fingers were still used in place of forks. Tea and coffee were unknown, and beer was the usual drink at breakfast and supper.

Carriages were not in use, except by Queen Elizabeth, and all journeys were performed on horseback. Merchandise was also generally transported on pack-horses, the roads rarely being good enough for the passage of wagons. The principal amusements were the theatre, dancing, masquerading, bull and bear baiting (worrying a bull or bear with dogs), cock-fighting, and gambling.

IX.

"It is the nature of the devil of tyranny to tear and rend the body which he leaves." — MACAULAY.

BEGINNING WITH THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS, AND ENDING WITH THE DIVINE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE.

KING or PARLIAMENT?

HOUSE OF STUART. — 1603–1649, 1660–1714.

James I., 1603–1625.	Charles II., 1660–1685.
Charles I., 1625–1649.	James II., 1685–1688.
The Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649–1660.	William & Mary,[1] 1689–1702.
	Anne, 1702–1714.

467. Accession of James I. — Elizabeth was the last of the Tudor family. By birth, James Stuart, only son of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, and great grandson of Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., was the nearest heir to the crown.[2] He was already king of Scotland under the title of James VI. He now, by choice of Parliament, became James I. of England. By his accession the two countries were united under one sovereign, but each retained its own Parliament, its own church, and its own laws.[3] The new monarch found himself ruler over three kingdoms, each professing a different religion. Puritanism prevailed in Scotland, Catholicism in Ireland, Anglicanism or Episcopacy in England.

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[1] Orange-Stuart.

[2] See Table, Paragraph No. 421.

[3] On his coins and in his proclamations, James styled himself King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. But the term Great Britain did not properly come into use until somewhat more than a hundred years later, when, by an act of Parliament under Anne, Scotland and England were legally united.

468. The King's Appearance and Character. — James was unfortunate in his birth. Neither his father, Lord Darnley, nor his mother had high qualities of character. The murder of Mary's Italian secretary in her own palace, and almost in her own presence,[1] gave the queen a shock which left a fatal inheritance of cowardice to her son. Throughout his life he could not endure the sight of a drawn sword. His personal appearance was by no means impressive. He had a feeble, rickety body, he could not walk straight, his tongue was too large for his mouth, and he had goggle eyes. Through fear of assassination he habitually wore thickly padded and quilted clothes, usually green in color. He was a man of considerable shrewdness, but of small mind, and of unbounded conceit. His Scotch tutor had crammed him with much ill-digested learning, so that he gave the impression of a man educated beyond his intellect. He wrote on witchcraft, kingcraft, and theology. He also wrote numerous commonplace verses, together with a sweeping denunciation of the new plant called tobacco, which Raleigh had brought from America, the smoke of which now began to perfume, or, according to James, to poison the air of England. He had all the superstitions of the age, and one of his earliest acts was the passage of a statute punishing witchcraft with death. Under that law many a wretched woman perished on the scaffold, whose only crime was that she was old, ugly, and friendless.

469. The Great Petition. — During the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, the Puritans in England had increased so rapidly that Archbishop Whitgift told James he was amazed to find how "the vipers" had multiplied. The Puritans felt that the Reformation had not been sufficiently thorough. They complained that many of the forms and ceremonies of the Church of England were by no means in harmony with the Scriptures. Many of them wished also to change the form of church government, and instead of having bishops appointed by the king, to adopt the more democratic method of having presbyters or elders chosen by the congregation.

While James was on the way from Scotland to London to receive the crown, the Puritans presented a petition to him, signed by upwards of a thousand of their ministers, asking that they might be permitted to preach without wearing the white gown called a surplice, to baptize without making the sign of the cross on the child's forehead, and to perform the marriage ceremony without using the ring.

470. Hampton Court Conference. — The king convened a conference at Hampton Court, near London, to consider the petition, or rather to make a pedantic display of his own learning. The probability that he would grant the petitioners' request was small; for James had come to England disgusted with the violence of the Scotch Puritans, especially since one of their ministers in Edinburgh had seized his sleeve at a public meeting, and addressed him with a somewhat brutal excess of truth, as "God's silly vassal." But the new sovereign had a still deeper reason for his antipathy to the Puritans. He saw that their doctrine of equality in the church naturally led to that of equality in the state. If they objected to Episcopal government in the one, might they not presently object to royal government in the other? Hence, to all their arguments, he answered with his favorite maxim, "No bishop, no king," meaning that the two must stand or fall together. At the Hampton Court Conference no real freedom of discussion was allowed. The only good result was that the king ordered a new and revised translation of the Bible to be made. It was published in 1611, and so well was the work done that it still remains the version used in nearly every Protestant church and Protestant home where the English language is spoken. James, however, regarded the conference as a success. He had refuted the Puritans, as he believed, with much Latin and some Greek. He ended by declaiming against them with such unction that one enthusiastic bishop declared that his majesty must be

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[1] See Paragraph No. 447.

specially inspired by the Holy Ghost! He closed the meeting by imprisoning the ten persons who had presented the petition, on the ground that it tended to sedition and rebellion. Henceforth, the king's attitude toward the Puritans was unmistakable. "I will make them conform," said he, "or I will harry them out of the land."

471. The Divine Right of Kings. — As if with the desire of further alienating his people, James now constantly proclaimed the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. This theory, which was unknown to the English constitution, declared that the king derived his power and right to rule directly from God, and in no way from the people.[1] "As it is atheism and blasphemy," he said, "to dispute what God can do, so it is presumption and a high contempt in a subject to dispute what the king can do." All this would have been amusing had it not been dangerous. James forgot that he owed his throne to that act of parliament which accepted him as Elizabeth's successor. In his exalted position as head of the nation, he boasted of his power much like the dwarf in the story, who, perched on the giant's shoulders, cries out, "See how big I am!"

Acting on this assumption, James violated the privileges of the House of Commons, rejected members who had been legally elected, and imprisoned those who dared to criticise his course. The contest was kept up with bitterness during the whole reign. Towards its close, the House again protested vigorously, and the king seized their official journal, and with his own hands tore out the record of the protest.

472. The Gunpowder Plot. — This arbitrary spirit so angered the Commons, many of whom were Puritans, that they, believing that the king secretly favored the Roman Catholics, increased the stringency of the laws against persons of that religion. The king, to vindicate himself from this suspicion, proceeded to execute the

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[1] James's favorite saying was, "a Deo rex, a lege lex" (God makes the king, the king makes the law).

new statutes with rigor. As a rule, the Catholics were loyal subjects. When Spain threatened to invade the country, they fought as valiantly in its defence as the Protestants themselves. Many of them were now ruined by enormous fines, while the priests were driven from the realm. One of the sufferers by these unjust measures was Robert Catesby, a Catholic gentleman of good position. He, with the aid of a Yorkshire man, named Guy Fawkes, and about a dozen more, formed a plot to blow up the Parliament House, on the day the king was to open the session (Nov. 5, 1605). Their intention, after they had thus summarily disposed of the government, was to induce the Catholics to rise and proclaim a new sovereign. The plot was discovered, the conspirators executed, and the Catholics were treated with greater severity than ever.

473. American Colonies, Virginia. — In 1607 a London joint-stock company of merchants and adventurers, or speculators, established the first permanent English colony in America, on the coast of Virginia, at a place which they called Jamestown, in honor of the king.[1] The colony was wholly under the control of the crown. The religion was to be that of the Church of England. Most of those who went out were "gentlemen," that is, persons not brought up to manual labor, and had it not been for the energy and determined courage of Capt. John Smith, who was the real soul of the enterprise, it would have proved like Raleigh's undertaking, a miserable failure; in time, however, the new colony gained strength. Negro slavery, which in those days touched no man's conscience, was introduced, and by its means great quantities of tobacco were raised for export. The settlement grew in population and wealth, and in less than a dozen years it had secured the privilege of making its own laws, thus becoming practically a self-governing community.

474. The Pilgrims. — The year after this great enterprise was undertaken, another band of emigrants went out from England, not West, but East; not to seek prosperity, but greater religious freedom. James's declaration that he would make all men conform to the established church, or drive them out of the land, was having its due effect.

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[1] See Map No. 12, page 218.

Those who continued to refuse were fined, cast into noisome prisons, beaten, and often half-starved, so that the old and feeble soon died. Strange to say, this kind of treatment did not win over the Puritans to the side of the bishops and the king. On the contrary, it set many of them to thinking more seriously than ever of the true relations of the government to religion. The result was that not a few came to the conclusion that each body of Christians had a right to form a religious society of its own wholly independent of the state. Those of the Puritans who thus thought got the name of Independents or Separatists, because they were determined to separate from the national church and conduct their worship and govern their religious societies as they deemed best.

In the little village of Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, Postmaster William Brewster, William Bradford, John Carver, and some others, mostly farmers and poor men of the neighborhood, had organized such an independent church with John Robinson for its minister. After a time they became convinced that so long as they remained in England they would never be safe from persecution. They therefore resolved to leave their native country, and as they could not get a royal license to go to America, to emigrate to Holland, where all men were, at that time, free to establish societies for the worship of God in their own manner. With much difficulty and danger they managed to escape there. After remaining there upwards of twelve years, a part of them succeeded in obtaining from King James, after long negotiation, the privilege of emigrating to America.[1] A London trading company, which was sending out an expedition for fish and furs, agreed to furnish the Pilgrims passage by the *Mayflower*, though on terms so hard that the poor exiles said the "conditions were fitter for thieves and bondslaves than honest men."

In 1620 these Pilgrims, or wanderers, set forth for that New World beyond the sea, which they hoped would redress the wrongs of the Old. Landing at Plymouth, in Massachusetts, they established a colony on the basis of "equal laws for the general good." Ten years later John Winthrop, a Puritan gentleman of wealth from Groton, Suffolk, followed with a small company and settled Salem and Boston. During the next decade no less than twenty thousand Englishmen found a home in the west, but to the little band that embarked under Bradford and Brewster in the *Mayflower*, the scene of whose landing at Plymouth is painted on the walls of the Houses of Parliament, belongs the credit of the great undertaking. Of that enterprise one of their brethren in England wrote in the time of their severest distress, with prophetic foresight, "Let it not be grievous to you that you have been instruments to break the ice for others; the honor shall be yours to the world's end." From this time forward the country was settled mainly by English emigrants, and in the course of the next century, or a little more, the total number of colonies had reached thirteen, though part of them had been gained by conquest. Thus the nation of Great Britain was beginning to expand into that *greater* Britain which it had discovered and planted beyond the sea.

475. The Colonization of Ireland. — While these events were going on in America, James was himself planning a very different kind of colony in the northeast of Ireland. The greater part of the province of Ulster, which had been the scene of the rebellion under Elizabeth, had been seized by the crown. The king now granted these lands to settlers from Scotland and England. The city of London founded a colony which they called Londonderry, and by this means Protestantism was firmly and finally established in the north of the island.

476. The New Stand taken by the House of Commons. — The House of Commons at this period began to slowly get back, with interest, the power it had lost under the Tudors. James suffered from a chronic lack of money. He was obliged to apply to Parliament to supply his wants, but Parliament was determined to grant nothing without reforms. They laid it down as a principle, to which they firmly adhered, that the king should not have the nation's coin unless he would promise to right the nation's wrongs. In order to get means to support his army in Ireland, James created a new title of rank, that of baronet,[1] which he granted to any one who would pay liberally for it. As a last resort to get funds he compelled all persons having an income of forty pounds[2] or more a year derived from landed property, to accept knighthood (thus incurring feudal obligations and payments) or purchase exemption by a heavy fine.

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[1] See "Why did the Pilgrim Fathers come to New England?" By Edwin D. Mead, in the New Englander, 1882.

477. Impeachment of Lord Bacon. — In 1621 Lord Bacon was impeached by the House of Commons, and convicted by the House of Lords, for having taken bribes in lawsuits tried before him as judge. He confessed the crime, but pleaded extenuating circumstances, adding, "I beseech your worships to be merciful to a broken reed"; but Bacon had been in every respect a servile tool of James, and no mercy was granted. Parliament imposed a fine of £40,000, with imprisonment. Had it been fully executed, it would have caused his utter ruin. The king, however, interposed, and his favorite escaped with a few days' confinement in the Tower.

478. Execution of Raleigh. — With Sir Walter Raleigh the result was different. He had been a prisoner in the Tower for

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[1] Baronet: this title does not confer the right to a seat in the House of Lords. A baronet is designated as Sir, *e.g.*, Sir John Franklin.

[2] This exaction was ridiculed by the wits of the time in these lines: —

> "He that hath forty pounds per annum
> Shall be promoted from the plough;
> His wife shall take the wall of her grannum * —
> Honor's sold so dog-cheap now."

The distraint of knighthood, as it was called, began at least as far back as Edward I., 1278.

* Take precedence of her grandmother.

a number of years, on an unfounded charge of conspiracy. Influenced by motives of cupidity, James released him to go on an expedition in search of gold to replenish the royal coffers. Raleigh, contrary to the king's orders, came into collision with the Spaniards on the coast of South America.[1] He failed in his enterprise, and brought back nothing. Raleigh was especially hated by Spain, not only on account of the part he had taken in the defeat of the Armada, but also for his subsequent attacks on Spanish treasure-ships and property. The king of that country now demanded vengeance, and James, in order to get a pretext for his execution, revived the sentence which had been passed on Raleigh fifteen years before. His real motive undoubtedly was the hope that, by sacrificing Raleigh, he might secure the hand of the daughter of the king of Spain for his son, Prince Charles. Raleigh died as More did, his last words a jest at death. His deeper feelings found expression in the lines which he wrote on the fly-leaf of his Bible the night before his judicial murder: —

> "Even such is Time, that takes on trust,
> Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
> And pays us but with age and dust;
> Who in the dark and silent grave,
> When we have wandered all our ways,
> Shuts up the story of our days;
> But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
> My God shall raise me up, I trust."

479. Death of James. — As for James, when he died a few years later, a victim of confirmed drunkenness and gluttony, his fittest epitaph would have been what an eminent French statesman of that time called him, "the wisest fool in Christendom."[2]

480. Summary. — Three chief events demand our attention in this reign. First, the increased power and determined attitude of the House of Commons. Second, the growth of the Puritan and

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[1] It is said that James had treacherously informed the Spanish ambassador of Raleigh's voyage, so that the collision was inevitable.

[2] The Duc de Sully.

Independent parties in religion. Third, the establishment of permanent, self-governing colonies in Virginia and New England, destined in time to unite with others and become a new and independent English nation.

CHARLES I. — 1625–1649.

481. Accession of Charles; Result of the Doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. — The doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, so zealously put forth by James, bore its full and fatal fruit in the career of his son. Unlike his father, Charles was by nature a gentleman. In his private and personal relations he was conscientious and irreproachable; in public matters he was exactly the reverse. This singular contrast — this double character, as it were — arose from the fact that as a man, Charles felt himself bound by truth and honor, but as a sovereign, he considered himself superior to such obligations. In all his dealings with the nation he seems to have acted on the principle that the people had no rights which kings were bound to respect.

482. Two Mistakes at the Outset. — He began his reign with two mistakes. First, he insisted on retaining the Duke of Buckingham, his father's favorite, as his chief adviser, though the Duke was, for good reasons, generally distrusted and disliked. Next, shortly after his accession, Charles married Henrietta Maria, a French Catholic princess, whose religion was hated by the majority of the English people, and whose extravagant habits soon got the king into trouble. To meet her incessant demands for money, and to carry on a petty war with Spain, he was obliged to ask Parliament for funds. Parliament declined to grant him a supply unless he would redress certain grievances of long standing. Charles refused and dissolved that body.

483. The Second Parliament; Hampden. — Necessity, however, compelled the king to call a new Parliament. When they met, the Commons, under the lead of Sir John Eliot and others, proceeded to draw up articles of impeachment, accusing the Duke of Buckingham of mismanagement. To save his favorite from being brought to trial, the king dissolved Parliament, and as no supply had been voted, Charles now levied illegal taxes and extorted loans.

John Hampden, a country gentleman of Buckinghamshire, who had been a member of the late House of Commons, refused to lend his majesty the sum asked for. For this refusal he was thrown into prison. This led to increased agitation and discontent. At length the king found himself again forced to summon Parliament; to this Parliament Hampden and others, who sympathized with him, were elected.

484. The Petition of Right. — Immediately on assembling, they presented to the king the Petition of Right, which was in substance a law reaffirming some of the chief provisions of the Great Charter. It stipulated in particular, that no taxes whatever should be levied without the consent of Parliament, and that no one should be unlawfully imprisoned as Hampden had been. In the petition there was not an angry word, but as a member of the Commons declared, "We say no more than what a worm trodden upon would say if he could speak: I pray thee tread upon me no more."

485. Charles revives Monopolies. — Charles refused to sign the Petition; but finding that money could be got on no other terms, he at length gave his signature. But for Charles to pledge his royal word to the nation meant its direct and open violation. The king now revived the "monopolies" which had been abolished under Elizabeth. By these he granted to certain persons, in return for large sums of money, the sole right of dealing in nearly every article of food, drink, fuel, and clothing. The Commons denounced this outrage. One member said, "The monopolists have seized everything. They sip in our cup, they sup in our dish, they sit by our fire."

486. Eliot's Remonstrance. — Sir John Eliot drew up a remonstrance against these new acts of royal tyranny, but the speaker of the House of Commons, acting under the king's order, refused to put the measure to vote, and endeavored to adjourn. Several members sprang forward and held him in his chair while the resolutions were passed, declaring that whoever levied or paid any taxes not voted by Parliament, or attempted to make any change in religion, was an enemy to the kingdom. In revenge Charles sent Eliot to the Tower, where he died three years later.

487. The King rules without Parliament; "Thorough."— For the next eleven years the king ruled without a Parliament. The obnoxious Buckingham had been assassinated. His successor was Thomas Wentworth, who, in 1640, became Earl of Strafford. Wentworth had signed the "Petition of Right," but he was now a renegade to liberty, and wholly devoted to the king. By means of the Star-Chamber and his scheme called "Thorough," by which he meant that he would stop at nothing to make Charles absolute, he labored to establish a complete despotism. Bishop Laud, who soon became head of the church, worked with him through the High Commission Court. Together, the two exercised a crushing and merciless system of political and religious tyranny; the Star-Chamber fining and imprisoning those who refused the illegal demands for money made upon them, the High Commission Court showing itself equally zealous in punishing those who could not conscientiously conform to the established church of England.

488. Ship Money.—To obtain means with which to equip a standing army, the king forced the whole country to pay a tax known as ship money, on the pretext that it was needed to free the English coast from the depredations of Algerine pirates. During previous reigns an impost of this kind on the coast towns in time of war might have been considered legitimate, since its original object was to provide ships for the national defence. In time of peace, however, such a demand could not be rightfully made, especially as the Petition of Right expressly provided that no money should be demanded from the country without the consent of its representatives in Parliament. John Hampden again

resisted payment. The case was brought to trial, and the corrupt judges decided for the king.

489. Hampden endeavors to leave the Country.—Many Puritans now emigrated to America to escape oppression. Hampden, believing that there was no safety for him in England, resolved to follow their example. With his cousin Oliver Cromwell, who was a brother-farmer, and had sat with him in the last Parliament, Hampden embarked on a vessel in the Thames, but they were prevented from sailing by the king's orders. The two friends remained to teach the despotic sovereign a lesson which neither he nor England ever forgot.[*]

490. The Difficulty with the Scottish Church.—In 1637 the king determined to force the use of a prayer-book, similar to that used in the English church, on the Scotch Puritans. But no sooner had the Dean of Edinburgh opened the book, than a general cry arose in the church, "A Pope, a Pope! Antichrist! stone him!" When the bishops endeavored to appease the tumult, the enraged congregation clapped and yelled.

Again the dean tried to read prayer from the hated book, when an old woman hurled her stool at his head, shouting, "D'ye mean to say mass[1] at my lug [ear]?" Riots ensued, and eventually the Scotch solemnly bound themselves by a covenant to resist all attempts to change their religion. The king resolved to force his liturgy on the Covenanters at the point of the bayonet. But he had no money to pay his army, and the "Short Parliament" which he summoned refused to grant any unless the king would redress the nation's grievances. As a last resort, he summoned that memorable Parliament in 1640, which, because it sat almost continuously for thirteen years, got the name of the "Long Parliament."[2]

491. The Long Parliament (1640).—The new Parliament was made up of three parties: the Church of England party, the Presbyterian party, and the Independents. The spirit of this body soon showed itself. They impeached Strafford for his many years of despotic oppression, and sentenced him to execution. The king refused to sign the death warrant, but Strafford himself urged him to do so in order to appease the people. Charles, frightened at the tumult that had arisen, and entreated by his wife, finally put his hand to the paper, and thus sent his most faithful servant to the block. Parliament next charged Laud with attempting to overthrow the Protestant religion. They condemned him to prison, and ultimately to death. Next, they abolished the Star-Chamber and the High Commission Court. They then passed a bill requiring Parliament to be summoned once in three years. They followed this by drawing up the Grand Remonstrance, which they caused to be printed and circulated throughout the country. The Remonstrance set forth the faults of the king's government, while it declared their distrust of his policy. Finally, they enacted a law forbidding the dissolution of the present Parliament except by its own consent.

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[1] Mass: here used for the Roman Catholic church service.

[2] Long Parliament: it was not finally dissolved until 1660, twenty years from its first meeting. [*] Guizot's Eng. Revol.; recent authorities deny the Cromwell incident.

492. The Attempted Arrest of the Five Members. — It was now rumored, and perhaps with truth, that the parliamentary leaders were about to take a still bolder step and impeach the queen for having conspired with the Catholics and the Irish to destroy the liberties of the country. No one knew better than Charles how strong a case could be made out against his frivolous and unprincipled consort. Driven to extremities, he determined to seize the five members, Hampden, Pym, and three others, who headed the opposition, on a charge of high treason.[1] The House of Commons was requested to give them up for trial. The request was not complied with. The queen urged him to take them by force, saying, "Go, coward, pull those rogues out by the ears." Thus taunted, the king, attended by an armed force, went on the

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[1] The full list was Hampden, Pym, Hollis, Haselrig, and Strode, to which a sixth, Mandeville, was added later. See Copley's fine picture in the Art Room of the Boston Public Library.

next day to the House of Parliament, purposing to seize the members. They had been forewarned, and had left the House, taking refuge in the city, which showed itself then, as always, on the side of liberty. Leaving his soldiers at the door, the king entered the House. Seeing that the members were absent, the king turned to the speaker and asked him where they were. The speaker kneeling, begged the king's pardon for not answering, saying, "that he could neither see nor speak but by command of the House." Vexed that he could learn nothing further, Charles left the hall amid ominous cries of "Privilege! privilege!"[1]

493. Civil War. — The king, baffled in his purpose, resolved to coerce Parliament by military force. He left London in 1642, never to return until he came as a prisoner, and was delivered into the custody of that legislative body which he had insulted and defied. Parliament now attempted to come to an understanding with the king. There was then no standing army in England, but each county and large town had a body of militia, formed of citizens who were occasionally mustered for drill. This militia was under the control of the king. Parliament now insisted on his resigning that control to them. The king refused to give up his undoubted constitutional right in the matter, raised the royal flag at Nottingham, and the war began.

494. Cavaliers and Roundheads. — It opened in the autumn of that year with the battle of Edgehill, Warwickshire, and was at first favorable to the king. On his side were a majority of the nobility, the clergy, and the country gentlemen, known collectively as Cavaliers, from their dashing and daring horsemanship. Their leader was Prince Rupert, a nephew of Charles.[2] On the side of Parliament were the shop-keepers, small farmers, and a few men of high rank; they were called in ridicule the Roundheads, from their fashion of wearing their hair closely cropped, so that it showed the shape of the head. Their leaders were first Essex and Fairfax, and later, Oliver Cromwell.

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[1] Privilege: the privilege of Parliament to debate all questions exempt from royal interference.

[2] See "A Charge with Prince Rupert," Atlantic Magazine (T. W. Higginson), Vol. III. 725.

495. How the Country was divided. — Taking England as a whole, we may say that the eastern half, with London, was against the king, and that the western half was for him.[1] Each side made great sacrifices in carrying on the war. The queen sold her crown jewels, and the Cavaliers melted down their silver plate to provide money to pay the troops. On behalf of the people, Parliament imposed heavy taxes, and levied now for the first time a duty on domestic products, especially on ales and liquors, known as the excise tax. They also required each household to fast once a week, and give the price of a dinner to support the army. Parliament also passed what was called the Self-denying Ordinance, which required all members who held any civil or military office to resign, and as Cromwell said, "deny themselves and their private interests for the public good." The real object of this measure was to get rid of incompetent commanders, and give the army (soon to be remodeled) the vigorous men that the times demanded.

With the outbreak of the war great numbers of little local newspapers sprang into short-lived existence in imitation of the first publication of that sort, the "Weekly News," which was issued not quite twenty years before in the reign of James I.[2] Each of the rival armies, it is said, carried a printing-press with it, and waged furious battles in type against the other. The whole country was inundated with floods of pamphlets discussing every conceivable religious and political question.[3]

496. The "New Model"; the Solemn League and Covenant. — At the first battle fought (Edgehill, Warwickshire) Cromwell

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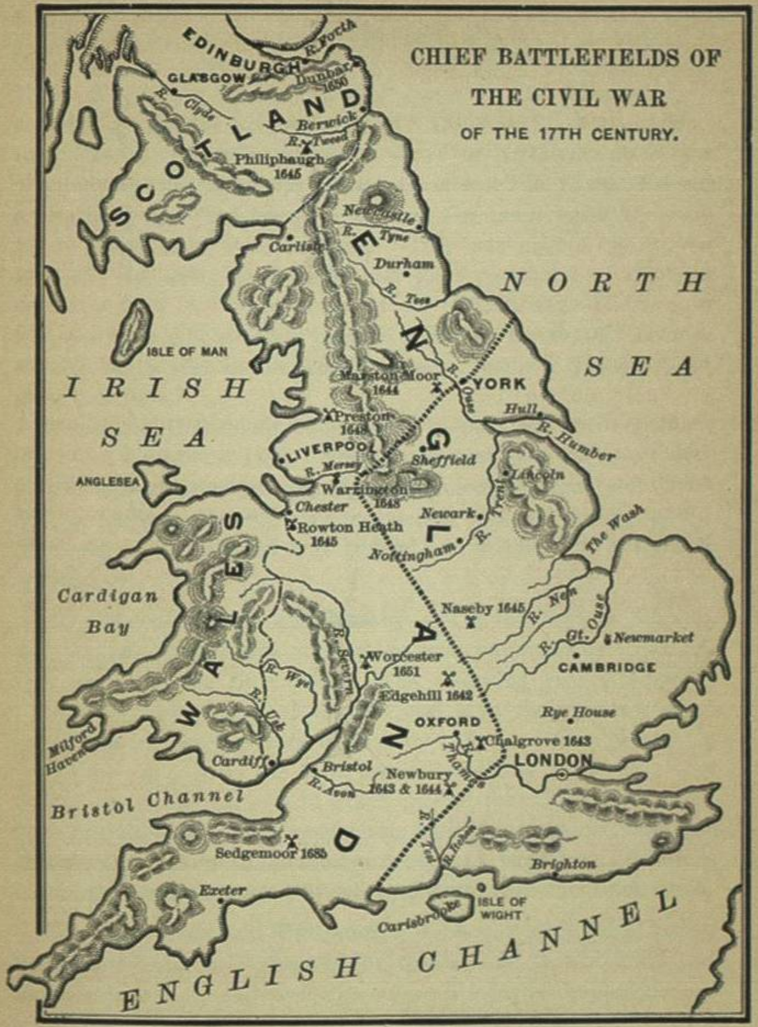
[1] See Map No. 13, and Paragraph No. 34.

[2] The first number of the "Weekly News," published by Nathaniel Butter and associates, appeared May 22, 1622. Previous to that there had been occasional papers published in London; this was the first regular sheet.

[3] About 30,000 pamphlets came out between 1640–1660.

No. 13.



CHIEF BATTLEFIELDS OF THE CIVIL WAR

OF THE 17TH CENTURY.

EDINBURGH
R. Forth
GLASGOW
Dunbar 1650
R. Clyde
SCOTLAND
Berwick
R. Tweed
Philiphaugh 1645
Newcastle
R. Tyne
Carlisle
ENGLAND
Durham
R. Tees
NORTH SEA
ISLE OF MAN
IRISH SEA
Marston Moor 1644
YORK
R. Ouse
Hull
R. Humber
Preston 1648
LIVERPOOL
R. Mersey
Sheffield
Warrington 1648
Lincoln
R. Trent
ANGLESEA
Chester
Rowton Heath 1645
Newark
Nottingham
The Wash
WALES
Cardigan Bay
Naseby 1645
R. Nen
R. Gt. Ouse
Newmarket
CAMBRIDGE
Worcester 1651
R. Severn
R. Wye
R. Usk
Edgehill 1642
Rye House
OXFORD
Chalgrove 1643
LONDON
Milford Haven
Cardiff
Bristol
R. Thames
Newbury 1643 & 1644
R. Avon
Bristol Channel
Sedgemoor 1685
R. Test
R. Itchen
Brighton
Exeter
ISLE OF WIGHT
Carisbrooke
ENGLISH CHANNEL

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The country west of the broad dotted line supported the cause of Charles I.; that on the east supported Parliament.

saw that the Cavaliers had the advantage, and told Hampden that "a set of poor tapsters [drawers of liquor] and town apprentices would never fight against men of honor." He forthwith proceeded to organize his regiment of "Ironsides," a "lovely company," as he said, none of whom swore or gambled. After the Self-denying Ordinance was passed, Cromwell and Fairfax formed a new army of "God-fearing men" on the same pattern, almost all of whom were Independents. This was called the "New Model," and was placed under the joint command of the men who organized it. Very many of its officers were kinsmen of Cromwell's, and it speedily became the most formidable body of soldiers of its size in the world — always ready to preach, pray, exhort, or fight.[1]

Meanwhile Parliament endeavored to persuade the Scotch to join them against the king. They finally agreed to do so on condition that Parliament should sign the Solemn League and Covenant, establishing the Scotch Presbyterian form of worship as the state religion of England and Ireland; to this all were obliged to conform.

497. Marston Moor and Naseby. — On the field of Marston Moor in 1644, the North of England was conquered by Cromwell with his invincible little army. The following year Cromwell's "Ironsides," who "trusted in God and kept their powder dry," gained the decisive victory of Naseby (1645). This practically ended the war. After the fight, papers belonging to the king were picked up on the battle-field which proved that Charles intended betraying those who were negotiating with him for peace, and that he was planning to bring foreign troops to England. This discovery was more damaging to the royal cause than the defeat itself.

498. The King and Parliament. — Shortly after this, Charles was surrendered to Parliament by the Scotch, to whom he had fled, and taken to Holmby House, Northamptonshire. There Cromwell and the army made overtures to him, but without effect. He was then brought by the army to Hampton Court, near London. Here, and elsewhere, the army again attempted to come to some definite understanding with the king, but all to no purpose. Politically speaking, Charles was his own worst enemy. He was false to the core, and, as Carlyle has said, "a man whose word will not inform you at all what he means, or will do, is not a man you can bargain with. You must get out of that man's way, or put him out of yours."[1]

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[1] "The common soldiers, as well as the officers, did not only pray and preach among themselves, but went up into the pulpits in all churches and preached to the people." Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Book X. p. 79.

499. Pride's Purge. — In 1648, after two years spent in fruitless negotiations, Charles, who had fled to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight, made a secret treaty with the Scots, promising to establish the Presbyterian church in England, if they would send an army into the country to restore him to the throne. The Scots marched into England, the Royalists rose to aid them, and civil war again broke out. The army now vowed that if they were victorious they would bring the king to justice. To this neither the Presbyterians in the House of Commons nor the members of the House of Lords would agree.

Colonel Pride then proceeded, as he said, to purge Parliament by driving out all who were opposed to this measure. Cromwell had no part in Pride's expulsion of members, though he afterwards expressed his approval of it. Those who remained were a small body of Independents only. They did not number sixty, and were called in derision the Rump Parliament.

500. Execution of the King. — This legislative remnant next named one hundred and thirty-five persons to constitute a high court of justice to try the king on a charge of treason against the nation, of which the chief judge or presiding officer was John Bradshaw. Out of this number less than half were present throughout the trial. Of those who remained and signed the death-warrant Cromwell was one. Prince Charles, then a refugee in France, made every effort to save his father. He sent a blank paper bearing his signature and seal to the judges, offering to bind himself to any conditions they might insert, providing his father's life might be spared; but no answer was returned.

On Jan. 20, 1649, the king was brought into court. A week later the judges pronounced sentence of death on "Charles Stuart, king of England," as a "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy."

Throughout the trial Charles bore himself with dignity and self-possession. The crisis had brought out the best elements of his nature. He was beheaded in London in front of the royal palace of Whitehall. "A great shudder ran through the crowd that saw the deed, then a shriek, then all immediately dispersed."

501. Summary. — The whole of Charles I.'s reign must be regarded as a prolonged struggle between the king and the nation. Under the Tudors and James I. the royal power had been growing more and more despotic, while at the same time the progress of the Protestant Reformation and of Puritanism had encouraged freedom of thought. Between these opposite forces a collision was inevitable, since religious liberty always favors political liberty. Had Charles known how to yield in time, or been sincere in the concessions which he did make, all might have gone well. His duplicity was his ruin. Though his death did not absolutely destroy the theory of the Divine Right of Kings, yet it gave it a blow from which it never recovered.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE. — 1649–1660.

502. Establishment of the Commonwealth, or Republic (1649–1660). — On the afternoon of Jan. 30, 1649, while the crowd that had witnessed the execution of Charles was slowly leaving the spot, the House of Commons passed an act prohibiting the proclaiming of any person king of England or Ireland or the dominions thereof.

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[1] Carlyle's Past and Present.

Less than two months afterward they abolished the House of Lords as both useless and dangerous. England was now a republic, governed, in name at least, by a council of state. Of this council John Bradshaw was president, the poet Milton was foreign secretary, while Fairfax with Cromwell had command of the army. The real power was in the army, and the true head of the army was Cromwell. Without him the so-called republic could not have stood a day.

503. Radical Changes. — All members of the House of Commons, with those who held any civil or military office, were required to swear allegiance to the Commonwealth "without king or House of Lords." The use of the English church service was forbidden, and the statues of Charles in London were pulled down and demolished. The great seal of England was broken, and a new one adopted, having on one side a map of England and Ireland, on the other a representation of the Commons in session, with the words, "In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored 1648."*

504. Difficulties of the New Republic. — Shortly after the establishment of the Commonwealth, Fairfax resigned his command, and Cromwell was now the sole leader of the military forces of the country. But the new government, even with his aid, had no easy task before it. It had enemies in the Royalists, who, since the king's execution, had grown stronger; in the Presbyterians, who hated both the Rump Parliament and the army; finally it had enemies in its own ranks in half-crazy fanatics, "Levellers,"[1] "Come-outers,"[2] and other "cattle and creeping things," who would be satisfied with nothing but destruction and confusion. Among them were communists, who, like those of the present day, wished to abolish private property, and establish "an equal division of unequal earnings," while others declared and acted out their belief in the coming end of the world. Eventually Cromwell had to deal with these enthusiasts in a decided way, especially as some of them threatened to assassinate him in order to hasten the personal reign of Christ and his saints on earth.

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[1] "Levellers": a name given to certain radical republicans who wished to reduce all ranks and classes to the same level with respect to political power and privileges. * 1648, or 1649, N. S. See p. 318, note.

[2] "Come-outers": this, though a modern term, describes a class who abandoned all established ways, both of government and religion.

505. Risings in Ireland and Scotland; Worcester. — In Ireland the Royalists had proclaimed Prince Charles king. Cromwell was deputed to reduce that country to order. To his invincible army of Independents nothing could have been more congenial than such a crusade. They descended upon the unhappy island, and wiped out the rebellion in such a whirlwind of fire and slaughter, that the horror of the visitation has never been forgotten. To this day the direst imprecation a southern Irishman can utter is, "the curse of Cromwell on ye."

In Scotland also Charles was looked upon as the legitimate sovereign by a strong and influential party. He found in the brave Montrose,[1] who was hanged for treason at Edinburgh, and in other loyal supporters far better friends than he deserved. In 1650 the prince came to Scotland, took the oath of the Covenant, which must have been a bitter pill to him, and rallied a small force, which was completely defeated that year at Dunbar.

Twelve months later, on the anniversary of the victory of Dunbar, Charles made a second attempt to obtain the crown. At the battle of Worcester, Cromwell again routed his forces and brought the war to an end. Charles escaped into Shropshire, where he hid for a day in an oak at Boscobel. After many narrow escapes he at length succeeded in getting out of the country.

506. Cromwell expels Parliament. — Cromwell now urged the necessity of calling a Parliament which should represent the country, reform the laws, and pass a general act of pardon. In his despatch to the House of Commons after the victory of Worcester, he called the battle a "crowning mercy." Some of the republicans in that body took alarm at this phrase, and thought that Cromwell used it to foreshadow a design to place the crown on his own head. For this reason, perhaps, they hesitated to dissolve.

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[1] See Aytoun's Scottish Ballads: the Execution of Montrose.

But at last they could not withstand the pressure, and in 1653 a bill was introduced for summoning a new Parliament of four hundred members, but with the provision that all members of the present House were to keep their seats, and have the right to reject newly elected members.

Cromwell, with the army, believed this provision a trick on the part of the Rump to keep themselves in perpetual power.

Sir Harry Vane, who was a leading member of the House, and who had been governor of the colony of Massachusetts, feared that the country was in danger of falling into the hands of Cromwell as military dictator. He therefore urged the immediate passage of the bill as it stood. Cromwell heard that a vote was about to be taken. Putting himself at the head of a squad of soldiers, whom he left at the door, he suddenly entered the House. After listening to the debate for some time, he rose from his seat and charged the Commons with injustice and misgovernment. A member remonstrated. Cromwell grew excited, saying, "You are no Parliament! I say you are no Parliament!" Then he called in the musketeers. The speaker was dragged from his chair, and the members driven after him. As they passed out, Cromwell shouted "drunkard," "glutton," "extortioner," with other opprobrious names. When all were gone, he locked the door and put the key in his pocket. During the night some Royalist wag nailed a placard on the door, bearing the inscription in large letters, "This House to let, unfurnished!"

507. Cromwell becomes Protector (1653). — Cromwell now summoned a new Parliament of his own choosing. It consisted of one hundred and thirty-nine members, and was known as the "Little Parliament."[1] The Royalists nicknamed it "Barebone's

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[1] A regularly summoned Parliament, elected by the people, would have been much larger. This was chosen from a list furnished by the ministers of the various Independent churches. It was in no true sense a representative body.

Parliament" from one of its members, a London leather merchant named Praise-God Barebone. Notwithstanding the irregularity of its organization and the ridicule cast upon it, the Barebone's Parliament proposed several reforms of great value, which the country afterward adopted.

A council now presented a constitution, entitled the "Instrument of Government,"[1] which made Cromwell Lord Protector of England, Ireland, and Scotland. Up to this time the Commonwealth had been a republic, nominally under the control of the House of Commons, but as a matter of fact governed by Cromwell and the army; now it became a republic under a Protector, or president, who was to hold his office for life.

A few years later, a second constitution was drafted, called the "Humble Petition and Advice,"[2] which offered Cromwell the crown. He would have taken it; but finding the army would not support him in such a step, reluctantly relinquished it. He at the same time endeavored to restore the House of Lords, but could not get them to attend.

508. Emigration of Royalists. — Under the tyranny of the Stuart kings many Puritans had emigrated to Massachusetts and other parts of New England. During the Commonwealth the case was reversed, and numbers of Royalists fled to Virginia. Among them were John Washington, the great-grandfather of George Washington, and the ancestors of Jefferson, Patrick Henry, the Lees, Randolphs, and other prominent families, destined in time to found a republic in the New World much more democratic than anything the old had ever seen.

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[1] "Instrument of Government": the principal provisions of this constitution were: 1. The government was vested in the Protector and a council appointed for life; 2. Parliament to be summoned every three years, and not to be dissolved under five months; 3. A standing army of 30,000 to be maintained; 4. All taxes to be levied by Parliament; 5. The system of representation was reformed, so that many large places hitherto without representation in Parliament now obtained it; 6. All Roman Catholics, and those concerned in the Irish rebellion, were disfranchised forever.

[2] "The Humble Petition and Advice" was a modification of the "Instrument of Government."