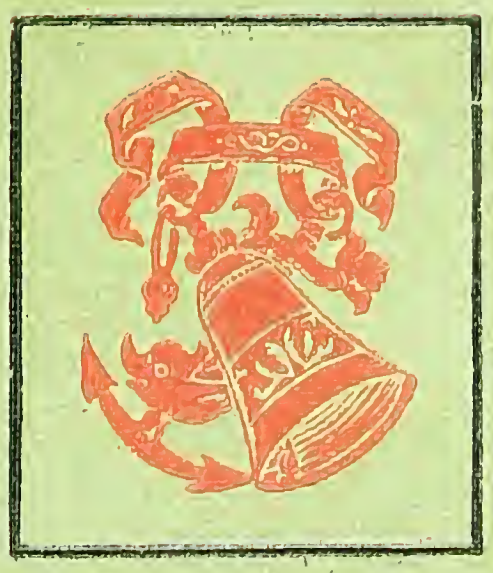
OLIVER CROMWELL

R. Pauli



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BY

REINHOLD PAULI

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE following essay by the late Prof. Pauli, whose interest in and knowledge of English constitutional history has been evinced by other and larger works, appeared originally in the series entitled *Der Neue Plutarch* (Brockhaus, Leipzig).

The translation is a literal one, and the only liberties which have been taken with the original consist in the division of the work into chapters and the addition of a few footnotes.

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OLIVER CROMWELL.

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THE Tudors, under whose reign England's emancipation from the Roman yoke was completed, not only promoted the vigorous growth of the nation in other parts of Britain, but paved the way for our dominion across the sea, and raised up a powerful kingdom from almost hopeless destruction. However extraordinary it may appear, Henry VIII. and his two daughters, both Catholic Mary and Protestant Elizabeth, were powerful and even popular rulers.

The secret of their power lay in this: they knew how to assert their will in the face of the ever-changing streams of conflicting opinions, and made judicious use of an older and more lawful authority than the mere right of conquest and conventional

treaty, whereby their race obtained the crown. That authority was based on the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm, which, though subservient to the monarchy, yet allowed landed proprietors of all classes that ample scope for individual activity which they had been accustomed to for centuries.

The Tudors did not indeed attack the principle of self-government in its general outlines, but in fact used it as they thought fit, and made it serve the ends of the most awful and unbearable caprices of tyranny.

It was certainly not affection which bound the English people to Elizabeth, even in her palmiest days, but the great majority regarded with deep veneration a queen who had, with such unrivalled success, guarded and upheld the country's honour in a style so truly regal.

After her death, the right of succession devolved upon an alien race, nurtured in an atmosphere of Spanish despotism, and holding political opinions which, up to that time, had been hardly dreamed of in England. The Stuarts came with their *jus divinum*, with their monarchy of divine origin, which was diametrically opposed to all the laws of humanity.

Who does not know the tragic fate of this ill-starred house? No other family, not even that of the Bourbons, reminds one so forcibly of those ancient Theban dynasties, whose mournful fortunes were depicted in the Greek tragedies, as warning examples to a free nation. In more recent ages, no race has, with equal wantonness, called down the curse of its country and the wrath of Heaven, until at length the storm broke, and annihilated the monarchy. In the long

line of the Stuarts, we cannot call to mind one who could ever have been adequate to the political demands of his country, who could have regained the affection of his subjects and atoned for the sins of his fathers. They one and all misused the precious talent entrusted to them, and sinned against their own kingdom, and when weighed in the balance they have indeed been found wanting.

What a contrast between Elizabeth and her immediate successor! During the life of the old Queen but few storms had passed over the land, and by her last acts she bade a dignified and majestic farewell to her country and subjects. But James I., on his accession, proved a weak, mean-spirited creature, talking his broad Scotch with a halting tongue,—a knock-kneed coward and thorough pedant, for ever prating about his royal abilities. He delighted in stumbling through the toughest works on theology, and flatterers called him the "Solomon of the North;" but the celebrated envoy of Henry IV. declared that now he had seen the wisest fool on a throne.

But what was even worse, though Mary Stuart had given her life for her faith, her son James never seriously supported his unhappy mother, but had learned to curry favour alike with Catholics and Calvinists, so as not to spoil his chances of the English crown. As long as he was making unsuccessful efforts in Scotland to oppose the popular church there by the restoration of the Episcopacy, he thought fit to jeer at the Anglicans and their "mutilated missal;" but no sooner did he find himself on the English throne, or as he expressed it, "in the Land of Promise," than he took for his motto, "No bishop, no king."

Thenceforth the crowned pedagogue lost no opportunity of impressing upon Lords and Commons alike that all privileges depended on his own gracious pleasure, and that his sovereign will was stronger than any laws however absolute.

In twenty years he had brought matters to such a pitch, that the struggle between might and right became perfectly chronic. He also took it upon himself to arbitrate between his Catholic and Protestant subjects, although he did not scruple to leave his hapless son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, to his fate at the *Weisser Berg*, near Prague. This was another sore point in the heart of every true patriot.

But the evil which England in particular was suffering from, though it was common to the age, was of a religious rather than a political nature, and was fostered and increased by the many devious and crooked paths whereby the Reformation crept into this country. True, when first its breath was felt, there was, as in Germany, no lack of subtle and independent spirits, who, having cast off the authority of Rome, and even denied the traditions of St. Augustine, fearlessly studied the Bible for themselves. But the people had no idea of its rational perusal, and in our politically united country there could of course be no question of starting a fresh system altogether, like that of the early Christians for instance, especially since the strong arm of Henry VIII. had put a decided bar to the decentralizing influences of the great religious convulsions, by substituting his own authority for that of the Pope, and making the Episcopacy dependent upon the crown. And, though with regard to the people the royal authority was limited, still in

ecclesiastical matters it became perfectly absolute; and even after having entirely broken with Rome, the state, from a spirit of contradiction, endeavoured to retain the Catholic religion. It was comparatively late when, under Edward VI., sundry reformed doctrines of Genevan origin, particularly those regarding the Sacrament, found their way into England.

Even when, in consequence of Henry VIII.'s six articles, and Mary's Catholic reaction, crowds of the new believers fled to the continent, and were familiarized with the advanced doctrines of German and Swiss communities—when an ever-increasing number was seized with a wish for a complete change of religion and that absolute liberty of conscience, the love of which is deeply rooted in the Germanic mind—even then the strong-minded Tudors persisted in restraining that inclination to autonomy, which had made itself felt since the middle of the sixteenth century, by a rigid code of laws both parliamentary and ecclesiastical. The future of the country and the people thus depended on the issue of a conflict between two growing religious systems.

The Anglo-Catholics, whose ecclesiastical ideal was apparently the fifth century, believed in an authority combined with extended Episcopal powers; and, united with the state, they developed great capacities for government. As they retained the entire traditions of the church, together with an almost unchanged ritual, and doctrines leaving little room for speculation, there was a good chance of their returning to Rome, especially when sundry High Church parties and individuals began to think they might bow to the infallibility of the Pope. But, fortunately, the new

church contained a good many conciliatory and latitudinarian principles, and so was found broad and elastic enough to suit various opinions; and during the centuries of struggle it also developed a critical, learned, and rational spirit.

The Puritans in every stage of their history stood up for liberty of conscience and civil independence, regarding the Holy Scriptures as the word of God, and refusing to accept any dogmatic interpretation. To them, as to the Chosen People, the Bible was as the law and the prophets, which can neither be shaken nor improved upon. But they also upheld the awful doctrine of predestination, which Calvin founded upon Augustine, whereby man is not a free agent. The teachings of the early reformers, such as Tyndale, Latimer, and Ridley, contained the germs of both doctrines, but in the second half of the century their respective adherents became more aggressively independent.

The Anglicans upheld the hierarchy, but would concede neither the independence of the human will, nor their faith in the growth and development of the church. But the Presbyterians considered every divine law as immutable from the very beginning; their beau-ideal of a state and community being the reign of the judges of the Old Testament, who ruled immediately under Jehovah in the clouds.

No doubt this theory was diametrically opposed to the real state as it had existed until then. The sect which prided itself on its nickname of "Puritans" increased rapidly, and fiercely attacked the Episcopal church, with its tawdry shows and ceremonies, for the chief reason that it was united with the government.

But more than this, even under Elizabeth they developed into a regular opposition party, and dared to remind the people of their all but forgotten charter of freedom. They certainly had a distinct tendency to set themselves up as the state, but in spite of several severe collisions, the great Queen had always been careful not to arouse the enmity of this particular sect. She especially required their services in the national and religious conflict with Spain, who wanted to monopolize everything,—land, and sea, and sky; and however she might dislike the duty, she was bound to protect the Scotch and Dutch Calvinists, who had thrown off the existing dominions, and were the first to introduce ideas about popular independence. But in spite of her strictness, Elizabeth was always a gracious queen to those among her subjects who ventured to make a stand against the demands of Anglican uniformity.

How different was her Scotch successor, who, freed from the galling influences of his native country, threw off his Presbyterian mask, and endeavoured with short-sighted spite to foster the spirit of opposition in civil, agricultural and religious matters. At the synod of Hampton Court in 1604 he certainly expressed a desire to unite under Episcopal rule the two parties, which were as yet not entirely separated, but contrived nevertheless to stir up his two kingdoms against one another. It is impossible to say where it would have ended, if some real and imaginary Jesuitical plots had not scared his cowardly soul, and shaken his confidence in his own royal perspicuity.

It will be remembered that at the Dort Synod in 1619, James caused the English church to be repre-

sented in the Calvinistic spirit. But the encouragement from Holland, and the breach between the Arminians and the victorious Contra-remonstrants, raised a fresh spirit of opposition in England against the strictly Calvinistic Puritans. The Arminian doctrine was originally inclined to toleration and veneration for the royal prerogative, combined with the principle of "passive obedience;" consequently James I. and his bishops thought to find in it a fresh bulwark against certain High Church tendencies, which had as yet declared themselves neither for Romanism nor Puritanism. The *jus divinum* of the King went hand in hand with the apostolic theory of the Episcopacy. Thus, at the death of James, thanks to his wretched caprices, the religious aspect of the country was a very sad one. The Puritans and Presbyterians, far from being suppressed, boasted of their biblical institution, and strenuously opposed the restoration of the Episcopacy in Scotland, while in England they were continually developing fresh sects. Indeed, the favour shown to Arminian doctrines by the Episcopal church, was anything but advantageous to the national authority, and ended in a regular harvest for the Jesuits.

CHAPTER II.

KING CHARLES I

CHARLES I.—CHANGE OF PUBLIC OPINION REGARDING HIS CHARACTER.—BUCKINGHAM HIS EVIL GENIUS.—WAR WITH SPAIN.—HE ASSISTS THE HUGUENOTS AT LA ROCHELLE.—CHARLES'S INSINCERITY IN HIS ATTEMPTS TO RECONCILE THE TWO CHURCHES.—ARCHBISHOP LAUD.—PETITION OF RIGHT.—LORD STRAFFORD.—JOHN HAMPDEN AND THE SHIP-MONEY.—RIOTS IN SCOTLAND.—GREAT COUNCIL AT YORK.—LONG PARLIAMENT.—OLIVER CROMWELL.

THE head of the new dynasty, whose useless extravagance had plunged the country into debt, left his son and heir a legacy of difficult problems—material, political and ecclesiastical. But Charles I., endowed with energetic, and in some respects fascinating qualities, was a very different person. And yet how quickly the old enthusiastic, almost idolatrous ideas about him have faded, especially since of late the royal martyr has been excluded from the calendar of the Church of England.

The character of this prince has been now finally exposed, but this is due rather to dispassionate historical research than to the intolerant liberal spirit of

the present day. Without in the least wishing to detract from the charm of a refined nature,—for he was king, cavalier, and gentleman, every inch of him,—and without disputing the truly tragic likeness of Van Dyck's portrait, still, we are now able to fathom Charles's intentions and inclinations in the minutest manner, and can only pronounce them as decidedly pernicious. He possessed even fewer talents than his father, and was narrow-minded and self-willed into the bargain; but on the strength of his "divine right of kings," he wanted to obtain unlimited sway over church and state, and only be answerable for his actions to the Most High. He did not hesitate to make use of the most tyrannous and cowardly means, and pledged his royal word continually, though he never scrupled to break it; indeed, the mortal injuries sustained by both church and state, those two spheres of the national brain, must be almost entirely laid at his door.

How capriciously and fruitlessly he was constantly altering his relations with the great powers; consequently, at the moment of his own ruin, he could not count on effectual assistance from any one of them. In his early days, while under the influence of his evil genius, the Duke of Buckingham, he threw over the treaty for the Spanish marriage, and eventually formed a French alliance.

When the war with Spain was concluded, Charles attacked France, then under the sway of Richelieu, and sent assistance to the Huguenots at La Rochelle. Then followed humiliating negotiations with both powers, and with the Emperor of Austria. This could certainly neither bring glory to England, nor possibly reinstate

his nephew the Elector Palatine, which must have been one of Charles's most cherished wishes. What frightful internal misgovernment all this proves! As he was firmly resolved to make the Episcopacy the foundation of his absolute authority, he could not have been sincere in negotiating with Rome about the reconciliation of the two churches, and still less could he do justice to the national principles of the Anglican church.

He selected a most fatal adviser in William Laud, who, from being Bishop of London was raised to the arch-bishopric of Canterbury, to replace the late Calvinist primate. This prelate did not lack many noble and learned qualities, but possessed a narrow-minded, intolerant, and aggressive spirit. This "little urchin," as a clerical rival not inaptly calls him, wished to enforce decency and uniformity of ceremonial throughout the Episcopal church, which was now entirely independent of Rome, and, with the help of the High Commission Court, tried hard to make his brothers in office, and even the hated Puritans, adopt his views.

By more or less compounding with Rome, by allowing religious orders to surround the Queen, and by mitigating the penal laws in favour of the adherents to the ancient faith, the horror of popery was excited into a popular frenzy; indeed, the middle classes looked upon the sacrifice of the mass as the purest idolatry.

But how could the King and his archbishop have pursued a more mistaken and injudicious policy, in their opposition to the gloomy Jewish Sabbatarianism of the Puritans, than by inciting the people from the pulpits to join in Sunday amusements which they did not want; and then, when men belonging to the

higher classes wrote against this proceeding, to have them arrested and mercilessly condemned to the pillory and the loss of their ears?

Laud thought the hand of the executioner would force the spirit of a liberty-loving people into submission to his ideal church and obedience to the King. As to Charles, he liked nothing better, for in the first years of his reign he had called three parliaments, but, thanks to the stinginess and suspicion of the classes, had never received enough to satisfy his high-flown wants. Consequently he had recourse to a forced loan, and anyone who refused payment was at once arrested. Then the Parliament, having bravely tried to stand up for its rights, and incited by a few really able statesmen, insisted on the discontinuance of such abuses by the celebrated "Petition of Right," in May, 1628.

The King, momentarily driven into a corner, declared in his speech from the throne, in the customary formula "that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm," but, as usual, with the tacit understanding that if ever he should be in the wrong, his judges were to pronounce him in the right.

In the following year Parliament met again, though the people had been irritated by fresh deeds of violence, for the purpose of granting a bill for tonnage and poundage, which the King seemed to consider as an hereditary prerogative once and for all. Then came stormy scenes and unmistakable opposition. But when the King prorogued the Parliament with no intention of calling it again for the present, there could be no longer any question as to who had sinned against the country's rights: the arbitrary King, or the repre-

sentatives of the people, who, with admirable perseverance, had learned to make use of the legal statutes and precedents of past years.

Then followed those eleven years without any Parliament, when the seed was sown broadcast over the land which was shortly to bear such terrible fruit. And Charles, surrounded as he had been till then by second-rate talent among Lords, Commons, and Clergy, decidedly overrated his powers. Who can tell whether even his obstinate and short-sighted will would not have given in sooner than it did, but for the secession from the ranks of the opposition of one or two ambitious and resolute men.

Above all others, Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Lord Strafford, attained the highest influence. At one time, doubtless not without good reason, he opposed Buckingham rather than the King, but since 1628 he had deserted his liberal associates, and proclaimed himself more and more openly as Charles's champion. First he was Lord President of the North, an office, the legality of which, was not altogether beyond dispute; and when, in 1633, he was made Lord Deputy for Ireland, he increased the demands of absolute authority step by step, especially in his intimate connection with Laud, when the latter assumed the highest ecclesiastical jurisdiction. These two took for their motto the words "Thorough and thorough," and in their celebrated correspondence they exchanged their inmost feelings and mutually supported one another. The more moderate parties, who were faithful to throne and altar, and yet had some respect for their country's constitution and liberty of conscience, found just as little favour in their eyes as

their more open antagonists. They were Charles's intimate advisers, when, with boundless despotism, he obtained what he wanted by ruthless taxation, monopolies, long-forgotten subsidies, and mediæval fines. Under this category comes the ship-money, which the King decreed was to be forthcoming without a bill having been granted by Parliament, and which has become famous through John Hampden's manly refusal to pay his beggarly share of 20*s*. But by this time Wentworth had firmly established the English church in Ireland, proving by his administration in the Emerald Isle, that the King, either with or without a Parliament, could reign there and elsewhere with absolute authority.

This was the time chosen for sending a most outrageous challenge to Scotland, the home of the monarchy. Lord Strafford was doing his best in Ireland to lay at least the foundations of a standing army, a thing hitherto unheard of in the English state, while hundreds of liberal-minded people emigrated to the virgin soil of North America; and even men like Pym and Hampden, despairing of the future of their native country, thought seriously of emigration.

In the meanwhile, Laud, the clerical censor, tried hard to force the Anglican discipline and ritual on the Northern Presbyterians, who had hitherto been left unmolested, but in so doing brought down a hornet's nest about his ears. The idea was to dissolve the General Assembly in Scotland, as well as the Parliament in England. But the Presbyterians would never have anything to say to ecclesiastical supremacy. On the contrary, the great majority of the nation, from the lowest to the highest, joined hands with the clergy

in this respect, and offered a more than merely passive resistance. Who has not heard how, when the introduction of Laud's liturgy was ordered in all churches, St. Giles, in Edinburgh, gave the signal for a universal outburst against popery and idolatry, which, it was declared, would never be forced upon the free and independent church of an equally free country.

The Scotch, on the strength of their spiritual and temporal right of convention, followed the example of the Israelites, and assembled their covenant in the name of the Lord. In spite of several clever moves on the part of the King and his bishop, yet in November, 1638, hundreds of armed knights and black-cloaked servants of the Word arrayed themselves in long gloomy rows under the bare and lofty roof of Glasgow Cathedral. This was no mere synod for the discussion of a doctrine, but a genuine national assembly, the first of its kind recorded in history. The consequence of this resistance was war between England and Scotland, and, in our own country, the triumph of the Commonwealth.

Even then the King thought to assert his prerogative and force the hierarchy on the rebellious North, by having recourse to arms. But how could the old feudal, ill-prepared troops, raised among a half-hearted people, compare with the infinitely more united Scotch army, commanded by men who had learned the art of war under the Protestant hero Gustavus Adolphus? As yet, however, the desire to discuss the points at issue weighed down all other considerations, and while thus negotiating, the decision was postponed.

But the King, who foresaw that no good could come from a French intervention, soon took up the quarrel

again, and on the 13th of April found it necessary to call a Parliament. Lord Strafford had just obtained subsidies from the Irish states, and raised a considerable force on the other side of the Irish channel.

What if it were possible, by making a few concessions on the subjects which were being so sorely discussed, to fan the flame of England's hatred against her northern neighbours? But the public spirit, so long repressed, asserted itself by deciding against the government in the next elections. The opposition party, headed by John Pym, and other powerful intellects, had assumed gigantic proportions, and thanks to its puritanical and parliamentary spirit, regarded the Scotch as brothers in misfortune rather than national enemies.

It was the greatest folly for the government to demand that subsidies should be paid in advance, when they would not even promise to discuss the numerous political, religious, and private difficulties. The King dissolved this short Parliament as early as May 5th, as after all that had come and gone, he could not clear himself of the suspicion that, with the aid of some of his adherents such as Laud, Strafford, and the Duke of Hamilton, he wished to domineer over England, as Richelieu was doing over France. The fatal consequences of this impression soon made themselves felt. For when war really did break out in the summer, the Scots at once crossed the border.

The government applied in vain for loans to towns of which the great majority had joined the opposition. The metropolis was in a restless and unsettled state. The great council of peers was summoned at York as

it was on one occasion in the thirteenth century,[1] but in vain; they had long since lost their hold on the purse-strings of the treasury. As a matter of fact, the system which had been followed hitherto had practically failed, for a temporary agreement had perforce to be made with the enemy who still remained on English soil, and this threw a double burden on the northern counties. It was in a very different spirit from the time before that the King once more summoned a Parliament, to satisfy the urgent demands of his opponents.

This was the "Long Parliament," which soon became so famous. Three-fifths of the members of the late Parliament had been re-elected, besides sundry knights and civilians distinguished by their orthodox Protestant opinions, and their opposition to the violation against the old laws, as practised by the King and his bishop. The great majority espoused the popular opinion.

Of course in those days the relations between aristocrats and democrats, or as they soon came to be called, Cavaliers and Roundheads, were very different from what they are now. Champions for the people's rights and liberty of conscience were found in the highest circles, and were represented by a considerable number of peers. Even the privileged classes were split up into factions. The stronghold of the Royalist nobility was in the north-west of England, where in our days Radicalism is rampant in the great industrial centres; while the counties who were faithful to the constitution were found in the neighbourhood of London, with its

[1] 1215, when the barons met at Runnymede and compiled *Magna Charta.*

parliamentary opinions and monied citizens. There were besides endless petty factions in every county; indeed, every clique of landed proprietors was more or less split up. But amongst the tried partisans and individual fanatics, there now appeared at St. Stephen's several men who were shortly to attain undreamed-of greatness.

One of these was a man of about forty, who was at that time but little known beyond his own county. That true gentleman, Sir Philip Warwick, who was also a member of parliament, thus describes him in his recollections: "I came into the House one morning, well clad; and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not,—very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar. His hat was without a hatband. His stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swoln and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour . . . . I sincerely profess, it lessened much my reverence for that Great Council, for this gentleman was very much hearkened unto." It was Oliver Cromwell.

What a long time was to elapse before the character of this extraordinary man, so diabolically distorted by the fury of the Royalists, could be seen in its true light. James Heath's libellous volume, entitled "Flagellum, or the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell the late Usurper" (1663), was at first only succeeded by scanty biographies, which did not even obtain their information from trustworthy sources. So his person-

ality was very soon forgotten both by Whigs and Tories. Even the unbiassed and sharpsighted mind of Henry Hallam was not capable of doing him justice. It is hardly surprising that the novelist Guizot, though a Protestant, has not succeeded any better. Macaulay, inspired by Forster's work on the politicians of the Commonwealth, and undeterred by the rugged Teutonic character, has proudly and generously pointed out to his countrymen what sort of man this was, whose flesh and blood was the same as their own. More recently, Thomas Carlyle has faithfully collected all the Protector's letters and speeches which could be rescued "from the lethean quagmires where they lay buried," and once more gave life to that mighty soul.

It is quite natural that Ranke, the German historian, to whom we owe many valuable revelations about Cromwell, should be faithful to his principles, and treat him in a purely objective manner. Much about many a dark spot in his life will always remain merely a matter of opinion. But one who had not studied these authors would find it no easy matter to give a truthful idea of that age, and of the life, struggles, beginnings, and creations of its most powerful representative.

CHAPTER III.

CROMWELL'S EARLY LIFE.

THE CROMWELL KINDRED.—ABSURD STORIES ABOUT OLIVER'S CHILDHOOD.—HIS EDUCATION AND EARLY YEARS.—HIS MARRIAGE.—HIS FIRST APPEARANCE IN POLITICAL LIFE.—DRAINAGE OF THE FENS.

THE family of Cromwell was in no way related to the peers of that name, created by the crown in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On the other hand, his relation has been clearly proved with Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, nicknamed *Malleus Monachorum* or "Mauler of Monasteries," first heard of under Wolsey, after whose fall he rose to be the despotic minister of Henry VIII. As the vicar-general of a prince who called himself the head of the church, this "mauler" divided the abbey-lands, and made many tremendous changes, until he also fell a victim to the caprices of the tyrant. His nephew, however, Sir Richard Williams, a Welshman and consequently a countryman of the Tudors, succeeded nevertheless in securing the estates of Hinchinbrook and Ramsay, in the county of Huntingdon, as his share of church property. Out of gratitude to the man to whom he owed his wealth, he took the name of

Cromwell, consequently this family, like the Russells, Seymours, and Cecils, who were all liberally endowed with abbey-lands, must be classed among the gentry created by the Tudors.

Sir Henry, son of Richard, called the "Golden Knight," and his son Oliver after him, dwelt at Hinchinbrook, in the fertile and well-watered eastern counties. But, thanks to the extravagance of the age, and a numerous family of children, they were unable to compete with the rest of the county gentry, and had to part with some of their property, and their descendants were never raised to the peerage like the Cecils and many others.

Robert, Oliver's brother, took a house in the town of Huntingdon, there managed his estates, and, like many other landed proprietors, started a brewery with great success, a fact which the blinded calumniators of his son did not fail to turn into the grossest ridicule. Curiously enough, Elizabeth Steward, Robert's careful and pious wife, connected the family with the Scottish kings, she being a grand-daughter of the last Prior of Ely, who became an Anglican dean, and then entered into matrimony.

The only son of this couple who lived to the age of manhood, was the fifth of ten children, and was born at Huntingdon on the 25th of April, 1599. At that time Elizabeth still occupied the throne, and her latest favourite, the young Earl of Essex, had just started on that fatal journey to Ireland which completed his ruin in the eyes of the Queen, thanks to that champion of Irish freedom, Lord Tyrone.

This boy's godfather was his uncle Oliver, who gave him his name. When, at the zenith of his fame

in after years, he was addressing the House of Commons in 1654, he was perfectly justified in the assertion: "I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height nor yet in obscurity." [1]

John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire, and the St. Johns, also of gentle birth, were his first cousins. When the Stuarts came to the throne he was four years old, and was present when King James, on his journey from the north, was for two days the guest of his uncle at Hinchinbrook, who, together with another uncle of Cromwell's (on his mother's side), was dubbed a knight on that occasion.

The inventions of the first untruthful chronicler have defaced even these early recollections. According to him, an ape belonging to the royal household ran away with the young changeling along the leads of Hinchinbrook, and unfortunately did not let him drop! He further relates how the uncouth peasant-lad picked a quarrel with little Prince Charles, and then punched his nose. We are likewise informed how a spectre appeared by the child's bedside, and told him that he would one day be king; but in spite of all these foolish tales, the real fact has never been quite blotted out—that Cromwell's family was eminently respectable, and belonged indeed to the landed gentry.

His parents, following their religious convictions, sent their son to a school at Huntingdon, kept by a worthy Puritan minister, Dr. Beard; for in the eastern counties more that anywhere else, the stern doctrines of Calvin took tremendous hold, both in town

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches." Carlyle, part viii., speech iii.

and country. In due time however, Cromwell, like Hampden, Blake, and many more of his great contemporaries, was sent to the University. On the 23rd of April, the very day of Shakespeare's death at Stratford-on-Avon, his name appears in the matriculation examination of Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, which was the one chiefly patronized by the principal families of his county. This document, much disfigured by later additions, is still preserved at the college, together with a capital portrait of the Protector, mysteriously presented to the college after the Restoration in 1660.

All the stories of Cromwell's idleness, immorality, and foolishness during his college days, are entirely at variance with the real facts. In after years he talked Latin as best he could with foreign ambassadors, etc., *e.g.* the Swedish envoy. At the same time Milton, in his high-sounding prose, admits that *his* hand could not be wrapped in the feathers of Athene's bird, who was destined to hurl the thunderbolt among the eagles encircling the sun. Indeed, Cromwell had no time to spend in either study or amusement, for his father died as early as June, 1617, and then it fell upon him to help his mother and six sisters in the housekeeping.

This did not prevent his going to London and into a lawyer's office, not with any view to a professional career, but because a knowledge of law was simply indispensable for his judicial duties in the county. He has been accused of spending this time of his life in gambling and other vicious courses; but surely his marriage at the early age of twenty-one, to Elizabeth Bourchier, who was imbued with the same strong faith as himself, goes far to disprove these accusations.

The wedding was on August 22nd, 1620, and their union proved a very happy one. Far from wasting his patrimony, he continued to support his mother and sisters, even after he was married.

We do not know much about the ensuing years, except that several children were born, and that Cromwell frequently suffered from acute hypochondria. He was a patriot and a Christian, living in a time, which had been getting more and more threatening since the beginning of Charles's reign. He struggled fiercely with himself in endeavouring to master the gloomy doctrines of predestination, and adopted stern views regarding the dominion of sin in the world, to combat which he considered the duty of every true believer. These conclusions, drawn from his own life, which had taken him away from his nearest relations, finally became with him a firm conviction, which nothing could alter. In fact, he underwent "regeneration," as it was called by Puritans, Huguenots, Cameronians, and numerous other sects at variance with the authority of the state, and which indeed is still admitted by thousands of Christian souls struggling with themselves and the world. It was then that he endured those agonies of self-abnegation and deep depression, from which men like Cromwell and Luther suffer most, but we should guard ourselves against putting down their mystic utterances to the mannerism of the sect, to ecstaticism, or even hypocrisy. The spirit of the Old Testament was asserting itself in a sentiment which was not affectation, but the sternest realism, which made itself more and more felt in thousands of hearts in consequence of the slavery, superficiality, and frivolity both in church and state.

Long after Cromwell had made up his mind on these points he wrote to his cousin Mrs. St. John: "You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true: I hated godliness, yet God had mercy upon me."[1] This is from a letter written in October, 1638, and in spite of its biblical style, it shows us a man who has for ever done with doubt. Anyone who concludes from the above that Cromwell led an irregular life in his youth can have no idea of what goes on in the mind of such a man. Milton bears the most emphatic testimony, that during those quiet years, Cromwell was principally distinguished by the the purity of his morals.

The policy of Charles I., however, began to be most distasteful to him. His native town elected him a member of that monarch's third antagonistic Parliament, in March, 1628, shortly after the neighbouring estate of Hinchinbrook had been sold to the Montagues by his uncle, to enable the latter to pay his debts. Thus it came to pass that he joined the Petition of Right at Westminster, and supported the complaints against the Catholic tendencies of the clergy and the protection of the Jesuits by the court. On February 11th, 1629, he made his first speech in the Committee of Religion.

He had long been combating the strictly orthodox clergy of his county, and advocated "increased zeal in teaching the Bible," for the bishops exclusively favoured Arminian zealots. It was in this spirit that he exclaimed: "If these are the steps to church pre-

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part i., letter ii.

ferment, what are we to expect?" He called worthy Dr. Beard to testify against one of the worst bishops (Neile), but Parliament was dissolved before his evidence was given.

Having once come before the public, Cromwell did not quite drop into oblivion, even during the eleven years of terrorism. Together with his old schoolmaster, Dr. Beard, he appears as justice of the peace for the borough of Huntingdon. In the spring of 1631 he sold some of his properties in his native town, and rented considerable grazing-lands at St. Ives, about five miles down the Ouse; but even then, the one idea of his life was to foster the opposition which had already begun to spread from Westminster into every shire and hundred.

In 1636, he succeeded to his uncle's farming of the tithes, and shortly afterwards moved to Ely, where he could manage his estates to greater advantage. There he took part in one of those petty feuds, which were every-day occurrences with a government which must needs interfere with everything. The one burning question of the neighbourhood had, for some time past, been the drainage of the fens (which extend along the coast through five counties), and, by means of the *Bedford Level*, to carry the Ouse river direct to the sea. The landed proprietors, especially the richly-endowed house of Bedford, had made various fruitless efforts in this direction, when, in 1637, the arbitrary government came down upon them, and tyrannized over the association of well-to-do landowners and small farmers, which already stood in bad repute for independent opinions. Then Cromwell was the first to stand up in the defence of individual liberty. Although

anything but opposed to the drainage of the fens, he would not endure the Commission of Dykes being interfered with on its own ground.

So, on the one hand, the oppression of the state in matters civil, agricultural, and ecclesiastical, was fast becoming unbearable; but, on the other hand, there is no denying that the very essence of Puritanism consisted in opposing the government in everything, not excepting the refined and intellectual spirit which characterized the Anglican monarchy. No wonder that even strong minds were seized with despair. It is indeed difficult to credit the report that, after the storm had burst in Scotland and the King's means were entirely exhausted, Cromwell, Pym, and Hampden should have seriously contemplated emigration, from sheer disgust at the existing impositions. On the contrary, Cromwell even took a fresh lease of his farm for twenty-one years.

Probably in consequence of his agitation about the fens, the borough of Cambridge elected him a member for the opposition in the short-lived Parliament of April, 1640, while the University sent a Royalist. But they were both sent back again soon enough, for though the hard-pressed King had at first appeared to yield, he determined to make one more effort to obtain what he wanted by "other methods." We know how thoroughly the Scots got the better of his Majesty, and how he was forced to summon another Parliament in the autumn. And Oliver Cromwell once more returned to Westminster with a large majority of supporters.

CHAPTER IV.

KING AND PARLIAMENT.

CHARLES'S ENDEAVOURS TO RAISE AN ARMY TO FIGHT THE SCOTS.—DEMANDS FOR RELIGIOUS UNIFORMITY.—STRAFFORD AND LAUD SENT TO THE TOWER.—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF STRAFFORD.—IRISH MASSACRE.—GRAND PETITION AND REMONSTRANCE OF THE COMMONS.—ROUNDHEADS AND CAVALIERS.—CROMWELL MOVES THAT POWER OF MILITIA BE GRANTED TO PARLIAMENT. — NEWBURY. — BRISTOL. — "SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT."—EASTERN ASSOCIATION.—LOWESTOFT.

THE King required both men and money to send the Scots out of the country. The majority of the people of England shared the political and religious opinions of their northern cousins, and were much more inclined to join hands with them, especially as the English boasted many well-known men who had fought and suffered for their convictions.

In the meantime, Lord Strafford was still recruiting among the pugnacious Irish, hoping to raise a sufficient force to attack the northern foe as well as the insurgents in England. But fate was against him and Laud from the first. In the very beginning the

passionate petitions for the reform of the Established Church clashed with the demands of the Scotch commissioners, the most important of which was their desire of uniformity.

While Parliament was inquiring into the deeds of violence perpetrated against its supporters, John Pym, in his fiery zeal, made the best of his opportunities during the first sessions, endeavouring both to identify the cause of Scotland with that of the Parliament, and to bring the relations with Ireland for decision before the Commons.

We next hear of Strafford and Laud being imprisoned in the Tower, while two of their accomplices fled across the sea, but only just in time. The fall of its chief supporters brought about the collapse of the system, and a frightful Nemesis overtook the rotten administration of the Stuarts in church and state, and their terrible abuse of judicial authority. The debates about the great petition, with its 15,000 signatures, were followed by the trial of Strafford, who went bravely to his death, miserably deserted by his king, who flattered himself that he would get on better with inferior but more pliable tools.

Cromwell, who had not the gift of eloquence, like Pym and others, did not take much part in these events. But it was at this time that he attracted the attention of Sir Philip Warwick, by his spirited protest against the whipping of young John Lilburne for his incendiary writings. In a committee, his uncouth rudeness to Lord Mandeville, the political opinions of whose family (the Montagues) were still undecided, caused the chairman to threaten to adjourn the meeting.

Meanwhile, Charles, who had only momentarily conceded to the opposition, and was engaged in fresh plots with high-born officers, had promised the Parliament that it should not be dissolved without its own consent. During the recess he went north to negotiate with Scotland, and on October 23rd, 1641, the Catholics in the north and east of Ireland (some of them of English origin) perpetrated a most frightful massacre of Protestants. Personally the King was blameless for this deed of blood, but of course he favoured the Catholics in Ireland as he did everywhere else, and though they might trust an absolute monarchy, they could not possibly have any confidence in a puritanical and parliamentary government. This was the first sign of resistance against the union of England and Scotland, which, it was hoped, would effectually put a stop to the existing license. In England, however, it had just the contrary effect. The Great Petition and Remonstrance of November 22nd was a direct appeal to the people, and consisted of 206 articles, protesting against the infraction of civil and religious liberty during the last fifteen years. It took part against the bishops, and urged for a limitation of the Royal Prerogative. The Remonstrance was passed by a small majority, for men like Edward Hyde and Lord Falkland could not silence their loyal consciences, and sided with the King.

The Star Chamber and that most powerful institution of the church, the High Commission Court, were overthrown. A howling mob prevented the bishops from attending the House of Lords, even before they were excluded from it by an independent resolution of the Parliament. The fight began be-

tween Cavaliers and Roundheads. The King was denied the only right which had hitherto belonged exclusively to the crown, namely, the "Power of Militia;" for the Parliament, as represented by two-thirds of the Commons, wished to usurp even this royal privilege, using indeed the King's name, but only for the good of the country.

So there stood the self-willed King, supported by those of his vassals bound to him by the oath of allegiance, and confronted by the opposition, embracing about two-thirds of his people, who stood up for King and Parliament. Then the blaze was kindled, and was not extinguished again.

Cromwell, who during the summer recess had been looking after his estates at Ely, now came to the point. It was he who moved that the captains of the volunteers should be appointed by the Parliament instead of by the King, and insisted on the dismissal of Lord Bristol from the King's council. He thereby drove the monarch to the fatal but decisive step of January 4th, 1642; for the five members, which Charles and his armed officers came to seek in the House of Commons, had strongly supported this radical reform in the militia.

The King having thus attacked the liberty of the people, the metropolis assumed the most determined attitude, and when a few days later he left Whitehall for the north, only to return on the day of his death, both parties began to think of exchanging sharp speeches for still sharper weapons.

When matters took this turn, Cromwell, the man of deeds rather than of words, started on his appointed path. Like many other members of parliament, he

had hurried home, so that the King's "Commission of Array" might not get the better of the Parliament's "Ordinance for the Militia." He subscribed £500, and his cousin £1000 to quell the Papist rebellion in Ireland. He also sent arms to the town of Cambridge, placed a guard round the magazine in the Castle, and took possession of the plate, which some of the colleges, following Oxford's example, wanted to secure for the King. With the assistance of his brothers-in-law Walton and Desborough, he at once set to work organizing an army for the service of the Parliament. In the "Army List under the Command of the Earl of Essex," we find "Oliver Cromwell" captain in *troop sixty-seven*, and in *troop eight* of Earl Bedford's Horse his eldest son is mentioned as a cornet.

Similar zeal reigned in many shires and hundreds, parishes and offices, but nowhere to such an extent as in the eastern counties. Elsewhere, loyalty to the King prevailed, and that not merely in aristocratic circles. In many districts Charles had got a start by his "Commission of Array," so he confidently hoisted his royal standard at Nottingham Castle, as a sign that if war were declared, this should be the only legitimate rallying point. On October 23rd the two parties tried their strength at Edgehill, but it seemed as though they had not yet forgotten the bond of nationality. The fiction of the "King *and* Parliament" fighting the "King's Person," was much nearer the mark than the assertion that Puritans and Royalists had come to blows.

In spite of the ready self-sacrifice of the popular party, which was reinforced by several high-born families, the Parliamentary army, consisting as it did

of the town-bred militia of the Earl of Essex (himself anything but a strategist), was not eminently successful, and at the most succeeded in retreating unmolested, as at Newbury in 1643. Bristol was taken by the Royalists. Indeed they would have taken London—and their cavalry did make one or two raids into the suburbs—had not Charles delayed unduly over the siege of Gloucester. The Cavaliers, although wanting in discipline, were courageous, and full of fiery enthusiasm for their royal master, for whom they fought right joyfully. The undaunted Queen had imported arms, ammunition, and other war supplies from the continent. The King's nephews, especially Prince Rupert, a brave and impetuous soldier, brought much experience from the German war. It is well-known, that though the country was ringing with the clash of arms in the North, West, and South, yet the cry for peace was ever making itself heard.

Negotiations were begun on several occasions, but ever fainter grew the hope of reconciling the disputed principles of both parties—the Royal Prerogative and the Parliamentary Privileges. On the contrary, the split between the armies at Westminster and Oxford kept getting wider. Everything depended on which side could bear the strain longest, and was best able to defray the costs.

Alarmed by the King's undoubted successes, the General Assembly of Scotland joined hands with the Parliament at Westminster. Having suppressed the Episcopacy, the South adopted the Presbyterian reform, and in return for this concession, the North offered its well-trained army.

On September 25th, 1643, the "Solemn League

and Covenant," which was so important in the defence of religious liberty and the rights of the people, as well as in the extermination of idolatry, was formally read and signed at Westminster. John Pym, a sharp-sighted statesman, and the "servants of the Word," thought to subdue the two kingdoms by an ecclesiastical and political system, headed by a king with limited privileges. But how far did this help the defence of Parliamentary England, instituted by the Earl of Essex?

The eastern districts, those well-watered plains between the mouths of the Thames and Humber, were but little affected by these events, thanks principally to the energetic activity of the member for Cambridge. He transformed the Commission of Dykes for the five counties into a strong political association, and eventually suppressed all the rebellious elements in the district. At the beginning of the war, the nobility here, as elsewhere, consisted principally of Royalists, but the majority of the population, the numerous freeholders, did not share their opinions. They were people who could do more than merely make money by their grazing-lands and fat cattle, and in their simple faith had formed their own opinions on subjects which had disturbed all minds for years. Advanced Separatism had struck deep roots in all the eastern counties, and calmly went its way, regardless alike of the Scotch church and Parliamentary monarchy. No wonder they looked up to Cromwell with the utmost confidence, for he had long settled these points in his own mind. He never rested until he had procured the necessary sums, drilled the first troops, both cavalry and infantry, and fortified and garrisoned Cambridge

as the centre of the Opposition. In the spring he was made a colonel, and not only repulsed all the attacks of the Cavaliers, but soon brought the native gentry to their senses, either by persuasion or violence.

His old uncle, the head of the family, who was also his godfather, was still alive, and as was to be expected had remained loyal to the King. One day Cromwell appeared at his house at Ramsay, dutifully paid him his respects, asked for his blessing, and then carried off all he could lay hands on in the way of arms and plate.

When the High Sheriff of Hertford ventured to execute the King's "Commission of Array" one market day at St. Albans, he was arrested in the middle of it by Cromwell's dragoons.

In March, 1643, Sir John Wentworth and numerous other Cavaliers tried to make Lowestoft, on the coast of Suffolk, the centre of a Royalist association. They had fortified the town and even set up a few guns, but Cromwell, with five companies of horse, and the volunteers from Norwich and Yarmouth, came upon them unawares, and only gave them their liberty on payment of exorbitant sureties.

CHAPTER V.

CIVIL WAR.

ADVANCE OF THE PARLIAMENTARIANS TO LYNN, PETERBOROUGH, AND LINCOLN.—BATTLE OF GRANTHAM.—STAMFORD AND BURLEIGH HOUSE TAKEN.—GAINSBOROUGH.—CROMWELL'S "LISTING."—CONTRAST BETWEEN HIS OWN AND THE MANCHESTER REGIMENTS.—THE "IRONSIDES."—WINCEBY FIGHT.—"ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES."—MARSTON MOOR.—DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT.—CROMWELL'S QUARREL WITH MANCHESTER.—"SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE."—THE "NEW MODEL."—CROMWELL STILL LIEUTENANT-GENERAL.—NASEBY.

THANKS to Cromwell's reckless energy, which had to be indemnified by the Parliament, the districts lying between the Ouse river and the coast, and later, Huntingdon and Lincoln, were spared almost all the horrors of civil war, inasmuch as here two equal and opposite factions neutralized one another, which was not the case in many parts of England.

Among the gentlemen mentioned in the lists of the seven Associated Counties, we find three lords, thirty baronets, and forty-two knights. It is hardly probable that they all gave their services very willingly, but

they could not well refuse to help in maintaining the strict discipline which rose up around them. The Parliamentary army was soon strong enough to advance further, and presently drove Lord Camden's forces out of Crowland towards Lynn and Peterborough, and finally into Lincolnshire, where the troops of the Marquis of Newcastle had arrived from the North.

On May 13th Cromwell boldly attacked a far superior force of horsemen and dragoons near Grantham, and, as he says in the first of his dispatches published in the newspapers, the enemy was "by God's Providence immediately routed." But, nevertheless, he insisted on summary reinforcements, because now was felt the necessity of co-operating with Sir Thomas Fairfax, who was fighting for the Parliament against the Marquis of Newcastle in Yorkshire.

When Cromwell had taken Stamford and Burleigh House in June, it was necessary to relieve hard-pressed Gainsborough, and drive the enemy back over the Trent. On the 28th he engaged in several sharp skirmishes, ordering his tightly-closed columns to rush upon the enemy's troops wherever they found them, scattering them with pistols and swords in a hand-to-hand fight. In a letter to the Committee of the Association at Cambridge, he says: "And truly God follows us with encouragement, who is the God of blessings: and I beseech you let Him not lose His blessings upon us. . . . . There is nothing to be feared but our own sin and sloth. . . . . If somewhat be not done in this, you will see Newcastle's army march up into your bowels."[1]

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part ii., letter xii.

This action, where Lord Cavendish, a nephew of Newcastle's, met his death, did not however save Gainsborough, and the Royal cause flared up once more all over England. But as soon as the harvest was over, Cromwell, whom the Parliament had voted Governor of the Isle of Ely, in the heart of the unassailable Fenland, worked harder than ever to raise fresh troops on a new and reformed system. Curiously enough, Lord Mandeville, now Earl of Manchester, formerly the Parliament's bitter enemy, but now its ardent supporter, received the command of the Eastern Association. Among the four colonels of horse under him, not one had listed such a body as Cromwell.

There is nothing more wonderful than the way in which this man of forty-four acquired the art of war, his life up till then having lain in such very different paths. He and his men had to practise cavalry exercises, from the simplest passes to the most difficult manœuvres, while Dutch greybeards had to act as drill-sergeants. The few stringent regulations on which rested this powerful organization were due to the pressure of the need itself. No other eye could pick out officers and men with such unerring judgment. He once remarked: "If you choose honest, godly men to be captains of horse, honest men will follow them; and they will be careful to mount such."[1] He preferred quality to quantity, and aimed at that perfect uniformity which overthrows every enemy, however strong. "I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part ii., letter xvi.

he knows, than that which you call a "gentleman" and is nothing else."[1] In the Eastern Counties more than anywhere else, the small freeholders and well-to-do farmers possessed an extremely independent spirit. These hardened fellows, grown up among their horses, and all imbued with the same fiery sectarian spirit, composed Cromwell's columns. Such men as these could manage to keep both themselves and their beasts, in spite of the difficulty in securing regular pay. Their military training was backed up by the uniform discipline of their religion. So the sense of duty was maintained by men who not only understood how to groom a horse and burnish armour, but could win a battle in the name of the Lord; and the spirit among them was quite equal to those principles of knightly honour which had hitherto given the Cavaliers under Prince Rupert such an undeniable advantage.

No wonder that Cromwell was not equally satisfied with the Manchester regiments. In writing to his cousin, Oliver St. John, on September 11th, he describes them as "bad and mutinous, and not to be confided in." "My troops increase," he remarks in the same letter; "I have a lovely company; you would respect them did you know them. They are no 'Anabaptists;' they are honest, sober Christians—they expect to be used as men!" Because Cromwell would not allow men to drink, swear, and plunder, and tried to make the fear of God take the place of honour, and inculcated the most stringent discipline, he was jeered at, instead of being respected as he deserved.

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part ii., letter xvi.

He expressed his opinion as to the root of the evil in Essex's army, when speaking to his cousin, John Hampden, shortly before that pattern of true patriotism fell at Chalgrove, in June, 1643. "Your troops," said Cromwell, "are most of them old decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops (*i.e.* Cavaliers) are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit; and take it not ill what I say,—I know you will not,—of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go:—or else you will be beaten still."[1]

Even his best friends regarded him as an aimless enthusiast, until, with the impetus of religious-political fanaticism, he threw himself on the enemy, singing psalms, and invoking the name of the Most High, and thus settled the question for ever. With justifiable pride, he adds: "The result was—impute it to what you please—I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did, and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually."[2] Indeed, Cromwell's "Ironsides" formed an armed phalanx, whose object was religious liberty and social equality, and who, in spite of their sectarian independence, put up with the severest discipline. They are an unparalleled example in history of moral enthu-

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part x., speech xi.
[2] *Ibid.*

siasm combined with common sense. From the very beginning these men were not only the sworn enemies of the Royalists, but also remained perfectly indifferent to the constitutional laws of the Covenant.

It was natural enough that the Parliamentary party should not regard their support as an unmixed blessing, for the irresistible force of Cromwell's "Ironsides" was sure to attract all the Separatist elements in the country. What Milton said later of the great leader and his followers is applicable to them from the first. From being able to control himself, he learned to govern others, and so developed his gifts as a commander. "When the sword was drawn, he offered his services, and was appointed to a troop of horse, whose numbers were increased by the pious and the good, who flocked from all quarters to his standard, and in a short time he almost surpassed the greatest generals in the magnitude and intrepidity of his achievements."[1]

But there was hardly time for any quiet preparations. In the autumn, after Fairfax's victories south of the Humber, every nerve had to be strained in attacking the superior force of the Marquis of Newcastle, who besieged Hull on October 11th. That very day his troops were surprised and defeated at Winceby within half-an-hour, by the united army of the Association, strengthened by reinforcements from York. Cromwell lay for a moment under his dead charger, and narrowly escaped being stabbed by Sir Ingram Hopton, but succeeded in mounting a retainer's horse

[1] Milton's "Second Defense of the People of England," Bohn's edition of "Milton's Prose Works," vol. i., p. 285.

unhurt, while his adversary remained dead upon the field. Lincolnshire being so thoroughly scoured of the enemy was a great advance towards the North, and Cromwell appeared at various places before the invasion of the Scots in the following year brought matters to a crisis at York.

In accordance with the "Assembly of Divines" at Westminster, he one day entered Ely Cathedral with his soldiers, and dismissed a minister in the middle of his liturgy. In February, 1644, he was made Lieutenant-General to the Duke of Manchester, and during a short visit to London he received orders to convey ammunition to Gloucester. About the beginning of March he returned to Cambridge with numerous prisoners. But an Independent, who picked his best officers from the most extreme Dissenters, and declared that the state had no business to interfere with the private opinions of its servants, could not fail to attract the attention of both comrades and superiors.

But events themselves were to pave the way for these sweeping tendencies, and that before even the first act of the great struggle was over. Amongst the spirited leaders of the Opposition, Hampden had fallen and Pym died, and both were buried at Westminster. Lord Essex and his high-born officers were distinguished neither by talents nor victories, and several other Lords, who had hitherto stood up for the country's rights, did not know what to make of matters. Cromwell, to whom were due the only successes of those dreary days, namely, the clearance in the Eastern Counties, and the fall of Gloucester in the West, was dragged on by the force of circumstances, unable to help himself, indeed his importance

increased step by step, until at last the final decision rested with him.

A battle was fought in June, 1644, when the Marquis of Newcastle and his Papists were driven into York by the Scots under Lord Leven, assisted by Fairfax, Manchester, and Cromwell, while Prince Rupert had crossed the Peaks from Lancashire with 20,000 men, and come to the assistance of the Royalists, who sustained a terrible defeat on July 2nd, at Marston Moor, not far from York;—the bloodiest fight of the whole war.

Without detracting in any way from the merits of the Scots, who fought with incomparable coolness, or from the admirable military tactics of Fairfax, still the decisive blow to the *élite* of Rupert's horse was undeniably dealt by the left wing, *i.e.* Cromwell's Ironsides. His brother-in-law, Walton, lost his son at York, and Cromwell, himself mourning the death of his firstborn, wrote to apprise him of this fact; a curious and interesting letter, in which even the quotations from scripture are outweighted by the strong and forcible expressions of the writer: "Truly England and the church of God," he says, "hath had a great favour from the Lord, in this great victory given unto us, such as the like never was since this war began. . . . . We never charged but we routed the enemy. The left wing, which I commanded, being our own horse, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords. We charged their regiments of foot with our horse and routed all we charged."[1]

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part ii., letter xxi.

This fell blow soon cleared the North, but by no means brought the King to his knees, for two months later the Parliamentary army came to grief far away in the South-West, in Devonshire and Cornwall. On October 27th Charles himself had a narrow escape at the second battle of Newbury, where his enemies were assisted by the heroes of the Association. Then followed that gloomy time, when the committee for both kingdoms met in London, where the "Assembly of Divines" was still sitting at Westminster, and when the Liberal and Conservative parties once more tried to unite by entering into negotiations with the King at Uxbridge.

Then ensued loud and angry debates in Parliament. The Scotch ministers, with their abrupt demands and domineering ways, gave offence all round. They thought to mould the English state according to their own ideas, by giving it a puppet for its king, dependent on an Ecclesiastical and National Assembly. The Dissenters, however, though in the minority in the "Assembly of Divines," had taken firmer hold than ever in the army and among the people, and were indeed the last to approve of the dethroned Episcopacy being replaced by a still more gloomy and intolerant hierarchy, while they relished quite as little the idea of that Aristocratic-Presbyterian form of government, which kept all districts north of the Tweed in a perpetual ferment. The victor of Marston Moor placed himself at the head of this faction, when he returned to his place in the Commons in November. He possessed a national as well as an independent spirit, and would neither acknowledge the Scots as his masters, nor put up with incapable Lords for generals.

He attacked the latter by tripping up his superior officer the Earl of Manchester, a well-known leader of the Presbyterians. Their relations had never been of the most friendly kind, and were not improved by a report, spread by Crawford, a Scotch officer, that Cromwell was a coward. The charge brought by the latter against Manchester in the House was, that since the taking of York he had never shown good will to end the war vigorously, and had even refused to pursue the King at Newbury, whom, had he done so, he must have captured. Thereupon the Earl accused Cromwell of insubordination, and several spiteful voices were raised against him who had dared to make the high-born generals (Essex included) responsible for the way in which matters had been conducted up till then. He is reported to have said that "there would never be a good time in England till we had done with the lords;" and on another occasion, that "if he met the King in battle, he would fire his pistol at the King as at another."

Cromwell and his brave "Ironsides," and all other pious zealots, had either to submit to their incapable commanders, or else to fight for their own independence and replace them by something better. Indeed, self-preservation required it, for Cromwell foresaw that the Scots Commissioners would endeavour to prosecute him as an "incendiary." On the other hand, he looked for considerable support in the Commons, where similar discontent was making itself felt. It was then that his ingenious brain evolved the "Self-denying Ordinance," whereby no member of parliament was allowed to hold any public post, either civil or military. True, he caused the "Ordinance" to be

moved by someone else (Mr. Zouch Tate, member for Northampton), but on December 9th he thus expressed himself before both Houses: "I know the worth of those Commanders, Members of both Houses who are yet in power, but if I speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive if the Army be not put into another method, and the War more vigorously prosecuted, the People can bear the War no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace." He pledged his word that the troops, especially his own, would not resent the loss of so many officers. By calling it a matter of conscience, and emancipation from all self-interest, he fascinated some, and dazzled others. The strenuous opposition of the Lords succumbed to the Commons, who passed a Bill for the entire reconstruction of the army, in a purely independent spirit. The officers only, and not the men, were to be bound by the Covenant. Essex, Manchester, and the rest retired honourably, but Fairfax was appointed Lord-General, with the option of choosing his own officers, though indeed he was more conspicuous by his handsome martial figure tl an by the intellect which was requisite for such a post. The troops were formed into regiments, always ready for action, which were called the New Model Army; and Cromwell's energetic and vital force was found so indispensable, that in the end he alone was exempt from his own reconstructed regulations. And yet he cannot be accused of deliberate premeditation. His only object was the formation of a standing army, and to render it equal to the emergencies of the time. True, it led to his entire command of the situation, but this was mainly due to the fact that the Sectarian and

Anti-Presbyterian party made more way than the adherents of the Covenant, who had never quite given up the idea of a reconciliation with the King.

Towards the end of April the Committee of both Kingdoms again sent Cromwell into the West to disperse the united troops of Charles and Prince Rupert. The latter had just taken Leicester by storm, and was raising fresh troops to reinforce the Royalist army marching from Windsor towards Oxford. Fairfax and his officers chose this moment to petition Parliament that Cromwell might be dispensed of the Self-denying Ordinance, as they none of them could do without him. So he remained Lieutenant-General, and was the soul of everything. In June he was received with loud acclamation, and joined the Cambridge Committee in the opposition against the King.

On Saturday, April 14th, Charles attacked the Model Army at Naseby, where Prince Rupert's fiery impetus bore down the left wing in his first splendid charge. But while his men stopped to plunder, Cromwell carried all before him on the right, and after a three hours' fight overcame the infantry in the centre, and finally succeeded in also dispersing the cavalry. The Royalists lost 5,000 men, their guns and baggage-waggons, amongst which was Charles's own carriage containing his dispatches. The publication of the King's correspondence gave the Parliament a tremendous hold over him, for it proved how hopelessly his Majesty had broken faith in the late negotiations, and how little could be expected from his future promises. That very evening Cromwell wrote a short account to Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, to which are added these mysterious words, full of deep mean-

ing: "He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you the liberty he fights for."[1]

The power of Charles had received a severe blow, and the victor of Naseby was already the most powerful man in the country. The army, created by him, could now spare him less than ever, and this fact alone gave the member for Cambridge a weighty influence at Westminster.

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part ii., letter xxix.

CHAPTER VI.

SUPREMACY OF PARLIAMENT.

THE CLUBMEN.—FALL OF BRISTOL.—BRIDGWATER.—WINCHESTER.—BASING HOUSE.—DEFEAT OF THE KING AT CHESTER AND OF MONTROSE AT SELKIRK.—SURRENDER OF EXETER.—OXFORD CAPITULATES.—STATE OF THE COUNTRY.—CHARLES TAKES REFUGE WITH THE SCOTS.—THEIR TREATMENT OF HIM.—ARMY MANIFESTO.—STATE OF IRELAND.—RESOLUTION TO SEND AN ARMY OVER TO PUNISH THE REBELS.—MEETING OF TROOPS ON ROYSTON HEATH.—RIOTING IN LONDON.—MEETING AT HOUNSLOW.—ESCAPE OF THE KING FROM HAMPTON COURT.—HIS IMPRISONMENT AT CARISBROOKE.—SIEGE OF PEMBROKE.—PRESTON.—CAPITULATION OF COLCHESTER.—CROMWELL AT EDINBURGH.—NEGOTIATIONS AT NEWPORT.

THE first thing to be done was to pursue the retreating enemy, and uproot the Royalists in the loyal West. Even there, Charles's obstinacy and insincerity had awakened a desire for reconciliation with the more moderate party. The peasants, assembled under the name of "clubmen," had armed themselves with bludgeons, or any weapons they could lay hands on, for the purpose of defending themselves

against the disturbances of both parties. In August Cromwell dispersed a horde of these fellows at Shaftesbury, and took the strongholds of the enemy one after the other. On September 10th Prince Rupert was at length forced to surrender Bristol, to the intense indignation of his uncle the King. Cromwell, in his account to Lenthall, again gives all honour to the Lord and the prayers of the faithful. "Presbyterians, Independents, all have here the same spirit of faith and prayer; the same presence and answer, they agree here, have no names of difference; pity it is it should be otherwise anywhere." [1]

In the meantime he sharply attacked the Royalists under Lord Goring at Langport and Torrington, took Bridgwater, and, on the 28th, conquered Winchester, where a few days later the castle itself capitulated. At the request of the people of London he successfully stormed the impregnable stronghold of Basing House (October 19th), which had hitherto rendered the western roads almost impassable. The owner, the Marquis of Winchester, and other nobles fell into his hands, together with a quantity of valuables, etc. Having accomplished this, he started off to assist Lord Fairfax in Devonshire. Between them they made a distinct clearance there during the winter; while an attempt of the King's to take Chester came to grief most utterly, and the Marquis of Montrose, who had raised the Stuart standard in Scotland, was terribly defeated at Selkirk.

Sir Ralph Hopton's troops laid down their arms when they surrendered Exeter in 1646. Colonel

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part ii., letter xxxi.

Dalbier, who had once taught Cromwell the elements of warfare, overthrew strong Castle Dennington, near Newbury, another of London's eyesores. About this time Fairfax at length advanced towards Oxford, so long the King's loyal and orthodox gathering-place. When this city capitulated, the fierce blaze of civil war sank down into a glowing ember.

What a picture of ruin the devastated country presented! After Laud had been beheaded in January, 1645, the Anglican liturgy was prohibited, and the loyal Anglican clergy ousted from their livings; in fact, Presbyterianism, united with Scotland, reigned supreme. By the defeat of their party, the Royalist nobles incurred heavy fines, or else exile and entire loss of their property. In consequence of tremendous confiscations, a great number of estates changed hands.

The King's systematic faithlessness was principally to blame, when every effort to unite Crown and Covenant failed utterly. In his unprincipled obstinacy, he was equally insincere towards loyal servants and moderate opponents, and always considered himself justified in going back from his word. Truly, had Charles I. been victor, he would have ruined both his friends and his enemies. But the most extraordinary part of it all was, that he himself never relinquished his most sanguine hopes, even when in sorest need, and boldly appealed to those who had repulsed him over and over again. On the 27th of April he rode disguised out of Oxford, two months before that city opened its gates to the Parliament, and surrendered himself to the Scots at Newark, preferring the mercy of his own countrymen to that of the hard-headed defenders of the people's rights.

This desperate step was quite calculated to inflame the international feud still more, and to drive matters to a crisis between the two parties. It was hoped that French influence would help to reconcile the King with the more moderate opinions represented both in England and Scotland, and so destroy the power of the Independents, who were equally dangerous to both parties, for the army was already on their side, and they liked the idea of a free state. Being mostly of English birth, they disliked the intolerant dominion of the Scotch Covenant quite as much as the aristocratic exclusiveness of the Anglicans; but when the King's residence in the Scotch camp was converted into the strictest imprisonment, he felt equally bitter against Presbyterian intolerance. No wonder he again sided with the Independents, only it was not to be expected that he would ever treat them more honestly than other people. His own words testify that he only wanted to inflame both parties to their mutual destruction. But while he thought to ensure his safety by religious concessions, he only straitened his position still more. Naturally, the Parliament at Westminster did not relish his being in the power of the Scotch troops.

After lengthy transactions, during which Cromwell was in London, carefully observing everything, it was agreed that England should pay her allies the arrears of the army expenses and £4,000,000. As soon as the first instalments were paid, the Scots turned their faces homewards, and meanly delivered up their royal prisoner to the Parliamentarians, who imprisoned him at Holmby, in Northamptonshire, under even stricter surveillance than before.

The idea was, to force him to confirm the Presbyterian government, and then, under a limited monarchy, to obtain the object of the religious union between North and South, namely, the destruction of the Independent party. The only reason of the Scotch troops marching home, after receiving their first instalment from the City of London, was, that they might be fully equal to the army created by Cromwell.

But after the New Year, the strain became still greater. It was urged, that keeping up such a large army after the conclusion of the war was a frightful tax, and was indeed dangerous to civil liberty; and these complaints were intensified by the fact, that most of the soldiers had not taken the Covenant. In consequence of the "Assembly of Divines" at Westminster, London had become so decidedly Presbyterian, that when the 10th of March was fixed for a "day of fasting and humiliation for blasphemies and heresies," it was evidently directed against the army. The position of the troops was undoubtedly peculiar. This army of 20,000 to 30,000 men, raised purely for home service, and not for foreign conquests, did not consist of mere adventurers, but of free, well-to-do, and thoughtful people, who, though highly paid for their services, had no idea of enriching themselves by warfare, but on the contrary, gloried in the greatest self-denial. They were sober, dutiful, and deeply religious, and though individuals might look for promotion, they one and all expected to be treated as countrymen have a right to expect from one another. Every private soldier helped to maintain a discipline which, however strict in other respects, allowed any one of their number, who was "moved by the Spirit," to interpret

the scriptures to both officers and men, and encouraged the general discussion of their own position with regard to the rest of the world, and of the events and complications of the moment. They represented what is quite unprecedented in history, namely, an organization which was perfectly irresistible in battle, united with an active and exclusive party spirit, which gave them perfect equality in spite of the differences of rank. And this many-sided, yet united body, made the most of Puritanism by opposing it, not only to Popery and the surpliced puppet-show of the Anglicans, but also to the narrow-minded and domineering Scottish church, which set itself up as the supreme authority in the state. So it was natural enough that the existing government wished to get rid of such a dangerous rival. On March 11th Cromwell wrote to Fairfax, "Never were spirits of men more embittered than now. Surely the devil hath but a short time."[1] The troops were now quartered in the county of Essex, and numerous petitions, counter-petitions, and remonstrances ended in an order from the Parliament forbidding the troops to approach within twenty-five miles of the metropolis. Soon afterwards it was resolved to send this armed bugbear out of the country, as there were no other means of getting rid of it.

In Ireland the principles of Westminster had still found no favour. After the massacre of 1641, Lord Ormonde, the King's lord-lieutenant, endeavoured to establish at least a truce between Catholics and Protestants, and calmly disregarded all commands of the

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part iii., letter xliii.

Parliament to punish the rebels, and to expel the fanatical agents of Rome. Even after the defeat at Naseby, and the flight of his royal master to the Scots, Ormonde thought to send considerable reinforcements to the King's assistance. In the meanwhile the Irish had united their forces in a very ominous way, and to ensure England's safety it was thought necessary to send out 11,400 men of Fairfax's army—seven regiments of foot, and seven of horse. Of the remaining troops, it was decreed that only those should bear arms who were required for the garrisons. No member of Parliament was to continue in the army, and every officer to take the Covenant.

This brought about a rupture. A considerable number of officers and men was indeed ready to start, but the great majority of the troops sent in a proud and insolent declaration, requesting "three-and-forty weeks of hard-earned pay," indemnity for acts done in war, clear discharge according to contract, and no service in Ireland, except under "our old commanders." This made very bad blood in the party, which still convulsively kept the lead in the Commons; and threatening resolutions were issued against these "Enemies of the State, and Disturbers of the Peace." Every day the position became more strained between Westminster and Saffron Walden, the headquarters of the troops. The latter would not allow their claims to be represented by Major-General Skippon, who was ready to go to Ireland on the above conditions, but preferred to send their own agents, elected by the common men of the army—"adjutators" (misspelt agitators)—who appear for the first time on this occasion. Cromwell is reported to have exclaimed one day amidst the

stormy contradictions of such men as Denzil Holles, for instance: "These men will never leave till the Army pull them out by the ears." [1] On another occasion he earned the gratitude of the House by his efforts at headquarters.

Still, at the end of May the resolution was adhered to, that all troops not wanted for Ireland or the garrison towns were to submit to be being disbanded, on payment of the arrears and the granting of the indemnity. As, however, they did not disperse on the appointed day, but on the contrary demanded a general meeting with their officers, the latter thought fit to interfere themselves.

A great rendezvous, indeed an armed parliament, was held at Royston on June 10th, when it was resolved to send a manifesto to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, signed by Fairfax, Cromwell, and eleven other leaders. This was a sharp declaration, apparently from the rude pen of Cromwell, sternly demanding satisfaction from the detractors of the army, and making the City (which was the refuge of the leaders at Westminster) responsible for the consequences. It further contained the assurance that there was no intention of meddling either with the civil or presbyterial government, but also clearly stated the reason why they had come so near to the City without otherwise interfering with anyone.

When, two days later, the Parliament's Commissioners appeared to break up and dismiss the troops, every regiment gathered round its banner at an appointed place. Then St. Albans was made head-

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part iii., "Army Manifesto."

quarters. But the majority at Westminster was no longer to be relied upon, especially as the King had two days before fallen into the enemy's hands, just when the Lords, with the help of French influence, had hoped to keep him in the neighbourhood of the metropolis.

It is well-known how, on June 2nd, Charles was arrested at Holmby and taken to the camp at Newmarket. On his ride thither, between Cambridge and Huntingdon, Fairfax, Cromwell, and other leaders greeted him. Who can doubt that this was done at the instigation of Cromwell, so as to bring this shibboleth into the power of the anti-monarchy party, and deprive the enemy of a distinct advantage? True, he kept in the background during the transaction; yet who would affirm that he worked for himself?

The effect of this event was at once apparent when, on the 16th, the army accused eleven members of the House, of treason, among whom were Holles, Stapleton, and Waller, and required them to be put upon their trial; fresh elections were also considered desirable. This went on till the end of July; while the parties at Westminster counterbalanced one another, and the House of Commons, under the tremendous pressure brought to bear upon it, cancelled some of its most aggressive resolutions.

On the 26th, however, the Presbyterian zeal of the City burst into flames. Crowds of mechanics, apprentices, sailors, and others, rushed into the House, and insisted that the Presbyterian Militia Ordinance be *not* revoked. Instead of making peace with the dissenters, London ventured to make a stand against them, and defended Presbyterianism as the only saving reli-

gion. But the dissenting members of Parliament, Lords as well as Commons, had already made themselves scarce, together with both Speakers "with the Mace," and taken refuge with those who had for so long hung like a storm-cloud over the City. On August 3rd they met the army at Hounslow, and were received with acclamation.

As the southern banks of the Thames disapproved of any sort of opposition, the civil authorities and the excited people, who had been worked upon by their ministers, likewise changed their minds, and accepted the offers of the commander-in-chief. Three days later, Fairfax, with four regiments and his body-guard, marched through Kensington and Hyde Park to London, in a warlike procession. The soldiers had laurels in their hats, and came as countrymen to countrymen. Though the fight was not by any means ended, still the Independents had got a tremendous start. Instead of disbanding, the army took up its quarters in full view of the City; at Putney in the west, and at Southwark on the other side of the Thames.

All this time, both parties were fighting for possession of the King's person. He was now residing at Hampton Court, in a style rather more worthy of his exalted position, and really felt almost comfortable under the supervision of brave soldiers, who expressed their opinions firmly and fearlessly. He was indeed amazed at the forcible requests of these Independents. How much more smoothly church and state seemed to amalgamate under them, than under the propositions of the Covenant, which the Presbyterians had wanted mercilessly to impose upon him.

All the strictly Royalist, nay, even Catholic circles, as far as Rome, were very much on the alert. Charles himself discussed the possibility of such a union with Cromwell and his gifted son-in-law Ireton. Cromwell even felt the personal charm of royalty, and for a time was inclined to hope that the opponents would be reconciled, solely by the influence of his own party, whose power would thereby be acknowledged. But to carry out the idea floating in his busy brain, the confidence which certainly was not affectation with *him*, should have been met with similar confidence both by his own troops and the King himself.

Now it was a peculiarity of this army, that each soldier had his individual convictions. But a union with the King offered them no prospect of obtaining that for which they had taken arms, namely, separation from church and state, and equal rights for everyone. So their suspicions were roused against their officers, when they saw their leader associating with the King and his hated surroundings. They credited the malicious report, that Cromwell would be paid for his defection, by being raised to the vacant peerage of the earldom of Essex, as his ancestor was before him. Some of the officers, such as Colonel Rainsborough, and restless, excitable John Lilburne, even encouraged this feeling, which was steadily gaining ground among the troops.

The representatives or "adjutators" of the army not only hotly insisted on the punishment of those among their leaders who were, they considered, compromised by their intercourse with the King, but plainly accused the latter of bloodguiltiness, which cried to Heaven for vengeance. Then came a crash in

the army council, and especially with the creator of the army, who was bold enough to think of a conciliation with what remained of the old civil and ecclesiastical authority. Cromwell was, in fact, confronted by the demand for an entire social revolution.

Even now we know far too little about the man himself. He was present at the prayer-meeting in Putney Church on September 18th, when the disbanding of the troops was taken into consideration. A few weeks later he took part in the debates of the poorly represented House of Commons, and zealously advocated the temporal limitation of the existing monarchy, according to Independent ideas, which implied an entire dissolution and reorganization, such as the soldiers wanted. But the craze for equality was spreading like wildfire. If the troops were once allowed to choose their own officers, there would be an end to obedience and discipline. Sir Thomas Fairfax already wanted to retire. Then the "Council of State" interfered, and partly by concessions, but also by sterner means, repressed the insurrection. On November 15th a court-martial pronounced judgment on the first levellers. Three of them were condemned to death, one of whom, decided by lot, was shot there and then.

A startling event now took place, which, combined with the return of most of the regiments under their commanders, helped materially to bridge over the split which had assumed such alarming dimensions. For the realization of Cromwell's short-lived dream, the King himself was a necessary factor; but his character was the very reverse of truthful, and though he accused Cromwell of want of loyalty, he was not

much better himself; and even if he had been capable of holding his own, he would never have tolerated an army teeming with democratic-religious principles.

Cromwell, with the good of the country always before his eyes, soon drew in his horns, and stuck to the party among which he had grown up, which gave Charles sufficient excuse for breaking his promises. On the evening of November 10th he succeeded in escaping from Hampton Court. Cromwell had in vain charged his cousin Whalley to keep a sharp look-out. However, all the ports were closed, and on the 13th the King gave himself up to Colonel Robert Hammond, the governor of the Isle of Wight, who disapproved of the fanaticism of the troops, and from whom he probably expected a more favourable reception. But the officers were now beginning to be reconciled, not only with each other, but with their subordinates who were returning to their duty.

While Charles was kept strictly imprisoned in Carisbrooke Castle, the Parliament moved the most ominous resolutions. For the purpose of frustrating the intrigues of the Scotch Presbyterians it was decreed on January 3rd, 1648, that any person communicating with the royal prisoner should be subject to the penalties of high treason. On the same day a new committee was organized at Derby House, which was to be the highest authority for England and Ireland. It consisted of twenty-one members, and excluded Scots and Presbyterians,—the effect of an increasing reconciliation between Army and Parliament. Thereby a small number of military and civil leaders, the so-called "grandees," obtained the

helm. They owed their means to the great sequestrations. Life and social intercourse had got into a decidedly Parliamentary groove. The noisy amusements of the Court were replaced by fast-days and crowded prayer-meetings. Still, a vague feeling prevailed that these new arrangements would not really satisfy either the City of London nor Scotland, and certainly not the repressed Royalist sympathies.

To strengthen their confidence in the help of the Lord, officers and privates met one day in the royal halls of Windsor, now their headquarters, and had recourse to prayer and pious meditation, in which Lieutenant-General Cromwell, lately recovered from a dangerous illness, took a prominent part. About this time he subscribed £1,000 for the conquest of Ireland, out of the donations granted him from the sequestrations.

All this time a second civil war was brewing, in consequence of the undue power of the oligarchy, and the threatening attitude of the warlike Independents. There was a great and universal longing for a monarchy which should be free, and yet have wholesome limitations, and where the Crown should represent the highest authority. The Presbyterian tendencies in London, the traditions of the people, which in some districts were absolutely unchangeable, and the power of the nobles, still very strong in the West and North, all united in wishing for a restoration.

In spite of the strict watch kept at Carisbrooke, the Scotch Commissioners, who were ousted from the English Government, actually succeeded in carrying on negotiations with Charles with the utmost secrecy. The fresh elections in Scotland brought into power

the Duke of Hamilton's party, which was entirely opposed to the Duke of Argyle and his rigid Presbyterians. His idea was to unite both religions and both countries under the Crown, which was to be rescued by the force of arms.

Once more Royalists obtained commissions, and rose up in Yorkshire, while in Wales their example was followed by the Presbyterian governors appointed by the government. Among the latter, Colonel Poyer declared war by seizing the stronghold of Pembroke. And now the discontent of the people and the nobility also infected the navy, naturally antagonistic to the well-trained army. The government could only secure part of the fleet lying at anchor in front of the Downs; the rest set sail for Holland, where the Prince of Wales had taken refuge, and took him on board to help him regain the kingdom of his fathers. Influenced by the tide of popular opinion rather than the street riots, the Parliament once more changed its tactics. If either of the two attempts to rescue the King had succeeded, who can tell whether the powerful army would not even then have been routed? But the monarch's safety did not now merely depend upon overcoming his enemies, and required that numerous weighty tendencies should get the better of all combinations standing in their way.

Cromwell started for South Wales as early as the 3rd of May, to quell the rebellion there. The defenders of Pembroke resisted for months, and when at last they surrendered, on July 11th, he treated the Royalists more mercifully than those who had once been adherents of the Parliament, "because," as he said, "they have sinned against so much light, and

against so many evidences of Divine Providence."[1] About the same time Fairfax suppressed a dangerous rising in Kent and Essex, and met with fierce resistance at Colchester. On July 5th the Duke of Buckingham, his younger brother Lord Francis Villiers, and Lord Holland, again took arms in Sussex, but very soon got the worst of it. The Scots, encouraged by this division in their enemy's camp, took the opportunity of invading England, though but insufficiently prepared.

The Duke of Hamilton, supported by numerous nobles and powerful cavalry, crossed the border in magnificent style, but instead of choosing the Yorkshire valleys in which to decide the fate of the two countries, he marched through the mountainous districts of Cumberland and Lancashire, with the idea that, if he once got to Manchester, he would be able to rescue both Wales and the metropolis. But Cromwell had sent some of his troops to the North in June to investigate matters, and was now at liberty himself. On August 17th he descended into the Ribble Valley, and entirely routed the English Royalists under Sir Marmaduke Langdale. During the following days he attacked the main Scottish army, and defeated them at Wigan and Warrington. His horses were exhausted, and his men had suffered much from adverse weather and bad roads; but Cromwell was victorious in spite of these drawbacks, thanks to his splendid strategy and the discipline of his troops.

Hamilton's foot soldiers had laid down their arms,

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part iv., letter lxii.

so he and the cavalry had to surrender on the 25th to General Lambert, who had pursued them. Cromwell informed the House of Commons that, with 8,600 men, he had beaten the enemy numbering 21,000, adding, as usual, an exhortation to give all glory to the Lord: "It is not for me to give advice, nor to say a word what use you should make of this;—more than to pray you, and all that acknowledge God, that they would exalt Him,—and not hate His people, who are as the apple of His eye, and for whom even Kings shall be reproved."[1]

But that three days' battle had destroyed the influence of Scotland upon church and state. The tables were speedily turned when Cromwell marched towards the North; Colchester surrendered to Fairfax, and the danger from the coast disappeared quite as quickly. Cromwell arrived in the neighbourhood of Berwick on September 16th, driving what remained of Hamilton's army before him; and from there sent messages to the Duke of Argyle, and also to the Committee of Estates for Scotland. Sir George Monro and Lord Lanark (Hamilton's brother) were still engaged in rescuing all that remained after the defeat. But in the West they were opposed, both on religious and political grounds, by the "Whiggamore raid," which was supported by old Lord Leven in Edinburgh Castle, Argyle and his followers, and the most determined among the Presbyterians. In a letter addressed to the Committee of Estates, Cromwell proudly reminds them that the object of the army was "to recover the

1 "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part iv., letter lxiv.

ancient rights and inheritance of the kingdom," particularly from those who had dared to infringe them in company with the English malignants. He wished for the "Union of the People of God in love and amity," and considered it his duty to advance, until Berwick and Carlisle should have surrendered, and the enemy be driven into a corner. The important border town of Berwick only capitulated in consequence of an order from the Earl of Lanark on September 29th. On the 21st, however, Cromwell crossed the Tweed with four regiments of horse and six of foot, under the pretext of the unprotected state of the border, and on the strength of the commands of the English Parliament to assist their friends in Scotland. The next day, having negotiated with Argyle and others at Mordington, he slowly proceeded until he reached Edinburgh, on October 4th, where he was lodged at Moray House in the Canongate, and respectfully received by the adherents of the Covenant—probably the same men who had once vowed his destruction. By this time the enemy's troops, having looked in vain for assistance from the Highlands at the Bridge of Stirling, dispersed altogether.

Thereupon Cromwell decreed that no one who had been "active in, or consenting to, the said engagement with England, should be employed in any public Place or Trust whatsoever." While England quite approved of this measure for her safety, it was rather a blow to Scottish independence. Then only did Cromwell take part in the festivities prepared for him by old Lord Leven and Argyle at Moray House. The heavy artillery fired a salute when he departed on

the 7th with the greater part of the troops. In a report to Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, he confidently speaks of the changes wrought in the sister country with his help, though there was but little prospect of any reconciliation between Presbyterians and Independents. Having garrisoned Carlisle on his way, he proceeded to besiege Pontefract, which had resisted long and stubbornly. But while he was in quarters at Knottingley, his attention was soon exclusively arrested by the approaching crisis in the South.

The Scotch invasion was the last hope of Presbyterian Royalism at Westminster. In spite of all the new regulations, a treaty was formed at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and negotiations entered into with the King. Charles was inclined to make concessions. But even in his present critical situation the incorrigible monarch could not disguise the fact that his intentions were not a bit more straightforward than they had been hitherto; indeed, he was as sanguine as ever in plotting for his own escape and revenge on all his enemies. Nevertheless, a treaty was contemplated, whereby for the first time the modified Scottish system might have been made to harmonize with an hereditary and properly limited monarchy.

The Commons, what remained of the Lords, and the metropolis, were inclined to accept it unconditionally, but before the treaty was concluded the scale was turned by the latest triumphs of the troops. How could the victorious army approve its own destruction, as it was planned in the treaty of Newport? The agitation among the soldiers soon

made itself felt in stern protestations against the Parliament, demanding the punishment of all delinquents, and especially of the Chief Delinquent, "who has again involved this nation in blood." After some hesitation the officers, including General Fairfax, sent in a remonstrance to the same effect on November 20th.

The army had long considered itself the protector of the people's rights. It now not only insisted on the observance of the laws according to Independent ideas, but, in the spirit of the Old Testament, demanded the sacrifice of the "Chief Delinquent," in expiation of all the innocent blood crying to Heaven for vengeance. There is no doubt that this quite coincided with Cromwell's ideas, although he did not fan the flame of popular fury in the first instance. True, those ominous words from the battlefield at Warrington are directed against the King. From the camp at Pontefract he poured forth his wrath at the insult to the army, *i.e.* the indulgence shown by the Parliament to those persons who had compromised themselves more than ever they did in the first civil war, because they wanted "to vassalise the English to a foreign nation." On November 25th he writes to Colonel Hammond, whom he still believes the King's keeper, and having assured his friend that the "chain of Providence" had brought him hither, and *that Person* to him, continues: "Authorities and powers are the ordinance of God. This or that species is of human institution, and limited, some with larger, others with stricter bands, each one according to its constitution. But I do not therefore think the Authorities may do *anything* and

yet such obedience be due. All agree that there are cases where it is lawful to resist."[1] In the meantime, and during his absence, destiny fulfilled itself.

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part iv., letter lxxxv.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

THE KING'S REMOVAL TO HURST CASTLE.—PRIDE'S PURGE.—PURIFICATION OF THE PARLIAMENT.—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE KING.—DISSOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—THE COMMONWEALTH ESTABLISHED.—EXECUTION OF HAMILTON, HOLLAND, CAPEL, AND POYER.—TROOPS SENT TO IRELAND UNDER CROMWELL.—STATE OF IRELAND.—SIEGE OF DROGHEDA.—WEXFORD.—ROSS.—CLANMACNOISE.—DECLARATION.—KILKENNY.—CLONMEL DEFENDED BY O'NEIL.—CROMWELL'S RETURN TO LONDON.

ON November 27th the army gave orders to move the King from Carisbrooke to gloomy Hurst Castle, on the coast of Hampshire; and at the same time the troops, mostly in the neighbourhood of London, were commanded to march to St. James's and Whitehall. But on the 4th and 5th of December it was decided by the majority of the Commons that the King be brought to London, the treaty of Newport being considered a sufficient ground of settlement. On the 6th, Colonel Rich's regiment of horse and Colonel Pride's regiment of foot guarded all entrances to the House of Commons, and discharged the City

trainbands. Colonel Pride, with a list of names in his hand, had forty-one members arrested who had been pointed out to him as refractory, silently pointing to his soldiers if asked "by what law?" The evening of this purification Cromwell himself arrived at Westminster, having left Lambert to conclude the siege of Pontefract. The next day he appeared in Parliament, and quelled the last spark of resistance by concluding "Pride's Purge." The mutilated Parliament, like the City, had to bow to the invading troops.

So it had come to this, that this standing army, in forming which, to suit their own purposes, both Charles I. and Strafford had come to grief, now unanimously, officers and men, contemplated the death of the King. Monarchy could not exist side by side with the discipline of the Independents: one counteracted the other. The Commons took no notice of the final protest from the Lords, and brought the fatal accusation against Charles in behalf of the liberty of the people, which, as though in mockery, was represented by an armed force. A tribunal was formed, unprecedented indeed in judicial records, to pronounce sentence on the giver of all laws, the King himself, for having in a tyrannical manner encroached upon the ancient liberties of the people by his treason and hypocrisy, and brought desolation and bloodshed upon the country.

Who has not been impressed by the noble bearing of the monarch, three times brought before that tribunal, and admired the dignity of the martyr for his kingdom, when he received his death-blow in front of his own palace, on January 30th, 1649? But whoever has followed the growth of the struggle

under father and son, and realizes the attitude of the latter, must admit that Charles I. was by no means an innocent victim, such as, for instance, Louis XVI. On the contrary, the opposition to his authority was excited by his every action, and eventually took such terrible shape in the tremendous armed force which carried all before it.

Among Cromwell's numerous calumniators, not one has been able to prove that he wanted to destroy the King merely to gratify his own ambition, and in the hope of usurping his place. He was carried away by the universal current of events, and had to yield to the irresistible power of an independent and armed people. In company with numerous officers, nobles, members of Parliament, and common council-men, he belonged to the High Court of Justice, all the sittings of which he attended, save one. On January 29th he signed the warrant empowering three colonels to guard and superintend the execution.

To accuse Cromwell of not having foreseen the fateful consequences of the regicide would be saying very little for his clear-sightedness, and would place his penetrating intellect on a level with the chimera of excited fanaticism. Not long before he had sought to avert this extreme measure by direct intercourse with the King, but circumstances proved more powerful than all his plans. He was perfectly aware that, crime or not, a tremendous political mistake had been made, which would be sure to avenge itself sooner or later. With such a prospect before him, he can hardly have entertained the idea of usurpation.

It was quite in keeping with his vigorous nature, and all the circumstances which brought him into

power, that subsequently he should have played a very important part in the continuous revolution of the whole state. He was bound to stand up for the Commonwealth, not only against the King, but against the entire parliamentary system which had hitherto prevailed. After the agitation among the troops in the autumn of 1647, the Independents never rested until they had embodied the idea of the absolute sovereignty of the people in a series of very extreme and socially-levelling propositions. The council of officers partly checked and partly encouraged them, and the decision was against the King as much as against the Parliament; accordingly the "grandees," officers, and leaders of the House, put into execution the measures which succeeded the forcible repression of the monarchy.

The House of Lords was dissolved as being useless and dangerous, and all legislative power placed in the hands of the impious fanatics constituting the House of Commons. The laws which for centuries had been the foundation of both state and society, as well as the administration of justice, were now hanging by the merest thread, thanks to a few meanspirited lawyers, who, against their own convictions, bowed to the ruling powers. Subsequent events alone proved Cromwell's merits in maintaining the very foundations of the constitution. As a matter of course he was a member of the Council of State, which was nominated about the middle of February; indeed, he was their first president, and under him it obtained more authority and ruled more independently over army, navy, foreign affairs, and the punishment of crime, than any king had done since time immemorial.

Finally, by the Act of Parliament of May 19th, England was declared a Commonwealth or Free-state, and the royal effigy on the great seal was superseded by the maps of England and Ireland, with a representation of the House of Commons on the reverse side.

The High Court of Justice exercised its powers firmly as well as kindly. Some of the principal Royalists—the Duke of Hamilton, Lords Holland and Capel—were indeed executed, but the majority were pardoned. A sharp watch was kept both over speeches and writings, and it became necessary to place a strong check on the wild fanaticism of the Levellers, who were found even among the higher ranks of the army. This coincided with the necessity of sending a strong force to Ireland, and on March 15th, as soon as the City had found the supplies, Lieutenant-General Cromwell was appointed commander-in-chief, just as he was concluding the marriage-treaty of his eldest son Richard, which had been going on for months, in the midst of every kind of storm and excitement.

Two years before, a gloomy spirit had gained a footing in the regiments, which threatened to disturb the peace everywhere, but now Cromwell no longer tolerated its existence. The rebellious ones were, one and all, weeded from the ranks, and John Lilburn, with three companions, mercilessly thrown into the Tower for having disseminated inflammatory pamphlets. The army met at Whitehall to decide what regiments were to go to Ireland. The mutiny in the troop of Whalley's regiment quartered in the City was summarily dealt with, and among five doomed to die one was shot. In almost all regiments men refused to go to Ireland, and in May thousands

rose in Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire, hoping to realize the most crazy ideas. Lord Fairfax and Cromwell hastened to break up these parties, and indeed it was high time, so as to prevent the growth of chimeras like those called into existence centuries before by Wat Tyler and Jack Cade in England, and Thomas Münzer and Johann von Leyden in Germany.

Only when this danger was averted, and Cromwell, Fairfax, and others had been made doctors by the thoroughly reformed University of Oxford, and had been welcomed in the City by serious dinners and sermons, then only did Cromwell think of his next difficult task.

In the Emerald Isle there were endless opposing factions of native Catholics, Catholics of English origin, Anglican Royalists, and Presbyterians of all sorts.[1]

The efforts of the Earl of Ormond in trying to reap a plentiful harvest for the King had been principally

[1] "There are Parties on the back of Parties; at war with the world and with each other. There are Catholics of the Pale demanding freedom of religion, under my Lord This and my Lord That. There are Old-Irish Catholics under Pope's Nuncios, under Abbas O'Teague of the excommunications, and Owen Roe O'Neil;—demanding not religious freedom only, but what we now call 'Repeal of the Union,' and unable to agree with Catholics of the English Pale. Then there are Ormond Royalists, of the Episcopalian and mixed creeds, strong for King without Covenant: Ulster and other Presbyterians strong for King *and* Covenant: lastly, Michael Jones and the Commonwealth of England, who want neither King nor Covenant. All these, plunging and tumbling in huge discord for the last eight years, have made of Ireland and its affairs the black unutterable blot we speak of."—*Carlyle*, "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part v.

frustrated by the Papal Nuncio Rinnucini, who opposed the tendencies of the English monarchy supported by France, in the interests of Rome united to Spain. Consequently Ormond preferred surrender to the Parliamentary troops, who were, after all, Englishmen, and not Romanists; and thereby saved the island from entire separation. The Nuncio carried the Catholic and Papal interference so far that a reaction set in which, in the summer of 1648, during the last rising in favour of Charles I., gave Ormond reason to hope that he had a chance of the support of the Irish in the royal cause. Even after the King's execution, the enthusiasm for Charles II., who was first proclaimed in Ireland, was a bond of union between Irish Catholics and English Royalists. Ormond had the upper hand in the four provinces, while Prince Rupert and his Cavaliers, who had taken to the sea, hoisted the Royal Standard in the Scilly and Channel Isles, and in the Port of Kinsale.

Dublin alone, where Michael Jones was in command, which Ormond himself had once surrendered to the Parliamentarians, could not be retaken. Still Ormond's position, backed up by various parties united in the Stuart interest, was so strong, that it would have been a disgrace for the Republic to have given up Ireland. On the contrary, their object was to overthrow Royalism on the other side of St. George's Channel as well as on this, and then to uproot Catholicity. Hence Cromwell's mission; and as the leader of England's military force he even outshone his superior, Lord Fairfax.

The Lieutenant-General, who had been made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, started from London on the evening of July 11th, after a pious prayer-meeting. He

drove through Charing Cross in a state coach drawn by six Flanders mares, surrounded by his body-guard of eighty officers, and preceded by a flourish of trumpets. He was followed by 15,000 hardened soldiers (one-third of them cavalry) through Bristol and Pembroke, where the ships ready to receive them were lying in Milford Haven. His brother-in-law, Major-General Ireton, and, as usual, his army-chaplain, Hugh Peters, was included in his suite. When about to embark, on August 13th, he wrote from on board the flagship "John" to the father-in-law of his son Richard, who had accompanied him so far, to inform him that Lieutenant-General Jones had made a sally out of Dublin and beaten back Ormond's besieging force. Two days later he entered the conquered city, where he was received with acclamations by the eager crowd, and in a speech pointed out the work to which he had been called by Divine Providence.

On this ground, face to face with so much malice and superstition, he thoroughly felt that he was the Champion of the God of Justice. The first thing to be done was to remodel the troops he found there after the pattern of his own, and to issue a stringent proclamation to officers and men, impressing upon them the necessity of abstaining from plunder and the pillaging of innocent inhabitants. But he soon set to work to storm the fortified towns, beginning with Drogheda, where Ormond had heedlessly shut in 3,000 of his bravest men. The stern refusal of Sir John Ashton to surrender the town entailed the most frightful punishment. A week elapsed before a breach was battered. The storm of Drogheda took place on the evening of September the 11th, and after having

been slightly repulsed at first, Cromwell's men fought with redoubled fury. After a strong entrenchment had been taken, the governor and 2,000 men were, by Cromwell's express orders, mercilessly put to the sword. He also commanded the steeple of the church to be set on fire, where the Sunday before, mass had once again been celebrated, so that its defenders perished miserably in the flames. In the succeeding sieges, all who surrendered were sent to the plantations across the sea. In a letter to Lenthall, Cromwell seeks to justify the cruel order, given, as he said, in the heat of action: "I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood; and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future."[1] While thus annihilating these heroic defenders of Irish independence, he considered himself the instrument of Providence; and though not naturally bloodthirsty, he calmly employed the most horrible means, thinking to quell the Old-Irish murderous propensities by murder itself. The terror he inspired was so universal, that the garrisons of Dundalk and Trim, who were inclined to be equally rebellious, soon marched off in double quick time.

Then the commander-in-chief at Wexford tried to stop his progress by all sorts of artifices. On October 11th the castle capitulated in the midst of negotiations, in which Cromwell had promised immunity to all who surrendered; but his soldiers burst into the town and cut down over 2,000 of the inhabitants. Cromwell, though confessing that he would have wished

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part v., letter cv.

for moderation, looks upon this also as a judgment of God, because those who were slain "had exercised so many cruelties upon the lives of divers poor Protestants." With his usual sharp-sightedness, he saw at once that the desolate pillaged town, with its wharves, shipping, and great commercial advantages, would be an excellent stronghold for a disciplined regiment.

The shocking example of Drogheda was a warning to others. After a short resistance, the strong castle of Ross on the Barrow capitulated; while Cork, Youghal, and several other small towns, abandoned Lord Inchiquin, commander of the rebels in Munster. Waterford, with its water-girt entrenchments, was a more difficult matter to deal with. In consequence of the inclement season, Cromwell was obliged to turn his back upon this one town, and to take up his winter quarters at Cork, there to give his exhausted troops a rest. Everywhere else all resistance had been vain; while the navy, under such men as Blake, Ayscough, and Deane, thoroughly scoured the seas, and helped to demolish the fastnesses of Cavalier pirates at Kinsale and Bandon Bridge.

Cromwell aspired to far greater results than merely winning battles. He was not only a Republican, but a thorough Englishman, and above all an advanced Puritan, and in this three-fold character he soon dissolved the very unstable union of English Royalists and Irish Catholics. Now was seen the wisdom of his policy in securing the services of the Irish landowner, Lord Broghil, through whom the Protestants of Munster could approach their conqueror. Wherever Englishmen were still fighting for the King,

they preferred surrender to their own countrymen to further defending the cause of the hated Celt. This happened at Ross and Youghal, and even on the battlefield itself. Religious differences were more marked than ever. When, before the surrender of Wexford, the governor demanded perfect immunity of all churches and convents, and all the rights and franchises of the clergy, secular and religious, the Lord-Lieutenant designated his propositions as impertinent and detestable. The governor of Ross, who made one of his conditions liberty of conscience, was informed, that if he meant liberty to celebrate mass, that could never be allowed "where the Parliament of England have power."

It is very remarkable how, in the accounts of his Irish victories, Cromwell, besides giving all honour to God, lays such stress on the good of his country. With a deep national and religious feeling, he declares: "Yet let them with us say, even the most unsatisfied heart amongst them, that both are the righteous judgments and mighty works of God. That He hath pulled the mighty from his seat, and calls to an account for innocent blood. That He thus breaks the enemies of His Church in pieces."[1] This was undoubtedly the intolerant spirit of the Old Testament, which the Independents had adopted; and in Ireland they certainly acted upon it, by becoming the champions of Protestantism and Nationality. Since the horrors of 1641, the most awful disorder reigned supreme. Hence his efforts to preach simple Christianity to the people, and let justice be done according to the ancient

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part v., letter cxvi.

English code. He himself took an opportunity of reading the Catholics a lesson.

On December 4th a conventicle or general meeting of the Catholic hierarchy was held at Clanmacnoise, an old abbey among the swamps of the upper Shannon. The result was a fiery manifesto to the loyal Irish, admonishing them to unite themselves firmly with their bishops against the English, as they would otherwise deliver themselves up to death, or exile in the tobacco plantations, and their religion to extermination. The manifesto particularly alluded to that unfavourable answer which Cromwell had given the governor of Ross, respecting the celebration of mass. Thereupon the Lord-Lieutenant issued a counter-declaration, by which he could hardly hope to convince his antagonists of better things; written in pious wrath, and, like the manifesto of the bishops, largely circulated in print. This document is a wonderful memorial of his individual opinions, and proves the hopeless incompatibility between national policy and religious animosity.

The Puritans looked upon any special privilege of the clergy as a piece of anti-Christian presumption, and considered the appeal for a union against the common enemy as a downright lie; for these men were the very same rebels who, by the massacre of 1641, broke faith with England. Cromwell exhorts the people not to be deluded by priests anxious to secure their revenues and jurisdictions, nor by the "interests of his Majesty," which might mean the king of either France, Spain, or Scotland. "Arbitrary power is a thing men begin to be weary of, in Kings and Churchmen; their juggle between them mutually to uphold Civil and Ecclesiastical Tyranny begins to be trans-

parent. Some have cast off both; and hope by the grace of God to keep so. Others are at it!"[1]

He will not be convinced that the Catholic religion is inseparable from the sacrifice of the mass, in which all hierarchichal tendencies are united. Therefore he declares the assertion, that he has come to extirpate the Irish Catholics, to be a lie. He further alleges that innocent and defenceless inhabitants have never been either put to death or transported, and that this expensive expedition was not undertaken for the sake of driving out a wretched people, but to "break the power of a company of lawless rebels, who having cast off the authority of England, live as enemies to human society. . . . . We come, by the assistance of God, to hold forth and maintain the lustre and glory of English liberty in a Nation where we have an undoubted right to do it;—wherein the people of Ireland (if they listen not to such seducers as you are) may equally participate in all benefits; to use their liberty and fortune equally with Englishmen, if they keep out of arms."[2] No man ever followed in the footsteps of the old conquerors, who was so thoroughly convinced of the incorrigibility of his opponents as Cromwell was. And no one, either before or since, ever dealt Ireland and its ecclesiastical influences such a crushing blow as he did; only his time was too short for him to make a clean sweep of it.

On January 29th, 1650, he left his winter quarters with his rested troops, and marched inland towards Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Limerick. The enemy had actually once more reassembled, and the last shred of

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part v., "Declaration."
[2] *Ibid.*

Ormond's authority had just succumbed to the pertinacity of warlike bishops and fiery chiefs. So the English troops, who had hitherto fought on that side, were driven into the arms of the conqueror; but the natives, excited almost to frenzy by their fanatical leaders, resisted all the more firmly in their rocky strongholds. Cromwell, having made sure of Castletown and Cashel, besieged Kilkenny, which had for some time been the centre of the opposition, and fortunately induced it to surrender by written arguments on March 28th. All private soldiers were given their lives, and the officers allowed to depart for the Continent on parole. But those who had formerly served the Parliament, or had born arms against it in 1648, were invariably shot, and all Catholic priests hanged without mercy.

Cromwell was now engaged in storming all the fortified towns on the Suir; and at Clonmel, where he himself led the attack, he met with a resistance simply unparalleled in the campaign. Hugh O'Neil and 2,000 of his clan defended the breach for four hours, and then retired unmolested on the other side. This brave fellow afterwards joined the number of those who availed themselves of the permission to emigrate with all their followers. 45,000 men left Ireland for Spain, France, and Poland, where they did good service, and by their departure helped to obtain peace for a considerable portion of their native isle.

The Lieutenant-General was just preparing to take Waterford, when he was recalled by repeated letters from London. On January 8th the Parliament gave him the command against Scotland, as Fairfax objected to this post. But in consequence of adverse

winds, the despatch only reached him on March 22nd. Even then he thought he was doing more good in Ireland, but a second summons decided him. He appointed his fiery son-in-law, Ireton, as his deputy, he being already president of Munster, for there was still much to do; as Limerick, Athlone, Galway, and Sligo still held out, besides Waterford and many more similar centres of Irish nationality. Then he went on board the frigate "President," and reached London on May 31st, where he was received with the honours and acclamations due to a hero.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUBJUGATION OF SCOTLAND.

DEATH OF IRETON.——END OF THE IRISH WAR.——TRANSPLANTATION OF NATIVES.——EXECUTION OF MONTROSE.——CHARLES II. SIGNS THE COVENANT.——SUBJUGATION OF SCOTLAND. — MUSSELBURGH. — DUNBAR. — WORCESTER.——GENERAL MONK REDUCES STIRLING CASTLE AND DUNDEE.

CROMWELL had by no means finished with Ireland; but one thing he had certainly accomplished: the Anglican religion was firmly established; and, in spite of strong Royalistic tendencies, the country was so closely united to the Commonwealth, that there was no fear of a relapse in that quarter; on the contrary, the union with the Sister Isle was more firmly cemented than it had ever been before. It was indeed this one man, with whose awful name the Irish mother still quiets her crying babe, whose memory clings to many a mouldering ruin, who first drew the lines which guided his successors in their upheaval of the whole country, and who sowed the seeds which were shortly to bear such tremendous fruit. It would be unjust not to mention some of these results here, although individual reforms were

only carried out by the Parliamentary statutes of the following year.

Ireton had extended the conquest as far as the Shannon, when he died of fever at Limerick, on November 26th, 1651. Ludlow, who by Cromwell's orders had been by his side for months, then took the command until the arrival of Fleetwood. The latter eventually married Ireton's widow, Cromwell's daughter Bridget. When Ulster and Connaught, who made a brave fight for it, had been subjugated, and Galway taken, the Parliament declared the campaign at an end on September 27th, 1652. It had been the same story all along. An army of, at the most, 30,000 men, had to divide itself into endless sections, to be here, there, and everywhere, and besiege several places at once. A desperate and unyielding foe was met by religious zeal and cruelty combined. In some official documents, only lately made accessible, it is stated how the troops were provided, not only with arms, but also with Bibles, and sickles for cutting down the green corn, thus destroying the nourishment of entire districts. But in trying to cut through the very arteries of the rebellion by the extermination of agriculture and the peasants' stock of cattle, the conquerors only created exceptionally hard conditions for themselves. How could the scanty income derived from Ireland, amounting to barely £200,000, maintain an army requiring more than £500,000 for its support? When the insurrection was quelled in Leinster and Ulster, and the soldiers began themselves to till the ground so as to obtain bread, it was suggested to pay them with allotments of land in the vast depopulated districts. Ever since the reigns of Elizabeth

and James I., thrifty Scotch and English farmers had been encouraged by the government in cultivating tracts of ground in Ireland.

Whether Major Wildman, one of the most frantic enthusiasts, or James Harrington, author of the political allegory "Oceana," first unfolded this plan to Cromwell, anyhow, it was proposed to regenerate Ireland by a military colony, composed of elements hitherto entirely irresistible. And when the skirmishes became less and less frequent—when the bravest of the Irish were fighting on the Continent for or against the great Condé; when the worst insurgents, including scores of women and children, had been shipped off to the plantations at Barbadoes, and only a few bands of Tories remained among the wild moors and bogs—then only was the decisive Act of Parliament proclaimed throughout Ireland, amid the flourish of trumpets and the beating of drums. For staunch Papists, and native landowners who had abetted the horrors of 1641, there was simply no mercy. The less guilty ones got off with the loss of their property, to make up for which two-thirds of their number were allowed to take possession of the barren moors and rocky hills of Connaught, where, bounded by the sea on one side and the military on the other, they were pretty safe to keep the peace. All labourers, workmen, and peasants in general, were neither to be exiled nor annihilated; for the Puritans, who had great faith in their new military aristocracy and the religious discipline of their troops, hoped to convert them, to assimilate them to themselves, and thus make human beings of men who were more like animals. Apart from the "transplantation" in three out of the four

provinces, the troops were regularly parcelled out in regiments and companies.

Nevertheless, there is no denying that, in spite of these laws, the Irish of all classes were treated with cruelty and injustice, and that the relations between officers and men were by no means so amicable as is stated in the reports. The privates in particular were very fond of selling their allotments to their superiors, thus damaging the prospects of the new colony. Still, much was done during the Protectorate to put this great idea into execution, and results were attained which cannot be denied, even by the bitterest antagonists. Neither Lord Clarendon, who wrote the history of the great rebellion, nor Prendergast, a modern historian to whom we are indebted for the documents respecting this extraordinary colonization, can make good the assertion that Cromwell wished bodily to exterminate the Irish race. On the contrary, both one and the other are forced to admit, that as long as this arrangement was not tampered with, it bore excellent fruit. The attempt was crushed all too soon by the Restoration in 1660, when the historical curse, which an avenging angel tried to avert, again descended upon the country. Still, Puritanism never quite died out in Ireland, and probably there are even now many people who agree with a certain sergeant, exiled in 1662, who declared that Cromwell should have been left alone, for that he was the best man who had ever reigned in the three kingdoms, either king, prince, or anybody else.

But enough of this. Cromwell knew that he had firmly united the Emerald Isle to Great Britain, when he hastened back to make equally sure of Scotland.

A month earlier the Marquis of Montrose had endeavoured to raise the Royal Standard, counting on Royalist connections in Holland, Germany, and Italy, and in consequence of this brave attempt was executed for high treason. The stern adherents of the Covenant, who were entirely in the hands of their ministers, looked with suspicion on any transaction with people who thought differently from themselves, and since the fall of Hamilton they had increased considerably. They continued to persecute the malignants, but, founding their sovereignty on the Bible, persisted in their wish of uniting King and Covenant. Consequently they not only proclaimed Charles II. king immediately after his father's execution, but never rested until he actually arrived in Scotland, about the end of June, 1650, and acceded to their request with as good a grace as he could command. He thus learned the art of dissimulation very early, and in the present case his object was to incite his supporters in England and Ireland. So he submitted to the demands of the Scots and signed the treaty, binding himself to take the Scottish Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant, to reform the Church of England according to the plan devised by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and never to allow the exercise of the Catholic religion in Ireland or in any other part of his dominions. The Presbyterians thus had an eye to all three nations, but now acted in direct opposition to the Independent party, which had hitherto shared the same biblical opinions, but had ended by outgrowing all ecclesiastical authority, tolerated all forms of religion except Catholicity, and had, in England, become a regular military republic.

To meet the challenge of a party so nearly related yet so intrinsically different, the Independents summoned their powerful supporter, who had not his equal in the North. The Scots had for some time been watching his iron policy in Ireland. The reports of his defeat or death were always eagerly credited. Fairfax had for some time disapproved of the turn matters were taking in religion, and, incited by his Presbyterian wife, he withdrew from public life altogether. On June 26th Cromwell was appointed Lord-General and Commander-in-Chief over all the troops of the Commonwealth of England. On the 29th he was already in the North, to take the command of an army of 16,345 men, being supported by Major-General Lambert, his cousin Whalley, and other Independent colonels.

How can he be called a hypocrite, if in these anxious days, he found consolation in the 110th Psalm, and for asserting that "I have not sought these things; truly I have been called to them by the Lord; and therefore am not without some assurance that He will enable His poor worm and weak servant to do His will"?[1] When he crossed the border at Berwick he was preceded by manifestoes, according to custom: Declaration, "To all that are Saints and Partakers of the Faith of God's Elect in Scotland," and Proclamation, "To the People of Scotland." But they were not issued in the General's name; and the troops, denying all responsibility, declared their affection for their fellow-Christians, while pitying their fatal adhesion to Charles Stuart. They boasted that in suppressing the monarchy they were only fulfilling the true spirit

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Specches," part vi., letter cxxxiv.

of the Covenant. The Scots retorted in virtuous indignation; and to show how much they were in earnest, once more made the young King, who hated them in his heart, swear to fulfil the most humiliating conditions. They had thoroughly purified their army, and, entrenched behind the rocky heights of Edinburgh, right down to the coast of Leith, they believed themselves fully equal to the advancing dissenters. Cromwell, who had pitched his camp at Musselburgh on the 29th, tried in vain to reduce this stronghold. In fact, David Lesly, in protecting the capital and the important pass of Stirling, covered the whole of Scotland. A lively correspondence was carried on between the two zealous armies, but it proved perfectly futile, though Cromwell himself took part in it. In his answer to a solemn Declaration from the Scots, he said that it was no part of his business to hinder any of them from worshipping God as they liked, but that he simply could not understand how they could wish to impose the King upon the English, as "the Satisfaction of God's People in both Nations," and declare in the same breath that they disowned the malignants. "If the state of your quarrel be thus, upon which as you say, you resolve to fight our Army, you will have opportunity to do that; else what means our abode here?"[1] Lesley naturally did not oblige him by coming out, though Cromwell attacked him alternately from the east, from the south (from the slopes of the Pentland Hills), from the west, and again from the east. The whole of August was spent in useless skirmishes; and, owing to the barrenness of the country, illness among the troops, and difficulty of nursing the

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part vi., letter cxxxvii.

sick on board the ships anchored outside the Forth, Cromwell was forced to return to Dunbar on September 1st. The enemy speedily followed in hot pursuit, and, but for the darkness, Cromwell's cavalry would have got decidedly the worst of it at Haddington.

So there he was, with his exhausted, hungry men, on that rocky, wave-beaten coast, just then visited by the most awful gales. The Scottish army, consisting of 23,000 men, and the Committees of the Kirk and Estates, not only occupied the heights of Lammermoor in the south, but had also cut off the only available road along the coast over the Cockburns path. In a letter to Sir Arthur Haselrigg, dated September 2nd, Cromwell speaks very calmly of his critical position, and then adds: "And indeed we have much hope in the Lord, of whose mercy we have had large experience." Hope ever shone to this brave heart, like a guiding beacon.

For some time the Scots could not make up their minds whether to let their enemies beat an ignominious retreat, and then pursue them into England, or whether to destroy them on the spot. Their ministers decided for the latter, as the foe seemed to be delivered unto them, like Agag the Amalekite into the hands of Saul. On the evening of September 2nd, Cromwell, who had just finished a hasty meal at Dunbar, saw the motion in the Scottish camp, as they endeavoured to strengthen their right wing, which was nearest the sea, by moving the cavalry from the left. With incomparable sharp-sightedness, he at once saw the possibility of pushing in between the right and left wings, the position of the latter being somewhat weak and isolated. Quite independently Lambert had made the same observation.

Monk and the rest of the officers joyfully agreed. Now whoever made the first attack would have to cross the bottom of the valley, where the Brocksburn divided the two armies, and naturally everything depended upon this. The success of Cromwell's men was not so much due to the strategical superiority of their leaders, as to their own unquenchable enthusiasm; and though they were not excited by fanatical preachers, they lost nothing of their ardour, and kept their guns in readiness and their powder dry. During the night the Scotch sentries dropped asleep, and even let their matchlocks out, while among the English told off for the attack, some cornet or horseman prayed impressively in the midst of the howling gale.

The armies were so far apart, that the attack had to be postponed till six o'clock in the morning. But as soon as the artillery began to thunder against the left wing of the Scots, the attack became mutual, the English crying "The Lord of Hosts!" and the Scots "The Covenant!" The Scotch cavalry first crossed the ravine, but was received by the unerring fire of Cromwell's infantry, while his horsemen dashed into the midst, and after a sharp fight, entirely routed the strong right wing. That decided the battle, and the sun rising on September 3rd found the Scots flying in all directions, some making straight for Dunbar, and some for the capital across Haddington. Cromwell's regiments called a halt to breathe their horses, and then the Lord-General himself intoned the 117th Psalm, like some modern Gideon or David, to whom the living God of the Old Testament, who destroyed his enemies by the sword, was a real and infinitely powerful Being. According to Cromwell's dispassionate account of the

battle to Lenthall, the English army, of 7,500 foot and 3,500 horse, killed 3,000 of the enemy, who boasted twice their number, took 10,000 prisoners, besides capturing all their guns and baggage. He adds a few words in favour of those who are "the chariots and horsemen of Israel," and ends with a warning against the proceedings of the Scotch ministers, who, "meddling with worldly policies and mixtures of earthly power, ... neglected the Word of God, the sword of the Spirit."[1]

While his advanced guard was scouring the country towards Edinburgh, Cromwell wrote to Haselrigg, arranging for the humane treatment of the numerous prisoners, and at the same time asking for speedy reinforcements. He even found time to send a few affectionate words to his wife, and a joyful message to Ireton, who had lately been equally successful in Ireland, having at length reduced Waterford, Duncannon, and Carlow. On the 7th of that month he moved to Edinburgh, which had to follow Leith's example, and open its gates after such a victory; although the castle, where the most fanatical of the preachers had taken refuge, held out for some time longer. Then Cromwell entered into a controversy with the governor of the castle; and now made an attack upon the Protestants, as he had done on the Catholics the year before. There could have been no truth in the report, that he tried to stop the preaching of the Gospel. But the howls from the pulpits, and the debasement of all civil authority proceeding from the same quarter, were not to be endured.

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part vi., letter cxli.

"When ministers pretend to a glorious Reformation; and lay the foundations thereof in getting to themselves worldly power; and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the same, such as their late agreement with their King; and hope by him to carry on their design, they may know that the Sion promised will not be built with such untempered mortar."[1]

On another occasion he says: "I appeal to their consciences, whether any person trying their doctrines and dissenting, shall not incur the censure of Sectary? And what is this but to deny Christians their liberty, and assume the Infallible Chair?"[2] As the Independents looked upon religion as merely secondary to politics, they considered ordination useful, but by no means necessary, for every believer who was moved by the Spirit, could interpret the scriptures and pray to the Lord on his own account. At first a deaf ear was turned to the General's protestations; and while he was vainly reconnoitring about Stirling, and gave the inhabitants "free leave and liberty to come to the army, and to the city and town," the Presbyterian ministers persisted in their resistance on the Castle Rock, even when the Derby miners were set to work with a view of blowing them up.

Meanwhile he could not but observe how much the divisions among the Scots had gained ground since their defeat. The extreme Covenanters in the west were daggers drawn, not only with the Royalists, but also with Argyle's party, just then in the ascendant. Their frantic clerical leaders declared that the wrath

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part vi., letter cxlvii.

[2] *Ibid.*, part vi., letter cxlviii.

of Heaven had been kindled by their too hasty acknowledgment of a not sufficiently penitent King. They would neither give him to the English, nor submit to an aristocratic government themselves. Their "Western Army," of 5,000 men, under Colonels Ker and Strahan, was quite independent of Lesley and his party. This was quite enough to induce Cromwell to attempt communications with these western colonels. He thought certain symptoms in this dissolution pointed to the strength of the Divine Will over the hearts of the faithful. But neither a march to Glasgow, nor a discussion with Ker and Strahan, produced the desired result. On December 1st, however, a grey winter's morning, General Lambert routed their troops near Hamilton on the Clyde, and only a few individuals, Strahan among the number, openly joined the English Republicans. It was just this defection of the west, which was in favour of a truce between Argyle and the Royalists, who, while entrenched at Stirling, had crowned Charles II. King, at Scone Kirk, on January 1st, 1651. Though the majority of the people discarded the remonstrance, Argyle's party endeavoured to agree in an interpretation of the Covenant which should allow the King to enjoy certain privileges.

By this time Edinburgh Castle, at all events, had been reduced. On December 23rd Cromwell found something to do in subduing a villanous band of freebooters, called "Moss-troopers," who had killed some of his bravest soldiers; but, on the whole, he spent the winter at Moray House with but few interruptions. He was now able to show the softer side of his character. The correspondence between himself and his wife

shows them both at their best, though the Puritanical spirit remains unchanged in every particular. As he says somewhat reprovingly to Colonel Hacker, "Truly I think he that prays and preaches best, will fight best."[1]

An official medallist was sent from London to take the effigies of the Lord-General for a model, commemorating the victory of Dunbar; but Cromwell proposed that, instead of "my unbeautiful face," the Parliament should be engraved on one side, and an army on the other, with the inscription "The Lord of Hosts." He would rather have escaped the honour and responsibility incurred by the chancellorship of the reformed University of Oxford, and very grave anxiety was excited by his failing health. Even the year before, during the Irish campaign, he had complained of indisposition. Now, being necessarily exposed to wind and weather, he was repeatedly prostrated by attacks of fever. In a letter to his wife (September, 1650), he says: "I grow an old man, and feel the infirmities of age marvellously stealing on me;"[2] and in one to the President of the Council of State (March, 1651): "I thought to have died of this fit of sickness, but the Lord seemeth to dispose otherwise."[3] Barely was he restored to health, when he made another futile attempt to come to an understanding with the rebellious spirits in Glasgow. This brought on a bad relapse, in consequence of which, two first-rate London doctors were dispatched to him, giving him leave to return to the milder climate of

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part vi., letter clxii.
[2] *Ibid.*, part vi., letter cxliii.
[3] *Ibid.*, part vi., letter clxx.

England. But just at that moment his presence was absolutely necessary, as the enemy was already taking advantage of his illness.

Not until the end of June could Cromwell start for the north-west. A fight near Inverkeithing proved the Scottish lines round Stirling Park to be so strong, that the attack on the front was discontinued. A whole month elapsed before the passage across the Forth at Queensferry could be gained, and the fortified towns on the coast of Fife taken. On August 2nd, however, Cromwell entered Perth, and the Scots, thus attacked in the rear, and cut off from the Highlands, started for England in a forced march. In desperation they risked their last chance, and crossed the border at Carlisle, reckoning on those Royalist tendencies which had never been quite uprooted in England. A despatch of Cromwell's, dated August 4th, admits that the enemy "is a few days' march before us;" but there was so much to remind him of Preston battle, that he ventured to hope for a similar result, and accordingly started in pursuit without loss of time. His advanced guard, under Lambert and Harrison, soon overtook the enemy at the Bridge of Warrington. The Earl of Derby, indeed, came over from the Isle of Man, reaching Worcester on August 22nd, with a few other loyal nobles, and there Charles II. displayed his standard, as nine years before his father had done at Nottingham. But the great majority of the people had the invasion of 1648 fresh in their minds, and were quite unapproachable; and in the counties through which the King had passed, the military organization of the Independent Government was at once apparent. On the 28th Cromwell

arrived with 30,000 men, having come in forced marches from York, through Nottingham, Stratford, and Evesham.

On September 3rd, the anniversary of Dunbar, his superior forces attacked the enemy encamped in and about Worcester,—an open town, which had not anything like the advantages of the position at the Forth. A bridge of boats connected the two banks of the Severn. The Scots were soon driven back, in spite of a most heroic resistance in St. John's suburb and Fort Royal. 3,000 were killed in the streets, and 7,000 had to surrender. Within five hours all was over. Though dead-tired and hardly capable of writing, the General composed his first despatch late that very evening. Nothing gave him greater satisfaction than the way his newly-raised troops equalled his old and tried soldiers. The next day he was able to describe how the Scots, flying northwards, had been hotly pursued, and how the whole country rose upon them. "I am bold humbly to beg . . . . that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen nation."[1] The King escaped to the south coast in the most miraculous fashion, and managed to reach the Continent in safety, thus once more saving the monarchy as represented in his own person. A great many northern nobles were made prisoners of war, and the confiscation of estates was resumed on a large scale. The Earl of Derby ended his days on the scaffold, and the hitherto independent Isle of Man had to submit to the authority of England.

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part vi., letter clxxxiii.

On September 12th the Lord-General arrived in London, where he met with a most triumphant reception. Worcester fight, which was the last battle in which he took a personal part, was a crushing blow to the shaky authority of Scotland. Lieutenant-General Monk reduced Sirling Castle and Dundee in quick succession, having previously dissolved a new Committee of Estates at Angus, and sent its members, among them the old Lord Leven, off to the Tower. The following summer Generals Deane and Lambert marched through the Highlands. Our northern kingdom was now bound to keep the peace, whether they liked it or not, for the liberty of their evangelical faith had not been tampered with. But when the ministers again began the old story, and when the courts of justice refused to pronounce judgment, Monk was forced to make short work of them. He would not allow the General Assembly to sit, and sent English judges to Scotland. A few fortifications at suitable places, and a standing force of 7,000 to 8,000 men, sufficed to keep in order both the Border and the Highlands, and before long the same peace and quiet prevailed north of the Tweed as in the south. Edinburgh certainly groaned under the severity of the taxes, but the common interest in trade and commerce made up for much. They wanted to show their gratitude to the great organizer by erecting a monument to him in Parliament Square, for which an immense block of stone was intended, which lay for many years afterwards on the beach at Leith.

CHAPTER IX.

PARLIAMENT SUPERSEDED.

BLAKE'S NAVAL VICTORIES.—HOLLAND'S JEALOUSY EXCITED.—NAVIGATION ACT.—DUTCH WAR.—LA HOGUE.—THE RUMP PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.—THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT. — IT RESIGNS. — INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT.—CROMWELL MADE PROTECTOR.

WE have seen how the Puritan Republic conquered the individual resistance of all three countries, and always at the very moment when the state in question was planning some daring combination, whereby it hoped to retain its freedom. Cromwell's system of government, which put an end to all political and religious antagonism, naturally dealt a severe blow to the independence both of Ireland and Scotland, and made the union of the three kingdoms much firmer than would ever have been tolerated by the dynastic interests of the Stuarts. And now the same power, which had but lately broken down the resistance of the Royalist nobles in Great Britain, and combated Popery in Ireland by means of banishment to the wildernesses of Connemara, and hard labour in the tobacco plantations, also took possession of the dominion of the seas, which was indeed an absolute

necessity to an insular state like England. The first thing to be done was to hunt from its hiding-places the squadron which was making the seas dangerous under Princes Rupert and Moritz, lately transformed from soldiers into Vikings. But the other side could also boast of naval heroes who had begun by fighting on land, for instance, the incomparable Robert Blake. In spite of the King of Portugal, he drove the Princes and their frigates out of the Tagus, destroyed a number of their ships in the harbour of Carthagena, compelled them to abandon the protecting guns of Toulon, and finally constrained them to fly to the Azores, the coast of Africa, and the West Indies. The last strongholds of the rebels, the Scilly Isles, Jersey, and the other Channel Islands, yielded at last to Blake and his marine artillery, as the Isle of Man and the Irish harbours of Kinsale and Galway had yielded before. Neither France, who was fully occupied with home affairs, nor Spain with its decaying navy, dared to assist the Royalists while the Commonwealth maintained such a threatening attitude. The United Provinces of the Netherlands, on the other hand, considered some exaggerated expressions of British independence as equivalent to a challenge, and so war was declared between the two free states, which in some respects so closely resembled one another.

Sir Harry Vane the younger, with his high-flown notions, once gave it as his opinion that either we must entirely subdue Holland, or else the two republics must be united into one. After the assassination of Ambassador Dorislaus at the Hague by fugitive Cavaliers, the Parliament haughtily insisted that all

Dutch ships passing through English waters, whether bound for the Baltic or the Mediterranean, whether fitted out for fishing in the Davis Straits or freighted for the Tropics, should strike their ensign in honour of the British flag.

In consequence of these events, the Navigation Act was passed on October 9th, 1651, which was afterwards taken up by the restored monarchy, and has ever since been the palladium and *magna charta* of the navy down to the present time. Although inspired by national animosity, this Act bore the marks of the coolest deliberation; for, as Adam Smith says, "it aimed at the diminution of the naval power of Holland, the only naval power which could endanger the security of England."[1] England undoubtedly held its own in the trade of the Baltic, and the factory of the Merchant Adventurers, which had hitherto been in the Netherlands, was now moved to Hamburg, not only on account of the differences arising from the connection of the houses of Stuart and Orange, but so as to ensure a greater mercantile independence. The Dutch, on the other hand, absolutely monopolised the carrying trade to Europe and the East and West Indies. This was all the more serious, as at that time the British plantations in Virginia and Barbadoes still acknowledged Charles II., and dispatched their products exclusively under the Dutch flag. The young Commonwealth of England could not possibly approve of such proceedings, and consequently a statute was passed, prohibiting the importation of any goods into England, Ireland, or the

[1] "The Wealth of Nations," book iv., ch. ii.

Colonies, except in ships built in England, belonging to English subjects, manned by English captains, and with at least a third of the crew consisting of Englishmen. Neither was the importation of European goods into England allowed, except either in English ships or in ships of the country where the goods were produced. The idea was to secure the monopoly for the English carrying trade, which hitherto had been rather looked down upon by our merchants, and also to emancipate trade from foreign, and more especially Dutch, influences.

The Navigation Act was certainly directly opposed to free trade, but at that time protection was more needed than prosperity, so its object was attained. Even then there was no lack of complaints from the English mercantile classes, to the effect that importation was cut off, and the freedom of commerce hindered. But they had to give way to the political tendencies of the age, and the Commonwealth demanded that the States-General at the Hague should at once put a stop to the proceedings of the Cavaliers, while English admirals began to search Dutch vessels for contraband articles, regardless of the law: "The flag covers the goods." By issuing letters of mark a number of the enemy's ships were captured. Their respective governments were still negotiating, when jealousy drove the two nations into war to fight for the great prize, namely, the sovereignty of the seas.

In March, 1652, Sir George Ayscough secured Barbadoes for the Commonwealth. In May, even before war was declared, Blake and the Dutchman Van Tromp, with their respective strong squadrons, met in

front of the Kentish Downs. How vastly superior the Dutch fleet was, as far as mere numbers went, is proved by the quantity of richly-laden vessels captured by English cruisers in the Baltic, the Bay of Biscay, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean. There were several fierce battles in the Channel during the summer, and finally, in February, 1653, the battle of La Hogue was fought in the broad waters off Portland Bill. Both sides suffered severely; but neither Blake, Monk, and Deane, nor Tromp, De Ruyter, and De Witt, could claim a complete victory.

Tromp, who warmly supported the House of Orange, insulted the British coast by tying a broom to his top-mast instead of an ensign; but this could not alter the fact that the best ships were built in England, and were defended by heavy artillery; and, what was more important, the hardy inhabitants of these isles learnt many a clever trick in navigation from the enemy. This unexpected turn of affairs struck terror even into the offices of Amsterdam. Only the English could not afford to slacken their efforts, which might easily have happened just then, owing to internal disturbances, and the immense costs of the war, which were to be met by renewed confiscation among the delinquents and monthly assessments.

The Parliament and army between them had indeed put an end to the civil war, and had besides firmly united the three kingdoms and maintained England's *prestige* in the eyes of other nations; but, at the same time, there seemed to be no chance of bridging over the great division among themselves. The Parliament, which had made great advances, both in politics and religion, wished for an endowed clergy. The

lawyers—such as the timid yet obstinate Bulstrode, and Oliver St. John and Sir Harry Vane the younger, both of whom were entirely wrapped up in Republican ideas—were the only people who had any influence, and they made no attempt to check the bribery that went on in the courts of justice, nor could they prevent the civil administrators from dividing the confiscated lands among their own greedy cousins. But endless remonstrances against these abuses were sent to the troops and their officers, who were pretty universally acknowledged as the champions of popular rights. The chief demand was the dissolution of the Rump itself, of whose 150 members, only about fifty ever appeared at all—a clique which was perfectly unbearable in the long run.

Since the spring of 1649 a special committee headed by Vane had been debating about new statutes and election laws, but nothing came of it, because the members all wanted to keep their seats under the "New Representative," or desired, at all events, to be replaced by men who were of the same mind as themselves, while the army impatiently demanded an entire reconstruction. It was only after Cromwell's return from Scotland that it was decided "by a neck-and-neck division" that a limit should be fixed beyond which the Parliament should not sit, namely, November 3rd, 1654, and he was wont to express himself pretty freely about their "injustice, self-interest, and other faults." Meanwhile the feuds in the debates continued, for the Parliamentarians considered themselves regents; and as the navy, whose principles were chiefly Presbyterian, willingly submitted to them, they demanded the same from the army. It was hardly to be expected that

this tremendous instrument of the revolution should resign its claims, as well as its demand for a New Representative and the establishment of a supreme authority, such as the troops desired. A good deal of excitement prevailed among the people during the conferences on this subject in the autumn of 1652. Several officers of high standing, however, such as General Lambert, who had distinguished himself in the field more than any other, excepting Cromwell, and that fiery enthusiast Colonel Harrison, implored the Lieutenant-General to put an end to the business for good and all, as he alone possessed sufficient influence and authority to take such a step.

But even Cromwell himself had grave scruples about the overthrow of a power which for centuries had been part and parcel of the nation, and for which, not long since, all the country had fought against the King; but he was driven to it at last by the persistent obstinacy of the Parliament. On the evening of April 19th a conference was held in the General's house at Whitehall, between about twenty leading members of Parliament and as many officers. Nothing came of it, however; and the next morning, April 20th, 1653, Cromwell proceeded to the House, clad like the rest, in plain black clothes and grey stockings. But he had taken military precautions beforehand, having informed his officers, that though the Lord had helped them hitherto, both in peace and war, it would be tempting Providence to allow such a Parliament to continue in power.

For some time he listened to the debate in silence, until the question was put "that this Bill do now pass." Then he rose, and his calm opening sentences were

soon followed by passionate accusations. When one of the members (Sir Peter Wentworth) expressed his surprise at such language, he could contain himself no longer. As he afterwards said to the officers, "Perceiving the Spirit of God so strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood." "Clapping on his hat," and occasionally "stamping the floor with his feet," he exclaimed: "I will put an end to your prating." He told them God had put a limit to their proceedings, and that they were "no Parliament," and should give place to better men. Then some twenty or thirty musketeers entered to clear the House without more ado, while Colonel Harrison conducted Speaker Lenthall down from his seat. Cromwell himself took possession of the Bill, and had the gold mace, the symbol of Parliamentary authority, together with the key of the House, taken to his own dwelling. He well knew the risk he had run, and for that reason again swore in his loyal supporters who stood by him that same afternoon when he dissolved the equally rebellious town council. Curiously enough, the other pillar of the state, the navy, just then engaged in beating the Dutch, made no resistance whatever. Blake himself, though no Republican, intimated to his captains that they had nothing to do with internal politics, and it was a clever move of Cromwell's to have placed his staunch adherent General Monk in the midst of them.

Whether rightly or wrongly, since April 20th the Lord-General was the only man who possessed any authority. A few days later he exercised it without hesitation, when the draining of the Fens, which had been carried on uninterruptedly in his native county,

was interfered with by a lot of unruly persons. At the same time, it was necessary to form a new Parliament as quickly as possible, and to establish a representative, as desired by the municipal authorities; for the army and its council of officers could not be allowed to monopolise supreme authority for good and all. Among the troops the wish prevailed, and was encouraged by such men as Harrison, for a representative of those godly enthusiasts, who had hitherto been the leaven of the army. The end of it all was a singular assembly, consisting of 144 members, among whom were six for Ireland, and five for Scotland, all carefully selected from the most zealous "Sectaries," by anxious "consultation of the godly clergy in their respective counties." This was the "Barebones Parliament," so called after the godly leather-seller Praisegod Barbone, one of the members for London.

The 4th of July was appointed by letter of summons "for the meeting of persons called to the Supreme Authority," and on that day, in the Council-chamber at Whitehall (not in the ancient hall of St. Stephen's), Cromwell, standing by the table surrounded by his officers, opened the sitting by a long speech in his own peculiar style. Having apologized for the heat and the smallness of the room, he recalled the mighty events of late years, and the circumstances which had made it a duty to put a limit to the preceding Parliament, and entrust the government of the Commonwealth to worthier hands. The Lord had invested them with the highest authority, and made a tool of the sword, which would not turn against them. The solemn words of the Old Testament, in which the orator revelled, found an echo in the hearts of an assembly

of saints, such as there has not been another, either before or since. They received the Spirit of God like a congregation of Quakers, and took in hand the reform of the laws in the three kingdoms.

Now these men thought to replace the tottering foundations of the old law by entirely new regulations, according with their religious socialism. They began by an attempt to abolish the Court of Chancery, and by instituting radical changes in the statutes, especially regarding the punishment of crime. As Milton had already expounded in a pamphlet, marriage was to them merely a domestic arrangement. They condemned duelling, and the taking of an oath, not having any idea of the feeling of honour which had prevailed until then; and according to the manner of extreme fanatics of all ages, they were equally hard on ecclesiastical perferment and the payment of tithes. Everything of the kind was to be straightway abolished, and the charges on the estates mercilessly suppressed, even when they had long ago become private property. But this caused a dissension between the assembly and its own Tithes-Committee, which began to have some misgivings. Their "Report," recommending that, instead of suppressing the tithes, the livings should only be given to worthier persons, was, after much serious debating, rejected by a majority of two on December 10th.

An assembly of the Levellers, or, as they were called, Fifth-Monarchy Men, threatened to become a commonwealth of Anabaptists and Communists. But on the other hand, their meetings opened men's eyes to the fact to what an extent the revolution had progressed. People might well ask themselves, whether the mighty

man who had once professed the very principles current in that assembly, who had only lately dissolved the Parliament because its members were shamefully wrapped up in self-interest, and cared little for the good of the Commonwealth,—whether he would continue or check this universal levelling spirit? But as on two former occasions, he bravely set his face against what he knew to be an evil, and stood up for the interests of Church and Law, which he could not but acknowledge as the pillars of society. In fact, as commander-in-chief of the army he simply could not act otherwise, for the civic saints, who considered themselves the real regents, objected to the high assessments for maintaining the troops. And but for regular pay, what would have become of the discipline of the only organization capable of maintaining internal peace and external respect? It was out of the question that the authorities, whether officers or lawyers, should associate with fanatics, who anticipated the reign of Christ upon earth. Luckily the majority was a very small one, and the rest supported the authorities.

On December 12th the proposition was carried, "That the sitting of this Parliament any longer as now constituted will not be for the good of the Commonwealth, and that, therefore, it is requisite to deliver up unto the Lord-General Cromwell the powers which we have received from him." Whereupon the Speaker, preceded by the mace, and followed by his friends, proceeded at once to Whitehall, and presented the resignation to the Lord-General. They were joined by all who had shared their opinions, while troops of soldiers cleared the house.

So this experiment had also failed. Can it be supposed that Cromwell foresaw this, or that a boundless ambition made him wish for such a result? Incredible surely, for with every fresh turn of events the dilemma only got worse for him. And who dare impugn the veracity of a letter to Fleetwood, in Ireland, in which he says: "My life has been a willing sacrifice,—and I hope—for them all"?[1] Hitherto he had given way to Harrison, himself one of the "Saints," but now he turned to General Lambert and those officers who, boasting no extreme opinions, were soldiers pure and simple, and did not object to the establishment of a military goverment, which alone promised any permanent strength.

The very day after the dissolution, the so-called "Instrument of Government," consisting of forty-two articles, was read before a rather stormy meeting, composed mainly of officers, and a few days later the result was made known to the public. The most important article was the one naming Cromwell Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Ireland, and Scotland,—a title not altogether unprecedented in English history, for in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the regents of infant kings had, on several occasions, called themselves protectors. This certainly gave him supreme authority, but it was by no means unlimited. For his motions were to be regulated by a very independent Council of State, which was to assist him in matters of peace and war, in raising means for the latter, in imposing taxes and making laws, until the time should come when the nation

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part vii., letter clxxxix.

should be represented by a united Parliament, which should assume entire legislative power. He himself declared the acceptance to be a necessary safety measure. The title of Protector quite corresponded with his own ideas, for it saved England from the gaping abyss of another social revolution. Without any effort on his part, civil authority was thrust upon him, just as military authority had been before.

On December 16th the ceremony of installation took place at Westminster Hall. Surrounded by the officers and members of the Council of State, and by the municipal authorities in their robes of office, Cromwell sat in the Chair of State, his strong, thick-set figure, surmounted by a face not indeed handsome, with its coarse features and ruddy-fair complexion, but possessing a powerful and massive forehead, overshadowed by light-brown hair streaked with grey. The Protector was plainly dressed in black velvet, and wore a gold band round his hat. General Lambert then begged him to accept the new office in the name of the army and the three nations, and the "Instrument of Government" was again read, after which Cromwell swore to observe the forty-two articles contained in it, and in a short address expressed a hope that he might only retain his power so long as he was furthering the work of God. He then put on his hat, and seating himself in the chair, received the great seal from the Commissioners and the sword from the Lord Mayor.

The Council of State, without whose approval he could do nothing, consisted at first of fifteen eminent men, among whom were the most distinguished officers, as well as Viscount Lisle, Lord Montague of Hinchin-

brook, and Ashley Cooper (better known as Lord Shaftesbury). These gentlemen had the privilege of electing the next Protector, and had to swear, amongst other things, that they would not be influenced by any personal considerations. All members of the House of Stuart were of course excluded, for the legitimate monarchy had been completely ousted by the usurpation. Among the many trustworthy and conscientious men occupying public places, John Thurloe, who had once accompanied St. John to Holland, was Secretary of State, and John Milton, in spite of almost total blindness, conducted the correspondence in Latin with foreign powers.

The Royalists, whose prospects, both within and without, had been none of the brightest for some time past, were naturally very wrath at the confiscation of their estates. As early as February, 1654, they were detected in a plot. And when Charles promised £500 to him who should rid him of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector had to be on his guard against attempts on his life. The religious fanatics, who had thought their fondest hopes were about to be realized, were equally indignant. Who exercised far more arbitrary authority than ever the late King had done? Who dissolved the Parliament by calling in the soldiers, while Charles had but singled out five members? Who undermined all civic authority by means of an armed force? The fury of the Anabaptists found vent in the most gloomy prophecies, according to which the fate of this evil-doer was to be worse than that of Protector Somerset, or hunchbacked Richard of Gloucester, who had had his royal nephews murdered. Fiery Harrison, the most attractive figure

in this group, had to be dismissed the service and restricted to his native town. Cromwell's position of authority necessitated the dismissal of about 150 godly officers; in fact, he carefully cleared the army of the very element which had once constituted its power. The Parliamentary Republicans, on the other hand, held together merely because there was a Parliament in prospect. But the clergy and all the legal professions, indeed everyone who had to work for his living, looked with favour on the new arrangement. That is why the first negotiations and propositions in the name of "Olivarius Protector" (thus ran the formula) kept these influential classes well in view. The courts of justice were not tampered with, and were entrusted to the most impartial men. A general visitation of the churches was preceded by a central committee of worthy clergy and laity, while a secular commission was appointed in each county for the purpose of replacing all unworthy and inefficient servants of the Word by more deserving men. On April 14th the Protector moved to Whitehall, where he continued to reside with his family and household. On Saturday evenings he was wont to drive down to Hampton Court for a little relaxation, and on these occasions he was always surrounded by his guards. His life was continually in danger, both from within and without, but he was still the only hope of England.

CHAPTER X.

CROMWELL AS PROTECTOR.

GROWTH OF THE NAVY.—CROMWELL'S FOREIGN POLICY.—ELECTION OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT.—ITS DISSOLUTION BY CROMWELL AFTER FIVE MONTHS.—ROYALIST PLOTS.—THE MAJOR-GENERALS.—INCREASE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.—MEETING BETWEEN FOX AND CROMWELL.—THE JEWS ADMITTED INTO ENGLAND AFTER 400 YEARS OF BANISHMENT.

ABOUT this time the rest of the world began to feel the influence of Cromwell's mighty arm. The establishment of the Commonwealth in England had at first only excited the derision and indignation both of Spain and the Netherlands, and the revolutionary British Isles were in danger of becoming entirely isolated with regard to other European powers, but before long the latter had every reason to respect the red cross on a white ground. Though the English fleet had long been renowned, and though the recent victories over Holland were due to the Presbyterian convictions of the nation and the self-sacrificing devotion of Republican statemen like Sir Harry Vane, still, from a political point of view, we owed our success to a far superior head. In the same way it was he who enlisted Sweden in his favour, that Protestant power

created by Gustavus Adolphus. Not only did Cromwell venture to send his portrait to Christina, the great King's daughter, but sent an ambassador in the person of Bulstrode Whitlocke, a naturally timid man, who accommodated himself to existing circumstances, but deserves some credit for preserving the old traditional rights. By this step the thin edge of the wedge was introduced into foreign politics at Stockholm. Cromwell succeeded in frustrating the proposed alliance of Holland with Denmark and France, and after a severe defeat of their navy, the United Provinces at last agreed to peaceable negotiations. And how much did not England gain by the treaty of April 15th, 1654! The haughty Dutch had to humble themselves so far as to salute the flag of the three kingdoms in all British seas, besides paying damages and submitting to the check which the Navigation Act put upon their trade, thereby tacitly admitting the equality and ultimate superiority of British commerce.

Cromwell had to contend both with the Republican opponents of the army and the supporters of the navy at home, while abroad he was confronted by the Houses of Stuart and Orange; but by excluding the young Prince of Orange (William III.) from the office of Stadtholder, he not only drove Charles II. and his followers out of the Hague, but likewise delivered himself and the States-General from the House of Orange. In this respect Cromwell and Jan De Witt had a political object in common; and consequently, after a most bitter war, the two Commonwealths became quite amicably disposed towards one another, although only a few idealists in the Barebones Parliament could ever dream that they would become one

nation. As Denmark was included in the general peace, and the agreement with Sweden was sealed by the coronation of Charles Gustavus, not only had the British merchantmen access to the Sound, but England became the centre of the great Northern Protestant Union. The rival powers of France and Spain began to solicit the favour of the hated usurper. Having at last made peace with his neighbours, and confiding in the unity of opinion among his allies, he was now able to turn his attention to the contemplated Parliament.

The writs for the new Parliament, sent out in the name of the Protector, laid particular stress on the fact that the authority of a "single person" and the Parliament was no longer to be called in question, and that executive and legislative power would now be entirely distinct. These were the first fresh elections for fourteen years, but the same order was maintained as in the Long Parliament before its dissolution, namely, 400 members—250 for the counties, thirty for Scotland, thirty for Ireland, and the rest for the towns. Every member must have an income of at least £200, and malignants alone were excluded. So Presbyterians and Separatists were in the majority. Besides the officers and other dignitaries, there was many an old acquaintance of decidedly Parliamentarian and even Republican principles.

On Sunday, September 3rd, that day when the Lord had, on two occasions, had compassion on the people, the session was opened by a solemn prayer at the Abbey, where the Protector proceeded in state from Whitehall. The next day, after more prayers, Cromwell appeared in the Painted Chamber, where he

seated himself in a chair of state, with a canopy over it, and then rising, he "put off his hat," and addressed the members who sat round him with their heads uncovered. He spoke of "the interest of three great nations," nay, of all the Christian people in the world, in this free Parliament, and gravely told them where their predecessors had failed; he reminded them how their power was turned into impotence, and how, thanks to the treachery of the enemy, they were dragged into a war with Portugal and Holland, and very nearly with France. He further expounded to them how the present government had made peace within and without, and expressed a hope that neither support nor finances would be wanting to conclude the same everywhere, especially in Ireland.

But before many days were passed, the old debates arose again about "Parliament and Single Person." It was argued that the people alone possessed supreme authority, that the Protectorate did not possess equal privileges, but was to be subject to, and dependent on, the people, who claimed the right to make laws, even in military and clerical matters. As a Parliament in the old sense of the word was out of the question for both parties, and the idea of the sovereignty of the people was steadily gaining ground, the Parliament began seriously to think of putting it into execution. But how could this be reconciled with the power annexed by Cromwell? A feud ensued, which placed the "Instrument of Government" on rather an insecure footing. Consequently, when the members arrived on the morning of September 12th, they found the doors of the House locked and guarded with soldiers, and at ten o'clock the Lord

Protector himself appeared in his state barge, with due escort, and taking his place as before in the Painted Chamber, made a speech lasting an hour and a half, but in a very different vein from the last. He explained what he considered should be the relations between the supreme authority and a free Parliament; declared "that he lied not in this matter," and that he was free from all personal ambition; he recalled his own past, and the political catastrophes involved in it; and finally called the army, the City of London, the judges, sheriffs, and the people of the three nations to witness, and quoted the returns of the late elections as a proof, that his calling was from God, and his testimony from the people, and that he could never allow it to be tampered with. Then he distinguished between fundamental and circumstantial things in the establishment, such as no government could be without. "In every Government there must be Somewhat Fundamental, Somewhat like a *Magna Charta* which should be standing, be unalterable. . . . . The Government by a Single Person and a Parliament is a Fundamental. . . . . That Parliaments should not make themselves perpetual is a Fundamental. . . . . Again, is not Liberty of Conscience a Fundamental? . . . . Another Fundamental which I had forgotten is the Militia."[1] And he likewise averred that the Council of State belonged to the Constitution. He declared he would "sooner be willing to be rolled into his grave and buried with infamy," than consent to "the wilful throwing away of this Government." Finally, he desired them all to sign the Instrument of

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part viii., speech iii.

Government, which was the reason of their being elected, and to bind themselves to be faithful and loyal to the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of the three nations.

The first day about 140 assented to this, and before the month was out the number had increased to 300. Among the recusants were the most resolute Republicans, Anabaptists, and a group of officers, who, in a counter-declaration, warned the people that by the power of militia and the maintenance of a standing army, the Protector would become more powerful than the King himself, and the power of the Parliament of granting or refusing supplies a mere dead letter. No wonder it was found absolutely necessary to render harmless either by dismissal or imprisonment several well-known officers, who, however clever, were entirely imbued with fanatical opinions, and altogether misunderstood the man to whom they owed their position. But even they who signed the "Instrument" would not give up their right of discussing the points which had never been satisfactorily settled throughout the civil war, and eagerly seized every opportunity of explaining them theoretically.

The opposition party maintained that the glory of having fought for and obtained the liberty of the people was by no means due to the army alone, and that its leader had presumed upon the *jus divinum*, and had most unjustifiably assumed the powers of a monarchy. Lengthy debates ended in a general desire to limit the personal privileges of the Protector and the Council of State, both in peace and war. The Parliament expected to have full power of militia, to be able to diminish the standing army, and to retain

the right of dissolving the same altogether, when Cromwell, who certainly deserved high recognition, should have retired. The office of Protector was distinctly pronounced non-hereditary, and to be decided by election. It was to be renewed by the Parliament, and not by the Council of State. It is easy to see what sort of opinions prevailed, in spite of all the signatures. The Protector, with his theories of the divine calling of the Supreme Power in the state, was continually called upon to submit to the Parliament, while they put off from week to week the most important business of all, namely, the granting of means of subsistence to the army, failing which, the troops would once more have to establish free-quarter for themselves.

At last Cromwell's patience gave way. The five months had not yet elapsed before the end of which no dissolution might take place; but Cromwell reckoned in soldier-months of twenty-eight days, according to which the allotted time was up on January 22nd, 1655, and on that day Cromwell once more interfered. He angrily reminded them how, instead of acting up to the responsibilities they had undertaken, and taking his warning to heart, weeds and nettles, briars and thorns, had thriven under their shadow. He bemoaned the covetousness which, under pretence of building up the constitution, only dreamed of overthrowing the Protectorate. And, finally, he considered it his duty to inform them that their remaining together any longer was not for the good of these nations. Truly a regent in his position had by no means a bed of roses; but the last thing he thought of was to throw up the post he had undertaken. The

old enthusiasts about absolute liberty and "Christ's reign upon earth" considered this the arbitrary position of a usurper, and seized the opportunity to kick over the traces. One of the worst, Major Wildman, who, though a member of Parliament, could not be induced to sign the instrument, and who saw more chance of his Anabaptist notions finding favour with Charles Stuart, had to be summarily arrested in his own house, and was imprisoned in Chepstow Castle with several other ringleaders. As to those Cavaliers who had been partially amnestied by the Republic, they thought themselves perfectly justified in working for the restoration of their King against the Usurper. As early as May in the preceding year Cromwell was to have been murdered on a journey to Hampton Court. Three noble conspirators paid for this attempt with their lives, but it led to a rising in the Highlands, which gave some trouble, until General Monk drove Lord Middleton out of the country. Fresh attempts on both sides were frustrated by mutual watchfulness.

Colonel Overton, a Republican fanatic, was arrested in January, while trying to incite the Scotch troops to rebellion, in the hopes of invading England with them. The same failure attended all the risings (mostly planned by nobles) which were to take place simultaneously in the counties of Nottingham and York, on the Welsh border, and in the South. True, on the 11th, 200 horsemen made a daring attack on Salisbury during the Assizes, and carried off the High Sheriff. But a single troop of Cromwell's horse followed them into Devonshire and dispersed them. Several gentlemen were beheaded for high treason, others

hanged for horse-stealing, and the majority transported to Barbadoes. Charles II. speedily returned from Middleburg, in Zeeland, to the hospitable protection of the Palatinate. The fact that the English counties would have nothing to say to his intrigues, showed the foreign powers how slender was the chance of the return of the Stuarts.

Still, the inventive brain of the Protector was not at a loss to find means for establishing order in the land, and for ensuring the safety of his own person. In default of other means, the army had to serve his turn. In August, England was divided into ten or twelve districts, and a trustworthy officer of the rank of a major-general placed at the head of each. Desborow commanded in six counties in the South-West, and Fleetwood in the Midlands and the East, he having left the government of Ireland to Henry Cromwell, the bravest of the Protector's sons. Old Skippon kept order in London, and Lambert in the North. They were all experienced, hard-headed men, who were naturally hateful to the nation because they encouraged anarchy in every form, and still more because they calmly took upon themselves the duties of communal self-government.

An income-tax of ten per cent. was imposed upon Royalists, who were all, without exception, looked upon with suspicion, and the militia, which had been so toughly contested by the Parliament, made subservient to the major-generals, so that it might be drilled into a reserve for the regular army. With the assistance of the justices of the peace, they had to keep a sharp watch on all the inns and taverns, and even over the manners and morals of private indi-

viduals. Stage-plays, horse-races, and cock-fights were prohibited, not only on account of their demoralizing influence, but because such-like noble sports quickly collected large crowds. Soldiers were posted everywhere; indeed, England was in those days governed in much the same way as Ireland is now. The greater part of the more peaceable inhabitants saw the sense of these measures, and put up with them, though writhing under the hard rules.

The army, now numbering 50,000 men, had never before been in such capital condition, thanks to the strictness of the discipline; while the utmost economy was observed in every other respect, the Lord Protector giving his officers and subordinates the best example in this as in everything else. And the public had every opportunity of assuring itself that nothing was wasted, and had to admit that the much-abused arbitrariness of the Protector, which was even worse than that of the Stuarts, in arresting people regardless of their rank or position, had for its only object the peace and welfare of the nation.

The consequence was that most people felt deeply grateful to this guardian of society and promoter of religious liberty. The Presbyterians especially, and their endowed clergy, looked upon him as their saviour; and even those who were still loyal to the King despised resistance now, for it would have entailed the loss of position at universities and schools, and the sacrifice of livings and tithes. But Cromwell, the Independent, had always had a leaning to this form of Puritan faith, and continued to favour its adherents both north and south of the Tweed as long as they kept their hands off the reins of government. Accordingly

there were Presbyterians in his Ecclesiastical Commission who were invited to the honourable table of the Protector, for the latter made it a matter of conscience to discuss articles of faith, thus emphasizing his principle of allowing others the liberty required for oneself. It was a pity that, owing to the exclusively Protestant character of his Government, and the Jesuitical tendencies of the Catholic church, he could not exercise toleration towards Papists as well. As to the Anglicans, they had only themselves to thank for it that after the latest insurrections they were forbidden to practice their religion in public.

Unquestionably the hardest task of all was to draw the line at those abortive Independent growths, which he had once tolerated in his regiment, such as the Anabaptists, who denied all judicial authority, and the Quakers, who gave such universal offence because they admitted no worldly law, and drove the authorities to desperation by their steady refusal ever to take an oath. It was observed that the worst fanatics were seldom severely punished. Imprisonment seemed to be the only effectual remedy against them. George Fox, the head of the Quakers, was arrested, and had to sign a written promise never to draw the sword against the Lord Protector and his government. But when Cromwell, anxious to meet such an exceptional character, sent for him to Whitehall, he soon recognized that his was a nature which would avoid rather than court any struggle for power; and after "much discourse" together, Oliver dismissed him, "with moist-beaming eyes," saying, "Come again to my house! If thou and I were but an hour of the day together, we should be nearer one to the

other. I wish no more harm to thee than I do to my own soul."[1]

Everyone was allowed to worship God in his own way, provided only that he put no spoke in the wheels of the state coach. Only such churches as identified themselves with the state were not included in a system of toleration very unusual in those days. Altogether, everything pointed to an entire separation of civil from ecclesiastical authority, and the fact that the Jews were readmitted into Christian and Protestant England, after 400 years of exile, goes far to prove this assertion. Manasse ben Israel, a rich Amsterdam Jew, of Portuguese origin, and his co-religionists, presented a petition to be allowed to erect a synagogue in the city. After mature consideration, this was granted by the Protector and his council in December, 1655, probably with an eye to the policy of trade. But most extraordinary of all was the appearance of Rabbi Jakob ben Azahel, who came all the way from Asia, under the pretext of consulting the Hebrew manuscripts at Cambridge University, but in reality for the purpose of going to Huntingdon, there to study the family tree of the wonderful man who clothed his thoughts so imcomparably in the language of the Psalmist and the Prophets, so as to ascertain whether he were not of Jewish origin, nay, the promised Lion of the House of Juda. In truth, with the sword in one hand, and the Bible in the other, the Protector understood how to quell revolution and counter-revolution.

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part ix., after letter cciii.

CHAPTER XI.

CROMWELL AS PROTECTOR.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH SWITZERLAND.—CROMWELL BREAKS WITH SPAIN.—EXPEDITION TO THE MEDITERRANEAN.—BLAKE'S VICTORIES.—PENN'S FAILURE AT ST. DOMINGO.—WAR IS DECLARED WITH SPAIN, AND A TREATY SIGNED WITH FRANCE.—CROMWELL PROTECTS THE VAUDOIS.—COLONEL SEXBY'S PLOTS.—HOME AFFAIRS.—THE COST OF A REVOLUTION.—FRESH ELECTIONS.—CAPTURE OF A SPANISH FLEET.—OFFENCE AND PUNISHMENT OF NAYLOR.—SINDERCOMB.—THE "PETITION AND ADVICE."—CROMWELL IS OFFERED THE TITLE OF KING.—HESITATION TO ACCEPT IT.—HIS REFUSAL.

CROMWELL'S internal foes might well tremble, now that the great powers of Europe had begun to feel his powerful arm. It was quite in keeping with his policy, both at home and abroad, that he should have concluded the war with Protestant Holland which the Long Parliament had begun, and established an alliance with the Scandinavian States. In the spring of 1654 he accredited John Pell, a very cultivated divine, as his representative to the Protestant Cantons of the Helvetic Confederacy, who was accom-

panied by that curious Scotchman, John Dury, so indefatigable in the interests of an evangelical union. The latter soon perceived a slight Irenian tendency in the theological discussions of the German churches. In the interest of trade, friendly relations had long since been established with the Hanse-towns, Bremen, Hamburg, and Danzig, but the influence of a common faith extended as far as the Courts of Heidelberg and Stuttgardt, and to the University of Helmstädt, where just about this time the doctrines of Calixtus, who opposed the dogmatical Lutherans, were deservedly creating sensation.

Cardinal Mazarin, who was still engaged in a fierce strife with Spain, would have given anything to be at peace with the English conqueror. But his efforts in that direction were not assisted by the suspicion excited in Paris by Cromwell's negotiations in Switzerland and his friendly attitude towards French Protestants; besides which, Cromwell asked a very high price for his friendship. From the French he demanded Dunkirk, from the Spaniards that they should help him to obtain Calais. Both powers were a long time making up their minds, and offered high subsidies to obtain such an ally; but at length fate decided against the Spaniards. They flatly refused Cromwell's request to admit English merchants into their strictly-closed colonies, and to allow them to have a share in South American trade. As to immunity from the Inquisition, or, as the Protector called it, the liberty of carrying a Bible in one's pocket, that could not possibly be granted, and the Spanish ambassador replied that his master would as soon lose his eyes. France could not well adopt this tone, if

only for the sake of its own Huguenot inhabitants; besides which, it was constantly being allied with German, Dutch, and Scandinavian Protestants. Added to this, the English had been most cruelly attacked by the Spaniards in the Antilles Isles, under the old pretext, that they had no business there at all, according to the division of the world by Pope Alexander VI.

But nothing irritated the Protector more than that the religious and naval instincts of his people should be pitted against one another by such intolerant and hard restraints as had been the case once before under Elizabeth. Though the English merchants might well tremble at the idea of a war with Spain, Cromwell unhesitatingly, though secretly, laid his plans for a crushing blow. Of course the extensive preparations during the year 1654 could not pass altogether unnoticed. But when Admiral William Penn left Portsmouth on December 26th, in command of a large fleet, he had received written instructions which were only to be opened on the high seas. He was thereby charged to attack the possessions of the King of Spain, whose only claim upon them was their donation by the Pope, and who caused Englishmen to be robbed and murdered. Also to make good their position on the mainland, or some island in the West Indies. To this end there was a considerable force on board under General Venables. But they were likewise allowed to capture French ships, which showed that the relations between these two countries were anything but amicable.

In the meanwhile, Robert Blake had left Plymouth for the Mediterranean in October, with twenty-four ships, a move which decidedly puzzled both French

and Spaniards. Admiral Brest took care to avoid meeting him in the Straits of Gibraltar, and the Duc de Guise, who was once more trying his best to take Naples, went out of his way when he appeared in those parts. The Sea-General first demanded "reparation old or recent done to the English nation," and the Archduke at Florence, and Pope Alexander VII. in the Vatican, protested in vain against the threatening attitude of these heretics. On April 3rd, 1655, Blake took captive the Bey of Tunis, after a futile attempt from the batteries of Goletta and Porto Ferino to stop his entrance into the Bay. After this feat, the Divan of Constantinople, the Signoria of Venice, and the Knights of St. John at La Valette, met him half way and surrendered. What the latter could no longer succeed in enforcing in Malta, was accomplished by the mere sight of our ships,—the Despot of Algiers gave the Christian slaves their liberty.

Cromwell and Blake certainly did not agree on political grounds, but the former was always delighted to praise the Admiral's exploits in his correspondence, and took care to keep him well supported and to give him useful hints, while Blake showed the most patriotic loyalty in obeying orders, and was ready to attack Spain in the spring, and to watch for the Plate fleet in the Atlantic.

It was a pity the other squadron did not act with similar judgment. Penn landed at Hispaniola on April 14th, but did not, like Sir Francis Drake, succeed in taking San Domingo. The two leaders quarrelled, and half the troops consisted of an undisciplined rabble. The worst mistake they made, was

in landing so far from a town. The strength of the men gave way in the tropical heat of that desolate wilderness, and the Spaniards drove them back to their ships. No amount of severity could induce them to renew the attempt.

The conquest of Jamaica, which yielded with hardly an attempt at resistance, did not at first make up for this loss. Like many men who took part in the West Indian expedition, the governors died in quick succession. But for Cromwell's energy and perseverance, Jamaica's undoubted advantages of soil and climate would never have been turned to such good account as to make that island the centre of England's naval power in those seas. Still, he felt the defeat at Hispaniola acutely, and it could not fail to influence public opinion in England. When both Penn and Venables returned without having obtained satisfaction, they were deprived of their office and marched off to the Tower.

The Spanish Government next placed an embargo upon the English merchant service, thereby exciting great indignation against the Protector; but it could not make up its mind to any retributive action, either in Jamaica or anywhere else, for by any such step Spain's Dutch possessions would have been irretrievably lost. But all the more fiery were Cromwell's efforts to wipe out the blot, which he considered a chastisement from Heaven. He felt that the failure of an enterprise must never be allowed to influence the unsettled conditions of Great Britain, or to lose him his *prestige* abroad. It had now become necessary to "strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas," as he wrote to the governor of Jamaica.

The Spanish Peninsula was also threatened with war. It was only when the ambassador Cardenas (who did not dare accede to England's demands for free trade and exemption from the Inquisition) took his leave, that Cromwell made up his mind to accept the proposals which Cardinal Mazarin had been pressing upon him for the last year. On October 23rd war was solemnly declared with Spain, and on November 28th the heralds proclaimed, amid a flourish of trumpets, the conclusion of the treaty with France.

But for the failure at San Domingo, Cromwell would have steered clear of both powers, but it was now quite plain to him that, unlike her southern neighbour, France would never entirely submit to the Pope. On the contrary, the French had repeatedly assisted foreign Protestants; and though it was not included in the treaty, they had but lately promised to leave their Huguenot countrymen in peace. But to obtain the desired alliance with England, France had first to give some proof of her pacific intentions. In the transactions with Protestant Switzerland, the point at issue was the protection of the Vaudois, whom the Duke of Savoy wanted forcibly to convert to the Catholic religion, and in the event of their refusal, threatened to expel them from their native valleys. At one time Cromwell thought of teaching this intolerant Prince a lesson, by ordering Blake to attack him from Malta or Livorno, and then to seize upon Nice and Villa Franca. But that would not have given him possession of Piedmont. Then it came to pass that the Duke caused a terrible massacre of Protestants in April, on which occasion he made great use of Irish soldiers. Such a challenge aroused the

indignation of all the Protestant Powers. Diplomatic intercession, and collections of money in the Palatinate and Brandenburg, in Holland and England, did not suffice to protect these unhappy people from their persecutor. Cromwell, who learned all particulars in May, and would dearly have loved to unite all the Protestant forces, at once dictated a letter to Milton, representing to the Duke that he considered himself bound to side with the Vaudois, not only in the name of humanity, but for the sake of their common faith. He appealed to the Kings of Denmark and Sweden and to the Prince of Transylvania, and then tried hard to excite the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland to some sort of warlike demonstration; it was however quite hopeless to expect any heroism on their part, for, in spite of the promised assistance, they shrank from the immediate prospect of a war with the Catholic Confederates, united with Savoy and Bavaria. Cromwell's envoys, Pell and Sir Samuel Morland (who eventually wrote a history of the Protestant churches in Piedmont), could do nothing in Zurich and Geneva but distribute money to those who had been driven from their hearths and homes, and do their best to pacify the orthodox Prince.

France had had a share in this business, but now adopted the opposite policy as a condition of peace, which ended in an agreement with Cromwell. Not until then did Mazarin's ambassadors at Turin obtain leave for the Vaudois to return to their homes. And this diplomatic success of the Protestant cause was followed by the expulsion from France of Charles II., and all his followers.

The alliance between France and England, which

was such a surprise to the whole of Europe, for it had never prospered in the early days of the Stuarts and of the Republic, was now firmly and effectually cemented. Cromwell's enemies, both within and without, seemed to feel that the failure at Hispaniola had only intensified the attack on the slowly decaying power of Spain. Altogether, circumstances were so changed, that the restoration of the Stuarts was talked of at Madrid, and negotiations were even entered into, in the name of the Republic, with an Anabaptist fanatic, Colonel Sexby, to plan the overthrow of the Protector.

In the meanwhile, Cromwell had placed Lord Montague, whom he thoroughly trusted, by the side of Blake, and set the two admirals to conquer either Cadiz or Gibraltar, maintaining that if the latter were once taken, it could be defended by six good frigates, and would save the expense of an entire fleet. Whether his plan was practicable or not,—and it was not carried out then for want of troops on shore,—his far-seeing eye had hit upon a point which was to play an important part in the subsequent history of England. For the time being he had to leave it to his sea-generals to find out the best way of cutting off all communication between Spain and the West Indies. The squadron sent to Lisbon in June extorted from the King of Portugal the ratification of the long-promised and much-deferred treaty, with the payment of the stipulated sum of £50,000. The Protector thus stood up against the absolutely Catholic Powers, and that entirely alone, without the assistance of any other Protestant country. It was a current jest, that the Dutch would far rather leave

Cromwell to his fate, than risk losing a keg of sack, or a basket of raisins.

As he received no subsidies, not even from France, Cromwell had to raise the means necessary for these exertions at home. But even the Long Parliament had found out that revolutions are not to be had for nothing. Since then there had always been debts at the end of each year. In 1656 the deficit amounted to £800,000, while, in spite of the strictest economy, the administration swallowed up £20,000, the navy £900,000, and the army nearly £1,400,000. When the major-generals were summoned to London by Cromwell in the spring, they debated whether a further taxation of fifty per cent. should be laid upon the Royalists, whether the old system of a forced loan should be resorted to, or, as Cromwell himself wished, a general income-tax should be imposed upon the nation. But even these, his most trustworthy officials, who knew the feelings of the people better than anybody, did not dare recommend any one of these alternatives, though much was expected from the fresh elections. As soon as this was settled, the political life of the nation got into full swing again. Supporters of the government prayed to the Lord to preserve the debates from the exaggeration of former assemblies. But Parliamentary Republicans took fresh hope. In the next elections, which went off everywhere most smoothly and soberly, Sir Harry Vane "tried in three places and missed in all;" yet he was bold enough to send Cromwell his pamphlet, "The Healing Question," in which he expounded his ideas of a Parliament cleared of Royalists, and defended the sovereignty of the people, even though supreme power be given to

the "Single Person," but at the same time gave the army no exceptional privileges. It was only to be expected that the government should consider him dangerous, and as he declined to give any security, he was locked up at Carisbrooke, in the Isle of Wight.

On the whole, the results of the elections were more hopeful than they had ever been, for, thanks to the activity of the major-generals, the majority consisted of officials, supporters of the existing system, and men who were personally attached to the Protector, although of course the opposition had succeeded in getting in a number of their representatives. But this time the Council of State had no hesitation, on the strength of the "Instrument," in making the personal qualifications of each individual member a condition of his admission. However unparliamentary such a proceeding might be, in this way over a hundred suspicious characters were at once excluded from the House.

On September 17th, after a sermon by Dr. Owen, the Independent Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, the Protector addressed the Parliament in the Painted Chamber. This is one of his most long-winded speeches; but though difficult to follow, it is full of intensely thoughtful ideas. He began by speaking of the duty of protecting the state against all its enemies. Among foreign foes, he called the Spaniard, "not only our enemy accidentally, but providentially so," because ever since "Queen Elizabeth, of glorious memory—we need not be ashamed to call her so"—began the Reformation, Spain had done her utmost to stop the development of our country and faith, and would never tolerate liberty of conscience, and would continue

to persecute Protestant Englishmen with fire and sword. And this was the foe with whom King James made peace, and with whom the Long Parliament wanted to be on friendly terms, though he depended on the pleasure of the Pope, that "Antichrist against whom all Christian Europe ought to unite." The fact that Charles II. had thrown himself into the arms of Spain, was hailed by Cromwell as a welcome explanation of the numerous Royalist plots, and was a capital excuse for imposing double taxes upon them. But the people who came off worst of all, were those who, overflowing with wild notions of liberty and justice, called themselves "Commonwealth's men," and anticipated Christ's reign upon earth. For the sake of any foolish plot, these Republicans would have joined their fate with Papists or Cavaliers. Such a state of things, he considered, entirely justified "the little poor invention," namely, the institution of the major-generals at the cost of the evil-doers themselves. There was all the more reason for this, as the care for universal improvement must never grow slack.

The principle of religious toleration was emphatically defined as a duty of all civil authorities for the protection of all good Christians interested in maintaining existing authority, and so as to prevent the "trampling upon the heels" of Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists. For this reason it was necessary that the church be maintained (by tithes or otherwise), for unless something was done towards the support of just ministers, how would it be possible to improve the morals and combat the dissolute pleasures of the Cavaliers? Cromwell further considered it most necessary to reform the law, especially

in criminal cases, for, as he said, "to hang a man for six-and-eightpence, and I know not what; to hang for a trifle, and acquit murder,—is in the ministration of the Law through the ill-framing of it. I have known in my experience abominable murders acquitted." But the suppression of these numerous abuses required the self-sacrifice of the nation. The state was "hugely in debt," though the sum of £2,500,000 was probably an exaggeration, and he invited the members to "inspect the treasury and see how moneys have been expended." In conclusion, the Protector spoke of his chief antagonists, who were "under the bondage of scruples," and besought his hearers not to "dispute of unnecessary and unprofitable things, which may divert you from carrying on so glorious a work as this is. I think *every* objection that ariseth is not to be answered; nor have I time for it. I say, look up to God, have peace among yourselves. Know assuredly, that if I have interest, I am by the voice of the people the Supreme Magistrate, and, it may be, do know somewhat that might satisfy my conscience, if I stood in doubt." Finally he recited the eighty-fifth Psalm, and in a burst of enthusiasm invited them to join in Luther's Psalm (as he calls Psalm forty-six). "If Pope and Spaniard, and Devil and all, set themselves against us, ... yet in the name of the Lord we should destroy them."[1]

As was to be expected, the carefully weeded assembly entirely endorsed the Protector's opinion that war with Spain was unavoidable. The Stuarts were again declared to have forfeited all their rights to the

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part ix., speech v.

throne of England. A law to ensure the personal safety of the Lord Protector seemed quite necessary for the nation's peace. But when in October a despatch arrived from Admirals Blake and Montague, with the news that Captain Staines had at last captured part of the Plate fleet, it was accepted as a sign that Heaven approved of his decision. In the beginning of November the delighted people watched a long train of thirty-eight waggon-loads of the precious metal, worth over a million, rattling along the London road from Portsmouth to the Tower. A day of public thanksgiving was celebrated after this victory over an implacable foe. Meanwhile, Cromwell commissioned his agents in Paris, Geneva, and Zurich to make the most of the favourable issue of the debate in all their publications, so as to counteract the numerous false reports which the Continental press had assiduously spread about, and which emanated especially from Cologne.

And yet, even in this Parliament, as soon as it became a question of granting subsidies, the old party-spirit between army and people again asserted itself. It was only when the civil faction, to which belonged Bulstrode Whitlocke, obtained a majority in January, 1657, that a supply of £400,000 was voted. But this called in question the exceptional position of the major-generals. However justly they might have acted as governors, a military power as such, was not countenanced by the nation. It was on the cards, that if the Parliament were forced to try a fresh experiment, they would be replaced by a judicial code of laws.

Difficulties arose on all sides. After endless discussions, James Nayler, a poor hare-brained Quaker, who

said he represented the Son of God, was condemned to the same cruel torments which Archbishop Laud had once so freely dispensed. Cromwell tried to interfere, saying that as he had been intrusted with supreme authority, he desired to know the reason of such arbitrary proceedings. He considered his impotence to control the decrees of the House as a flaw in the constitution. And many thousands of peace-loving Englishmen looked gloomily into the future, when the Protector's health began to fail, or when fresh plots were made against his life. What other general could be expected to keep down the fanatical Sectaries with such strength and firmness as he had done? Or, if the restoration of the Stuarts should come to anything, would it not open a door to Catholicity? Consequently the nation was seized with a genuine panic, when, on January 8th, a certain Miles Sindercomb, a creature of Sexby's, who had been dismissed from the army on account of his eccentricities, was found out in a plot to blow up Cromwell's apartments in Whitehall. He succeeded in taking poison the night before he was to have been executed; but an incendiary pamphlet, entitled "Killing no Murder," placed him in triumph by the side of the ancient Romans. The Parliament, however, with Speaker Widdrington at its head, hastened to wish the Protector joy of his deliverance. He replied by a few modest and grateful sentences, pointing to the many blessings which God had bestowed upon the three nations, and, in the words of the Psalmist, recommending them to preserve peace and unity among themselves. The day after the public thanksgiving, the whole House was asked by his Highness to dinner at Whitehall, where he en-

tertained his generals with music. Even in the churches of Zurich and Berne the ministers gave thanks for the preservation of his life as a boon to Protestantism.

This exciting event had the most lasting effect at Westminster, for in the ensuing debates voices were heard demanding that Cromwell be invested with a still higher, hereditary,—nay, *royal* power. The English people simply could not separate their ideas of liberty and justice from the forms and dignities of the old constitution. The indignant protest from the army only excited the hope of putting an end to army and Protectorate alike. On February 23rd, after lengthy and earnest debates, and two divisions, the House decided to hear a paper read by Alderman Sir Christopher Pack, "somewhat tending to the settlement of the nation," which he called a "Remonstrance from the Parliament." Four days later a hundred officers appeared at Whitehall—among them Lambert, the originator of the Instrument, the annulling of which was the object of the agitation—to implore the Protector to keep his solemn promise of observing the old order. He did not entirely succeed in quieting their apprehensions, however scornfully he might speak of the title of king, which he had already been pressed to accept, and which, he said, was of no more value to him "than a feather in his hat." He seriously represented to them, however, how very unpopular their power had become, and how no government could exist without the approbation of the people, and the consideration of their civil rights. He could not have done more to encourage the opposition party in its high-flown notions.

Pack's "Remonstrance," which afterwards called itself "Petition and Advice," was discussed during the following weeks. The majority pleaded for the re-institution of Parliamentary rights, for free elections, from which only malignants were to be excluded, and for security against arbitrary dissolution. But it was likewise demanded that these privileges should be effectually and permanently embodied in the "Single Person," and for this reason some of the chains which had restrained him up to the present must needs be cast aside. His successor was to be appointed by himself, and not by a Council of State, and he was also to take the initiative in the proposed establishment of a "second House."

It quite accorded with Cromwell's ideas that both army and navy should be in a normal state, and that "Liberty of Conscience" should be made law, so long as the members of different denominations kept the peace; but of course this was hardly to be expected from Papists and Episcopalians. At length, on March 25th, the long-postponed debate about the title of king took place, and many bitter speeches were called forth by the opposition of the staunch Republicans. They succumbed nevertheless, with sixty-two votes against 123, which bestowed on Cromwell the title, office, and dignity of King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. This important bill, consisting of eighteen articles, of which no single one was to carry weight without the others, was engrossed on vellum, and presented to his Highness by the Speaker on March 31st, at 11 a.m., accompanied by the whole House.

In his answer to the address the Protector requested a few days' consideration so as to deliberate with

himself and the Lord upon this offer, which surpassed all his previous trials. On April 3rd he called a committee at his house, which included many trustworthy men, such as Lord Broghil, General Montague, the Earl of Tweedale, Whalley, Desborough, and Whitlocke; and though he expressed his appreciation of the great confidence placed in him, which was bound to advance the "Civil Liberty and Interest of the Nation," still he refused to "undertake this charge under that title." The solidarity which was made the condition of the plan was the dilemma on which everything turned. His staunchest supporters found his answer very vague, but the Parliament was of a different opinion. It resolved to overrule his hesitation, and to this object appointed a committee of ninty-nine members, among whom were the most eminent lawyers, like Whitlocke, Glynn, Fiennes, and old Speaker Lenthall, now Master of the Rolls. The Fifth-Monarchy men came hopelessly to grief, now that it was absolutely a question of electing a king.

CHAPTER XII.

CROMWELL AS PROTECTOR.

CONFERENCES REGARDING THE KINGSHIP.—THE TITLE IS EXPUNGED FROM THE "PETITION AND ADVICE."—NEW CONSTITUTION.—BLAKE'S VICTORY AT SANTA CRUZ.—HIS DEATH.—TREATY WITH FRANCE.—MARDYKE.—NEW PARLIAMENT WITH A "SECOND HOUSE."—ITS DISSOLUTION BY CROMWELL.

ON April 11th began those remarkable conferences of the Committee of Ninety-nine, when many worthy gentlemen made speeches, in the hope of overcoming resistance by legal arguments and Cromwell's own traditions. It was alleged that the title of Protector was not known to the law, while that of King was, and had been for many hundreds of years. The lawyers particularly declared, that however often the representative of supreme power might change, the very title of King was a bond between the law and the people. Lord Broghil alone expressed a new idea, by reminding them of the eleventh Act of Henry VII., by which "all persons that obey a King *de facto*, are to be held guiltless, not so if they serve a Protector *de facto*." In answer to this, and a great deal more, Cromwell said that the legislative power could not

possibly be in "those four or five letters, or whatever else it had been! That signification goes to the *thing*, certainly it does; and not to the name." He thought there could be no doubt that he would be equally obeyed under his present title. "It is known to you all . . . . that the Supreme Authority going by *another* name and under another title than that of King hath been, why it had been already twice complied with! . . . . And truly I may say that almost universal obedience hath been given by all ranks and sorts of men to both. Now this, on the part of both these authorities, was a beginning of the highest degree of magistracy at the first alteration, and at a time when that 'Kingship' was the name established; and the new name, though it was the name of an invisible thing, the very name I say was obeyed, did pass current, was received, and did carry on the Public Justice of the Nation." He then reverted to his personal antecedents, which had raised him to a place, "not so much of doing good," but of preventing "imminent evil." The first thing he considered was "the settling of the peace and liberty of this nation;" "and in that so far as I can I am ready to serve, not as a King, but as a Constable if you like! . . . . a good Constable set to keep the peace of the Parish." He reminded them of his brave "Ironsides," and said he knew that there were still "such men in this Nation; godly men of the same spirit, men that will not be beaten down by a worldly or carnal spirit, while they keep their integrity. . . . I cannot think that God would bless an undertaking of anything, Kingship or whatever else, which would justly and with cause grieve *them*." Speaking of

fanatics and sectarians, he gave it as his opinion that: "You will be better able to root out of this Nation that disobedient spirit and principle,—and to do so is as desirable as anything in this world,—by complying, indulging and being patient to the weakness and infirmities of men who have been faithful and have bled all along in this Cause." In conclusion, he declared that "the Providence of God hath laid aside this title of King providentially . . . . by issue of ten or twelve years civil war. . . . . God hath seemed so to deal with the Persons and the Family that He blasted the very Title. . . . . I will not seek to set up that which Providence hath destroyed, and laid in the dust; I would not build Jericho again!"[1]

This closed the proceedings for that day, and when during the following days Cromwell pleaded indisposition, matters grew very strained, and that not only in Parliamentary circles. The effects made themselves felt even in foreign newspapers. Few people could understand why this man's ambition stopped short of the very highest goal. And yet it was impossible to accuse him of hypocrisy. When the conference was resumed on the 16th and 20th, the argument was brought forward by Whitlocke, that Cromwell, "in refusing this Kingship, will do what never any that were actual Kings of England did, reject the advice of his Parliament." In his speech, however, he strongly emphasized the difference between himself and the "inheritors by birthright," and for this reason would not admit that he was bound to follow in their footsteps. "And now when I say

1 "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part x., speech xi.

. . . . I did out of necessity undertake that Business, which I think no man but myself would have undertaken,—it hath pleased God that I have been instrumental in keeping the Peace of the Nation to this day. . . . . If the wisdom of Parliament should have found a way to settle the Interests of this Nation . . . . I would have lain at their feet or at anybody else's feet, that things might have run in such a current."[1] His interlocutors must indeed have felt that he had gone into the matter very deeply. They had to content themselves that the question of kingship should be put on one side for a time, and that Cromwell should occupy himself with the other points of the New Instrument. In the conference of April 21st he recalled the "Long" and the "Little" Parliament, compared to which the New Settlement, more than any former attempt, held out a prospect of peace and liberty to the nation after its long struggle. In some of the particulars he wished for some little alteration, especially with regard to the Election Laws. The exclusion of public preachers appeared unfair to the old Independent, who acknowledged the right of every believer to speak extempore. He further demanded the right not for once, but for always, of having a share in the elections of the other House, and objected that the appointment of judges, principal officers of state, etc., should be exclusively in the hands of the Parliament. He finally demanded increased supplies for carrying on the Spanish war, as that would be the simplest way to show other powers how thoroughly it was approved of by the nation. The

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part x., speech xii.

Parliament hastened to act upon Cromwell's suggestions as much as possible. On May 1st they presented the amended Bill to the Protector, in the expectation that he had at last made up his mind about the principal point, *i.e.*, the kingship.

We are told how Cromwell talked over this important question with individual members of the committee, and "laying aside his greatness, he would be exceedingly familiar with them," but how, after having played at Crambo, and smoked a pipe of tobacco with them, "he would fall again to his serious and great business of the kingship." It was reported that his family pressed him to accept the title of King; and the Royalists rejoiced in anticipation over the fatal step, which would bring about his fall. Nevertheless, he remained perfectly cool, and as keen and sharp-sighted as ever. Could he of all people assume the crown which had been torn from the Stuarts? Could he recall the old constitution and deny the new one? In the Republican and military party, to which he himself belonged, the dissenting voices would never have been silenced. On May 8th the officers presented a counter-remonstrance, and that very day Cromwell invited the entire House to meet him in the Banqueting House, and in a short speech declined the crown. "I have truly thought, and I do still think, that, at the best, if I should do anything on this account to answer your expectation, at the best I should do it doubtingly. And certainly whatsoever is so is not of faith."[1] Lawyer Whitlocke indignantly ascribes this refusal to the united influence of

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part x., speech xiv.

Commonwealth's men and officers. Of the latter, indeed, very few changed their opinions; and all the most eminent men, such as Desborow and Fleetwood, were decidedly opposed to the title of King. In fact, Lambert could not bear to witness the destruction of his work, and accordingly retired, and "cultivated flowers" at Wimbledon. After ten weeks' debating, the Parliament had to bow to this decision, though not without some feelings of disappointment. On the 19th the name of king was expunged from the petition, and on the 22nd the Lord Protector was invested with all the attributes of an independent prerogative and a distinctly royal power, which had not characterized the Instrument of 1653. Freed from the supervision of the Council of State, Cromwell was able to unite military influence and the Parliament into a supreme and united authority over the three kingdoms.

After fresh oaths had been prescribed for the Council of State, and new arrangements made about the supplies, this radical change was solemnly inaugurated on June 26th, when the Lord Protector was appointed Supreme Magistrate of the Commonwealth of England; and having obtained the right of appointing his successor, his dignity had become hereditary; indeed he was king in all but the name. Preceded by the Earl of Warwick and Lord Mayor, both carrying drawn swords, besides other dignitaries, he went in state to Westminster Hall, and took his place under a canopy. The speaker threw a purple velvet cloak over his shoulders, placed a sceptre of "massy gold" in his hand, girt the sword about him, and "delivered to him the Bible, richly gilt and bossed,"—that covenant

made by the Lord ages before with all nations, which was never so vividly realized as on this occasion. On this volume the new oaths were taken which were to ratify this eminently Protestant constitution. And before the Parliament was prorogued until January 20th, for the purpose of electing an Upper House, it had voted for the union of all the Protestant churches, which was quite after the heart of the mighty ruler, who had so long been making efforts in this direction.

And it really seemed as though the blessing of Heaven attended him, for a few weeks later, on May 28th, came the news of an incomparable feat of Blake's. He had at last encountered a vast squadron of the enemy's ships coming heavily laden from the West Indies. They ran for shelter into the crescent-shaped bay of Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe, which was bristling with castles and batteries. But Blake sailed in upon them, defying the deadly cross-fire, and destroyed all their galleys, who had barely managed to transfer to the shore their silver and other treasures. On June 10th the Protector moved that a "Small Jewel" (of £500 value) be sent to him, together with a letter of thanks from himself and the Parliament. On the 7th of August following, the hero, "worn out with toil and sickness," died on his flag-ship, the "St. George," in sight of Plymouth Harbour. The lifeless body was received at Greenwich, and amid mixed feelings of joy and sorrow, a public thanksgiving was organized.

It was part of Cromwell's plan that his allies should also take part in the war with Spain. Foremost among these was Charles Gustavus of Sweden, who threw himself with crushing force on Catholic Poland,

and by joining hands with Prince Racoczy of Transylvania and Protestant Hungary, effectually prevented the Habsburgs from assisting their Spanish cousins. In his fiery zeal the Protector encouraged these conflicts, and thereby fanned the flame of religious animosity, which had been gradually dying out, into a bright blaze. Consequently it touched him to the quick when the old political and mercantile rivalry again broke out between the neighbouring states of Denmark and Sweden. Over and over again he warned them, through Milton, to think more of their common welfare than of their individual petty jealousies.

In the summer of 1657 one and the same man was accredited at the Courts of Stockholm, Kiel, and Oldenburg, by the Hanse-towns and by the Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg. The latter, "famous in war and peace all over the world," was for the moment at peace with Poland, and came to the assistance of Denmark against Sweden. True, he had entered into diplomatic relations with the Protector, but owing to his partiality to the House of Orange, he was not so warm an ally as daring Charles of Sweden. Mazarin had to be careful how he entered into an alliance with our heretical island, for fear of affronting the French clergy; and, in the same way, Cromwell had to renounce his idea of a universal Protestant union as soon as the storm broke in the Netherlands, in such close proximity to England and France. For it was from there that the Spaniards encouraged the remnants of the *Fronde* and their exiled leader, Prince Louis of Condé; from there that they supported homeless King Charles II., who had

promised to assemble the troops which had been raised for him, either at Ostende or Dunkirk, and thence to establish communications with the eager English Royalists; he even had hopes of eventually winning over part of the British army and navy. And what was more, the United Provinces were not only on the side of the Danes rather than of the Swedes, but had aroused well-founded suspicions that they were rowing in the same boat with the Spaniards. Admiral Montague, cruising in the channel, was commanded by the Protector, in the name of the Law of Nations, to watch the movements of a Flushinger, which had come into St. Malo's, said to have twenty-five tons of silver on board.

Cromwell had now sufficient reason to conclude the alliance with France by a closer treaty. On March 23rd both powers bound themselves straightway to reduce the three coast-towns Gravelines, Mardyke, and Dunkirk, the former to belong to France, the two latter to England. Both statesmen managed to overlook the differences occasioned by their respective religions, as well as the traditional political opinions of their countries. France promised 20,000 men for the attack, and England 6,000 and a naval squadron. It was indeed a great event, when, in the middle of May, a goodly array of red-coats landed at Boulogne under General Reynolds, and young Louis XIV. came in person to inspect the ranks of those godly veterans. But when, in spite of the treaty, the wily cardinal wanted to use them in defending Cambrai, the Protector at once put his foot down. His representative was Sir William Lockhart, a Scottish nobleman, who had served him in France for two years past, both as

a diplomat and a soldier, and who, since his marriage with Cromwell's niece, had quite adopted his politics. This gentleman not only stopped the march to Cambrai, but succeeded in directing the first efforts of the allies towards Dunkirk instead of Gravelines. This forced Turenne to approach the coast of Flanders and assist the allied forces to attack Mardyke, which, having been reduced, had to be given up to the English. Cromwell himself sent a Dutch engineer to strengthen the wooden forts of the place, which had suffered a good deal, so that when the Spaniards and Irish emigrants under the Duke of York wanted to retake Mardyke by scalado, they met with a warm reception. This first collision, however, only excited the enemy to a still more determined resistance. It was arranged that Charles II. and his brother were to land in the East and West of England early the following year, and this plan was communicated to the Royalists and Anabaptists at home. Although Colonel Sexby had been recognized and arrested by the Protector's coastguard, in spite of his "overgrown beard," Ormonde ventured to come to London under an assumed name, there to work for his King both among Cavaliers and discontented Parliamentarians and Republicans. Charles II. made the most plausible concessions; and what with fair words and bribes, made great havoc even among the Protector's troops. Cromwell was of course kept informed of all that went on, and could not hesitate to exercise his increased authority by supporting the Parliament in every possible way, especially as so many of his old comrades had been estranged from him.

Thanks to his diplomatic relations with foreign

allies, the Protector was able to associate with other sovereigns on an equal footing. His household had considerably increased in rank and dignity since the time when he was a simple farmer at Huntingdon. The confiscations had allotted to him sundry vast estates, which had originally belonged to the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Worcester, and he lived sumptuously and as became his position, though without any sort of ostentation. In November of this year he married his two younger daughters in quick succession (which fashionable events were duly chronicled by the papers), Lady Frances to Robert Rich, nephew of the Earl of Warwick, who had remained faithful to the Protector in spite of grave religious scruples, and Lady Mary to Lord Fauconberg, of the Yorkshire family of Bellasis.

Far more important was the establishment of the House of Lords which the new "Instrument" had allowed to be formed. Six peers, among whom were Lords Manchester, Warwick, and Mulgrave, seemed inclined to join it, but not one of them ever took his seat, for even Warwick objected to be associated with Major-General Hewson, who was reported to have been a respectable shoemaker. Among the officers were Skippon, Desborow, Whalley, and Pride; among lawyers and politicians, Whitlocke, Lenthall, and Maynard; while the Scots were represented by Warriston and Lockhart. Cromwell's two sons, several relatives, and a number of loyal adherents who had hitherto had seats in the Commons, had also been summoned. After a critical revision, sixty-three members were raised to this puritanical House of Lords, forty of whom actually took their seats.

January 20th was fixed for the opening of the Parliament which had been thus completed. Great excitement prevailed in both parties, on account of the warlike state of Flanders, the rumours of an invasion, the increased vigilance of the government, which did not even spare the sanctity of private life, and still more on account of the new constitutional experiment. The Commons had lost their most trustworthy men by removing them into the Upper House, and further regulations gave matters a still more threatening aspect. For in return for the prerogative conferred upon himself, Cromwell had countenanced the return of those members who had been expelled the year before, on condition that they consented to take the oath. Most of them agreed to this, for they had not only to swear fealty to the Protector, but to the privileges of the whole British nation. Among those who took the oath were some of Cromwell's most frantic antagonists, such as Ashley Cooper, Alderman Luke Thomson, and the Scotchman Thomas Scott. Consequently the monarchical power, which had grown out of the ruins of an immense convulsion, was once again confronted with popular opposition, which had never been quite crushed.

At the opening, Cromwell, who was indisposed, only said a few words about civil and ecclesiastical liberty, and quoting his favourite Psalm once more admonished them to live peaceably. Then Nathaniel Fiennes, the Keeper of the Great Seal, took up the thread in a more business-like tone. But as early as the 23rd it came to a rupture, when the second House sent a message to the Commons, asking them to institute a holiday. The senders were however sharply

reminded that the Parliament had, once upon a time, not only got rid of the King, but likewise dissolved the House of Lords. The speakers were even careful to avoid the expression "the other House," so as not to be premature in acknowledging the new-fangled peerage. Added to this, Sir Arthur Haselrig, whose relations with Cromwell had for some time been getting rather strained, appeared one day in the Commons, saying, "Give me my oath." Sir Arthur had been summoned to the Peers, but preferred his seat *here*. His request could not be denied, and henceforth he collected all the forces of the opposition.

But the ever-watchful Protector did not fail to notice the approaching danger. On that very 25th of January he invited both Houses to Whitehall, and addressed them very seriously. He called their attention to the straitened position of Protestantism, which was being driven into a corner by the Catholic powers, Piedmont, Spain and Austria, where one of the Habsburgs had just been elected emperor, as well as by Italy and the Pope. He reminded them of the King of Sweden, who had gone to war with Denmark, while the Protestant Dutch had not scrupled to haggle with their co-religionists for the "possession of the Sound," and in their base love of gain to supply the bitterest enemy of their faith with ships and ammunition. It would never do for England to depend solely upon the "great ditch" surrounding it. "Let us have one heart and soul; one mind to maintain the honest and just rights of the Nation, not to *pretend* to them, to the destruction of our peace, to the destruction of the Nation." He trembles for the fate of the army—"A poor unpaid Army, the soldiers going

barefoot at this time, in this city, this weather." He confesses that he can only expect "what a foolish book expresseth," namely, an "orderly confusion," but adds, that if it should indeed come to this, and Peace and the Gospel be overthrown, "it will be said of this poor Nation, *Actum est de Anglia*, it is all over with England." His only hope is in the New Frame of Government. "I also have taken my oath, to govern according to the Laws that are now made; and I trust I shall fully answer it. And know, I sought not this place. I speak it before God, Angels, and Men, I DID NOT."[1]

But he preached to deaf ears, for his hearers would not sanction an increased Protectoral power, and took no heed of the self-denying sacrifices of the Protector himself. In fact popular opinion, fanned by injudicious persons, now denied the Parliament the right of making any changes. Cromwell expected the Upper House to obtain an authority equal to that of the Commons, and a firm control which would support the power of the state; but the opposition party, remembering the past, protested against all Lords, and especially against those assembled by the caprice of the Protector. The House of Commons alone was considered the proper representative whereby the nation could declare its resolutions and institute laws. These ideas began already to counteract the regulations which had been made against Papists and Royalists, to ensure their keeping the peace. There was even some talk of an address, demanding that Parliament should again have Power of Militia, and

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part x., speech xvii.

the Protector be checked in his arbitrary dismissal of officers.

After ten days of fruitless debating, such incorrigible obstinacy at last made Cromwell lose his temper. On February 4th, at eleven in the morning, he proceeded in all haste to the Hall in the House of Lords, and sent the Black Rod to summon the Commons, who were just then having a frantic debate. As soon as they appeared he addressed them in sorrow and anger. He told them that they had forced the New Settlement upon him, and now refused to submit to it. "I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside and to have kept a flock of sheep! . . . . You advised me to come into this place, to be in a capacity by your Advice. Yet instead of owning a thing, some must have I know not what. . . . . Through the intention of devising a Commonwealth again! That some people might be the men that rule all! . . . . These things tend to nothing else but the playing of the King of Scots' game (if I may so call him), and I think myself bound before God to do what I can to prevent it. . . . . It hath been confirmed to me since, not a day ago, that the King of Scots hath an Army at the water's side, ready to be shipped for England." He concluded with the emphatic words: "I think it is high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do dissolve this Parliament! And let God be judge between you and me!"[1] There were still plenty of people in the country who looked upon this action as salutary and unavoidable. "Believe me," says Samuel Hartlib, a

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part x., speech xviii.

German Pole, who was a friend of Milton's, "believe me, it was of such necessity, that if their Session had been continued but two or three days longer, all had been in blood, both in City and Country, upon Charles Stuart's account." But when Cromwell assembled his officers round him on February 9th (having issued the most stringent orders after the dissolution that they were to have their men in readiness), and assured them of his good faith as long as they were loyal to his Government—they one and all vowed to stand and fall, to live and die by his side. Indeed his only hope lay in the Army, his first great creation, now that he had despaired of uniting his power with the Authority of the Parliament.

But for the Army and the religious principles with which it was imbued, England would never have obtained that position, whereby Cromwell is placed on a level with Elizabeth, William III., and Lord Chatham. It was only natural that his protection should extend to those Puritans who had made another home for themselves in New England. A letter on this subject proves what a deep interest he took in the welfare of these pilgrims and their first Christian colony over the sea, the civil constitution of which the late peace with France had done much to cement. Since a bar had been put to the intrigues of the Cavaliers, Virginia and Maryland could no longer quarrel about their boundaries. Bancroft calls Cromwell "the benefactor of the English in America; for in his time they enjoyed freedom of industry, of commerce, of religion, and of government."[1]

[1] G. Bancroft's "History of the United States of America." Author's last revision. New York, 1885. Vol. i., p. 310.

With his usual unerring judgment, he made use of these colonists to protect Jamaica, which had but recently been added to our possessions. When the Spaniards of Cuba and Mexico made another attempt to re-conquer that island, reinforcements from Scotland and Ireland, from Barbadoes and New England, helped a brave commander to drive out the enemy for good and all. Since then the British flag has waved uninterruptedly in the very heart of the North Atlantic Ocean.

CHAPTER XIII.

DEATH OF CROMWELL.

BATTLE OF THE DUNES.—STORM OF DUNKIRK.—CROMWELL AGAIN INTERFERES IN BEHALF OF THE PIEDMONTESE.—EXECUTION OF SLINGSBY AND HEWIT.—DEATH OF LADY ELIZABETH CLAYPOLE.—CROMWELL'S ILLNESS.—HIS DEATH.—HE IS BURIED AT WESTMINSTER.—HIS SON RICHARD SUCCEEDS HIM.—HIS RESIGNATION.—MONK TAKES THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY.—THE KING'S RETURN TO LONDON.—DISSOLUTION OF THE ARMY.

IN the meanwhile a decision was approaching on the principal scene of action. The Spaniards had pursued the French army under Turenne to West Flanders, and a battle was fought on the Dunes in sight of besieged Dunkirk. Cromwell's regiments, under brave Sir William Lockhart, stormed one of the best defended sandhills, and repulsed not only the strongest troops of Don Juan de Austria, but also the English emigrants under the Duke of York. It was a victory both over the Spaniards and over the Stuart dynasty. On June 3rd Dunkirk surrendered, and was immediately converted into a bulwark of

English rule, English trade, and the Protestant faith, and quite made up for Calais, torn from our grasp a hundred years before. After these events, Mazarin's nephews, the Duc de Crequi, and other French nobles, paid a visit to the court of the Protector, while Cromwell gave the necessary credentials to his son-in-law, Lord Fauconberg, then on his wedding tour, to enable him to kiss the hand of Louis XIV.

The Anglo-French treaty was not a mortal blow to the Catholic powers, because, firstly, the House of Habsburg had been strengthened by the election of Emperor Leopold I., a fact due principally to Protestant potentates, such as Frederick William of Brandenburg; and secondly, because Charles Gustavus had again attacked Denmark, after the hollow peace of Roeskild, the latter country being supported by the Empire, Poland, and Brandenburg. A Protestant Union appeared totally impracticable; and about the same time the Protector, to his great sorrow, once more found himself obliged to raise his voice in favour of his protegées in Piedmont. Not only had John Milton composed official dispatches in May to the most Christian King, to the Cardinal and the Helvetic Union, urging them to support the treaty of Pignerol, which the Duke of Savoy was openly breaking, but the Protector sent personal instructions to Sir William Lockhart, by which he hoped to meet these fresh deeds of violence. Then he reminded the King of France of the promise of his great ancestor, Henry IV., which was solemnly registered in 1592 by the Parliament of the Dauphiné in favour of these poor people, and even proposed an exchange of territories, which he had been contemplating for some time, so as to

place the Vaudois, if possible, under the more tolerant French crown.

But neither in this nor any other point was he fated to be thoroughly successful in making his name respected. And this was quite in keeping with the state of things at home, where, though no one had been able to resist him, he had nevertheless been unable to reconcile with his absolute authority those men who had formerly been on his side, but now stood up for a Free-state and unrestrained Sectarianism. His harsh treatment, not only of men like Harrison and Wildman, but of General Lambert, arose from the great anxiety he felt about the spirit of his army. In former days the troops had prided themselves on their religious enthusiasm and their independent debates, but now Cromwell endeavoured to keep all that down as much as possible. The dethroned Anabaptists especially, whom he had once so openly encouraged, and whose sentiments he had expressed at Dunbar, were most indignant, and in their frantic rage sold themselves to Charles II., from whom they expected more liberty of conscience than from their old patron. He found himself surrounded by enemies on every side, and saw their plots daily gaining strength. What had he gained by forbidding the Anglicans to practise their ritual in public? They remained faithful to the monarchy and were still not uprooted. Royalists and Catholics had been driven with great cruelty from the capital, and the worst offenders thrown into prisons already filled to overflowing. In consequence of a hint from Cromwell himself, Lord Ormond hurriedly left his hiding-place in the City, and escaped across the sea. Then the

extreme party, fired with hope of being able to throw off their heavy yoke and prepare for the landing of their deliverer, conceived the wild idea of overpowering the sentries at Whitehall and the Tower on the night of May 15th, and then to set fire to the capital. But as usual, the highest authorities had been informed, and the ringleaders were arrested when they were together one day at the well-known tavern, The Mermaid, in Cheapside. The High Court of Justice, which since 1656 had enjoyed the most unlimited powers, sat in Westminster Hall as it had once done for the trial of Charles I., and pronounced judgment on these rebels. The most prominent among them were Sir Henry Slingsby, Knight, from Yorkshire, and John Hewit, Doctor of Divinity. The latter was related to Lord Fauconberg, who had lately married the Protector's daughter—indeed, he had joined them in matrimony. Perhaps for that very reason there was no mercy for them as there was for some poor wretches. In vain one demanded a jury, while the other pleaded his sacred calling. On June 8th they both suffered on Tower Hill.

Nevertheless, the ferment in the population still continued. After the dissolution of Parliament, even hardworking citizens lost faith in the guardian of their peace. The merchants had, up to the present, lost much and gained nothing by the war with Spain. As to the City, it could not be induced to advance a loan. Several cases of refusal to pay the taxes helped to kindle the spirit of opposition. The Parliamentary Government had become a most intricate problem to the Protector, while, from without, a treaty between France and Spain, which might happen any day,

would undo all he had gained by his brilliant successes. And what a prospect this would open to the exiled King! Differences of opinion penetrated even into the bosom of the Protector's family. The majority of his relatives still hoped that the new order would be firmly established, and that they would retain the privileges enjoyed at Whitehall. But brave Henry, who was commanding in Ireland, saw plainly that everything depended on the life of his father. Cromwell's brother-in-law, Desborow, and son-in-law, Fleetwood, were not in the least inclined to deny the old spirit of their party; and the Protector was continually speculating how he could best win over these godly men, his own flesh and blood.

But he was worn out before his time by self-reproach for the violent means he had been obliged to use to ensure his country's peace and the triumph of the Protestant faith, and was confronted by death just as his thorny path of life had reached a dizzy height. The constant worry and anxiety about the success of his many plans undermined his domestic arrangements and simple home-life. The attacks of fever, of which the seeds had probably been sown during his many years' stay among the unhealthy marshes of Ely, became alarmingly frequent. A blood-disease, indicated very early by his red swollen face and irritable sanguine temperament, was about to declare itself. A succession of deaths among those dearest to him filled him with grief. In February young Rich had died; in April followed his grandfather and old friend, Lord Warwick. While Cromwell himself was at Hampton Court for change of air, his favourite daughter, Lady Elizabeth Claypole, fell ill there. In an agony of grief he sat

by her bedside night and day, to give his beloved child spiritual consolation in her great suffering. She died on August 6th; and it was reported that, in her last agony, she spoke warningly of the execution of the King, and of the expiation that must unavoidably follow it. A faithful chronicler of the Protector's last days cannot repress his admiration of the fortitude of this great soul in the midst of so many conflicting anxieties and personal griefs. On the 20th he was seen by George Fox, the Quaker, as with death in his face, he rode through the park surrounded by his guards. On the 21st he returned to town, by the urgent advice of his doctors. Nothing they could do, however, stayed the fatal progress of the disease. His last hour approached while fervent prayers for his recovery were uttered in the adjoining rooms and in the churches, as well as in many a lonely chamber. He himself muttered many curious and mystic sentences. He spoke much of the "Covenants" which God had made with man. When he was seized with fear of "falling into the hands of the living God," he tranquillized himself by the firm conviction that "he was once in grace." The prayer has been preserved which he uttered while a frightful thunderstorm swept over London and the plains on the 30th. As late as September 3rd he was heard to murmur: "I would be willing to live to be farther serviceable to God and his People, but my work is done. Yet God will be with His People."[1]

The fate of Great Britain and of the world in general

[1] "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," part x., "Death of the Protector."

would indeed have been very different if this ruler had attained the three-score years of the Psalmist. He died at Whitehall, where, not ten years before, the King had been led to execution, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, on the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester, a day which had hitherto been kept as a national holiday. Those who had trembled when he was alive declared that his soul had been carried to hell in that thunderstorm.

On November 23rd the remains of the great Oliver were buried at Westminster, in the chapel of Henry VII. His eldest son Richard succeeded to the Proctectorate, like a prince of the blood, though it was not known with any sort of certainty how far his dying father had approved of this, or what hopes he had entertained of the succession. This is no place to describe how the lazy and indolent nature of this son was perfectly incapable of supporting the Parliament against the opposition of ambitious officers; how, when the mutilated remains of the Long Parliament were recalled to life by a combination of republican and military elements, he resigned his office as early as April, 1659; and how the reaction steadily gained ground and finally carried all before it.

The anti-republican party secured a decided advantage when all the remaining members elected in 1640 were suspended, and the order for fresh elections was a decided victory in the King's favour. Lambert tried in vain to place the army at the head of affairs. Supported by the Conservative party, Monk crossed the country from Edinburgh to London, nominally to maintain peace and order, and having thus paved the way, Charles II. entered London on May 29th, 1660,

amid the wildest rejoicings of all classes, having by no means bound himself to preserve either civil or religious liberty. The army was at once dissolved, a number of men who had sat in judgment upon Charles I. were delivered to execution, and the bones of the great Protector, as well as those of his mother, Blake, and Pym, dragged from their resting-places in the Abbey, while Cromwell's mouldering head was stuck over Westminster Hall like that of a common felon.

The mighty one and his creation came to grief simply because they could not fill up the breach occasioned by their own acts. Even after the fall of the King there was always a certain void in a constitution which would not be made into a republic. The creator of the army had also to control civil authority, and when he wanted to control both parties he unavoidably gave offence to the troops. He did not dare endanger the entire system by recalling the old traditions, and up to the very last sought in vain to find their equivalent. Consequently the fate of his mission was embodied in the extraordinary position to which he had raised himself, which so forcibly brought out the striking contrasts of his character that it is impossible to judge him by an ordinary standard. Confiding in his influence, he called himself "Protector of the three nations by the grace of God," just as the King had done, and had his own effigy struck on the coins of the Commonwealth, with the motto "Pax quaeritur bello." But hardly had he closed his eyes when his whole creation fell to pieces. The Protectorate, the House of Lords, the United Parliament, the standing army, the free development of the church—all gave

way before the violent reaction, and were replaced by the old institutions.

But, as Carlyle remarks, "their works follow them, as I think this Oliver Cromwell's works have done and are still doing." He alone attempted what was only accomplished in the nineteenth century, after a painful struggle, namely, the Parliamentary and Protestant Union of the three nations; and he alone reconstructed the Election Laws for town and country, which were entirely in the hands of the privileged classes until the Reform Bill of 1832. He endeavoured thoroughly to separate the religious opinions, both of the individual and of the church in general, from civil life in the state. The political questions, which foreshadowed a new era in English history, could not be decided by the Usurper, but solely by a constitutional monarchy. But on the other hand, Cromwell, with his strong national feeling and unceasing opposition to Rome, walked in the footsteps of those who, both before and after him, rallied the popular forces under the Protestant flag. Indeed, he dealt the Catholic tendencies of Habsburg and Spain a blow from which they have never quite recovered. Under his rule our island-kingdom obtained that position with regard to Europe and the rest of the world which it has maintained until to-day, in spite of many storms.

Oliver Cromwell must not be compared with such men as Julius Cæsar or Napoleon Bonaparte. In England, with its ancient institutions grown up out of Germanic roots, imperialism has just as little chance of succeeding as a republic would have as conceived by idealists like Vane and Sydney, and those who, in our own day, would like to Americanize the old world.

But the general opinion about this powerful man remains the same as when, in 1654, Milton exclaimed enthusiastically: "To you our country owes its liberties; nor can you sustain a character at once more momentous and more august, than that of the author, the guardian, and the preserver of our liberties; and hence you have not only eclipsed the achievements of all our kings, but even those which have been fabled of our heroes."[1]

[1] "Second Defence of the People of England" (Bohn's Library), vol. i., p. 289.

THE END.

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