

CHAPTER V.

Richard Cromwell proclaimed Protector.—General calm upon his succession to power.—Funeral of Oliver Cromwell.—A Parliament called.—Different Constitution of Parliament.—Conflicts between the Republican leaders and the majority.—Demands of the Army.—Richard Cromwell yields to their pretensions.—He is compelled by the Officers to dissolve the Parliament.—End of the Protectorate.—Assembly of the Long Parliament.—Resolutions that the Military power should be under the Civil.—Discussions as to the form of Government.—The Rota Club.—Disunion of Parties.—Royalist insurrection.—Sir George Booth defeated by Lambert.—Petitions of the Officers.—The Parliament, subjected to the Army, ceases to sit.—Committee of Safety.—Monk in Scotland.—Resolves to restore the Parliament.—Lambert sent against Monk.—The Parliament restored by the Council of Officers.—Monk marches to London.—Movements of the Royalists.—Disaffection in the City, which Monk is ordered to suppress.—His demand that a Parliament shall be called.—Popular exultation.—Monk restores the secluded Members.—The measures of the Parliamentary majority.—Charles's Court.—The Long Parliament finally dissolved.—Monk agrees to act for Charles.—Lambert's insurrection.—Meeting of the New Parliament.—The King's Letter.—Debates on the Bill of Indemnity.—Charles the Second proclaimed.—He lands at Dover.—His entry into London.

THE death of Oliver Cromwell was followed by no popular agitation—scarcely by any immediate demonstration of party dissensions. The Council was summoned. Evidence was given of the verbal declaration of the Protector that his son Richard should be his successor. Fleetwood, the lieutenant-general of the army, was thought by some to have been nominated to the succession in the paper which could not be discovered; but he gave his pledge to respect the appointment of Richard. On the 4th of September the new Protector was solemnly proclaimed; and he took the oath contained in the Instrument of Government. The ready acceptance by the nation of the son of the late ruler offers a proof that, during the contests of the Protectorate, its power had been gradually consolidating; and that the great name of the Protector remained as a shield for the weakness of his son. Richard was weak in all the essential qualities necessary for preserving an authority as legitimate not recognised by many. Mrs. Hutchinson describes him as “a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness.” If, yielding to the flattering idea of hereditary succession, his father had really nominated him, that nomination must have been against his own previous convictions

of his eldest son's unfitness for government. On the contrary, his son Henry had displayed very high qualities as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He had shown firmness with conciliation; he had kept the land at peace and in subjection to the laws. Yet the accession of Richard Cromwell, if it excited no confidence in the people, produced no distrust. They saw a quiet and unambitious young man quietly take his father's seat; they scarcely thought that the mild indifference of authority may be more dangerous than its severe watchfulness. Abroad, the royalists were vexed and surprised at the calm in England. Hyde thought there would be great changes: “I cannot believe,” he writes, “that all will submit to the government of this young coxcomb.” Henrietta Maria, however, doubted whether any great advantages could accrue from “the death of that wretch,” as she writes to Madame de Motteville. Three months after that important event, Hyde almost lost heart: “We have not yet found that advantage by Cromwell's death as we reasonably hoped; nay, rather, we are the worse for it, and the less esteemed, people imagining by the great calm that has followed that the nation is united, and that the king has very few friends.” Foreign governments readily gave their adherence to the Commonwealth. The Court of France put on mourning to do honour to Oliver's memory. Nevertheless “the great calm” was gradually becoming disturbed. Within six weeks of his accession, a body of officers, headed by Fleetwood, presented a petition to Richard for such organic changes in the military constitution as would have placed all control of the army out of his hand. He mildly but firmly refused his assent, as contrary to the “Petition and Advice” on which the Protectorate was founded. Henry Cromwell saw the coming danger; and wrote to his brother, “I thought those whom my father had raised from nothing would not so soon have forgot him, and endeavour to destroy his family before he is in his grave.” Richard was not only harassed by the ambition of the officers, but had to encounter the greatest peril of governments, financial difficulties. His father had left no wealth—contrary to the belief of most persons. He had higher thoughts than those of making his family rich. Richard was soon embarrassed, the more so as the pompous funeral of the late Protector absorbed all his immediate resources, and left him greatly in debt. That funeral was deferred till the 23rd of November. The preparations for this public solemnity were upon an extravagant scale, utterly unsuited to the simple grandeur which the Protector had

affected in his life-time. Evelyn has briefly described this ceremonial: "Saw the superb funeral of the Protector. He was carried from Somerset House on a velvet bed of state, drawn by six horses, housed with the same; the pall held by his new Lords; Oliver lying in effigy, in royal robes, and crowned with a crown, sceptre, and globe, like a king. The pendants and guidons were carried by the officers of the army; the imperial banners, achievements, &c., by the heralds in their coats; a rich caparisoned horse, embroidered all over with gold; a knight of honour armed cap-a-pied; and, after all, his guards, soldiers, and innumerable mourners." Evelyn adds, "in this equipage they proceeded to Westminster: but it was the joyfullest funeral I ever saw; for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went." Ludlow, speaking with similar contempt of this pageantry, says, of the lying in state, "This folly and profusion so far provoked the people, that they threw dirt in the night on his escutcheon that was placed over the great gate of Somerset House."

In the middle of November, Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell that when the funeral was over the Council would begin business, "if troubles do not begin before." The Council met on the 29th and resolved on calling a Parliament. It was not to be such a Parliament as Oliver had called. The old Representative system was to be restored. Small and decayed Boroughs, which had been disfranchised, were again to elect burgesses. Commercial towns, such as Manchester, which had grown into importance, were again to cease to have members. The loss of ancient privileges by petty communities had given more offence than the gain of new franchises by large sections of the people had afforded satisfaction. The government strove as much as possible to exclude the Republicans from Parliament; but it was not successful to a great extent. Many in the service of the government obtained seats. The Royalists influenced many of the elections, but few declared Royalists offered themselves as candidates. The Parliament, which met on the 29th of January, appeared to contain more moderate men than violent partisans. There was nothing in its composition to indicate that the Protectorate would become insecure through legislative action. The Lords, or Upper House, were summoned by the Protector's writ, as the Lords of Oliver had been summoned. The members of both Houses were required to take

the oath to the government. Some few republicans refused, and did not take their seats. Ludlow, and probably others, evaded the oath; and, after some dispute, were permitted to sit. The passions of various factions soon manifested themselves. A bill having been proposed "for a recognition of the Protector," no dislike was exhibited towards Richard Cromwell. On the contrary, even the strong Republicans spoke kindly of him: "If you think of a Single Person, I would have him sooner than any man alive," said Scott,—one of the most violent against the late Protector. But the Republicans came back to their old assertion of the right of Parliament alone to exercise the government, as it had been exercised before the dissolution of the Long Parliament. By that action, said Vane, they lost their possession, not their right. "The chief magistrate's place was assumed without a law." It was dangerous to confess a title in being that was not of their own giving, maintained Vane. After long and violent debates, the Bill for the recognition of the Protector was passed. The Royalists looked on rejoicingly at these conflicts; believing that they would end in confusion. There was still greater disagreement when the question came to be debated, whether there should be two Houses. The Commons voted that the Parliament should consist of two Houses; but then proceeded to discuss the bounds and powers of the other House. After weeks of debate, it was resolved, by a considerable majority, that the House would treat with the persons now sitting in the other House, as a House of Parliament; and that such Peers as had been faithful to the Parliament might be summoned to serve as Members of that House. The Republicans and the Royalists were beaten.

But, however triumphant at Westminster, as to these material points, there was a power yet unpropitiated, which Oliver could control, but which was wholly unmanageable by the gentle hand of Richard. Soon after his accession he said to the officers who came to him with a petition, "It is my disadvantage that I have been so little amongst you, and am no better known to you." He now began to feel how great was this disadvantage. There were some regiments, commanded by his friends, of whose fidelity the young Protector had no doubt. The armies of Scotland and Ireland were equally faithful. But the violent sectarian soldiers disliked his moderation. He was threatened by Desborough that the army would desert him if he attempted to conciliate the Royalists. It was objected against him that he preferred others beside "the godly." The Parliament

and the Army were secret antagonists. Their mutual hostility soon became manifest. Looking merely at their legislative influence, it was no serious evil that the most signal strokes of the policy of the late Protector had been condemned by the few Republican members; that they reprobated the peace with the Dutch; the alliance with France; the war with Spain. They were insensible to the real triumphs of Oliver; they were indifferent to the high position in which he had placed his country amongst the nations. They made no allowance for the difficulties he had experienced in restraining contending factions at the least expenditure of blood. They hated the participation of one Single Person in the power of a Parliament; and that hatred made them little careful to avoid the old strifes. But there was a serious danger when the Army fell in with this humour; and saw, with jealousy, a majority of the Parliament inclined to peace and moderation. Richard indiscreetly consented to the appointment of a general Council of Officers. Five hundred assembled at Wallingford House. A violent test was proposed, which was indeed laid aside, but they came to resolutions which aimed at separating the command of the Army from the Civil Power. The Parliament soon saw its danger. A member, lord Falkland, said, "You have been a long time talking of three Estates; there is a fourth which, if not well looked-to, will turn us all out of doors." The House of Commons then voted that no general Council of Officers should be held without permission of the Protector and the Parliament; and that every officer should sign an engagement that he would not disturb the free meetings or proceedings of Parliament. Richard was urged to be firm. He went amongst the officers at Wallingford House; and told them that he would see their complaints righted in Parliament, but that he dissolved their Council. The Council obstinately continued to sit. Those officers who were devoted to the Protector urged him to adopt some strong measure. Richard shrank from the responsibility: "I have never done anybody any harm," he exclaimed, "and I never will: I will not have a drop of blood spilt for the preservation of my greatness, which is a burden to me." Broghill, and Howard, and other faithful friends, saw that one course alone was possible to avert military despotism or anarchy—to restore the legitimate king. Richard himself was solicited to assist in this object; but he refused to forsake the cause to which he was committed. It was soon manifest that the power of the Protector was coming to an end. His brother-in-law, Fleetwood,

his relative, Desborough, deserted him. The few officers who were faithful were abandoned by their men. Desborough came from St. James's to Whitehall—from St. James's, where the whole army was ordered to rendezvous, to Whitehall, where Richard had been deserted by his own guards—and demanded that the Parliament should be dissolved. Richard at length yielded, making it a condition that he should not be required to dissolve the House in person. An ordinance was issued, which Fiennes, as Commissioner of the Great Seal, was ordered to communicate to Parliament. On the 22nd of April the Commons was summoned to the Upper House. Very few went. Those who remained behind passed various resolutions, violent in proportion to their impotence. In the evening a Proclamation for dissolving the Parliament was issued, and upon the doors of the House of Commons padlocks were fastened. The Army was supreme, with no master-mind to direct its supremacy.

With the fall of the Parliament fell Richard Cromwell. "His Highness," wrote Thurloe to Lockhart, "is now excluded from having any share in the government, and must retire as a private gentleman." He still continued to reside at Whitehall. But all real government was at an end. The army became insubordinate. All power of directing the affairs of the nation seemed lost. In this emergency, the officers and the republican leaders of the Commons coalesced; and it was determined to restore the Long Parliament. After much difficulty forty-two of the old Members were gathered together; and that anomalous authority commenced, which was destined ignominiously to expire under the name of "The Rump." Richard Cromwell soon after left Whitehall. Henry Cromwell took no part in public affairs. The wife of Cromwell—the "domestic drudge" as she was called in the lampoons of the time—had made little provision for a transition from Whitehall to a plain country-house. The whole family passed into obscurity—humbled, but not disgraced.

A sufficient number of members of the Long Parliament having been assembled to form a House, "We went," says Ludlow, "to take our places, Mr. Lenthall, our Speaker, leading the way; and the officers of the Army lining the rooms for us, as we passed through the Painted Chamber, the Court of Requests, and Lobby itself; the principal officers having placed themselves nearest to the door of the Parliament House, every one seeming to rejoice at our restitution, and promising to live and die with us." Such

promises are easily made and easily broken in revolutionary periods. The first step of the Parliament was to appoint a Committee of Safety; and, subsequently, a Council of State. The Council was composed of soldiers and civilians, in nearly equal proportion. They were sincere and zealous men, faithful to their great idea of a Republic, of which all the authority should abide in a Parliament. But the theory of parliamentary supremacy soon reduced itself to the more practical question—*which power should be supreme, the civil or the military?* The Parliament asserted its claims with resolute independence. Fleetwood was to be appointed Commander-in-Chief; “but instead of authorising the Lieutenant-General to grant commissions to such officers as should be appointed by the Parliament, it was ordered that the said commissions should be subscribed by the Speaker, and received from his hands; by which it was endeavoured to bring the military sword under the power of the civil authority, as it ought to be in a free nation.” Ludlow, who relates this, adds: “But observing that these things were greatly disliked by the officers, and knowing how much it imported the very being of our cause to maintain a good correspondence between the Parliament and the Army, I earnestly pressed the House not to insist upon the restrictions.”* The Parliament, however, was firm, and the officers submitted, though with an ill grace. The government was in the hands of men of decision and energy. Its foreign policy was conciliatory. It professed its desire for peace; and though abandoning somewhat of the high tone of Cromwell, it averted some immediate dangers by its moderation. But the people of England had no confidence in the stability of the dominion of this remnant of the Parliament, which was a necessity during the Civil War, but was unsuited to the monarchical traditions of the country, revived, to a certain extent, in the “something approaching to monarchy” of Oliver. The ultimate form of government was a constant matter of debate within the House. Beyond its walls every theory of the perfection of a Commonwealth was anxiously discussed. Harrington, who had twelve years before been “disputing about government” with Charles I., was now disputing “daily at coffee-houses.” In 1659, writes Aubrey, “at the beginning of Michaelmas time, he had every night a meeting at the Turk’s Head, in the New Palace Yard, where they take water—the next house to the stairs, at one Miles’s—where was made purposely a large oval table, with a passage in the mid-

* “Memoirs,” p. 660.

dle for Miles to deliver his coffee. About it sate his disciples and the virtuosi.” The arguments in the Parliament House were, to Aubrey, “flat” by comparison with this talk of the “virtuosi;” who had a balloting-box, and balloted “how things should be carried,”—how “the third part of the House should rote out by ballot every year, so that every ninth year the House would be wholly altered;—no magistrate to continue above three years, and all to be chosen by ballot.” Pepys went to Harrington’s Club in January, 1660, “and heard very good discourse.” The Parliament continued debating; with real dangers all around. The greatest danger was in its own divisions. “Parties are like so many floating islands, sometimes joining and appearing like a continent; when the next flood or ebb separates them; so that it can hardly be known where they will be next.”*

As the natural result of this disunion, a royalist insurrection was organised. The old Cavalier party in England had been wholly inactive since the death of Oliver. The probability is, that if the hand of Richard had been sufficiently strong to have held the Army in due subordination to the civil authority, and the Parliament could thus have proceeded in its duties without molestation, the country would have gradually settled down under a government which afforded security for property, and continued stability for the various interests that had acquired a firm footing during ten years. But under the disunited republicans who had obtained possession of power, the restoration of Charles the Second became a fixed idea that gradually took possession of many minds besides those of the more devoted Royalists. The impatience of the king’s adherents was the most likely source of injury to the king’s cause. This impatience was for some time kept down by the prudence of Hyde. But a general plan of insurrection was at length completed in July. The Parliament obtained a knowledge of the project, and took the most active measures of precaution. Charles and his brother James met at Calais, with the intention of proceeding to England. But the chief leaders of the proposed insurrection were intimidated; and the Royalists saw that the time for united action was not yet come. Sir George Booth had, however, appeared in arms in Cheshire, on the 1st of August. In a few days he was at the head of several thousand men, and had obtained possession of the citadel of Chester. Large additional forces were immediately raised by the Parliament; and their command was en-

* Letter of 3rd June, quoted in Guizot’s “Richard Cromwell,” vol. i. p. 183.

trusted to Lambert. He left London at the head of an adequate force, and marched rapidly to Chester. The defeat of Sir George Booth and his party was complete. The Royalist cause appeared again to be hopeless. Lambert returned to London at a very slow pace. The Parliament had voted him a thousand pounds to buy a jewel; but he came not to receive their thanks in person. He was preparing, in concert with officers in London, to dispute their authority. A Petition had been presented to the House from the officers under his command. It was to repeat certain demands for appointment of General Officers, which had been proposed before the Parliament had been restored. The House now voted against the prayer of the Petition. Other meetings of officers were held, and another Petition was resolved upon. These movements were evidently preparations for a rupture between the two powers of the State. The quarrel became serious. Lambert, Desborough, and other officers were dismissed from their posts; and Fleetwood was removed from his command of the Army. On the 13th of October, Westminster was surrounded by troops upon whose fidelity the Parliament relied. Lambert boldly marched thither at the head of his regiment. A conflict appeared likely to take place; but Lambert addressed the troops, and they quickly went over to him. Lenthall, the Speaker, was stopped by the soldiers, who laughed at him when he said he was their chief general. There was a conference between the civil and military members of the Council of State which ended in a resolution that the Parliament should cease to sit; and that the maintenance of public tranquillity should rest with the Council of Officers.

The Committee of Safety appointed by the Army began to exercise the functions of administration on the 23rd of October. On the 30th the French ambassador writes to Mazarin, "There is as yet no government established in England, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made for some days by the leaders of the Army, and some ministers of the Council of State, to agree to one The conjuncture seems favourable for all sorts of enterprises."* There was one, far distant from the scene of confusion, who was watching what this conjuncture would bring forth. George Monk, "the sly fellow" as Cromwell termed him, was courted by the republican leaders, civil and military; but he gave no signs of adhesion to any faction. His army in Scotland was entirely devoted to him. Like its commander, that army had no great sym-

* Guizot, Appendix 1, vol. ii.

pathy with the movements of the soldiers in London. The Royalists had long been making efforts to engage Monk in their cause. But Monk would not stir at the invitation of any party. Charles himself wrote to Monk, and the letter was placed in the hands of Monk's brother, a humble clergyman. He was afraid to be the bearer of it; but he committed it to memory, and proceeded to his brother's head-quarters at Dalkeith. Booth's insurrection was known; and Monk was about to take some decided resolve. The news of Booth's defeat by Lambert arrived, and Monk was saved from a premature declaration against the Parliament. His soldiers had thought that their general was the man to fill the void occasioned by the death of Cromwell; but he was too cautious to risk this perilous advancement. When he believed the opportunity had passed for taking any steps to restore the Stuarts, he sent a letter to the Speaker, Lenthall, asking to retire from public life. The letter was suppressed by Lenthall; and soon afterwards, the Parliament was ejected. Monk immediately took his resolution. He addressed the troops at Edinburgh; told them that the army in England had broken up Parliament, to hinder the settlement of the nation; that they would next attempt to impose their insolent extravagances upon the army in Scotland; and that he was resolved to keep the military power in obedience to the civil; they had received their pay and commission from the Parliament, and it was their duty to defend it. He wrote letters to declare his intentions to Lambert and Fleetwood, and to the Speaker, Lenthall. He cashiered those officers who opposed his views, which were expressly limited to a resistance to military tyranny in England. To every approach of the Royalists he was inflexibly cold and distant. In London, the determination of Monk produced the greatest alarm amongst the factions. Their views were vacillating and discordant. At one time, they thought of recalling Richard Cromwell to the Protectorship. They finally resolved to send a deputation to Monk to effect a reconciliation; and if that failed to proceed to a trial of strength in battle. Lambert was appointed commander of the troops in the north. More soldiers were raised in London; and a loan from the City was asked of the Common Council. It was refused. The commissioners sent to Monk executed their commission, and represented to him the dangers which surrounded his course. He called a Council of his officers; and it was agreed that three commissioners should proceed to London to negotiate with the army there. Monk had given them instructions to en-

deavour to gain time; but contrary to his instructions they had, in three days, concluded a treaty with the Committee of Safety, by which the government was left in the administration of a Council of Officers, no provision was made for the recall of the Parliament, and Monk's own appointment of officers was to be revised. Great indignation was excited in Monk's army, and it was resolved that the treaty should not be ratified. Nine members of the old Council of State that had been thrust from office by the army now resolved to make common cause with Monk. He had marched to Berwick, with six thousand infantry, and four regiments of cavalry. He now fixed his head-quarters at Coldstream, where he could easily cross the Tweed. He had written to the Common Council of London, to declare his intentions; and he was proclaimed as a deliverer by some members of the old Council of State. The people were universally discontented, refusing to pay taxes, and shouting for a free Parliament. The fleet, under the command of admiral Lawson, declared that they would obey no authority but that of a Parliament. The various leaders, civil and military, were fiercely quarrelling. Some even of the republicans talked of the restoration of the king. At last it was resolved to call a new Parliament. On the 15th of December a proclamation was issued, summoning a Parliament to meet on the 24th of January. The country was under no law but that of the tyranny of detached bands of soldiers, roving about at free quarters. Mrs. Hutchinson has described a scene to which there were probably many parallels;—outrages that went on, "till the law was again in force:"—

"Six of Lambert's troopers came to gather money, laid upon the country by an assessment of Parliament, whom the colonel telling that in regard it was levied by that authority, he had paid it, but otherwise would not; two of them, who were in the room with the colonel, the rest being on horseback in the court, gave him such insolent terms with such insufferable reproaches of the Parliament, that the colonel drew a sword which was in the room to have chastised them. While a minister that was by held the colonel's arm, his wife, not willing to have them killed in her presence, opened the door and let them out, who presently ran and fetched in their companions in the yard with cocked pistols. Upon the bustle, while the colonel having disengaged himself from those that held him, was run after them with the sword drawn, his brother came out of another room, upon whom, the soldiers pressing against a door that went into the great hall, the door flew open,

and about fifty or sixty men appeared in the hall who were there upon another business. For Owthrope, Knolton, and Hitchin, had a contest about a cripple that was sent from one to the other; but at last, out of some respect they had for the colonel, the chief men of the several towns were come to him, to make some accommodation, till the law should be again in force. When the colonel heard the soldiers were come, he left them shut up in his great hall; who by accident thus appearing, put the soldiers into a dreadful fright. When the colonel saw how pale they looked, he encouraged them to take heart, and calmly admonished them of their insolence; and they being changed and very humble through their fear, he called for wine for them, and sent them away. To the most insolent of them he said, 'These carriages would bring back the Stuarts.' The man, laying his hand upon his sword, said, 'Never while he wore that.' Among other things, they said to the colonel, when he demanded by what authority they came, they showed their swords, and said, 'That was their authority.'"

The necessity for some immediate authority beyond that of the Council of Officers at length became manifest to the Army in London. It was resolved to restore the expelled Parliament. The Generals saw that their power was gone. Fleetwood sent the keys of the House of Commons to Lenthall; and on the 26th of December, forty members, with the Speaker at their head, again entered this House, the scene of so many strange transactions, whilst groups of soldiers shouted their approval, in the torch-light which glared upon anxious faces of men who had more natural fears than reasonable hopes. A contest took place the instant Lenthall had taken the chair. Twenty-three of the members who had been excluded in 1648, demanded admittance, as they had previously demanded on the 7th of May. The House resolved to take the business of the absent members into consideration on the 5th of January. They withdrew to abide their time. Lambert was at Newcastle, and Monk at Coldstream. But Fairfax, who had been in correspondence with Monk, assembled his friends and dependents; and some of Lambert's officers joined him with their men. He entered York and was welcomed by the Cavaliers of that city. Lambert marched to attack Fairfax, and Monk crossed the Tweed to support him. At Wooler, Monk received a cold letter from the Parliament that had re-commenced its sittings; and he learnt that Lambert's troops had been ordered to return to their several quarters. When he reached Newcastle

he found Lambert's army disbanded. He went on to York, and saw Fairfax. But he maintained a strict reserve as to his future plans; and he struck an officer with his cane who said that Monk would bring in Charles Stuart. The Royalists abroad were perplexed. The Republicans in London were suspicious. Monk sent forward his chaplain, Gumble, to express his opinions to the Parliament on certain important points of administration. Gumble wrote to Monk some truths as to the character of the parliamentary leaders: "The prevailing and governing influence of the Parliament is reduced into the hands of a few and inconsiderable persons,—either harebrained and hot-headed fools, or obscure and disregarded knaves." They talked of sending the prudent and trimming Whitelocke to the Tower, and voted that the enthusiastic and honest Vane should cease to be a member of the House. Their chief thought was to propitiate Monk. He had taken his determination to march to London—with what ultimate purpose beyond that of asserting the power of civil government was uncertain. He left many of his troops in York and others he sent to Scotland. With four regiments of foot and three of horse, he went on, amidst popular acclamations. But he would enter into no promises or make any special demonstration. He was but a servant, he said, of the Parliament, and all great questions must be left to the Parliament. He was suspected by the two Commissioners that the House had sent to him; but his wariness eluded all their curiosity, even while he was receiving agents from the Royalists abroad. On the 28th of January he sent from St. Albans a letter to the Speaker, pointing out the necessity that the troops in and near London should be removed—it was not for their service that the soldiers who had been so lately in rebellion against the Parliament should mingle with his faithful troops. His proposals were agreed to, "partly from some sparks of hope that Monk could not be such a devil as to betray a trust so freely reposed in him."*

The Royalists, meanwhile, were far from inactive. Some who had lived quietly under the rule of Oliver, and had not stirred whilst the government which had succeeded him was confined within some limits of legal order, now moved, however cautiously, to bring about the restoration of the ancient monarchy. Such was Evelyn. On the 22nd of January he writes in his Diary, "I went this afternoon to visit colonel Morley." Morley was one of the

* Ludlow, "Memoirs," p. 816.

Commissioners appointed by the Long Parliament to the command of the army; and he was faithful to his trust, when Lambert, on the 13th of October, was proceeding to Westminster to dissolve the Parliament, for Morley met him, pistol in hand, and said he would shoot him if he did not go back, upon which threat Lambert went another way. Evelyn first approached Morley by sending him a tract he had written, entitled "An Apology for the Royal Party;" and he afterwards addressed a letter to him, exhorting him, by the remembrance of their ancient friendship, to aid "in restoring us to our ancient known laws, native and most happy liberties."* Morley, in January, 1660, was Lieutenant of the Tower of London: "I went this afternoon to visit colonel Morley. After dinner, I discoursed with him; but he was very jealous, and would not believe that Monk came in to do the king any service. I told him he might do it without him, and have all the honour. He was still doubtful, and would resolve on nothing yet, so I took leave." Evelyn, four months after, writes: "O, the sottish omission of this gentleman! What did I not undergo of danger in this negotiation, to have brought him over to his majesty's interest, when it was entirely in his hands." On the 3rd of February Monk entered London. For two days the capital had been in uproar. The regiments that had been ordered to march, had refused to obey. The apprentices were parading the city in formidable bands, crying out for "a free Parliament." Pepys, the most amusing of diarists, presents us many glimpses of events through the "blanket of the dark" which the graver historians pass over. On the 25th of January, a gibbet is set up in Cheapside, and "the picture of Hewson hung upon it in the middle of the street,"—Hewson, the shoemaker-Lord, that Warwick would not sit with. People in the midst of their alarms, eat and drink as usual; and Pepys' wife, on the 26th, "had got ready a very fine dinner." On the 30th he records: "This morning, before I was up, I fell a singing of my song, 'Great, good and just,' and put myself thereby in mind that this was the fatal day, now ten years since, his majesty died." Montrose's lines were probably in the minds of other Royalists on that anniversary. On the 2nd of February he saw the Strand full of soldiers; and "saw the foot face the horse and beat them back, and stood bawling and calling in the street for a free Parliament and money." The next morning the soldiers were all quiet. Pepys saw Monk march in: "In his passing through the town he had

* Appendix to Evelyn's "Diary," No. II.

many calls to him for a free Parliament, but little other welcome.' He was lodged in Whitehall. The troops who came to preserve order were not very orderly. On the 7th, Pepys writes, "In the palace I saw Monk's soldiers abuse Billing and all the Quakers, that were at a meeting-place there, and indeed the soldiers did use them very roughly, and were to blame." On the 9th, Monk is gone to the City. There is arbitrary work there; but the calm progress of the law is uninterrupted, for Pepys hears "an action very finely pleaded in Westminster Hall." Monk went to the City by command of the Parliament. It was believed in the House that the powerful general was wholly with them. The more obscure Republicans were the leading spirits in the House. There was no commanding genius to call up a new and vigorous Commonwealth out of the expiring embers of "the good old cause." The destinies of the nation were in the hands of the cold, sullen, impenetrable George Monk, who chewed his tobacco in ominous silence, opening his heart to no man. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, had voted that they would pay no taxes, but such as were imposed by a free Parliament. The Council of State sent for Monk, and proposed that the Common Council should be forbidden to sit, the gates of the City broken down, the portcullises wedged up, and the chains across the streets removed. All the material means of resistance were to be destroyed. Monk said that he would do these things if they would give the order. "He added," says Ludlow, "that the disaffection of the City was so great, that they would never be quiet, till some of them were hanged." This ready consent of Monk to an unpopular act of violence may be doubted. However, on the morning of the 9th, before the citizens were awake, and the great shutters of the shops had been dropped down, Monk and his men were marching to the neighbourhood of Guildhall. He explained his orders to his officers. Some remonstrated. "Will you not obey the orders of the Parliament?" was his answer. The posts and chains were then attacked, amidst the indignation of the people. A deputation of leading citizens came to him, to complain of the force thus used by those whom they thought their friends. He told them that his orders were to take down the gates as well as the chains; but that he would request the Parliament to suspend the further execution of their commands. The Parliament was indignant; sent an order to Monk to execute his instructions to the letter; ordered that the Common Council should be dissolved, and a new Council elected,

with such qualifications as Parliament should dictate. The next morning Monk and his soldiers went to the completion of the work prescribed to them. In the evening of the 10th he returned to Whitehall. The slow man now came to a decisive resolution. He had seen the temper of the people, and he was prepared to defy those who claimed to be his masters. He called a Council of his officers; and they agreed upon a letter to Parliament, expressing the public grievances, and requiring them to satisfy the nation's just demands before a certain day. Early in the morning he and his army were on their way to the City; and the troops were halted in Finsbury Fields. Monk waited on the Lord Mayor; requested him to summon a meeting of the Common Council at four o'clock; and the civic dignitaries and the general and his officers sate down to dinner. Two members deputed by the House arrived to confer with Monk. His letter, which was of the boldest character, had thrown the Parliament into consternation. He was urged to return to Whitehall. Monk's only reply was, "All will be well if you attend to the letter, and issue out your writs on Friday for filling up your House." Monk went to the Common Council and told them what he had done. Guildhall resounded with cries of "God bless your Excellency!" The soldiers were feasted. The cry went forth throughout London of "Down with the Rump." Pepys has described, as none but an eye-witness could describe, the scene of that night: "In Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and Bow bells and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one fires. In King street seven or eight; and all along burning and roasting, and drinking for rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the May Pole in the strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the further side."

Charles and his Court were at Brussels when the news reached them of these events in London. "They thought all their sufferings