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." Furthermore, it required each household to fast once a week, and to give the price of a dinner to support the army.

Parliament also passed what was called the "Self-denying Ordinance" (1644) (repeated in 1645). It 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 remodelled) 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 (§ 474). 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.[1]

496. The "New Model"; Death of John Hampden; the Solemn League and Covenant (1642–1645). — At the first battle fought (Edgehill, Warwickshire) (1642) Cromwell saw that the Cavaliers had the advantage, and told Hampden (§ 492) 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 first Self-denying Ordinance was passed (§ 495), Cromwell and Fairfax formed a new army of "God-fearing men" on the same pattern, almost all of whom were Independents (§ 491). This was called the "New Model" (1645) and was placed

[1] About thirty thousand pamphlets came out between 1640 and 1660.

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 John Hampden (§ 488) had been mortally wounded in a skirmish at Chalgrove Field, Oxfordshire. His death was a terrible blow to the parliamentary army fighting in behalf of the rights of the people.[2]

Parliament endeavored to persuade the Scotch to give their aid in the war against the King. They finally agreed to do so (1643) on condition that Parliament would sign the Solemn League and Covenant (§ 490). The Covenant, when it was established (1647), made the Scotch Presbyterian worship the state religion of England and Ireland. In reality only a small part of the English people accepted it; but the change forced a large number of Episcopal clergymen to leave their parishes.

497. Marston Moor and Naseby (1644, 1645). — On the field of Marston Moor (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) in the Midlands.[3] After the fight papers belonging to the King were picked up on the battle-field. They proved that Charles intended betraying those who were negotiating with him for peace, and that he was planning to bring foreign troops to England. The discovery of these papers, which were published by Parliament, was more damaging to the royal cause than the defeat itself.

498. The King and Parliament. — Standing on the walls of Chester, Charles saw his last army defeated (1645). Shortly afterward he fled to the Scots. Oxford, the King's chief city

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, *History of the Rebellion*, Book X, p. 79.

2 See Macaulay's Essay on Hampden. Clarendon says that Hampden's death produced as great consternation in his party "as if their whole army had been cut off."

3 See Map No. 15, facing page 248.

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

in the Midlands, surrendered to Fairfax (1646). The first civil war was now practically over. The Scots gave up the King (1647) to the parliamentary commissioners, and he was taken to Holmby House, Northamptonshire. There Cromwell and the army made overtures to him, but without effect. He was then brought by the parliamentary 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]

499. The Second Civil War (1648); Pride's Purge (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 (1648), promising to sanction the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in England (§ 496), if they would send an army into the country to restore him to the throne.[2]

The Scots marched into England, the Royalists rose to aid them, and the second civil war began. It speedily ended in the utter defeat of the Royalists. The army now vowed that 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 (1648), as he said, to purge the "Long Parliament" (§ 491) 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 (§ 491). They did not number sixty; they became the mere tool

[1] Carlyle's Past and Present.

[2] When Cromwell found out through his spies that Charles had resolved to destroy him and the Independent army by forming an alliance with the Scots and the Presbyterians, he seems to have made up his mind to put the King to death. See Lord Broghill's story in Gardiner's History of the Great Civil War, III, 259.

of the parliamentary army and were called in derision the "Rump Parliament."

500. Execution of the King (1649). — 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; 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, provided they would spare his father's life; but no answer was returned.

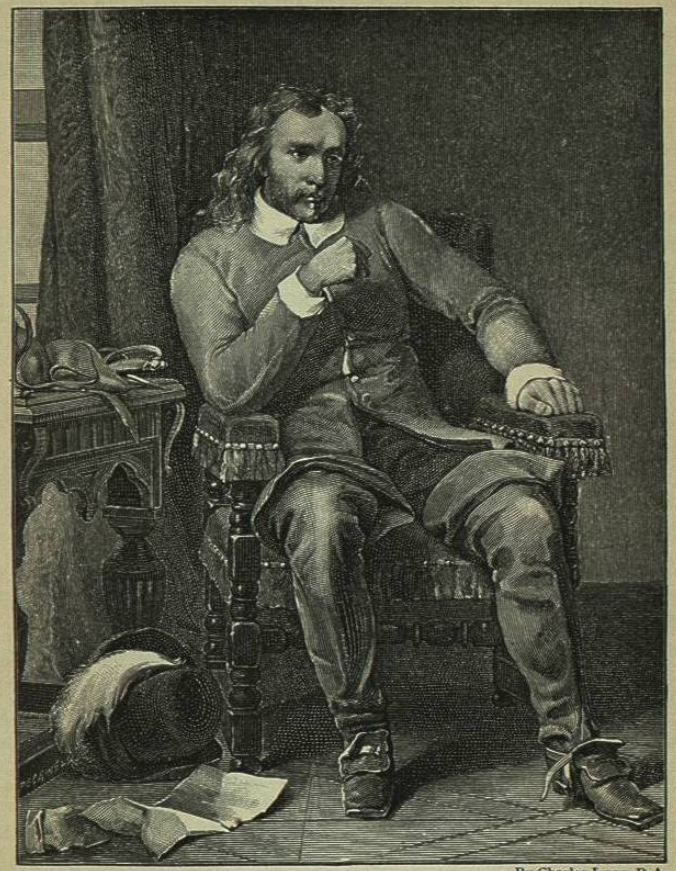
The King was brought into court (Jan. 20, 1649); a week later the trial was over. The judges pronounced sentence of death on "Charles Stuart, King of England," as a "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy."

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 (Jan. 30, 1649) in London in front of the royal palace of Whitehall. "A great shudder ran through the crowd that saw the deed, then came a shriek, and all immediately dispersed." Tradition declares that Cromwell went secretly that night to see the beheaded corpse. He looked steadfastly at it, shook his head, sighed out the words, "Cruel necessity!" and departed.[1]

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

[1] Gardiner's Great Civil War, III, 604.



By Charles Lucy, R.A.

Oliver Cromwell

(Cromwell resolving to refuse the crown. See § 507.)

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). — While the crowd that had witnessed the execution of Charles I was leaving the spot (Jan. 30, 1649), the remnant of the House of Commons met. This "Rump Parliament" (§ 499), composed of only about fifty members, claimed the right to act for the whole nation. A few days later, it abolished the House of Lords as "useless and dangerous." Next, for similar reasons, it abolished the office of king.

England was now a republic, governed, in name at least, by a Council of State. Of this Council John Bradshaw (§ 500) was president, and 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 had already been cast aside, and a new one adopted, having on one side a map of England and Ireland, on the other a representation of the House of Commons in session, with the words, "In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored 1648."[1]

504. Difficulties of the New Republic. — Shortly after the establishment of the Commonwealth, Fairfax resigned his com-

[1] 1648 Old Style would here correspond to 1649 New Style. See § 594, note 2.

mand, and Cromwell became 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" (§ 502) and the parliamentary 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.

505. The Late King's Son proclaimed King in Ireland and Scotland; Dunbar; Worcester (1649–1651). — The attempt of the English Puritan party to root out Catholicism in Ireland (1641) had caused a horrible insurrection. The Royalist party in Ireland now proclaimed Prince Charles King. Cromwell was deputed to reduce that country to order, and to destroy the Royalists. To his invincible army of Independents nothing could have been more congenial than such a crusade. They descended upon the unhappy island (1649), 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!" [3]

Not satisfied with these terrible measures, Cromwell resolved to

[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.

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

[3] At Drogheda and Wexford, on the east coast of Ireland, Cromwell, acting in accordance with the laws of war of that day, massacred the garrisons which refused to surrender.

drive the greater part of the population of Ireland from their lands. His plan was to force them to settle in the west of the island in the barren and desolate province of Connaught. Thousands were compelled to go into this dreary exile, and hundreds of families who refused were shipped to the Barbadoes and sold as slaves, as was often done in that day with prisoners of war.

In Scotland also Prince 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. The prince came to Scotland (1650), and took the oath of the Covenant (§ 490). It must have been a bitter pill for a man of his free and easy temperament. But worse was to come, for the Scottish Puritans made him sign a paper declaring that his father had been a tyrant and that his mother was an idolater. No wonder the caricatures of the day represented the Scots as holding the prince's nose to a grindstone.[2] Later, Charles rallied a small force, but it was utterly defeated at Dunbar (1650).

Twelve months afterward, on the anniversary of his defeat at 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.

[1] See Aytoun's Scottish Ballads: The Execution of Montrose. Charles basely abandoned Montrose to his fate.

[2] See a reproduction of this famous caricature in the illustrated edition of Green's Short History of the English People, III, 1216.

But at last they could not withstand the pressure, and a bill was introduced (1653) 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" (§ 502) 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 (1653).

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; the "Instrument of Government" (1653). — Cromwell now summoned a new Parliament, which was practically 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

[1] A regularly summoned Parliament, elected by the people, would have been much larger. This was chosen from a list furnished to the Council of State 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 of Cromwell's leading men now presented a constitution, entitled the "Instrument of Government."[1] It 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 (1657), Parliament adopted a second constitution, called the "Humble Petition and Advice."[2] It 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 to America. — Under the tyranny of the Stuart kings, John Winthrop and many other noted 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.

[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 thirty thousand 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."

509. Cromwell as a Ruler; Puritan Fanaticism. — When Cromwell's new Parliament ventured to criticise his course, he dissolved them (1654) quite as peremptorily as the late king. Soon afterward, fear of a Royalist rebellion led him to divide the country into eleven military districts (1655), each governed by a major-general, who ruled by martial law and with despotic power. All Royalist families were heavily taxed to support the standing army; all Catholic priests were banished, and no books or papers could be published without permission of the Government.

Cromwell, however, though compelled to resort to severe measures to secure peace, was, in spirit, no oppressor. On the contrary, he proved himself the Protector not only of the realm but of the Protestants of Europe. When they were threatened with persecution, his influence saved them. He showed, too, that in an age of bigotry he was no bigot. Puritan fanaticism, exasperated by the persecution it had endured under James and Charles, often went to the utmost extremes, even as Hudibras[1] said, to "killing of a cat on Monday for catching of a rat on Sunday."

It treated the most innocent customs, if they were in any way associated with Catholicism or Episcopacy, as serious offences. It closed all places of amusement; it condemned mirth as ungodly; it was a sin to dance round a May-pole, or to eat mince pie at Christmas. Fox-hunting and horse-racing were forbidden, and bear-baiting prohibited, "not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators."

In such an age, when a man could hardly claim to be religious unless he wore sad-colored raiment, talked through his nose, and quoted Scripture at every sentence, Cromwell showed exceptional moderation and good sense.

510. Cromwell's Religious Toleration. — He favored the toleration of all forms of worship not directly opposed to the government as then constituted. He befriended the Quakers, who were looked upon as the enemies of every form of worship, and

[1] Hudibras: a burlesque poem by Samuel Butler. It was published in 1663, and satirizes all the leading persons and parties of the Commonwealth, but especially the Puritans.

were treated with cruel severity both in England and America. He was instrumental in sending the first Protestant missionaries to Massachusetts to convert the Indians, then supposed by many to be a remnant of the lost tribes of Israel; and after an exclusion of many centuries (§ 274), he permitted the Jews to return to England, and even to build a synagogue in London.

On the other hand, there are few of the cathedral or parish churches of England which do not continue to testify to the destructive hatred which during the civil wars vented itself on everything savoring of the rule of either pope or bishop.[1] The empty niches, where some gracious image of the Virgin or the figure of some saint once looked down; the patched remnants of brilliant stained glass, once part of a picture telling some Scripture story; the tombs, broken, hacked, and hewed by pike and sword because on them was some emblem or expression of the old faith, — all these still bear witness to the fury of the Puritan soldiers, who did not respect even the graves of their ancestors, if those ancestors had once thought differently from themselves.

511. Victories by Land and Sea; the Navigation Act (1651). — Yet during Cromwell's rule the country, notwithstanding all the restrictions imposed by a stern military government, grew and prospered. The English forces gained victories by land and sea, and made the name of the Protector respected as that of Charles had never been.

At this period the carrying trade of the world had fallen into the hands of the Dutch, and Amsterdam had become a more important centre of exchange than London. The Commonwealth passed a measure called the "Navigation Act"[2] (1651) to encourage British commerce. It prohibited the importation or exportation of any goods into England or its colonies in Dutch or other foreign vessels.

[1] But part of this destruction occurred under Henry VIII and Edward VI. §§ 404, 416.

[2] The Navigation Act was renewed in 1661, 1662, 1663, and 1672. Though aimed at the Dutch, these measures did serious damage, for a time, to the export trade of the American colonies.

Later, war with the Dutch broke out partly on account of questions of trade, and partly because Royalist plotters found protection in Holland. Then Cromwell created such a navy as the country had never before possessed. Under the command of Admiral Blake, "the sea king," and Admiral Monk, the Dutch were finally beaten so thoroughly (1653) that they bound themselves to ever after salute the English flag wherever they should meet it on the seas. A war undertaken in alliance with France against Spain was equally successful. Jamaica was taken as a permanent possession by the British fleet, and France, in return for Cromwell's assistance, reluctantly gave the town of Dunkirk to England (1658), so that the flag of the Commonwealth was now planted on the French coast.

512. Cromwell's Death; his Character (1658). — After being king in everything but name for five years, Cromwell died (Sept. 3, 1658) on the anniversary of the victories of Dunbar and Worcester (§ 505). During the latter part of his career he had lived in constant dread of assassination, and wore concealed armor. At the hour of his death one of the most fearful storms was raging that had ever swept over England. To many it seemed a fit accompaniment to the close of such a life.[1]

In one sense, Cromwell was a usurper and a tyrant; but, at heart, his object was his country's welfare. In such cases the motive is all in all. He was a man of rough exterior and hard manner. He cared little for the smooth proprieties of life, yet he had that dignity of bearing which high moral purpose gives. In all that he did he was eminently practical. In an age of isms, theories, and experiments, he was never confused and never faltered in his course.

513. The Times needed Such a Man. — There are emergencies when an ounce of decision is worth a pound of deliberation. When the ship is foundering or on fire, or when the crew have

[1] Cromwell was always a lonely man, and had so few real friends that Walter Scott may have expressed his true feeling when he makes him say in Woodstock: "I would *I* had any creature, were it but a dog, that followed me because it loved me, not for what it could make of me."

mutinied, it will not avail to sit in the cabin and discuss how it happened. Something must be done, and that promptly. Cromwell was the man for such a juncture. He saw clearly that if the country was to be kept together, it must be by decided measures, which no precedent, law, or constitution justified, but which stood justified none the less by the exigencies of the crisis, by his own conscious rectitude of purpose, and by the result.

If there is any truth in Napoleon's maxim, that "The tools belong to him that can use them," then Cromwell had a God-given right to rule; for, first, he had the ability; and, next, if we except his campaign in Ireland (§ 505), he employed it, all things considered, on the side of order and of justice.

514. Summary. — Cromwell's original purpose appears to have been to establish a government representing the will of the nation more completely than it had ever been represented before. He favored the restoration of the House of Lords, he endeavored to reform the laws, and he sought to secure religious toleration for the great body of Protestants.

Circumstances, however, were often against him; he had many enemies, and in order to secure peace he was obliged to resort to absolute power. Yet the difference in this respect between him and Charles I was immense; the latter was despotic on his own account, the former for the advantage of those he governed.

RICHARD CROMWELL — Sept. 3, 1658, to April 22, 1659[1]

515. Richard Cromwell's Incompetency. — Richard Cromwell, Oliver's eldest son, now succeeded to the Protectorate. He was an amiable individual, as negative in character as his father had been positive. With the extreme Puritans, known as the "godly party," he had no sympathy whatever. "Here," said he to one of them, pointing to a friend of his who stood by, "is a man who can neither preach nor pray, yet I would trust him before you all." Such frankness was not likely to make the new ruler popular

[1] Richard Cromwell continued to reside in the royal palace of Whitehall until July, but he virtually gave up all power in April.

with the army, made up of men who never lacked a Scripture text to justify either a murder or a massacre. Moreover, the times were perilous, and called for a decided hand at the helm. After a brief reign of less than eight months the military leaders requested Richard to resign, and soon afterward recalled the "Rump Parliament" (§ 499).

516. Richard retires. — The Protector retired not only without remonstrance, but apparently with a sense of relief at being so soon eased of a burden too heavy for his weak shoulders to carry. To the people he was hereafter familiarly known as "Tumble-down-Dick," and was caricatured as such on tavern sign-boards.

The nation pensioned him off with a moderate allowance, and he lived in obscurity to an advanced age, carrying about with him to the last a trunk filled with the congratulatory addresses and oaths of allegiance which he had received when he became Protector.

Years after his abdication it is reported that he visited Westminster, and when the attendant, who did not recognize him, showed him the throne, he said, "Yes; I have not seen that chair since I sat in it myself in 1659."

517. The "Convention Parliament." — The year following Richard's withdrawal was full of anxiety and confusion. The army had turned Parliament out of doors (1659). There was no longer any regularly organized government, and the country drifted helplessly like a ship without a pilot.

General Monk, then commander-in-chief in Scotland, now marched into England (1660) with the determination of calling a new Parliament, which should be full, free, and representative of the real political feeling of the nation. When he reached London with his army, the members of the "Rump" had resumed their sessions.

At Monk's invitation the Presbyterian members, whom Colonel Pride had driven from their seats eleven years before (§ 499), now went back. This assembly issued writs for the summoning of a "Convention Parliament" (so styled because called without royal

authority), and then dissolved by their own consent. Thus ended that memorable "Long Parliament" (§ 491), which had existed nearly twenty years. About a month later the Convention, including ten members of the House of Lords, met, and at once invited Charles Stuart, then in Holland, to return to his kingdom. He had made certain promises, called the "Declaration of Breda,"[1] which were intended to smooth the way to his return.

518. Summary. — Richard Cromwell's government existed in name only, never in fact. During his so-called Protectorate the country was under the control of the army or of that "Rump Parliament" which represented nothing but itself.

The period which elapsed after Oliver Cromwell's death was one of waiting and preparation. It ended in the meeting of the free national Parliament, which put an end to the republic, and restored royalty in the person of Charles II.

CHARLES II — 1660–1685

519. The Restoration of Monarchy; Accession of Charles; a New Standing Army.—The English army heard that Charles was coming, with sullen silence; the ex-members of the "Rump" (§ 515), with sullen dread; the rest of the nation, with a feeling of relief. However much they had hated the despotism of the Stuarts, four-fifths of the people welcomed any change which promised to do away with a government maintained by bayonets.

Charles was received at Dover with the wildest demonstrations of joy. Bells pealed, flags waved, bonfires blazed all the way to London, and the King said, with characteristic irony, "It must have been my own fault that I did not come before, for I find no one but declares that he is glad to see me."

The fact that the republic had existed was as far as possible ignored. The new reign was dated, not when it actually began,

[1] The Declaration of Breda, made by Charles in Holland (1660), promised:—
1. Free pardon to all those not excepted by Parliament.
2. Liberty of conscience to all whose views did not disturb the peace of the realm.
3. The settlement by Parliament of all claims to landed property.
4. The payment of arrears to Monk's army.

but from the day of Charles I's execution twelve years before. The troops of the Commonwealth were speedily disbanded, but the King retained a picked guard of five thousand men, which became the nucleus of a new standing army.

520. The King's Character. — The sovereign who now ascended the throne was in every respect the opposite of Cromwell. Charles II had no love of country, no sense of duty, no belief in man, no respect for woman. Evil circumstances and evil companions had made him "a good-humored but hard-hearted voluptuary." For twelve years he had been a wanderer, and at times almost a beggar. Now the sole aim of his life was enjoyment. He desired to be king because he would then have every means for accomplishing that aim.

521. Reaction from Puritanism. — In this purpose Charles had the sympathy of a considerable part of the people. The Puritan faith (§§ 430, 469), represented by such men as Milton and Hampden, was noble indeed; but unfortunately there were many in its ranks who had no like grandeur of soul, but who pushed Puritanism to its most injurious and offensive extreme. That attempt to reduce the whole of life to a narrow system of sour self-denial had at last broken down.

Now, under the Restoration, the reaction set in, and the lower and earthly side of human nature — none the less human because it is at the bottom and not at the top — seemed determined to take its full revenge. Butler ridiculed religious zeal in his poem of "Hudibras" (§ 509), which every courtier had by heart. Society was smitten with an epidemic of immorality. Profligacy became the fashion in both speech and action, and much of the popular literature of that day will not bear the light.

522. The Royal Favorites; the Cabal (1667–1673). — The King surrounded himself with men like himself. They vied with each other in dissipation and in jests on each other. Charles' two chief favorites were the Earl of Rochester, a gifted but ribald poet, and Lord Shaftesbury, who became chancellor. Both have left on record their estimate of their royal master. The first wrote on the door of the King's bed-chamber: —

"Here lies our sovereign lord, the King,
Whose word no man relies on;
He never says a foolish thing,
Nor ever does a wise one."

To which Charles, on reading it, retorted, "'Tis true! because while my words are my own, my acts are my ministers'."

A bright repartee tells us what the second favorite thought. "Ah! Shaftesbury," said the King to him one day, "I verily believe you are the wickedest dog in my dominions." "Yes, your Majesty," replied Shaftesbury, "for a *subject* I think perhaps I may be."

The new reign, from a political point of view, began decently and ably with the Earl of Clarendon as leading minister. But in a few years it degenerated into an administration called the "Cabal"[1] (1667). It was simply a government of debauchees, whose sole object was to advance their own private interests by making the King supreme.

Its character and deeds may best be learned from that picture of the council of the "infernal peers," which Milton portrays in "Paradise Lost," where the five princes of evil, Moloch, Belial, Mammon, Beelzebub, and Satan, meet in the palace of Pandemonium to plot the ruin of the world.[2]

523. Punishment of the Regicides. — The first act of Charles' first Parliament was to proclaim a pardon to all who had fought against his father in the civil war. The only persons excepted

[1] This word was originally used to designate the confidential members of the King's private council, and meant perhaps no more than the word "cabinet" does to-day. In 1667 it happened, however, by a singular coincidence, that the initial letters of the five persons comprising it, namely, (C)lifford, (A)shley-Cooper [Lord Shaftesbury], (B)uckingham, (A)rlington, and (L)auderdale, formed the word CABAL, which henceforth came to have the odious meaning of secret and unscrupulous intrigue that it has ever since retained. It was to Charles II's time what the political "ring" is to our own.

[2] Milton's Paradise Lost, Book II. The first edition was published in 1667, the year the Cabal came into power, though its members had long been favorites with the King. It has been supposed by some that the great Puritan poet had them in his mind when he represented the Pandemonic debate. Shaftesbury and Buckingham are also two of the most prominent characters in Dryden's noted political satire of Absalom and Achitophel, published in 1681.

were the members of that high court of justice (§ 500) which had sent Charles I to the block. Of these, ten were executed and nineteen imprisoned for life. Most of the other regicide judges were either already out of the country or managed to escape soon after.

Among these, William Goffe, Edward Whalley, and Col. John Dixwell took refuge in Connecticut, where they remained concealed for several years. Eventually the first two went to Hadley, Massachusetts, where they lived in seclusion in the house of a clergyman until their death.

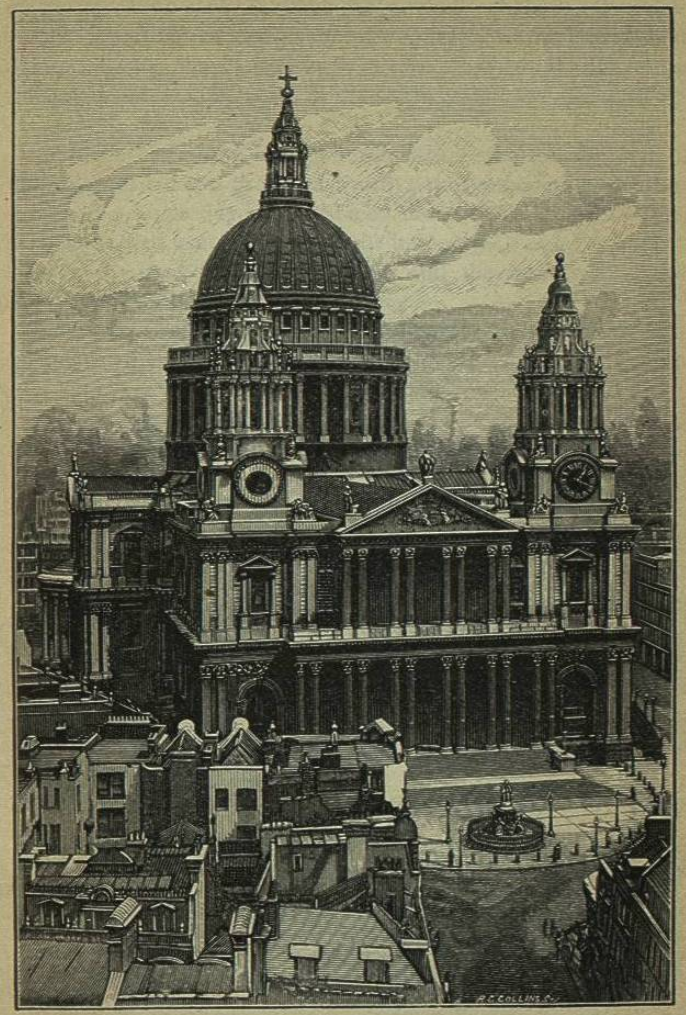
The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride were dug up from their graves in Westminster Abbey, and hanged in chains at Tyburn.[1] They were then buried at the foot of the gallows along with the mouldering remains of highway robbers and criminals of the lowest sort.

524. Religious Persecution; Covenanters; Bunyan. — The first Parliament that met (1661) commanded the common hangman to publicly burn the Solemn League and Covenant (§ 496); the Episcopal form of worship was restored, and four severe laws were passed against the Nonconformists or Dissenters who had ejected the Episcopal clergy (§ 496).[2] The first of these new laws was entitled the "Corporation Act" (1661). It ordered all holders of municipal offices to renounce the Covenant[3] which had been put in force in 1647, and to take the sacrament of the Church of England. Next, the fourth Act of Uniformity (1662) (§ 433) enforced the use of the Episcopal Prayer-Book upon all clergymen and congregations. This was followed by the

[1] Tyburn, near the northeast entrance to Hyde Park, London. It was for several centuries the chief place for the public execution of felons.

[2] The chief Nonconformists, aside from the Roman Catholics, were: 1. The Presbyterians. 2. The Independents, or Congregationalists. 3. The Baptists. 4. The Society of Friends, or Quakers. Originally the name "Nonconformist" was given to those who refused to conform to the worship of the Church of England, or Episcopacy, and endeavored to change it to suit their views. Later, when the Nonconformists gave up that attempt, and asked only for permission to worship according to their own convictions, they received the milder name of "Dissenters."

[3] Covenant: the oath or agreement to maintain the Presbyterian faith and worship. It originated in Scotland. See § 490.



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL