largely by great annual fairs. Trade, however, was much deranged by the quantities of debased money issued under Henry VIII and Edward VI.

Elizabeth reformed the currency, and ordered the mint to send out coin which no longer had a lie stamped on its face, thereby setting an example to all future governments, whether monarchical or republican.

MODE OF LIFE, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS

466. Life in the Country and the City. — In the cities this was an age of luxury; but on the farms the laborer was glad to get a bundle of straw for a bed, and a wooden trencher to eat from. Vegetables were scarcely known, and fresh meat was eaten only by the well-to-do. The cottages were built of sticks and mud, without chimneys, and were nearly as bare of furniture as the wigwam of an American Indian.

The rich kept several mansions and country-houses, but paid little attention to cleanliness; and when the filth and vermin in one became unendurable, they left it "to sweeten," as they said, and went to another of their estates. The dress of the nobles continued to be of the most costly materials and the gayest colors.

At table a great variety of dishes were served on silver plate, but 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.

SECTION 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 I, 1625–1649.
"THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE," 1649–1660.
CHARLES II, 1660–1685.
JAMES II, 1685–1688.
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 act of Parliament, became James I of England.[3] By his accession the two countries were united under one sovereign, but each retained its own Parliament, its own National Church, and its own laws.[4]

[1] Orange-Stuart.
[2] See table, § 420.
[3] See Taswell-Langmead's Constitutional History of England.
[4] 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.

The English Parliament refused to grant free trade to Scotland and denied to the people of that country, even if born after James I came to the English throne (or "Post Nati," as they were called), the rights and privileges possessed by natives of England.

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.

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 (§ 447), 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, besides numerous commonplace verses. He also wrote a sweeping denunciation of the new plant called tobacco, which Raleigh (§ 444) had brought from America, whose smoke 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 Puritan Petition (1603). — 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 (§ 430).

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 the "Millenary Petition" to him. It was so called because it purported to have a thousand signers. The ministers presenting it asked 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. Bishop Hooker and Lord Bacon had pleaded for a certain degree of toleration for the Puritans. They urged that "he that is not against us is for us." But the King had no patience with such a plea.

470. Hampton Court Conference (1604). — 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. James had come to England disgusted with the violence of the Scotch Presbyterians or Puritans, especially since Andrew Melville, one of their leading 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." [1]

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.

[1] Gardiner in the Dictionary of National (English) Biography, under "James I," thinks that by "silly" Melville simply meant "weak." But at any rate the Puritan minister's blunt speech was far from complimentary.

It was published a few years later (1611). The work was done so well 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 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" (§§ 474, 567).

Accordingly, a law was enacted which required every curate to accept the Thirty-Nine Articles (§ 435) and the Prayer-Book (§ 414) without reservation. This act drove several hundred clergymen from the Established Church.

471. The Divine Right of Kings; the Protest of the Commons; "Favorites." — 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] "It is atheism and blasphemy," he said, "to dispute what God can do, . . . so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a 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 (§ 467). 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!"

[1] James' favorite saying was, "A Deo rex, a rege lex" (God makes the king, the king makes the law). He boasted that kings might, as he declared, "make what liked them law and gospel."

Acting on this assumption, James levied customs duties on goods without asking the consent of Parliament; 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.

Toward its close James truckled meanly to the power of Spain, hoping thereby to marry his son Charles to a Spanish princess. Later, he made a feeble and futile effort to help the Protestant party in the great Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), which had begun between the Catholics and Protestants in Germany. The House of Commons implored the King not to humiliate himself and the nation at the feet of Spain. The King replied by warning the House not to meddle with matters which did not concern them, and denied their right to freedom of speech. The Commons solemnly protested, and James seized their official journal, and with his own hands tore out the record of the protest (1621).

Yet, notwithstanding his arbitrary character, James was easily managed by those who would flatter his vanity. For this reason he was always under the control of worthless favorites like Carr (Earl of Somerset) or Villiers (Duke of Buckingham). These men were the secret power behind the throne, and they often dictated the policy of the Crown.

472. The Gunpowder Plot (1605). — This arbitrary spirit so angered the Commons, many of whom were Puritans (§ 430), that they, believing that the King secretly favored the Roman Catholics, increased the stringency of the laws against persons of that religion. To vindicate himself from this suspicion, the King proceeded to execute the 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 (§ 452). 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 (§ 567).

473. American Colonies, Virginia, 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 in 1607, 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; but 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 (§ 444), 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 at the end of twelve years (1619) it had secured the privilege of making its own local laws, thus becoming practically a self-governing community.

474. The Pilgrims; the New Power. — 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' declaration that he would make all men conform to the Established Church, or drive them out of the land, was having its due effect (§ 470).

Those who continued to refuse to conform were fined, cast into noisome prisons, beaten, and often half starved, so that the

1 See Map No. 13, facing page 218.

THE HOMES OF THE PILGRIMS IN ENGLAND AND IN HOLLAND.

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 the 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 could 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 in Holland upwards of twelve years, a part of them succeeded in obtaining from King James 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."

These Pilgrims, or wanderers, set forth (1620) for that new world beyond the sea, which they hoped would redress the wrongs of the old. Landing at Plymouth, in Massachusetts, they

[1] See Map No. 14, facing page 234 (Nottinghamshire, an inland county in the eastern part of England); and see "Why did the Pilgrim Fathers come to New England?" by Edwin D. Mead, in the New Englander, 1882.

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,[1] followed with a small company and settled Salem and Boston. During the next decade no less than twenty thousand Englishmen found a home in America. 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 American coast south of the St. Lawrence was settled mainly by English emigrants, and in the course of a little more than a century (1620–1733), the total number of colonies had reached thirteen. Thus the nation of Great Britain was beginning to expand into that *greater* Britain which it had discovered and planted beyond the sea.

Meanwhile a new power had arisen in England. It was mightier even than that of kings, because greater for both good and evil. This power came up obscurely. It appeared in the spring of 1622, under the name of the *Weekly News*, — the first regular newspaper.

475. The Colonization of Ireland (1611). — While the colonization of America was going on, 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 (§ 454), 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 "Addled Parliament"; the New Stand taken by the House of Commons (1610–1614). — The House of Commons at

[1] See Map No. 14, facing page 234. Suffolk is in the southeast of England

this period began to slowly get back, with interest, the power it had lost under the Tudors (§ 402). James suffered from a chronic lack of money. He was obliged to apply to Parliament to supply his wants (1614), but that body 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.

After several weeks of angry discussion the King dissolved what was nicknamed the "Addled Parliament," because its enemies accused it of having accomplished nothing. In reality it had accomplished much, for though it had not passed a single bill, it had shown by its determined attitude the growing strength of the people. For the next seven years James ruled without summoning a Parliament. In order to obtain means to support his army in Ireland, the King 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[2] pounds or more a year, derived from landed property, to accept knighthood (thus incurring feudal obligations and payments [§ 200]) or purchase exemption by a heavy fine.

477. Impeachment of Lord Bacon (1621). — When James did finally summon a Parliament (1621), it met in a stern mood. The House of Commons impeached Lord Bacon for having taken bribes in lawsuits tried before him as judge. The House of Lords convicted him. He confessed the crime, but pleaded extenuating circumstances, adding, "I beseech your lordships to be merciful unto a broken reed"; but Bacon had been in every respect a

[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.

servile tool of James, and no mercy was granted. Parliament imposed a fine of £40,000, with imprisonment. Had the sentence 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 (1618). — Meanwhile Sir Walter Raleigh (§ 444) had been executed on a charge of treason. He had been a prisoner in the Tower for many years (1603–1616), accused of having plotted against the King.[1] Influenced by greed for gain, 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.[2] 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 (§ 452), 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. He doubtless hoped 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 Sir Thomas More did (§ 403), 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 in trust
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust;
Who in the dark and silent grave,

[1] At the beginning of the reign two plots were discovered: one, called the "Main Plot," aimed to change the government and perhaps to place Arabella Stuart, cousin of James, on the throne. The object of the second conspiracy, called the "Bye Plot," was to obtain religious toleration. Raleigh was accused of having been implicated in the Main Plot.

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

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."[1]

480. Summary. — Three chief events demand our attention in this reign. First, the increased power and determined attitude of the House of Commons. Secondly, the growth of the Puritan and Independent parties in religion. Thirdly, 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 nation, — the American Republic.

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, which had been so zealously put forth by James (§ 471), 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. The King's Two Mistakes at the Outset. — Charles I began his reign with two mistakes. First, he insisted on retaining the Duke of Buckingham, his father's favorite (§ 471), as his chief adviser, though the duke was, for good reasons, generally

[1] The Duc de Sully.

distrusted and disliked. Next, shortly after his accession, Charles married Henrietta Maria, a French Catholic princess. The majority of the English people hated her religion, and her extravagant habits soon got the King into trouble.

To meet her incessant demands for money, and to carry on a petty war with Spain, and later with France, he was obliged to ask Parliament for funds. Parliament declined to grant him the supply he demanded unless he would redress certain grievances of long standing. Charles refused and dissolved that body.

483. **The Second Parliament (1626); the King extorts Loans.** — Necessity, however, compelled the King to call a new Parliament. When it met, the Commons, under the lead of Sir John Eliot and other eminent men, proceeded to draw up articles of impeachment, accusing the Duke of Buckingham of mismanagement (§ 482). To save his favorite from being brought to trial, the King dissolved Parliament (1626), and as no supply had been voted, Charles now levied illegal taxes and extorted loans.

Sir John Eliot, Sir Edmund Hampden, cousin of the famous John Hampden, and Sir Thomas Wentworth refused (1627) to lend his majesty the sum asked for. For this refusal they were thrown into prison. This led to increased agitation and discontent. At length the King found himself again forced to summon Parliament; to this Parliament, Eliot, Wentworth, and others who sympathized with them, were elected.

484. **The Petition of Right, 1628.** — Shortly after assembling, the House of Commons, led by Sir Thomas Wentworth and John Pym, drew up the Petition of Right, which passed the Lords and was presented to the King for his signature. The petition was a law reaffirming some of the chief provisions of the Great Charter (§ 251). It stipulated in particular, that no taxes whatever should be levied without the consent of Parliament, and that no one should be unlawfully imprisoned for refusing to pay such taxes. 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 on me no more."

485. **Charles signs the Petition of Right, 1628; he 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, 1628.[1] 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 (§ 440).

By these grants certain persons bought 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 (1629).** — Sir John Eliot (§ 483) 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 until the resolutions were passed, which declared 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 close confinement in the Tower. He died there three years later, a martyr in the cause of liberty.

487. **The King rules without Parliament; "Thorough."** — For the next eleven years (1629–1640) the King ruled without a Parliament. The obnoxious Buckingham (§ 483) had led an expedition against France which resulted in miserable failure. He was about setting out on a second expedition to aid the Huguenots, who had rebelled against the French King, when he was assassinated (1628). His successor was Sir Thomas Wentworth, who later (1640) became Earl of Strafford. Wentworth had signed the Petition of Right (§ 484), but he was now a renegade to liberty, and wholly devoted to the King. By means of the Star-Chamber (§ 382) and his scheme called

[1] Petition of Right: see Summary of Constitutional History in the Appendix, page xvi, § 17, and page xxix.

"Thorough," which meant that he would stop at nothing to make Charles absolute, he labored to establish a complete despotism.

Bishop Laud, who had become head of the Church, worked with him through the High Commission Court (§ 433). 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.[1]

Charles exasperated the Puritans still further by reissuing (1633) his father's Declaration of Sunday Sports, which had never really been enforced. This Declaration encouraged parishioners to dance, play games, and practise archery in the churchyards after divine service. Laud used it as a test, and turned all clergymen out of their livings who refused to read it from their pulpits. When the Puritans finally got the upper hand (1644) they publicly burned the Declaration.

488. "Ship Money" (1637); John Hampden. — 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 on the inland towns, as the Petition of Right (§ 484) expressly provided that no money should be demanded from the country without the consent of its representatives in Parliament. John Hampden (§ 483) refused to pay the twenty shillings required from him. He did not grudge the money, but he would not tamely submit to have even that trifling sum taken from him contrary to law. The case was brought to trial (1637), and the corrupt judges decided for the King.

[1] To strengthen the hands of Archbishop Laud and to secure absolute uniformity of faith, Charles issued (1628) a Declaration (still found in the English editions of the Book of Common Prayer), which forbade any one to understand or explain the Thirty-Nine Articles (§ 435) in any sense except that established by the bishops and the King.

489. Hampden and Cromwell endeavor to leave the Country. — Meanwhile John Winthrop with many other Puritans emigrated to America to escape oppression. According to tradition John Hampden (§ 488) and his cousin, Oliver Cromwell, who was a member of the last Parliament, embarked on a vessel in the Thames for New England. But it is said that they were prevented from sailing by the King's order. The two friends remained to teach the despotic sovereign a lesson which neither he nor England ever forgot.[1]

490. The Difficulty with the Scottish Church (1637). — The King determined to force the use of a prayer-book, similar to that used in the English Church (§ 414), 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 a prayer from the hated book, when an old woman hurled her stool at his head, shouting, "D'ye mean to say mass[2] 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[3] at the point of the bayonet.

But he had no money to pay his army, and the "Short Parliament" which he summoned (in the spring of 1640) refused to grant any unless the King would redress the nation's grievances. As a last resort, he summoned that memorable Parliament which

[1] Macaulay's Essay on Hampden, Guizot's English Revolution, and other well-known authorities, relate the proposed sailing of Hampden and Cromwell, but recent writers question its truth.

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

[3] The first Covenanters were the Scottish leaders, who, in 1557, bound themselves by a solemn covenant to overthrow all attempts to reëstablish the Catholic religion in Scotland; when Charles I undertook to force the Scotch to accept Episcopacy the Puritan party in Scotland drew up a new covenant (1638) to resist it.

met in November of 1640. It sat almost continuously for thirteen years, and so got the name of the "Long Parliament." [1]

491. The "Long Parliament," 1640; Impeachment of Strafford and Laud; the "Grand Remonstrance." — The new Parliament was made up of three parties: the Church of England party, the Presbyterian party, and the Independents (§ 474). The spirit of this body soon showed itself. John Pym (§ 484), the leader of the House of Commons, demanded the impeachment of Strafford (§ 487) for high treason and despotic oppression. He was tried and sentenced 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 (§ 487) with attempting to overthrow the Protestant religion. It condemned him to prison, and ultimately to death. Next, it abolished the Star-Chamber and the High Commission Court (§§ 382, 433, 487). It next passed the Triennial Act,[2] a bill requiring Parliament to be summoned once in three years, and also a statute forbidding the collection of "ship money" unless authorized by Parliament.

Under the leadership of Pym, it followed this by drawing up the "Grand Remonstrance," [3] which was printed and circulated throughout the country. The "Remonstrance" set forth the faults of the King's government, while it declared utter distrust of his policy. Cromwell did not hesitate to say that if the House of Commons had failed to adopt and print the "Remonstrance" he would have left England never to return. The radicals in the House next made an attempt to pass the "Root and Branch Bill," for the complete destruction — "root and branch" — of the Episcopal Church of England. Finally, the House enacted

[1] Long Parliament: it was not finally dissolved until 1660, twenty years from its first meeting.

[2] The Triennial Act was repealed (in form only) in 1664; it was reënacted in 1694; in 1716 it was superseded by the Septennial Act (§ 584).

[3] See Summary of Constitutional History in Appendix, page xvii, § 19.

a law forbidding the dissolution of the present Parliament except by its own consent.

492. The Attempted Arrest of the Five Members (1642). — The parliamentary leaders had entered into communication with the Scots and so laid themselves open to a charge of treason. It was rumored, too, that they 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, John Hampden, John Pym, and three others, who headed the opposition.[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 along, you coward, and pull those rascals out by the ears!" Thus taunted, the King, attended by an armed force, went on the 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 where they were. The Speaker, kneeling before the King, answered, "May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place but as this House is pleased to direct me." Vexed that he could learn nothing further, Charles left the hall amid ominous cries of "Privilege! privilege!" [2]

493. The Great Civil War (1642–1649) between the King and Parliament. — The King, baffled in his purpose, resolved to coerce Parliament by military force. He left London in 1642,

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

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

never to return until he came as a prisoner, and was delivered into the custody of that legislative body that 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 insisted on his resigning that control to them. Charles refused to give up his undoubted constitutional right in the matter, raised the royal flag at Nottingham (August, 1642). Parliament then organized its army, and the war began.

494. Cavaliers and Roundheads. — It opened in the autumn of that year (1642) 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. They were mainly members of the Church of England and were known collectively as Cavaliers, from their dashing and daring horsemanship. Their leader was Prince Rupert, a nephew of Charles.[1]

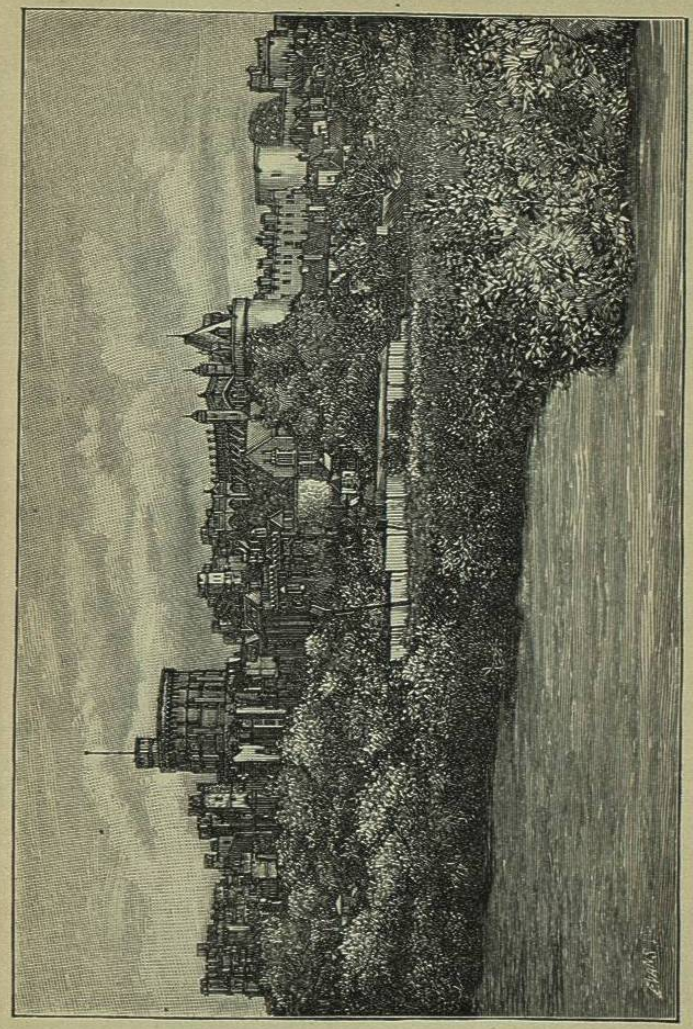
On the side of Parliament were the shop-keepers, small farmers and land-owners, with a considerable number of men of high rank; as a rule they were Puritans. They were called in ridicule the Roundheads, because many of them, despising the long locks and effeminate ringlets worn by the Cavaliers, cut their hair short so that it showed the shape of the head.[2] Essex and Fairfax were the first leaders of the Roundheads; later, Cromwell became their commander.

495. How the Country was divided; Rise of Political Newspapers. — Taking England as a whole, we may say that the southeastern half, that is, what was then the richest part of England, with London and most of the other large towns, was against the King, and that the southwestern half, with most of the North, was for him.[3] Each side made great sacrifices in carrying on the

1 See "A Charge with Prince Rupert," Atlantic Magazine (T. W. Higginson), III, 725. Nottingham is in Nottinghamshire, in the east of England.

2 The Royalists, or Cavaliers, called them "those round-headed dogs that bawled against bishops."

3 See Map No. 15, facing page 248, and § 34.



WINDSOR CASTLE FROM THE THAMES