"For before, the riotous rabble had boldness enough to make serious godliness a common scorn, and call them all Puritans and Precisians that did not care as little for God and Heaven and their souls as they did; especially if a man were not fully satisfied with their undisciplined, disorderly churches, or Lay Chancellor's excommunications, &c., then no name was bad enough for him. And the Bishop's Articles enquiring after such, and their courts and the High Commission grievously afflicting those that did but fast and pray together, or go from an ignorant drunken reader, to hear a godly able preacher at the next parish, &c. This kept religion among the vulgar under either continual reproach or terror, encouraging the rabble to despise it and revile it, and discouraging those that else would own it. And experience telleth us, that it is a lamentable impediment to men's conversion, when it is a way everywhere spoken against, and prosecuted by superiors, which they must embrace; and when at their first approaches they must go through such dangers and obloquy as is fitter for confirmed Christians to be exercised with, than unconverted sinners or young beginners: Therefore, though Cromwell gave liberty to all sects among us, and did not set up any party alone by force, yet this much gave abundant advantage to the Gospel, removing the prejudices and the terrors which hindered it; especially considering that godliness had countenance and reputation also, as well as liberty; whereas before, if it did not appear in all the fetters and formalities of the times, it was the way to common shame and ruin." *

* "Life," p. 86.

CHAPTER III.

The Protectorate.—Incentives to assassinate the Protector.—Royalist Plot concocted in France.—Cromwell's deportment to the French Government.—His Foreign Policy generally.—First Parliament of the Protectorate.—Cromwell's speech on opening the Session.—Parliament questions the Protector's authority.—The Parliament House closed.—Cromwell requires a Pledge from Members.—Recusant Members excluded.—Subsequent Temper of the Parliament.—Cromwell dissolves the Parliament.—Royalist Risings organised.—Failure of Risings in the West and North.—Resistance to Taxation.—The Major-Generals.—Severities against Papists and Episcopalians.—Tolerance to Sects.

The Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, who had been inaugurated on the 16th of December, 1653, had, some four months afterwards, entered upon the occupation of the royal palaces of Whitehall and of Hampton Court. Warwick, the Cavalier, who, in 1640, had looked upon a gentleman speaking in Parliament "very ordinarily apparelled," yet lived as, he records, to see this very gentleman, "having had a better tailor, and more converse among good company," appear at Whitehall "of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence." * The same courtier says, speaking of a period when the dignity of Oliver was further confirmed, "And now he models his house, that it might have some resemblance unto a Court; and his liveries, and lacqueys, and yeomen of the guard are known who they belong to by their habit." † There was something more went to the making of the Protector Oliver than "a better tailor;" or than "liveries and lacqueys and yeomen of the guard;" something higher even than "more converse among good company." There had been fourteen years of such experience as belonged to no other man in his time. "I was by birth a gentleman; living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the nation." More than this: "My manner of life, which was to run up and down the nation, had given me to see and know the temper and spirits of all men." Thus he spoke to his first Parliament with a dignified modesty. Out of his own courage, sagacity, and abiding sense that his destiny was in the hands of a supreme di-

* "Memoirs," p. 248. † *Ibid.*, p. 382.

recting power, had a great ruler been made—one who "alone remained to conduct the government and to save the country." Such is the panegyric of Milton. When our most eloquent historian described Cromwell as "the greatest prince that has ever ruled England," * we had reached that state of historical counter-balance, that we could stop to inquire whether the familiar words of usurper, traitor, hypocrite, fanatic, dissembler, as applied to this prince, were not the merest echoes of the united hatred of cavalier and republican, of libertine and sceptic, which it would be well to lay aside after two centuries of abuse and misrepresentation. We shall endeavour to relate the events of the Protectorate, without being wholly carried away by our sense of the unquestionable superiority of this man over the most eminent of his contemporaries. We shall seek to regard him as the man best qualified to stand between the restoration of the monarchy and unmitigated despotism; as one who in his own manifestations of arbitrary power was ever striving to establish a system of constitutional liberty; as one who upheld the supremacy of the laws at a time when in the absence of such a ruler the State might have been plunged into the depths of anarchy and bloodshed. Oliver did many things that are repugnant to the principles of just freedom under an established government; but it may be honestly asked whether his example can justify that species of revolutionary despotism which seeks only to govern by the sword, without a persistent struggle to make the civil authority ultimately supreme. The Protectorate of Oliver was a constant attempt to unite the executive authority of one with the legislative control of many. He laboured to accomplish in his own day what time only could perfect, after many reverses. Had he lived long enough to have founded a dynasty, the problem might have been more quickly solved. The partial and temporary despotism of the Protectorate is gone; the liberty and toleration which it proposed as its final objects remain. We may apply to the history of this crisis the words of Cromwell's own earnest conviction: "What are all our Histories, and other traditions of actions in former times, but God manifesting Himself, that He hath shaken, and tumbled down, and trampled upon, everything that he hath not planted?" † We may especially apply these memorable words, so characteristic of their utterer, and yet so universal in their truth, to the whole history of the English Revolution of the seventeenth century. After the

* Macaulay, "History," vol. i. c. ii.
† Cromwell—Speech iv. "Carlyle," vol iii. p. 89.

first great contest was over, The Divine Right of Kings came back upon England with unforgotten insolence in its pretensions, although with somewhat diminished power of working immediate evil. But it perished; for the Divine Right had to stand a test which its most powerful enemy had proposed as a test of all political action: "If it be of God, He will bear it up: If it be of man it will tumble." *

In the remarkable conversation between Cromwell and Whitelocke, which preceded the dissolution of the Long Parliament,† Whitelocke, with great sagacity, had pointed out that in the assumption by Cromwell of monarchical power, "that question, wherein before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by this means become in effect a private controversy only. Before it was national, what head of government we should have; now it will become particular, who shall be our governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells." Cromwell replied, "I confess you speak reason in this." The acceptance by Cromwell of the office of Protector immediately gave this character to the controversy. The great object of all the discontented Republicans or Cavaliers; the supporters of prerogative or the enemies of all government but that of the reign of the Saints; those who would have re-entered into possession of the property which had changed hands, or those who sought a division of all property whatsoever; intolerant Episcopalians, equally intolerant Presbyterians, frantic Anabaptists;—all these classes now saw an enemy in the one man in whom the ruling power was concentrated. That power had become more vigilant, more far-seeing, more difficult to shake, than the distracted authority of the Long Parliament, or of the Little Parliament. Foreign governments recognised and dreaded this commanding power, well described by the great minister of the next century: "Oliver Cromwell, who astonished mankind by his intelligence, did not derive it from spies in the cabinet of every prince in Europe: he drew it from the cabinet of his own sagacious mind. He observed facts, and traced them forward to their consequences. From what was, he concluded what must be, and he never was deceived." ‡ Foreign governments might therefore have rejoiced to see the downfall of this man, whose soul was bent upon sustaining the glory of his country, as well as consolidating its internal peace. But he was as

* Cromwell—Speech iv. "Carlyle," vol. iii. p. 89. † See *ante*, p. 25.
‡ Chatham's Speech on Spain, November 2, 1770.

prudent as he was watchful. He was surrounded with conspirators of every degree. The doctrine of assassination was openly preached by the Royalists abroad. From Paris, on the 23rd of April, 1654, came out a Proclamation in the name of Charles the Second, setting forth that "a certain base mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell—after he had most inhumanly and barbarously butchered our dear father, of sacred memory, his just and lawful sovereign—hath most tyrannically and traitorously usurped the supreme power over our said kingdoms." It thus proceeds: "These are therefore, in our name, to give free leave and liberty to any man whomsoever, within any of our three kingdoms, by pistol, sword, or poison, or by any other way or means whatsoever, to destroy the life of the said Oliver Cromwell; wherein they will do an act acceptable to God and good men, by cutting so detestable a villain from the face of the earth." It further promises all sorts of rewards to "whosoever, whether soldier or other, who shall be instrumental in so signal a piece of service." This proclamation has been attributed to Hyde—perhaps unjustly. It is not clear that this incentive to assassination "on the word and faith of a Christian king" really came from Charles Stuart, though undoubtedly it came from his "Court at Paris." But it was extensively circulated, openly abroad, secretly in England; and it produced its natural effects. On the 20th of May, being Saturday—a day on which the Protector usually went to Hampton Court—his guards were to be attacked by thirty stout men, and then and there was the deed to be done, of which the perpetrator was to be honoured with knighthood, and five hundred pounds a year in land, and honourable employment. But the Protector escaped the ambuscade; for five of the royalist projectors of the plot were arrested in their beds a few hours before its intended accomplishment. Forty persons were subjected to examination as confederates with colonel John Gerard, Peter Vowell, a schoolmaster, and Somerset Fox. These three were tried before a High Court of Justice. Fox pleaded guilty, and was pardoned. The other two were executed. Of their guilt the evidence is sufficiently clear; and it is equally manifest that the plan had been communicated to Prince Rupert at Paris. Hyde protested, in a letter to Secretary Nicholas, that of the "whole matter the king knows no more than you do." There is one point connected with this plot which we give in the words of M. Guizot, who has published the documents upon which it is established: "Whatever may have been the amount of his participation in the plan for the

assassination of the Protector, and whether Charles was aware of it or not, the fact itself was incontestable, and probably even more serious than Cromwell allowed it to appear; for there is reason to believe that M. de Baas,—at that time an envoy extraordinary of Mazarin to London, and temporarily connected with the embassy of M. de Bordeaux,—was not unacquainted either with the conspirators or their design. Cromwell was so convinced of this that he summoned M. de Baas before his council, and sharply interrogated him on the subject. But he had too much good sense to magnify the affair beyond what was required by a due regard for his own safety, or by laying too much stress on this incident, to interrupt, for any length of time, his friendly relations with Mazarin and the Court of France, which manifested the greatest anxiety to remain on good terms with him. He merely sent M. de Baas back to France, openly stating to Louis XIV. and Mazarin his reasons for so doing, and showing in this the same moderation which had induced him to bring to trial only three of the conspirators. He had escaped the danger; made known to England and Europe the active vigilance of his police; and proved to the royalists that he would not spare them. He attempted nothing further. He possessed that difficult secret of the art of governing which consists in a just appreciation of what will be sufficient in any given circumstance, and in resting satisfied with it." * Cromwell had made known to Europe, and especially to France, out of whose bosom the assassins came, the vigilance of his own police. He did not complain that France did not go before him to restrain and punish assassination, and to set a mark of reprobation upon such an incentive to the crime as the Proclamation issued in the name of Charles the Second. When it was indisputable, even, that an envoy of the French king had employed the name of Mazarin to encourage this scheme of murder, Cromwell was not diverted from what he regarded as the true national policy, an alliance with France, by his own personal resentment. He sent M. de Baas back to his own Court. He imputed blame to him alone. He writes to Louis XIV. with the true magnanimity of one who could lay aside all meaner considerations in a strong sense of public duty, "It has seemed advisable to us to assure your majesty that, in dismissing de Baas, we had no thought or wish to interrupt in any way the negotiations now pending; desiring, on the contrary, in all candour and simplicity of soul, that false interpretations and subjects of evil suspicions may be cast aside." †

* "Cromwell," vol. ii. p. 51.

† *Ibid.*, Appendix ii. p. 420.

Whilst France and Spain were each employing all the resources of their diplomacy to secure the alliance of England, Cromwell, after tedious negotiations, had concluded a peace with the United Provinces. The naval power of the Dutch had been finally broken by the victory of Blake, in July, 1653, when Van Tromp was himself killed by a musket-ball. The conditions of peace which Cromwell exacted were moderate; and he was reproached by his enemies with having sacrificed the advantages gained in the war for the greater popularity of his rule at home. The nation wanted peace, and rejoiced at the termination of hostilities so injurious to its commerce. The Protector, moreover, accomplished his great desire of promoting the union of the Protestant States of Europe. In the treaty with Holland, which was signed on the 5th of April, 1654, were comprehended Denmark, the Hanseatic Towns, and the Swiss Protestant Cantons. A treaty of friendship and alliance with Sweden was concluded in the same month as that with Holland. In the foreign relations of England there was no comparison between the delays of a Parliament and the decision of the Protector. When the responsibility of determining great questions involving peace or war was in the hands of a supreme ruler and his council, the policy of the country was settled upon fixed principles, which, whether or not they were safe and profitable, were at any rate not timid or vacillating. Cromwell decided that the alliance of France was preferable to that of Spain. His opinions were opposed by many of his own officers. He had taken his own view of the question; but for a short time held himself aloof from any final measure, whilst he was assiduously courted by the ambassadors of these rival powers. Of Spain he demanded that the navigation of the West Indies should be free; and that Englishmen in Spain should be protected in the exercise of their religion against the interference of the Inquisition. The Spanish ambassador said that such a demand was to ask for the two eyes of his master. From France he required the expulsion of the Stuarts; and, in a nobler spirit, liberty and security for the French Protestants. No treaty with France was concluded in the first year of the Protectorate, and no hostilities were offered to Spain; but it became manifest that the disposition of Cromwell was to reject the alliance of the power that was the most devoted adherent to Rome. With Portugal he concluded a commercial treaty. But on the very day this treaty was signed, he caused the law to be unflinchingly executed upon the brother of the Portuguese ambassador,

who had killed two Englishmen, and raised a tumult with the armed servants of the embassy, at the Exchange in London. No plea of diplomatic privileges could prevent Don Pantaleon de Sa from being tried, convicted, and executed for the offence. The foreigner beheld with dread and wonder the stern and fearless justice of the Commonwealth.

Under the Instrument of Government by which Cromwell was appointed Protector, it was provided that a Parliament should be elected to meet on the 3rd of September, 1654: but that in the interim the Protector, assisted by his Council of twenty-one members, should be entitled to issue Ordinances having the force of Laws, as well as to do all acts necessary for the public service. We have seen how vigorously Cromwell applied himself, during these nine months, to establish the foreign relations of the country upon a satisfactory foundation. But he devoted himself no less energetically to accomplish a series of domestic reforms, some of which have presented models to succeeding reformers; others have been pronounced crude and impracticable; but all have the merit of seeking the public good, though by courses which have that tincture of despotism which essentially belongs to a revolutionary period. When the first Parliament of the Protectorate met on the 4th of September, the Lord Protector went into an elaborate explanation of his measures, domestic and foreign. The one measure of his government that was all important was this: "It hath been instrumental to call a free Parliament; which, blessed be God, we see here this day. I say, a free Parliament." There had been no election to a Parliament in England for fourteen years. This Parliament was to include Representatives of the three kingdoms: "You are met here on the greatest occasion that, I believe, England ever saw; having upon your shoulders the interests of three great nations, with the territory belonging to them." The Parliament was composed of four hundred and sixty members. Of four hundred for England and Wales, two hundred and fifty-one were to be returned by counties, and a hundred and forty-nine by cities and boroughs. Scotland, which had been declared united to England by an Ordinance of the 12th of April, was to send thirty members; Ireland was to send also thirty members. The right of voting for representatives was in those who possessed real or personal property to the value of two hundred pounds. Roman Catholics, and those who had been in arms against the Parliament during the Civil Wars, were excluded from voting, or from being

returned as members. But by the instrument of government, and in the terms of the writ for election, it was a condition "That the persons elected shall not have power to alter the government as it is settled in one single person and a parliament."

The 3rd of September, the day appointed for the assembling of Parliament, falling on a Sunday, the House adjourned to the next day, after meeting the Protector in the Painted Chamber. On that Monday the Parliament was opened with almost regal pomp. "The Protector rode in state from Whitehall to the Abbey Church in Westminster. . . . His highness was seated over against the pulpit, the members of the Parliament on both sides. . . . After the sermon, which was preached by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, his highness went in the same equipage to the Painted Chamber, where he took seat in a chair of state set upon steps, and the members upon benches round about." The long speech which Cromwell addressed to this Parliament was reported "by one who stood very near;" and was published "to prevent mistakes." Studied no doubt it was; for its sentences, however involved, are full of meaning,—but it was not delivered from a written paper. In its wide range, and careful explanations, it has a considerable resemblance to the speeches of the American Presidents. The Protector had a very difficult assembly to address. His own Council had been elected, with one exception. Some of the republican leaders, who were indignant at the whole course of government since the dissolution of the Long Parliament, were again returned. A large body of the Presbyterians were also members, with the ever-prevailing desire to maintain their own form of Church government. There was a peculiar significance in the Protector's words when he said that the great end of their meeting was "Healing and Settling. . . . . I trust it is in the minds of you all, and much more in the mind of God, to cause Healing." He would not touch upon past transactions too particularly, for the remembrance of such, instead of healing, "might set the wound fresh a-bleeding." The oblivion of past animosities was scarcely yet to be accomplished. The social improvements which were to grow out of a happy concord were nevertheless to be earnestly striven for. Briefly the Protector referred to what had been done in the way of Ordinances—"for the interest of the people alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest." The administration of finance had been regulated; the hardships of prisoners for debt, an old grievance, had been lessened; prison-discipline had been reformed; highways had been improved. These were matters at which the Protector only glanced. But upon more important reforms he delivered himself without reserve. And first of Law Reform: "The government hath had some things to desire; and it hath done some things actually. It hath desired to reform the Laws. I say to reform them:—and for that end it hath called together persons, without offence be it spoken, of as great ability and as great interest as are in these nations, to consider how the laws might be made plain and short, and less chargeable to the people; how to lessen expense for the good of the nation. And those things are in preparation, and bills prepared; which in due time, I make no question, will be tendered to you. In the meanwhile there hath been care taken to put the administration of the Laws into the hands of just men; men of the most known integrity and ability. The Chancery hath been reformed, I hope, to the satisfaction of all good men; such as for the things depending there, which made the burden and work of the honourable persons intrusted in those services too heavy for their ability, it hath referred many of them to those places where Englishmen love to have their rights tried, the Courts of Law at Westminster." The Ordinance "for reforming the Court of Chancery" consisted of sixty-seven articles. That Court before its reform was in full possession of the character which it long strove to preserve, in spite of law or ordinance, of public contempt and senatorial reprobation. It had twenty-three thousand causes before it, which had been depending for long years; it was in the pleasing exercise of its power "of undoing many families." Cromwell's desire that "the Laws might be made plain and short, and less chargeable to the people," has been the desire of all honest rulers and legislators from that time to our own.

But there was a task still more difficult than the reform of the Law, which the Protector had endeavoured to accomplish by Ordinances: "This Government hath endeavoured to put a stop to that heady way of every man making himself a Minister and Preacher. It hath endeavoured to settle a method for the approving and sanctioning of men of piety and ability to discharge that work. And I think I may say, it hath committed the business to the trust of persons, both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgments, of as known ability, piety, and integrity, as any, I believe, this nation hath." . . . "The Government hath also taken

care, we hope, for the expulsion of all those who may be judged any way unfit for this work; who are scandalous, and the common scorn and contempt of that function."

In thus describing his measures for securing "men of piety and ability" to discharge the duties of ministers and preachers, the Protector referred to the Commissions which he had instituted—the Commission of Triers, and the Commission of Expurgation. Such measures were the necessary results of an endeavour to remedy the evils which had been produced by the total suspension of an authorised ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The episcopal authority had long ceased. The presbyterian authority was not established. Church government was wholly at an end. With all his love of toleration, his strong sense perceived the necessity of something better than what he described as the "heady way of every man making himself a minister and a preacher." His Commission for the trial of public preachers comprised nine laymen and twenty-nine of the clergy. His other Commission consisted of gentry and clergy in every county, to inquire into the conduct, and eject from their livings, if necessary, "scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient" ministers. It is impossible that such Commissions should not have been in many cases arbitrary, perhaps prejudiced and unjust. But even Baxter has given his testimony to the general benefit of these irregular attempts to remedy the absence of a competent ecclesiastical authority for providing religious instruction for the people. "Because this Assembly of Triers is most heavily accused and reproached by some men, I shall speak the truth of them, and suppose my word will be the rather taken, because most of them took me for one of their boldest adversaries, as to their opinion, and because I was known to disown their power. . . . The truth is, that though their authority was null, and though some few over-busy and over-rigid Independents among them were too severe against all that were Arminians, and too particular in inquiring after sanctification in those whom they examined, and somewhat too lax in their admission of unlearned and erroneous men, that favoured Antinomianism or Anabaptism; yet to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the Church: They saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers. . . All those that used the Ministry but as a common trade to live by, and were never likely to convert a soul; all these they usually rejected; and in their stead admitted of any that were able serious preachers,

and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were." *

The exhortations of Cromwell to labour for "settling and healing" were addressed to unwilling listeners. There was one sore that, in the thoughts of a large number, would admit of no healing. In their view the great ulcer of the State was the supremacy of one man. They would not recognise the co-ordinate power of legislative and executive. Their idea of a Commonwealth was that of a permanent Assembly, in which all the elementary principles of government should be perpetually discussed; all the relations of the State to foreign powers debated and re-debated; all the religious animosities of unnumbered sects continually inflamed by alternations of intolerance and liberality, according to the vote of the hour. Their complaint was, not that Cromwell and his Council had ruled unwisely; but that he should be exalted above his fellows to rule at all. The royalist lampooners said that the Protector's escutcheon should exhibit

"The Brewers', with King's arms, quartered." †

Those who had been saved from the annihilation of all their hopes of civil and religious liberty by the Colonel from Huntingdon, now joined with the most infuriate of the Cavaliers in abuse of the "base mechanic fellow"—the "Cæsar in a Clown" before whom they were prostrate when he returned in triumph from Dunbar and Worcester. Roundhead and Cavalier had now found a common principle of action. The Parliament had ample powers under the Instrument of Government. The authority of the Protector was great, but with very stringent limitations. The conjoined authority was, as described by the Protector himself, "likely to avoid the extremes of monarchy on the one hand, and of democracy on the other." ‡ Nevertheless, the very first occupation of the representatives assembled on the 3rd of September, 1654, was to proceed to the discussion of the question whether the House shall approve of the system of government by a Parliament and a single Person. For three days this elementary question had been debated; and by a majority of a hundred and forty-six votes against a hundred and forty-one, the House resolved to go into Committee to deliberate still further upon this fundamental proposition. On the morning when the Committee was to meet, the doors of the Parliament were found closed. The member for Lynn, Mr. Goddard, has given

* "Life," p. 72. † "Cleveland's Poems." ‡ Speech of 22nd January, 1655.

some details of the incidents of this Tuesday morning: "Going by water to Westminster, I was told that the Parliament doors were locked up, and guarded with soldiers, and that the barges were to attend the Protector to the Painted Chamber." He attempted to pass up the Parliament Stair, but was repulsed by soldiers; and was required, if he was a Member, to go into the Painted Chamber. "The Speaker and all the Members were walking up and down the Hall, the Court of Requests, and the Painted Chamber, expecting the Protector's coming." The Protector did come, with his guards; and took his seat in a chair of state; and he then spoke for an hour and a half to the bare-headed assembly, with an earnestness to which a feeling of wounded pride gave unwonted emphasis. He had told them, not long before, that they were a free Parliament—"And so you are, whilst you own the government and authority which called you hither. . . . . There was a reciprocity implied and expressed. . . . . I called myself not to this place. I say again, I called myself not to this place. . . . . If my calling be from God, and my testimony from the People, God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not part with it." He then went over many passages of the past. "Having had some occasions to see, together with my brethren and countrymen, a happy period put to our sharp wars and contests with the then common enemy, I hoped, in a private capacity, to have reaped the fruit and benefit of our hard labours and hazards. . . . . I hoped to have had leave to retire to a private life. I begged to be dismissed of my charge. I begged it again and again; and God be judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter." His dissolution of the Long Parliament is referred to as a measure of inevitable necessity. His summoning of the Little Parliament was "to see if a few might have been called together, for some short time, who might put the nation in some way of certain settlement." He adds, with the same solemn appeal to Heaven, "a chief end to myself was to lay down the power which was in my hands." In the unlimited condition of General of all the forces—that "boundless authority" conferred by Act of Parliament,—he "did not desire to live a single day." The Little Parliament resigned the power and authority which had been committed to them. "All things being again subject to arbitrariness," he was himself "a person having power over the three nations without bound or limit." At the request of that Assembly he accepted the office of Protector; he took the oath to the government. In obedience to that trust, he

and his Council had been "faithful in calling this Parliament." He maintained that the people, in the expression of their voices by Grand Juries, by addresses from Counties and Cities, were his witnesses of approbation to the place he filled. But the climax of his speech was that *they*, the members of Parliament, were his last witnesses. They came there by his writs directed to the sheriffs. To these writs the people gave obedience, having had the Act of Government communicated to them, by printed copies, it being also read at the places of election. The writ of return was signed with proviso "that the person so chosen should not have power to alter the government as now settled in one single Person and a Parliament." Certainly Oliver Protector has very conclusively settled the question which the Parliament had been three days debating; and he can scarcely be called tyrannous, when he required "some owning of your call and of the authority which brought you hither. . . . . I must deal plainly with you: What I forbore upon a just confidence at first, you necessitate me unto now." This thing (he produces a parchment) when assented to and subscribed is "the means that will you let in"—(through those doors which are now locked) "to act those things as a Parliament which are for the good of the People." The parchment to be signed at the lobby-door bore these words: "I do hereby freely promise, and engage myself, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenor of the Indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present Parliament) propose, or give my consent, to alter the government as it is settled in a Single Person and a Parliament." Many Members signed at once. Three hundred had signed before the end of the month. But the republican leaders refused to give any pledge; and the Parliament was thus reduced to little more than two-thirds of the members returned. Ludlow, who was then absent in Ireland, deeply sympathises with his brother republicans: "So soon as this visible hand of violence appeared to be upon them, most of the eminent assertors of the liberty of their country withdrew themselves; being persuaded they should better discharge their duty to the nation by this way of expressing their abhorrence of his tyrannical proceedings, than by surrendering their liberties under their own hands, and then treating with him who was possessed of the sword, to recover some part of them again." The Parliament, thus mutilated, resumed its duties. Its first act was an assertion of some independence in resolving that the pledge