal assent, they remained in vigor, thereby substantially reducing the royal prerogative. Nevertheless, the king's powers were still so great that he might plot for the overthrow of the Constitution, and make it advisable for the people to cut down still further his authority. In that case a new conflict would arise. But the danger of it for the present was slight. Charles II. was an unenterprising reveller, and the people in their reckless access of loyalty might almost have applauded an attempted usurpation.

The Cavalier Parliament, 1661–79.

The Cavalier Parliament, as Charles's second Parliament, convened in 1661 and allowed to hold power for eighteen years, was significantly called, completely expressed this reactionary sentiment of the country—it was more royal than the king. One of its first acts was to vote that no one could lawfully take arms against the sovereign, that is, it affirmed what was called the doctrine of non-resistance. Such a legislature seemed to be separated by a chasm of ages from the Long Parliament. But the most pressing question for which the Parliament had to find a solution was the question of religion. During the last twenty years every conceivable form of Protestant dissent had sprung into existence and found supporters. Were these sects to be tolerated or was England to go back to a uniform national Church? In the Cavalier Parliament—a body of royalists and reactionaries—there was only one opinion: the Church of England and nothing but the Church of England. It undertook, therefore, to restore the historical religion and persecute every deviation with relentless severity.

Intolerance of the Cavalier Parliament.

A new Act of Uniformity, 1662.

In the year 1662 the Parliament passed a new Act of Uniformity. By its provisions the Prayer Book was made obligatory, and two thousand clergymen who would not bend their necks to the yoke were ejected from their livings. Among the dismissed ministers were to be found Presbyterians, Independents (also called Congregationalists), and Baptists, most of them zealous and honorable men, who, as they did not accept the national Church, were henceforth classed together as Dissenters.

The Dissenters.

In the religious history of England this formal and definite ejection of the Puritan element from the Church marks a notable mile-stone. It will be remembered that the Puritans in general had not wished to separate from the national Church, but desired rather to so modify its forms that it might include or "comprehend" them. From now on all hope of "comprehension" was given up. The Dissenters, of whatever color, accepted their exclusion from the Church of England as an irrevocable fact, and henceforth directed all their efforts toward acquiring toleration for their own distinct forms of worship.

Repressive legislation.

But the Cavalier Parliament was the last body in the world to give ear to a request for religious liberty. As in its opinion the proper way to treat Dissenters was to suppress them, it developed a highly perfected system of persecution. In the year 1664 it passed the Conventicle Act, by which the meetings of Dissenters for religious purposes were punished with fines culminating in transportation; and a year later (1665) there followed the Five Mile Act, by the terms of which no Dissenting minister was allowed to teach school or reside within five miles of any town or place where he had once held a cure.

Catholicism is the enemy.

It is not probable that the Cavalier Parliament would have insisted on the national creed with such vehemence, if it had not been persuaded that toleration granted to the Dissenters would open a loop-hole for the Catholics. And just then the suspicion against Catholicism was stronger in the land than ever, because of the secret machinations of the court in its behalf. Had the facts that were only whispered in the palace-passages been known at Westminster, there can be no doubt that the religious legislation would have been even more stringent than it was; for Charles, although afraid to publish the truth, had secretly embraced Catholicism.

The foreign policy of Charles.

A monarch who identified himself so little in religious matters with his people was not likely to serve them in the foreign field. In fact, his guidance of England was of a piece with his superficial and selfish view of life. He disliked the bluff republican Dutch and admired the sumptuous Louis XIV. of France, and governed his conduct accordingly.

First Dutch War of the Restoration, 1664–67.

We have noticed the growing commercial rivalry between the Dutch and the English. The Navigation Act, passed in 1651 by the "Rump," and the war that followed were evidences of it. When to a number of ancient jealousies, excited in part by conflicting colonial claims, was added the animosity created by the formal reënactment of the Navigation Act, war could not long be averted. For three years (1664–67) the adversaries sought one another upon all the seas; but when peace was signed, the Dutch were obliged to cede their American colony, New Amsterdam, which was renamed New York in honor of James, duke of York and brother of the king.

Charles leans toward France.

This was the time of the ascendancy of France in European politics. The leading fact of the general situation was that Louis XIV. was planning to extend his territory at the expense of his neighbors. The logical policy of England, as the rival of France, would have been to support the victim against the aggressor; but Charles looked at the question not from the general but from the personal point of view.

Naturally, his riotous life kept him involved in constant money difficulties, as fortunes were flung away on entertainments, or were lavished on courtiers and mistresses. To get money, therefore, and more money became Charles's great object in life; and Louis XIV., who was not without a shrewd streak amid his lavishness, was perfectly willing to oblige his brother of England, if he could by this means buy England's aid, or, at least, her neutrality in the conflicts he anticipated. Now the French king began his aggressions, in the year 1667, by invading the Spanish Netherlands; but after taking a few towns he was forced to desist, chiefly owing to the energetic protest of the Dutch, supported temporarily by England and Sweden. No wonder that the haughty Louis resolved to have revenge on this nation of traders and republicans. By the secret Treaty of Dover (1670) he won over Charles by a handsome sum to join him in his projected war against the Dutch; and Charles, in his turn, stipulated to avow himself a Catholic as soon as the occasion served, and to call on Louis for military aid in case his subjects, on the news of his conversion, rose in revolt.

Second Dutch War of the Restoration, 1672–74.

When, in the year 1672, everything was at length ready, Louis and Charles fell suddenly like two highwaymen upon the Dutch, engaging in what in England is known as the Second Dutch War of the Restoration. Just as the war was about to break out, Charles, not yet daring to go the whole length of announcing himself a Catholic, published a decree of toleration, the so-called Declaration of Indulgence, which, overriding the statutes of Parliament, suspended the execution of all penal laws against Catholics and Dissenters. Such a measure invites the sympathy of the modern world, but it is necessary to remember, in judging it, that its motives were impure, and that it nullified the laws of England by an arbitrary act. The outcry was general; and when Parliament met it insisted on the king's withdrawing his Declaration. Reluctantly Charles yielded (1673), but with this retreat the war had lost its interest for him; and as the English people were learning to feel more and more strongly that their real enemy was the French and not the Dutch, he gave way to popular pressure and concluded peace (1674). Thus the treason hatched out in the Treaty of Dover came to nothing, except in so far as it involved the Dutch in another heroic combat for their life and liberty. So stubborn was their defence under their Stadtholder, William III. of Orange, that Louis XIV., baffled and discouraged, finally followed Charles's example and withdrew from the struggle (Peace of Nimwegen, 1678).

The Test Act, 1673.

But Parliament was not satisfied with the victory it had won in the matter of the Declaration. The members were now so thoroughly suspicious of the secret Catholic partisanship of the court that they added a crowning measure to their intolerant religious legislation, the Test Act, which provided that all persons holding office under the crown should publicly receive the sacrament according to Anglican custom. In consequence of this act, which tested and weighed every man by his faith, only avowed adherents of the Church of England could henceforth hold office, and no less a person than the duke of York, the king's brother and heir, had to resign the post of Lord High Admiral because he was a Catholic.

The "Popish Plot."

But the spectre of Catholicism continued to stalk through the land, leading at times to outbreaks which would be ludicrous, if they had not been so profoundly tragical. The most famous of them is of the year 1678 and is known as the "Popish Plot." A certain Titus Oates, a discredited adventurer and confessed scoundrel, told a rambling story before a magistrate to the effect that he had discovered a conspiracy on the part of the Catholics to institute in England another St. Bartholomew. Although Oates's story was

palpably absurd, it won general credence, and as a result of the frantic agitation which seized the country a number of prominent Catholics were executed, others confined in the Tower, and a corollary was added to the Test Act by which Catholics were barred from the House of Lords, the only place where they had not hitherto been disturbed.

The death of Charles.

Charles died in the year 1685, after a reign of twenty-five years. On his death-bed he privately received the sacrament according to the Catholic rite, and then, keeping up his life-long comedy to the last, died decorously according to the prescriptions of the national Church.

Whigs and Tories.

The reign of Charles is marked by an advance in the political life of the nation which merits close attention. The gushing loyalty which accompanied the first acts of the Cavalier Parliament did not last. The distrust engendered by the Catholic tendencies of the court had already impaired it, when the prospect of the succession of the Catholic duke of York gave it a staggering blow. A party called the Whigs arose which aimed to exclude the duke of York from the throne on the ground of religion; another party, called the Tories,[1] stood stanchly by the principle of legitimate succession. Charles, with the support of the Tories, managed at the close of his reign to score a triumph over the Whigs, but the fact remained that for the first time in the history of English Parliamentary life there had been created parties with a definite programme and something like a permanent organization. From that day to this, a period of over two centuries, the Whigs and Tories, latterly under the names of Liberals and Conservatives, have disputed the government of England between them. It will be seen that the succession

[1] These names were originally taunts, flung by excited orators at the heads of their opponents. Tory is derived from the Irish and signifies robber. Whig comes probably from Whiggam, a cry with which the Scotch peasants exhorted their horses. Applied as a party name, it was intended to convey the idea of a rebellious Covenanter.

issue in which the parties had their origin was intimately associated with the question of religion. The Tories drew their strength from the uncompromising supporters of the Church of England, while the Whigs, standing for a Protestant succession, found it profitable to lean upon the Dissenters and advocate religious toleration for all Protestants. If ever the Whigs came to power the Dissenters could count on something being done for them, while as long as the Tories ruled the state they were sure to be oppressed.

James II. (1685–88).

James II.

James II., who succeeded his brother Charles, was not only an open and avowed Catholic, which, of course, raised an impassable barrier between him and his subjects, but he was also imbued with the same ideas of Divine Right as his father Charles I., and he held to them as stubbornly as ever that monarch had done. Worst of all, he had no touch of the political cleverness of Charles II. Under these circumstances the new reign did not promise well. James was, indeed, received at first with some warmth, but a succession of rash and ill-judged measures reduced him rapidly to a state of icy isolation.

Catholic measures of James.

As James was a Catholic among suspicious and embittered Protestants, he should, at the very least, have kept quiet. But he seems to have been possessed with the idea that he had been made king for the express purpose of furthering the Catholic cause. He did not even trouble himself to proceed cautiously. Overriding the Test Act, he presently put his coreligionists into important positions in the army and the civil service. Soon after, in 1687, he published, in imitation of his brother, a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all penalties against Catholics and Dissenters. He justified his action in these matters by what he called the royal dispensing power, which was supposed to give him the

right not to abolish laws, but to delay their execution. If he really had any such power, it was plain that he was superior to the law, and the civil war had been in vain. Regardless of the universal discontent he published, in 1688, a Second Declaration, and ordered it to be read from all the pulpits. Most of the clergy refused to conform to this tyrannical order, and seven bishops presented to the king a written protest. James's answer was an order that legal proceedings be taken against them. Immense excitement gathered around the trial, which occurred in June, 1688.

Monmouth and "the Bloody Assizes."

Meanwhile other irregularities and violences of the king had added to his unpopularity. In the year of his accession, the Protestant duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II., had invaded England with a small force, but was defeated, captured, and executed. James might have been satisfied with this success. He preferred, however, a general persecution. He sent into the west, among the people who had supported Monmouth, the savage and infamous Judge Jeffreys, for the purpose of ferreting out Monmouth's adherents. The mockery of justice engaged in by Jeffreys is known as "the Bloody Assizes." The inhuman monster was not satisfied until he had hanged three hundred and twenty victims, mostly poor peasants, and transported eight hundred and forty to the West Indies. The odium of these misdeeds fell, of course, upon the king.

Birth of a son.

All this was for a time put up with by the people because the next heir to the throne, James's daughter Mary, who was the child of his first marriage and the wife of William of Orange, was a Protestant. The nation looked forward to her succession with the more pleasure as her husband, too, was, on his mother's side, a Stuart.[1] When, however, James's second wife gave birth, in June, 1688, to a son, who by the English law would take precedence over Mary, consternation seized the whole people. The son, it was foreseen, would be educated in the Catholic religion, and thus the Catholic dynasty would be perpetuated. As the birth of the son and the trial of the seven bishops occurred about the same time (June, 1688), England was filled with excitement from end to end. Seizing the opportunity, a number of leading Englishmen, representing both the Whig and Tory parties, sent a secret letter inviting William of Orange and his wife Mary to come to England's rescue.

[1] See Genealogical Table on page 565.

William lands in England.

In November, 1688, William landed in England, and joyously and spontaneously the people of all classes rallied around him. When the army which James sent against him refused to fight, the wretched king at last awakened to the fact that he stood alone. Suddenly and utterly discouraged, he sent his wife and child to France, and shortly after followed in person. Perhaps never in history had there been a more swift and bloodless revolution.

The reorganization of the monarchy.

When Parliament met, it was confronted by the difficult task of harvesting the fruits of the popular success. It began by declaring James's reign at an end, and offering the throne conjointly to William and Mary. Thereby it solemnly committed itself to the view that the king was not Heaven's anointed, called to the throne by hereditary Divine Right, but was the choice of people and Parliament. Henceforth a king of England had no other claim to the crown than a statute of the realm. An act of Parliament had made him, an act also might undo him. Then the victorious Parliament proceeded to complete the edifice of its power. Throughout the seventeenth century the conflict had raged between king and Parliament over their respective spheres of control. The Petition of Right (1628) was the first act which effectually clipped the wings of the monarchy. The Long Parliament was engaged in completing the work, when the civil war intervened and buried the issue beneath the din

of arms. At length the flood of loyalty, once again set in motion by ten years of military rule, brought the Stuarts back to the throne, but did not restore them to the prerogative of their ancestors. The only means of tyranny left in their hands was the claim that as divinely appointed kings they were above the laws and could suspend their execution when they pleased. The cautious Charles had exercised this supposed right charily, but the infatuated James had built up his system of tyranny upon it. This last loop-hole of arbitrary rule the Parliament now proceeded to stop up by means of a Bill of Rights (1689), wherein the so-called dispensing power was declared abolished, and the king was in every respect subjected to the law. The Bill of Rights further enumerated and forbade anew all the illegal acts of James, and formally and solemnly excluded Roman Catholics from the throne. The measure ended the long constitutional struggle in England by giving the victory and the fruits thereof to the Parliament, with the result that from this time on to our own day the Parliament has controlled the government of England.

The Bill of Rights, 1689.

The Toleration Act.

If the revolution of 1688 closed the political conflict by seating the Parliament in the place of power, it also led to a measure which promised a solution of the long-standing religious troubles. Chiefly with the support of the Whigs, Parliament passed, almost simultaneously with the Bill of Rights, a Toleration Act, conceding to the Dissenters the right of public worship. The Test Act, which barred them from office, was not repealed, but they could at least serve their God as they pleased, and that, after the long persecution they had suffered, was a sufficient blessing for the present. Indeed, it was not until the first half of the nineteenth century that the final disabilities resting upon non-Anglicans were removed. But if the current bigotry of high and low balked at more than partial alleviation for dissenting Protestants, it was plain that after the late experience with a Catholic king, no concession at all would be made to the adherents of the Pope. Tests and penal laws continued therefore in full force, and made life a very heavy burden to Catholic Englishmen for a long time to come. But the Toleration Act, by satisfying at least the old Puritan element, greatly promoted religious peace.

Puritan and Restoration literature.

The literature of the seventeenth century presents in sharp contrast the two theories of life which combated each other under the party names of Cavalier and Roundhead. The moral severity and the noble aspiration of Puritanism found sublime expression in John Milton ("Paradise Lost," 1667), and a simple-minded eulogist in John Bunyan ("Pilgrim's Progress," 1675). But the literary reign of these men and their followers was short, for the Restoration quickly buried them under its frivolity and laughter. Inevitably literature followed the currents of the contemporary life, and Milton and Bunyan were succeeded by a school of licentious dramatists and literary triflers. John Dryden (1631–1701), a man of high gifts which suffered by contact with a hollow age, is the great figure of the Restoration and rises head and shoulders above his Liliputian contemporaries.

Revival of science.

If the Restoration were to be judged merely by its contributions to literature, it would not merit high consideration. It was, as we have seen, a reaction from the boundless idealism of the previous period, and turned men to definite intellectual pursuits. The scientific spirit, having its roots in man's curiosity about himself and his environment, began to stir once more, and for its cultivation was founded, in 1660, the Royal Society. That England made rapid strides in philosophy and physics is witnessed by the great names of Locke and Newton. Their work, conducted on the principle of the collection of facts through patient observation of nature, helped to lay the foundations of modern science.